JINNAH PAPERS

PAKISTAN: THE ONLY WAY
1 April — 30 September 1942



THIRD SERIES
Volume XVIII

Editor-in-Chief
M. AKRAM SHAHEEDI

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS WING
MINISTRY OF NATIONAL HERITAGE & INTEGRATION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
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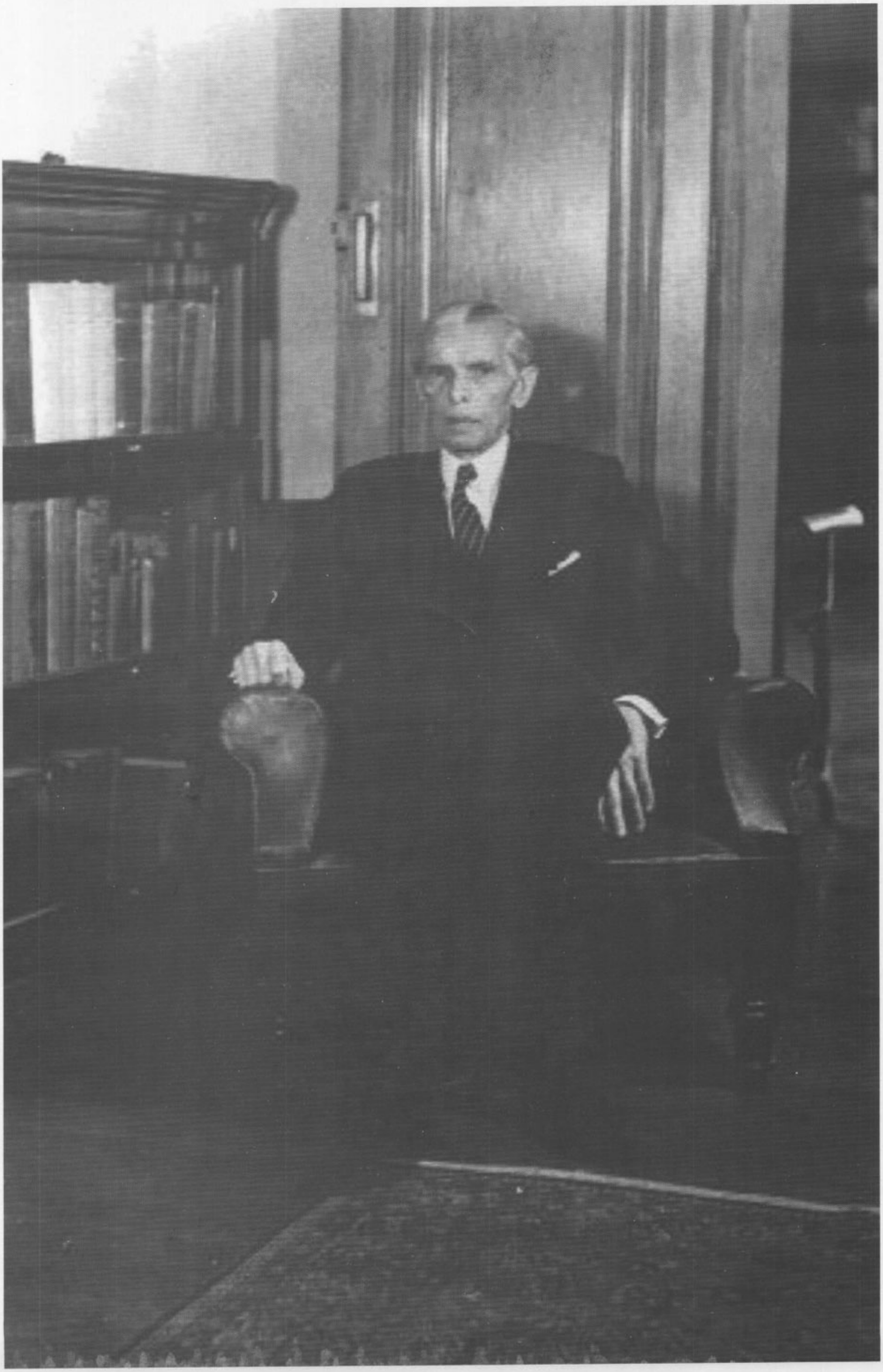

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Dedicated to
the late Dr. Zawwar Husain Zaidi (1928-2009)
and his supporting team-mates
who laid the foundations of
Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing

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Foreword

The present edition of *Jinnah Papers*, Volume XVIII, subtitled *Pakistan: The Only Way* spans the period from April to September 1942, an eventful phase in the Muslim League march towards the goal of Pakistan. Like its earlier companion volumes, the present one has been predicated by the decision of the Governmnet of Pakistan to "properly edit the papers of the Founder of the State for wider circulation", in order to pay a befitting tribute to the Founder of the Nation. This endeavour of preserving the national historical heritage for future generations has been acclaimed to be of "invaluable service" to scholars engaged in research on the Pakistan Movement and the life and achievements of the Quaid-i-Azam.

This volume highlights two crucial developments: the British recognition, for the first time, of the principle of Pakistan; and the desperate Congress insurrection, euphemistically styled as the Quit India movement. It also examines in depth League's attempts to hold dissenting Muslim leaders in leash and Jinnah's amenability to participate in a wartime provisional government on equitable terms.

With the conflagration of war reaching the eastern borders of India, the British were entangled in the quagmire of combating the fast advancing Japanese while seeking support of an unwilling India for their war effort. The vulnerability of the British colonialism in the Asia had provided an opportune impetus to the freedom movement in India. While the Congress was calling for an immediate withdrawal of the British from India, the Muslim League was demanding guarantees for a separate Muslim homeland in such an eventuality. The adversity of circumstances led Prime Minister Winston Churchill to announce to the British House of Commons a plan for the "present and future action in India". The plan envisaged sending of Sir Stafford Cripps to India to negotiate a "just and final conclusion" of the Indian constitutional tangle with Indian leaders. Subsequently Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India with a substantial entourage and a Draft Declaration which focused on the creation of a new postwar Indian Union having Dominion Status. The Draft provided for the continued retention of British control over the means of defence of India but condescended to allow its material resources to be managed by the Indian people. It also stipulated a new constitution to be framed by the elected representatives of the peoples of India. Cripps' objective therefore boiled down to coaxing the Indian politicians onto the British wartime bandwagon by dangling before them the carrot of postwar reformation. This entailed a number of consultative meetings with those leaders who had their own doubts and reservations about the proffered bait. Cripps thus had to shuttle from one leader to another but failed to bring

them onto a common platform or to narrow the gap between their differing standpoints.

Eventually the Muslim League as well as the Congress rejected the Draft Declaration but for different reasons. The League, though gratified over Pakistan being recognized by implication, found the Declaration closed ended as its "fundamentals" were not open to any modifications nor were any alternatives invited. The Congress, on the other hand, regarded the proposals as contrary to their demand for "full independence", and a severe blow to their conception of Indian unity. Faced with an impasse Cripps had to return hotfoot to Britain after having thrown up the sponge.

Cripps' faux pas tempted Mr. Gandhi to reiterate the demand for an orderly and timely British withdrawal from the sub-continent failing which starting of a non-violent movement for freedom was threatened. Perceiving the opportunity to coerce the British to relinquish power, a non-violent mass struggle on the widest possible scale was to be launched under Gandhi's leadership. The Quit India resolution, however, triggered large scale violence disrupting public life and law and order. Jinnah utterly deplored the Quit India move which entailed violence and bloodshed, and directed the Muslims to keep away from this movement. The British Government responded with the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders on charges of causing disruption in public life. By eschewing violence as a means of political gain, Jinnah, in turn, offered to cooperate with the British in the war effort and to join an emergency government on terms specified by him. Such a positive approach helped Jinnah to strengthen and consolidate the Muslim League in wake of the Congress brinkmanship.

The documents incorporated in this volume have been mainly selected from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers (QAP)*, preserved in the National Archives of Pakistan. The *QAP* deal with a variety of subjects ranging from the All India Muslim League, other political parties and organizations particularly the Congress as well as contemporary national and international issues. These constitute a major part of the corpus of the correspondence of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Other two important sources on the Quaid are the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* and the *Rizwan Collection*, which cover the Quaid's vibrant life, albeit with many yawning gaps. Salient examples of such voids would *inter alia* include Jinnah's correspondence with rulers of princely states on legal and constitutional issues; matters concerning his legal practice at the Privy Council and his letters to *Allama* Sir Muhammad Iqbal in the nineteen-thirties. Therefore, further in-depth research would be necessiciated to bridge such lacunae.

Amongst the seventeen volumes published so far the scope of each volume in various series has been determined in view of the relative importance of various developments in Jinnah's march towards the cherished goal of Pakistan, encompassing his political and personal life.

In the current volume all primary documents, as well as the appendix have been listed chronologically and numbered sequentially. These have been identified by quoting the source or repository notation and the relevant file or volume and the page number(s) as applicable. Documents from earlier volumes of *Jinnah Papers* have been referred to by document number, volume number and page number(s) (e.g. No. 326, *JP*, XVII, 429). References to the present volume mention only the document number (e.g. No. 126). Materials of repetitive nature, requests for financial assistance, employment, messages and similar routine matters, have generally been excluded.

We have been greatly encouraged by the continued interest evinced by Madam Dina in the compilation of the Papers relating to her illustrious Father.

We are grateful to the Ministry of Culture for their support and constant encouragement. Consequent on devolution of the Ministry of Culture, the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing has come under the aegis of the Cabinet Division. The Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing is also thankful to the Cabinet Secretary, Madam Nargis Sethi and her team of able officers, who have been a source of guidance and support.

I greatly appreciate the hard work and diligence of the dedicated editorial and research team which meticulously laboured to compile the present volume despite acute shortage of manpower in the Wing. I also express my gratitude to the staff who have typed and composed the manuscripts.

I am highly indebted to Professor Sharif-al-Mujahid, *Sitara-i-Imtiaz*, Founder Director of Quaid-i-Azam Academy and an eminent scholar, for his valuable assistance in bringing out this volume.

Mr. Anwar Ahmad Hanafi, a founding member of our editorial team passed away last year. It was through his extraordinary zeal, devotion and commitment that the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing took off during its early phase.

M. AKRAM SHAHEEDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing
Islamabad
10 May 2011

Introduction

By March 1942, following the Japanese occupation of Burma (Myanmar), the "conflagration of war" had reached the eastern provinces of Assam and Bengal on India's border. The war had led, on the one hand, to a gradual erosion of European colonialism in Asia and Africa and on the other, a simultaneous resurgence of freedom movements over there. In India, the Congress and the Muslim League had by then gained sufficient public support and recognition as vital political entities, and that to a point that the British had come to realise "the crisis" and the dire need to rally Indian support for war effort as early as possible, if only to checkmate the Japanese imminent advance at India's eastern doorstep. In view of the overriding imperatives imposed by the worsening Allied fortunes in the East and the goading exigencies of the rather bleak situation, the British Government critically needed India's wholehearted co-operation in the prosecution of the war, especially in the East. Nevertheless, for the duration of the war, the British Government was still determined to retain the responsibility and control over the logistics all the way, if only to ensure that their vital interests in India remained unimpaired. These considerations finally led Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, to announce[1] the War Cabinet Plan for India. In his address to the House of Commons, he sought the just and final conclusion for the "present and future action in India", and proposed to send Sir Stafford Cripps, leader of the British House of Commons, to accomplish that mission.

Accordingly, Sir Stafford Cripps brought a Draft Declaration[2] for discussion with the Indian leaders, in April 1942. The Draft embodied a raft of proposals concerning India's future constitutional settlement. The high point of the Declaration was the "creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any respect of its domestic or external affairs". It envisaged that "immediately upon the cessation of the hostilities", steps were to be initiated to set up a constitution-making body of an Indian Union with a single electoral college, but with the concessionary provision that the provinces would have the right of non-accession to the Union. It also provided for participation of the Indian States, under certain stipulated conditions. Similar provisions were also specified for the protection of the rights of the minorities. Moreover,

[1]Statement by Prime Minister Churchill in the House of Commons, 11 March 1942, F. 809/249,*QAP*. Not printed.

[2]Draft Declaration for discussion with Indian leaders, 30 March 1942, Appendix II.1, *JP*, I, Part II, 21-2.

it was clearly laid down that while, on the one hand, the British Government would "bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war·effort"[3], on the other, "the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India". Later, in a broadcast, Cripps explained[4] that "the principle on which these proposals are based is that the new Constitution should be framed by the elected representatives of the Indian peoples themselves".

The Muslim League as well as the Congress had strong reservations to the various provisions of the Draft Declaration. The Muslim League Working Committee considered the announcement of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons and the Draft Declaration and expressed their gratification on the possibility of Pakistan having been recognised by implication—i.e., "by providing for the establishment of two or more independent Unions in India"[5]. At the same time, it regretted that neither the "fundamentals" were open to any modification nor any "alternative proposals" were invited. Moreover, the proposed plebiscite in the demographically dominant Muslim provinces on the basis of the entire adult population was regarded as tantamount to denying the Muslims "the inherent right to self-determination". The Committee, therefore, concluded that "unless the principle of Pakistan scheme, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution"[6] was unequivocally conceded and the right of Musalmans to self- determination upheld, it would be next to impossible for the Muslim League to accept the proposals.

On the other hand, the Congress Working Committee found the proposals in the Draft Declaration falling short of their demand for "full independence", and lacking in many respects the requisite conditions for the people of India to assume responsibility for the defence of the country. The Congress, therefore, felt that it was "unable to accept the proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet". Although it considered "the novel principle of non-accession" for the provinces as a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity, the Congress Committee, nevertheless, declared in unequivocal terms that it would not be "compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in the Indian Union against their

[3]Ibid, para (e). Also see Nos. 427-30, *JP*, XVII, 558-60.
[4]Broadcast by Sir Stafford Cripps, 30 March 1942, Appendix II.2, *JP*, I, Part II, 23-8.
[5]Resolution by the All India Muslim League Working Committee, 11 April 1942, Appendix II. 3, ibid, 28-31.
[6]Resolution No.1 by the All India Muslim League Twenty-seventh Session, 23 March 1940, No. 156, *JP*, XV, 229-30.

declared and established will".[7]

Confronted with an impasse and shaken rudely by the rather adverse reaction of the Indian leaders, Sir Stafford Cripps had perforce to abandon his mission, alleging that the Indian opinion "was widely disunited as to the methods by which" full self-government could be attained. In particular, he profoundly regretted that the "great opportunity of rallying India for her defence and her freedom has been missed".[8]

Following the failure of Cripps mission, Gandhi demanded that the safety and interest of both Britain and India lay in an orderly and timely British withdrawal from the subcontinent.[9] In tandem, with the Congress Working Committee's resolution about not compelling any territorial unit to remain within the Indian Union, the Madras Legislative Congress Party, under the presidentship of Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar, passed a resolution[10] which purported to resolve the continuing stalemate between the Congress and the Muslim League. While regretting the failure of the attempts to establish a National Government, the Madras resolution suggested the urgent need for the Congress to do all that was possible to "remove every obstacle in the way of the establishment of a national administration to face the present situation, and therefore, inasmuch as the Muslim League has insisted on the recognition of the right of separation of certain areas from united India upon the ascertainment of the wishes of the people of such areas as a condition precedent for united national action at this moment of grave national danger". The resolution further proposed that it was "necessary to choose the lesser evil and to acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation", preparatory to holding joint consultations for establishing a "national administration". The Rajagopalachariar's initiative drew flak as well as praise. And it was defeated by a resolution[11] of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) on 2 May 1942 at Allahabad. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on his

[7]Resolution by the Congress Working Committee, 11 April 1942, Annex to No. 18.
[8]Broadcast by Sir Stafford Cripps, 11 April 1942, F.809/305 & 309, *QAP*. Not printed.
[9]See article titled " *Foreign Soldiers in India*" dated 19 April 1942, published in the *Harijan*, 26 April 1942, as cited in the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume 76 (April 1,1942-December 17, 1942), New Delhi, 1994, 49-50. Also see *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances 1942-43* in N.N. Mitra, ed., *The Indian Annual Register*, Chapter I, Vol.II, July-December 1942, Calcutta, 1943, 176-8.
[10]Resolution by the Madras Legislative Congress Party, 23 April 1942, Annex II to No. 24.
[11]Resolution by the All India Congress Committee, 1-2 May 1942, Annex to No. 95.

part, was utterly shocked by the very idea of dividing India.[12] He was not even prepared to discuss the issue of Pakistan. Nor did he think it "profitable" to meet Jinnah in the absence of "a common ground" on the issue.[13] But Rajagopalachariar urged Nehru and Jinnah to come together and work for a settlement between their respective parties.[14] He continued his parleys with Jinnah who, though agreeable, remained non-committal.[15] When Rajagopalachariar objected to the inclusion of East Punjab districts having less than 50 per cent Muslim population as an overstatement of the League's demand for separation of the entire province, Jinnah responded that first of all the principle of separation had to be agreed upon by those who represented Hindu India. The British Government appreciated the parleys but was skeptical about a coalition agreed upon between the League and moderate Congressmen.[16] It, however, reconstituted the Governor General's Executive Council with 15 members towards the end of June 1942.[17]

The Congress Working Committee, which met at Wardha from 6 to 14 July 1942 reiterated Gandhi's demand for an immediate end to British rule, failing which, it said, it would have to urge the Party to launch a widespread, albeit non-violent, struggle for freedom.[18] This decision was viewed by Jinnah[19] as an attempt to blackmail and coerce the British to get the power transferred to a government which would establish a Hindu *raj*.

Some correspondents had pleaded[20] to Jinnah that in view of the dire peril facing the country, he should postpone the demand for Pakistan and instead co-operate with the Congress on the common ground of British withdrawal from India. On the assumption that the demand for Pakistan had little to offer in terms of its merit to cut the Indian constitutional Gordian knot and that the difference between the Hindu and Muslim viewpoints regarding British withdrawal was precious little, they suggested[21] granting of more rights to Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces as an alternative.

Jinnah was also urged to co-operate with Gandhi during the

[12]Speech by Jawaharlal Nehru, 21 May 1942, cited in Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 13, note 1.
[13]Press interview given by Jawaharlal Nehru, 16 June 1942, cited in ibid, 13-4, note 2.
[14]Speech by Rajagopalachariar, 15 June 1942, No. 156, *TP*, II, 228.
[15]Roger Lumley to Marquess of Linlithgow, 3 July 1942, No. 218, ibid, 305-6.
[16]L.S. Amery to Marquess of Linlithgow, 26 June 1942, No. 189, ibid, 275-6.
[17]Ibid., 30 June 1942, No. 206, ibid, 292-3.
[18]Resolution of Congress Working Committee, 6-14 July 1942, Annex to No. 158.
[19]Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to Foreign Press, 31 July 1942, No. 179.
[20]Abdul Awal Khan to M.A. Jinnah, 12 July 1942, No. 142.
[21]A. Jabbar to M.A. Jinnah, 1 July 1942, No. 131.

penedency of the war, to accept "safe quota of Provisional Government"[22] and to open negotiations with him as Pakistan would be "more easily available after independence than now".[23] To these exhortations, Jinnah's response was to ask[24] the Congress to make its own proposals to solve the intractable Indian problem. However, when Jinnah's suggestion was ignored by the Congress, he regretfully concluded that the Congress was adamant in sticking to its own terms, and had "not budged an inch from their position".[25] Nor for the same reason, did the efforts of Rajagopalachariar,[26] Mecklai[27] and S.A. Latif[28] as a communication channel between Jinnah and Gandhi stood any chance of success. Moreover, the argument[29] that there was little difference between the views of Rajagopalachariar and utterances of the Congress leaders, the former being explicit and the latter an implied assumption, was also rather unconvincing. Concurrently, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan's suggestion for a coalition government of the Congress and the Muslim League with full powers except in the fields of defence and princely states proved to cut little ice.[30]

The Congress, which by then was overwhelmingly dominated by hawks, readily acquiesced to the Working Committee's exhortation[31] for British withdrawal. They adopted the Quit India Resolution,[32] which *inter alia* demanded the immediate withdrawal of British power from India and the formation of a Provisional Government on declaration of India's independence. The resolution sanctioned the launch of a "mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale" under Gandhi's leadership. Not surprisingly though, it triggered a riposte[33] from the pliable Viceroy's Executive Council,[34] which accused the Congress Party of "unlawful, and in some cases, violent

[22]C. Rajagopalachari to M.A. Jinnah, Telegram, 6 August 1942, No. 197.
[23]S.G. Subramonia Aiyer to M.A. Jinnah, 7 August 1942, No. 201.
[24]Statement by M.A. Jinnah, 7 August 1942, No. 203.
[25]M.A. Jinnah to A.A. Hayles, 10 August 1942, No. 207.
[26]See note 22 supra.
[27]On 4 August 1942, Gandhi was said to have been amenable to the British Government "transferring all powers exercised by it to the Muslim League on behalf of whole of India". See Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India-Partition-Independence*, New Delhi, 2009, 308-9. However, that understanding did not take into account the British policy of retaining "control and direction of the defence of India". Nor did the Government make any such offer.
[28]See note by Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri, undated August 1942, Annex II to No. 203.
[29]K.R.R. Sastry to M.A Jinnah, 20 August 1942, No. 237.
[30]Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan to Marquess of Linlithgow, 8 August 1942, No. 473, *TP*,II, 626-8.
[31]See A.M. & S.G. Zaidi, eds. *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress: A Fight to the Finish*, XII, 1939-1946, New Delhi, 1981, 474.
[32]Resolution by the All India Congress Committee, 8 August 1942, Annex to No. 205.
[33]Statement by the Government of India, 8 August 1942, Nos. 447& 475, *TP*, II, 600-3 & 633.
[34]For membership of the reconstituted Viceroy's Executive Council, see *TP*, II, xix-xx.

activities, directed among other things, to the interruption of communications and public utility services, the organization of strikes, tampering with the loyalty of Government servants and interference with defence measures, including recruitment". Meantime, Gandhi, along with all the members of the Congress Working Committee, was arrested on 9 August 1942.[35]

Jinnah had deplored the Congress decision to launch "a most dangerous mass movement"[36] wondering as to how the Congress leadership could be unaware of the fact that their movement would entail violence, destruction and bloodshed of innocent people.[37] He solemnly warned the Congress workers "not to molest, harass" the Muslims at the behest of their leaders. While appealing to the Hindu public "to stop this internecine civil war," he directed the Muslims to stay completely aloof from the Congress movement.

The Quaid considered the Congress threat of mass civil disobedience as an attempt to pressurizing the British to submit to their demands.[38] He did not expect any likelihood of negotiations unless "the Congress party leaders change their minds and drop their campaign". He, however, declared his willingness to join a provisional wartime government on the condition of an equal voice with the Hindus and an assurance by the British Government conceding Pakistan after the war.[39] The detention of Gandhi and the Congress leaders while declaring the Congress Committees as unlawful[40] throughout the country triggered widespread disturbances; the worst affected regions being the Hindu majority provinces of Bihar, U.P. and Bombay.[41] Communication networks came to be disrupted and public buildings damaged, besides sporadic attacks on troops on duty. The Government's answer was mass arrests, collective fines and occasional flogging. So widespread were the disturbances that it took some three weeks to get the situation under control and the insurrection defused. The Muslim majority regions of the north-west and north-east

[35]See Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion*: *The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*, New York 2001, 204.

[36]Statement by M.A. Jinnah, 9 August 1942, No.205.

[37]In February 1922, the Congress Working Committee, chaired by Gandhi, had to call off the intended mass civil disobedience movement when a mob of *satyagrahis* brutally murdered 22 constables inside the police station at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces. See A.M. & S.G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*: *India at the Crossroads*, VIII, 1921-1924, New Delhi, 1980, 489-91.

[38]Interview given by M.A. Jinnah to Victor Thompson, 13 August 1942, No. 220.

[39]Roger Lumley to Marquess of Linlithgow, 14 August 1942, Telegram, No. 548, *TP*, II, 699.

[40]Government of India, Home Department to the Secretary of State, Telegrams, 7 & 8 August 1942, Nos. 393 & 466, *TP*, II, 534-6 & 620.

[41]Ibid., Telegram, 5 September 1942, No. 697, 904-6.

as well as the Hindu majority southern India, however, remained unscathed and trouble free.[42]

On its part, the League Working Committee deplored the "open rebellion" which was "not directed for securing the independence... but for the establishment of a Hindu *raj*", so as to deal a death blow to the Muslim demand for Pakistan.[43] The Committee, therefore, directed the Muslims to "abstain from any participation in the movement". And, later, in his review of the situation, Jinnah congratulated the Muslims for sitting out, as directed by him earlier. Meantime, he also[44] appealed to the Government to exclude Muslims from any collective fines imposed on a territorial basis such as in Bihar.

The League Working Committee resolved that the question of Muslim self-determination be decided on the basis of a plebiscite of Muslims only.[45] The Committee also endorsed Jinnah's willingness to negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional government provided that the Muslim demand for Pakistan was conceded unequivocally.

The Committee's resolution came in for criticism from various quarters, which argued that Jinnah should have got in touch with Gandhi and the Viceroy to make a final effort for the settlement of the communal question.[46] Moreover, it was suggested[47] that in view of the then existing critical situation the League should not have raised the demand for Pakistan but should have agreed to Rajagopalachariar's proposal; to which Jinnah's response,[48] was that Rajagopalachariar represented nobody except for himself and, that in his recent talks, he had merely sought to clarify some points on which he professed to feel some doubts.

While in detention at the Aga Khan's Palace in Poona, Gandhi strongly questioned[49] the Viceroy Council's resolution[50] on the Quit India movement. He protested to Linlithgow, the Viceroy, against the "unsupported allegations" against him and pleaded that "violence was never contemplated at any stage". Gandhi asserted that the Congress policy was still unequivocally non-violent, and

[42]Marquess of Linlithgow to L. S. Amery, 17 August 1942, No. 577, ibid., 739-45.
[43]Resolution by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 20 August 1942, No. 238.
[44]Statement by M.A. Jinnah, 6 September 1942, No. 266.
[45]See note 43 supra.
[46]Abdul Waheed Khan to M.A. Jinnah, 25 August 1942, No. 244.
[47]Mohammad Ali to M.A. Jinnah, 25 August 1942, No. 246.
[48]Report on the Interview given by M.A. Jinnah to Anonym, [undated] November 1942, Annex to No. 187, *TP*, III, 268-70.
[49]M.K. Gandhi to Marquess of Linlithgow, 14 August 1942, F. 1109/12-4, *QAP*, Not printed. However see No. 553, *TP*, II, 702-5.
[50]See Resolution by Viceroy's Executive Council, 7 August 1942, No. 447, *TP*, II, 600-3.

that the unwarranted arrest of the leaders had made people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control. Thus he blamed the Government, not the Congress, for the destruction that had taken place.[51] The Viceroy, on his part, gave "full weight"[52] to Gandhi's assertions but declined to accept his criticism or request for reconsideration of the Government's policy.

With respect to the Quit India movement, the stance adopted by the League was more pragmatic than that of the other political stakeholders. The Party had eschewed violence as a means of political gains. Muslims, by and large, had also kept away from the Quit India bandwagon. Challenging the Congress' claim to represent the whole of India, Jinnah characterized the Quit India movement as "not merely a declaration of war against the British and the Government" but also a war against Muslim India.[53] He declared his opposition to "forming a provisional government of such a character and composition as would prejudice or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan." Meantime, he offered to co-operate in the war effort and expressed his readiness to join others in an emergency Government on terms specified by him. Thus, on the whole, Jinnah's attitude had been distinctly positive.[54] And the incarceration of Congress leadership for the time being provided him with yet another opportunity to strengthen and consolidate the Muslim League.

Earlier, in March 1942, Jinnah, in view of "the most critical time in our history", instituted the Muslim National Fund "to carry on the administration at home and propaganda abroad" of the Muslim League, and to be prepared to meet the grave dangers threatening the Muslim position in India. In tandem, he earnestly and solemnly appealed "to every Musalman, rich or poor, to contribute his or her mite to the fund".[55] And, as was obvious in the circumstances, the appeal evoked "very enthusiastic and cordial support"[56] from all quarters.

About the same time, Jinnah had appointed a Civil Defence Committee for protection of the "life, honour and property of the Musalmans"[57] which set up similar committees at the provincial

[51]M.K. Gandhi to Richard Tottenham, 23 August 1942, F.1109/15, *QAP*. Not printed. However see No. 779, *TP*, II, 1102-3.
[52]Marquess of Linlithgow to M.K. Gandhi, 22 August 1942, F.1109/14, *QAP*, Not printed. However see No, 611,*TP*, II, 786-7.
[53]Report of a Press Conference by M. A. Jinnah, 13 September 1942, No. 272.
[54]See note 48 supra.
[55]Appeal for Funds by M.A. Jinnah, 21 March 1942, Appendix 1.1.
[56]M.A. Jinnah to Maratib Ali, 15 July 1942, Appendix 1.85
[57]Statement by M.A. Jinnah, 12 April 1942, Annex to No. 10.

and district levels. The Committee also served as a coordinating agency between the Central and Provincial Leagues, as well as the Quaid's inspection team, reporting to him on various matters.

* * * *

Meantime, political developments in various provinces and in the Princely States continued to raise difficult problems for the Muslims and the Muslim League, thwarting their uninterrupted march on the road to Pakistan.

The Muslim subjects of some Princely States, under Hindu rulers, lived in a precarious condition, having been largely denied their legitimate rights. They had stood by the Muslim League, despite the Party's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the States.[58] Nonetheless, at times, the Muslim League was obliged by circumstances to lend support to the aggrieved Muslims in these States. In Gwalior, for instance, the State Anjuman-i-Islam had protested[59] against the enforcement of the Wardha Scheme,[60] Sanskritised Bhasha at the expense of Urdu language, and lack of adequate Muslim representation in the State services. On such grievances being brought to his notice, the Quaid had advised[61] Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, President of the All India States Muslim League, to follow the constitutional course of addressing a representation to the Maharaja.

In Jammu and Kashmir, the "fifth column" of the Indian National Congress had been accused[62] by the Muslim Conference of working against the Muslims with the covert backing of the State Government. The Government had not only denied them their right of religious and cultural autonomy and protection of life and property, but had also followed a discriminatory policy towards them. Thus, while they were forbidden the use of firearms, the Hindu Rajput minority was allowed this right through a new Arms Act.[63] The Quaid was obviously sympathetic[64] to these Muslim grievances and directed the next League Council session to consider it along with the law and order situation in the State.[65]

* * * *

[58]See Resolution No. 8 passed at the 26th session of the All India Muslim League, 28-9 December 1938, *AFM* 191/38. Not printed. Also see interview given by M.A. Jinnah to Mysore State Muslim League officials, 19 May 1941 in Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 249.

[59]Representation by Anjumani-i-Islam to Maharaja of Gwalior, undated 1942, F.809/408 & 553, *QAP*. Not printed.

[60]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 543.

[61]See Bahadur Yar Jung to M.A. Jinnah, 19 September 1942, No. 279.

[62]Ch. Ghulam Abbass to M.A. Jinnah, 13 August 1942, No.219.

[63]Proceedings of the Meeting of Working Committee of All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, 19-20 September 1942, No. 281.

[64]M.A. Jinnah to Ch. Ghulam Abbass, 18 September 1942, No. 278.

[65]Proceedings of All India Muslim League Council, Resolution No. 5, 9 November 1942, *AFM* 292/45-6. Not printed.

The Muslim League's problems and situation in the various provinces during the period under review were as follows. In the Punjab, the death of Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot had caused a serious setback to the League. He was succeeded by his son, Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot as President of the Provincial League. Later, when the Muslim League Conference scheduled to be held at Phillaur came to be banned,[66] Jinnah instead of resorting to a confrontationist posture, advised[67] the Provincial League to settle the matter amicably with the provincial government. The Party was satisfied after receiving an assurance from the Premier that the Government had "no intention to interfere with the legitimate and normal activities of the Muslim League".[68] Jinnah, however, admonished the Provincial League to avoid recurrence of such incidents in future. Later, the Muslim Students Conference was held in Jullundur which was presided over by him.[69]

Fazlul Huq was expelled from the party for having mid-wifed an anti-League coalition, comprising the Congress Forward Bloc, Krishak Proja Samiti and the Independent Scheduled Castes. The Provincial League's resentment against Huq culminated in the defeat of his nominee by a Muslim League candidate, in the Natore by-election.[70] However, to get his embarrassment mollified, Huq expressed contrition, craving for a come back to the League's fold.[71] In response, Jinnah demanded of him to quit the anti-League coalition before his request was considered in a "fair and just" manner.[72] It was, however, not until March 1943 when Huq was ultimately obliged to resign and pave the way for Khwaja Nazimuddin, leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, to form a Muslim League Ministry in Bengal.[73]

In Sind, the Provincial Muslim League was concerned over the disturbed law and order situation that had erupted, following the arrest in October 1941, of Syed Sibghatullah Shah, the sixth Pir of Pagaro, on charges of seditious activities.[74] The Party also suffered "a grievous loss to the organization" due to the death of Sir Abdoola

[66]Hameed Nizami to M.A. Jinnah, Telegram, 23 May 1942, No. 59.
[67]M.A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot, Telegram, 25 May 1942, No. 62 & Annex to ibid.
[68]Hameed Nizami to M.A. Jinnah, 26 May 1942, Annex to No. 68.
[69]See Report on Jinnah's presidential address to the annual session of the All India Muslim Students Federation, 15 November 1942, Waheed Ahmad , *The Nations' Voice*, III, 102-8.
[70]See M.A. Hassan Ispahani to M.A. Jinnah, 16 April 1942, No. 20.
[71]A.R. Siddiqi to M.A. Jinnah, 9 May 1942, Annex I to No.45.
[72]M.A. Jinnah to M.A. Hassan Ispahani, 23 July 1942, No. 162.
[73]M.A. Hassan Ispahani to M.A. Jinnah, 13 April 1943, F. 308/251, *QAP*. Not printed.
[74]See Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics*, Lahore, 1998, 233-4.

Haroon, "one of the strongest pillars of the Party"[75] and a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, on 26 April 1942. Just at the time, when the Provincial League was looking for a worthy successor to its late President and for choosing a candidate for the Central Legislative Assembly, wide spread sabotage had enveloped more than half the Province;[76] and Martial Law came to be imposed over large swathes of territory. This, the Provincial League attributed to the unscrupulous policies "of the incompetent ministers"[77] and demanded that they be relieved of their offices.[78] The Hurs' stance, on the other hand, was attributed to the Congress "fantastic notions" of independence given to their Pir.

In the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa), the resignation of the Congress ministry in November 1939 had provided the Muslim League with an unexpected opportunity for consolidation and mass contact.[79] The Frontier contingent to the historic League session of March 1940 included more than three hundred delegates and volunteers.[80] The Muslim League had also won three seats in the Provincial Assembly by-elections during the January 1938 to September 1942 period,[81] even as the "unpopularity of the Khan Brothers" had incrementally alienated the people from the Congress fold.[82] When Maulana Madrarullah, a theologian of Mardan, claiming to represent the Frontier Jami'atul Ulama, identified their religious and political creed with that of Pakistan, the gesture was highly appreciated by Jinnah.[83] The Provincial Congress call for observing *hartal* against Gandhi's arrest during the Quit India Movement also went unheeded[84] by the Frontier Muslims following the Quaid's advice[85] to keep themselves aloof from such designs.

During the Quit India agitation Bihar had suffered heavily[86] due to large scale violence, resulting in the loss of public property, etc. The Bihar Muslims had, however, kept themselves away from the Congress drive, so that the Congress campaign had incrementally come to assume the

[75]Tribute by M.A. Jinnah to the late Sir Abdoola Haroon, 27 April 1942. See F. 809/332, *QAP*. Not printed.

[76]See Hamida Khuhro, op. cit., 238.

[77&78]Resolution passed by Sind Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, 16 June 1942, Enclosure to No. 103.

[79]See Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, Karachi, 1992, 41.

[80]Ibid. 50-1.

[81]Reginald Coupland, *Indian Politics, 1936-42*, Appendix VI, 333, cited by Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice* II, 786.

[82]Section titled "General Observations" in the report by Mohamed Ismail Khan to M.A. Jinnah, 14 July 1942, No. 146.

[83]Madrarullah to M.A. Jinnah, 30 May 1942, No. 74 and its Annex. Also see Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of N.W.F.P. in the Freedom Struggle*, Lahore, 2000, 96-7.

[84]M. Ziaud Din to M.A. Jinnah, 13 August 1942, No. 218. Also see Marquess of Linlithgow to L.S. Amery, Telegram, 6 September 1942, No. 703, *TP*, II, 915.

[85]See note 36 supra.

[86]See Thomas Stewart to Marquess of Linlithgow, 22 August 1942, No. 612, *TP*,II, 787-91.

character of a "purely Hindu movement".[87] When the Government imposed collective fines in the disturbed areas, the Provincial League[88] as well as Jinnah urged the Viceroy to exclude the Muslims from such unjust fines imposed on a territorial basis.[89]

* * * *

Over the years, Jinnah was well aware of the need of press and propaganda to disseminate the views of the Muslim League and to promote its policy and programme among the Muslim masses. By June 1942, the circulation of the weekly *Dawn* (founded in October1941) had risen to 4,000, earning local as well as international recognition.[90] Conscious of the "dire need" for an extensive Muslim press[91] and appreciative of the popularity and usefulness of the weekly, Jinnah decided upon[92] its upgrading into a front rank English daily. He selected[93] a distinguished journalist, Pothan Joseph of the *Star of India* as Editor. The paper went a long way in projecting the policy and programme of the Muslim League and in promoting solidarity[94] among the Muslims thereby accelerating the march towards Pakistan.

[87]Syed Badruddin Ahmad to M.A. Jinnah, 30 August 1942, No. 253.
[88]S. M. Ismail to M.A. Jinnah, 4 September 1942, No. 264.
[89]Statement by M.A. Jinnah, 6 September 1942, No. 266.
[90]M.A. Jinnah to M.A. Hassan Ispahani, 15 June 1942, No. 98.
[91]M.A. Jinnah to Mrs. S.N.A. Jafri, 24 June 1942.No. 118.
[92]M.A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan, 31 July 1942, *AFM* 480/65. Not printed.
[93]M.A. Jinnah to M.A. Hassan Ispahani, 21 September 1942, No. 283. Also see M.A. Jinnah to M.A. Hassan Ispahani, 3 October 1942, F. 307/203-4, *QAP*. Not printed.
[94]Message from M.A. Jinnah, 12 October 1942, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 61-2.

Abbreviations

AFM	*Archives of Freedom Movement*
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
AISML	All India States Muslim League
API	Associated Press of India
ARP	Air Raid Precautions
BG	British Government (currency)
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CP	Central Provinces
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
GIP	Great Indian Peninsular (Railway)
HE	His (Her) Excellency
HSLC	High School Leaving Certificate
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IG	Inspector General
JP	*Jinnah Papers*
KB	Khan Bahadur
KGRIM	King George Royal Indian Military (College)
ML	Muslim League
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member Legislative Council
MNG	Muslim National Guards
OS	Osman Shahi (currency)
PO	Post Office
PS	Police Station; Postscript
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
SDO	Sub-Divisional Officer
SHC	*Shamsul Hasan Collection*
TMO	Telegraphic Money Order
TP	*Transfer of Power*
UP	United Provinces
WC	Working Committee

All India Muslim League Working Committee
April-September 1942

President	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Secretary	Liaquat Ali Khan
	Members
Assam	Abdul Matin Chaudhury
Baluchistan	Qazi Mohammad Isa
Bengal	Khwaja Nazimuddin Mohammad Akrum Khan M. A. Hassan Ispahani
Bihar	Hossain Imam S. M. Lateef-ur-Rahman
Bombay	Currimbhoy Ebrahim
Central Provinces & Berar	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah
Delhi	Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali
Madras	Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait
North-West Frontier Province	Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan Bakht Jamal Khan
Punjab	Malik Barkat Ali[1] Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot[2] Sheikh Karamat Ali[3] Mian Bashir Ahmad[4]
Sind	H. Abdoola Haroon[5] G. M. Sayed M. A. Khuhro[6]
United Provinces	Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan (Raja of Mahmudabad) Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Ch. Khaliquzzaman

[1]Upto 30 June 1942.
[2-4]From 31 July 1942.
[5]Died on 26 April 1942.
[6]From 31 July 1942.

All India Muslim League Civil Defence Committee[1]

Chairman	Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan
Members	Khwaja Nazimuddin
	Ch.Khaliquzzaman
	Qazi Mohammad Isa
Secretary	Syed Zakir Ali

[1]Appointed on 12 April 1942.

Chronology of Important Events
April-September 1942

April 1942

4 In his address to the twenty-ninth annual session of the All India Muslim League, Jinnah commenting on the Draft Declaration, observes that the Muslims cannot barter away the future for the present.

11 Congress Working Committee, though not envisaging the people of any territorial unit to remain in the Indian Union against their declared and established will, regard the acceptance beforehand of the principle of non-accession for the provinces to be a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and, on that account, reject the Draft Declaration.

Muslim League Working Committee considering that as the fundamentals in the Cripps Proposals are not open to any modification nor provide room for any alternatives, reject the Draft Declaration.

Announcing the failure of the principal parties to agree on it, Cripps withdraws the Draft Declaration and returns home.

12 Jinnah appoints a Civil Defence Committee of the All India Muslim League comprising Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and Qazi Mohammad Isa, for taking steps for protection of the life, honour and property of Musalmans.

19 Gandhi envisages that the safety and interest of Britain as well as of India lie in an orderly and timely British withdrawal from India.

The Madras Legislature Congress Party resolution proposes that the All India Congress Committee acknowledge the League's claim for separation preparatory to holding joint consultations for establishing a national administration.

May

2 In their meeting at Allahabad, the All India Congress Committee vote down the Madras Legislature Congress Party Resolution on the ground that it purports to disintegrate India and is highly detrimental to the best interests of the people and the county as a whole.

9 In the wake of dwindling electoral and popular support Fazlul Huq, the chastened coalition Premier of Bengal, solicits a come-back into the League's fold.

25 Following an enquiry into banning of the Muslim League Conference to be held at Phillaur by the local authorities, Premier Sikander Hyat assures Punjab League President Mamdot of the provincial government having no intention to interfere with the legitimate and normal activities of that party.

June

12 Jinnah indicates his readiness to negotiate a deal with the Congress if it withdraws the Allahabad Resolution.

16 Sind Provincial Muslim League, deeply concerned over imposition of Martial Law in most of the province, attribute the causative lawlessness to ministerial incompetence and to Congress propaganda.

July

14 The Congress Working Committee, meeting at Wardha, call for immediate end to British rule in India but are agreeable to the stationing of Allied troops in the country. It urges launching of a widespread struggle in the event of the appeal remaining unheeded.

31 Jinnah considers the Congress Quit India demand to be a challenge not only to the British government but also to Muslim India with the aim of destroying, by hook or by crook, the Pakistan scheme.

Jinnah announces a new Working Committee of the All India Muslim League comprising 21 members.

Jinnah gives go-ahead for upgrading the weekly *Dawn* to a daily.

August

8 The All India Congress Committee, with a view to immediately ending the British rule, sanction the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale under the leadership of Gandhi.

9 Jinnah discounts the non-violent nature of the civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress leadership and appeals to Hindu public to eschew the internecine civil war.

The arrest of Gandhi and other Congress leaders sparks off widespread disturbances in some of the Hindu-majority provinces.

13 Muslim League declare its willingness to join a provisional wartime government at an equal voice with the Hindus and the assurance of Pakistan after the war.

20 Muslim League Working Committee visualize the Congress civil disobedience movement as an open rebellion which, instead of securing independence, is aimed at establishment of a Hindu *raj* and to deal a death blow to the goal of Pakistan. The Committee direct Muslims to abstain from participating in the movement.

September

6 Jinnah congratulates Muslims for having kept themselves as a body aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress, appeals to the provincial and central governments to exclude Muslims from any collective fines imposed in the disturbed areas.

13 Jinnah defines his party's position of not wanting to form a provisional government under the stress of war emergency of such a character or composition as would prejudice or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

20 The Working Committee of the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference accuse the Hindu Maharaja's Government of denying elementary human rights to the state Muslims, and of allowing the Hindu Rajput minority to be armed with lethal weapons and firearms.

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1

Ṣhafi Khalid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/113-6

SHANKER VILLA,
NIZAMSHAHI ROAD,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
1 April 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I shall not take much of your time as you must be very busy. But I feel that I must say something.

Sir Stafford Cripps has spoken[1] and his proposals have been broadcast by the press. No doubt, it is a clever document. But we have to see minutely how far it meets our demands.

As a staunch believer in Muslim League and your leadership, I must say without hesitation that the small letters of the document take away what the big letters give us. I shall be brief.

The new constitution is to be framed by the constitution-making body, that is the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly will be composed of members elected by the lower houses of provincial legislatures which will form themselves into a single electoral college for the purpose of this election. Members elected in this way will not serve our purpose. Let alone other stipulations (later), we cannot get Pakistan through the efforts of such a body.

Then there is the question of the formation of the Central Government for the interim period. On what basis is it going to be formed? If the Congress comes in, what will be the proportion of its strength? What about the Hindu Mahasabha or other political bodies? What about the Muslim League?

And if the Congress joins the Central Govt., what about its returning to power in the provincial Governments? Will it revert to its old position with the Congress Governments established in Assam, Frontier, and possibly in Sindh? Will they be allowed to employ the same methods of selection regarding the Muslim Ministers as they employed during their hated regime?

Now, if the Congress returns to power and reverts to its old position and controls the Governments in the Muslim provinces also, and if the War lasts for another one, two or three years, the Congress is sure to employ all sorts of tactics to influence public opinion in those provinces, and being in power, will be successful in

forcing the Muslims of those provinces to sign their death-warrants, and those provinces will be lost for ever.

Sir, regarding the election of the members to the Constituent Assembly, we are told that if we do not accept the method proposed by the British War Cabinet, we should come to some agreement with the other party during the interim period. But will the Congress accept any other proposition when it has been given the big stick? The Congress also automatically [*sic*] returns to power without fresh elections and I feel that the Muslims have been handed over, bound-hand and foot, to the Congress high command.

Perhaps, the British Government thinks that the Muslim League has no public support; that they have a quisling in Mr. Fazlul Huq and possibly another in Sir Sikander [Hyat Khan]. They also seem to think that the Frontier and Sind Provinces can also be won over by the Congress and so the League could and should be ignored.

In the circumstances, war or no war, will you ask for fresh elections in all the provinces and thus take the verdict of the Muslims all over India? Or, do you propose to fight this sinister combination of the British Government and the Congress in some other way?

The moment requires courage and great statesmanship, which I believe you amply possess. I hope you will be able to infuse the same spirit in the hearts of your colleagues. I hope God Almighty will grant you the strength to give us the right lead, and that the Muslim League will declare (if my viewpoint is right) that such a constitution as proposed in the declaration of the British Cabinet can only be enacted over our dead bodies.

I believe the time has come when the entire Muslim manhood should be fully mobilised. We must refuse to become slaves, no matter where we live. Our homeland should be handed over to us and we should be given full liberty to develop ourselves according to our traditions and the great teachings of Islam.

Yours-in-fraternity,
SHAFI KHALID

[1]See Appendix II. 2, *JP*, I, Part II, 23-8.

2

Z. Hoda to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1249/1

MAHENDRU, PATNA,
1 April 1942

Dear Sir,

In my personal opinion, the present scheme[1] offered by His Majesty's Government shall prove, if accepted, a fatal dose for our immature organization, surrounded on all sides by innumerable foes and traitors. No scheme can be tolerable except the one framed on Pakistan basis. Personally, I am of opinion that apparently [the] glittering goal of unity in one constitution-making body subject to general election is bound to create chaos which is sure to be termed, later on, as Indians' incapability for self-government. And what afterwards?

Therefore, my humble advice to you is not to accept any proposal but:

i. That there should be a separate constitution-making body for the Muslims which the Muslim majority alone shall be entitled to bring into being, and likewise there should be one or more bodies as our brethren may demand for themselves.
ii. That the provinces should not be given [the] option to make separate unions or dominions of their own; rather they should be constitutionally bound to exist as harmonious units of their respective centres only.
iii. That those centres, in order to flourish in freedom by full co-operation, should have a common parentage [*sic*] of one supreme power, which may be embodied either in a person or an assembly, you can better conceive.

I think the present scheme so far disclosed is no better than the one attractive but empty toy between two crying babies to indulge in [*sic*].

Yours sincerely,
Z. HODA

[1]Appendix II. 1, *JP*, I, Part II, 21-2.

3

H. Rahman & A. Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 917/64

CHITTAGONG,
2 April 1942

Sir,

We hope you have received our first Memorandum.[1] We have reasons to believe that you and your Working Committee have decided to reject[2] the Cripps Proposals because they are detrimental to the solidarity and vital interest of Muslim India. Here are a few grounds for the rejection of the scheme. We know that these arguments and many others have already occurred to you but yet we consider it our duty to bring to your notice the repercussions, produced in our minds here, of the Cripps Proposals. Again, we beg to be excused for the liberty taken. You are authorized to publish, in whole or in part, this or the previous Memorandum[3] without disclosing our names.

Long live Quaid-i-Azam!

We remain Sir,
Faithfully yours,
H. RAHMAN
A. AHMAD
Lecturers, Chittagong College

[1]Enclosure to No. 419, *JP*, XVII, 546-7.
[2]AIML Working Committee by its resolution of 11 April 1942 rejected Cripps Proposals. See Appendix II. 3, *JP*, I, Part II, 28-31.
[3]See F. 917/65-70, *QAP*. Not printed.

4

Bernard C. Allen Cook to M. A. Jinnah

F. 19/10

3 QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
2 April 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You said on the telephone this morning that press reports did

not give a clear picture of the method by which it was proposed that a province should decide to opt out of an Indian Union set up in accordance with the procedure laid down in His Majesty's Government's draft declaration. In reply, I am desired to say that the proposition which Sir Stafford Cripps put orally to yourself and the other leaders is:

> that a province should reach its decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution. If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent, the minority would have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population.

Sir Stafford has received no objections to this proposition from any quarter, but he does not propose that it should be formally announced in writing at present. If another method of achieving the same result was to be agreed to later between the leaders of Indian opinion, it could be substituted for his own, provided that it would achieve what is essential, namely to procure a genuine impression of the wishes of the majority of the provincial population, and provided also that it was administratively practicable.

Yours sincerely,
B.C.A. COOK
ICS
Viceroy's Reforms Secretariat

5

M. A. Jagirdar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 850/26

KOKANIPURA,
NASIK,
2 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On 9th March, I wrote you a letter[1] regarding the All India Radio and Urdu language. What has prompted me to write this second letter to you is the language of the war review last night. I find that the All India Radio is determined on its anti-Urdu policy. I request you to redress the grievance either in the Legislative Assembly or at the annual session of the [Muslim] League or through correspondence with the department concerned. I think

that the correspondence method is better. However, you are free to adopt any method you think best.

Secondly, some of the utterances of the responsible English gentlemen about Palestine have caused a stir in the Muslim circles. It would be better if the British Govt. is warned about Palestine[2] policy through a resolution.

Hoping to be favoured,

Yours truly,
M. A. JAGIRDAR

[1]Not traced.
[2]The AIML had all along been a supporter of the Arab cause in Palestine. See No. 156, *JP*, XV, 230-1, Resolution No. 2.

6

K. M. Salim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 964/7-8

MUSLIM HOSTEL,
ALLAHABAD,
3 April 1942

Quaid-i-Azam,

The Muslim students of the University of Allahabad humbly request you to kindly hoist the Muslim League flag at the Senate Hall on 5th April at 7 a.m.

Permit me to tell you, Quaid-i-Azam, that it is for the first time in the history of the University that the Muslim League flag is going to be hoisted. Our joy, Quaid-i-Azam, knows no bounds.

This permission of hoisting the flag is the result of a very long and bitter struggle with the authorities. It is now after four years of perseverance and toil that God Almighty has crowned our efforts with success. Thank God, our unswerving faith [has] endowed us with indomitable spirit and perseverance.

I hope you will kindly concede to this heartfelt request of the Muslim youth.

Yours obediently,
K. M. SALIM
President,
Muslim Students of Allahabad University

7

Kamlesh Mall to M. A. Jinnah

F. 899/26

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY,
3 April 1942

Dear Sir,

I have come to know from the *Leader*[1] of this morning that you are coming to the University to hoist the Muslim League flag. Therefore, I point out to you, Sir, that so far as the University is concerned, no communal flag has been ever hoisted on the University buildings. This step of the Muslim students is being resented by other students who are in the majority in the University. They are prepared to resist the hoisting of a communal flag as it is against the very fundamentals of the purpose of education.

I have respect for you and, therefore, I appeal to you not to come to the University because this might involve a breach of peace among the students.

You people have got ample scope to fight for your rights outside. For God's sake, kindly do not let the spirit [*sic*] come to this educational institution. I hope you will not disregard my appeal.

A reply will oblige,

Yours truly,
KAMLESH MALL
President,
Allahabad University Union

[1]Not traced but see No. 6.

8

Presidential Address by M. A. Jinnah at the Twenty-Ninth Annual Session of the All India Muslim League

F. 809/291 & 298-9

ALLAHABAD,
4 April 1942

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you very sincerely for the great reception that you gave

me at the station. I am proud to see that every month, every year, the Muslim League is going forward by leaps and bounds. I also thank the All India Muslim League that they have honoured me by electing me as President for this year. I congratulate all the workers and office-bearers who have toiled and worked from day to day for the last three months in making all these preparations that we see here. Let me tell you that as we are growing in our strength we are growing in our power of organising and managing our affairs better and better every day.

Now I wish to tell you and want to pick up the thread since we met at Madras last year in our annual session. At Madras we defined our policy, we defined our ideology, we defined our programme, and I appeal to every one of you kindly to read that speech of mine again and study it—not only study it but I appeal to every one of you that you should make some beginning in one direction or other with regard to that programme and the policy that we have laid down. I do not want to go on repeating things. There was a time when it was necessary to repeat things to make our people and those who opposed us to understand us. The propaganda of the League and the literature and the meetings and conferences that are being held throughout India, our press and even our opponents' press have enlightened us now as to what the real issues are before us. (Hear, hear).

Now let us talk less and work more. Not only that; but the grave international situation and the war that is now on our very borders and almost at our gates—that must force us to realise how grave the danger is in front of us and we do not know what is going to happen. But, ladies and gentlemen, I must earnestly appeal to you—Musalmans, organise yourself to meet all eventualities whatever may happen. (Hear, hear). These are obvious truths that I am telling you and I really don't think that now I should go on labouring the point because, in my judgment, to pick up the analogy, you are no longer infants but you have reached the age of discretion, and can act accordingly. On that point I shall say no more.

CRIPPS MISSION

I know that the uppermost subject which is today not only engaging the attention of all India but is also engaging the attention of the whole world, is the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of His Majesty's Government. You have been following it from day to day. Now I want to tell you as far as it is possible for me, and explain to you as shortly as I can this draft declaration of proposals. Mark the

words that it is a draft declaration. These are proposals which have emanated from His Majesty's Government, and they have come to the conclusion that they are 'just and final.' Let us examine them and let us understand them. I am not going into details. I am going to pick up the main points.

The main points that emerge from this document are, first the object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other dominions by common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect to its domestic or external affairs. Here there may be some doubts as to the functions and the powers. There are three things—first status, then comes power and finally functions. But that is a matter which will have to be considered when we come to the signing of a treaty or treaties with one dominion or two dominions or more.

The next point that emerges is this. Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described hereafter as elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India. So we shall have an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution. I shall deal with it when I come to the clause which lays down how that constitution-making body will be set up and how it will be composed.

Third, there is a provision for the participation of the Indian States.

Fourth, His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed. But subject to this there are exceptions.

EXCEPTION

The first exception is the right of any British Indian province that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. That is to say, the constitution-making body when it completes the framing of the constitution and when that constitution, so framed, emerges from the deliberations of the constitution-making body which will be, remember, a sovereign body, then it would be open for any province or provinces to say we are not in agreement with this constitution and, therefore, we are not prepared to accede to this constitution. But the most vital point and the most important of all the points, so far as we are concerned particularly, is as to how that province or provinces will express their will and exercise their right. But that is not in the document. But a suggestion has been thrown out by Sir Stafford Cripps and the

suggestion is that if a province, in the Legislative Assembly of the province, is in favour of accession by sixty per cent votes, then it will be an end of it. It means that the province is bound to accede. But if they get fifty-nine per cent votes and the minority happens to be forty-one per cent then there will be a plebiscite of the people of the province. Then, of course, the non-acceding provinces can, among themselves, by the same process, form another Union or a Dominion or any single province may stand by itself as a dominion. That is the corollary.

Then comes the provision for treaty—the treaty or treaties which will have to be signed and made with the dominion or dominions that may be set up as well as with the Indian States acceding or not acceding.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING

I told you that I would refer to the actual clauses of the proposals and how the constitution-making body will be set up or formed, and the provision is this. Immediately upon the end of hostilities the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless leaders of the principal communities agree to some other machinery before the end of the hostilities. So at the end of the hostilities the constitution-making body will be composed by this method: "Immediately upon the results being known of the provincial elections which would be necessary at the end of the hostilities, the entire membership of the lower houses of all provincial legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to elect the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college." Therefore, I think, you understand that all the members of the Assemblies of eleven provinces will meet together as one single electoral college and they will be roughly sixteen hundred members and they will be entitled to elect one-tenth, which means, in all, one hundred and sixty members by means of proportional representation. That is the constitution-making body.

After that we come to the Indian States who will be invited to send their representatives and the number will be according to their population. But how they will be chosen it is not mentioned at all in this document—whether by nomination or some method of election. Now gentlemen, this is the document so far as the future is concerned.

THE PRESENT

But then there is a provision for the present also and that provision is this. While during the critical period which now faces India and until

the new constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India, they desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India. The important words, ladies and gentlemen, are that the *responsibility for the defence of India will be that of His Majesty's Government and the leaders of the principal sections of Indian people will be invited in the counsels of their country.*

This was the original wording but later on it was modified in this way. 'During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution might be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort.' But this is the change, in wording:

'The task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the cooperation of the people of India.' Then they say that His Majesty's Government desire to invite the effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections in the counsels of their country.

ONE UNION

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the document and let us put it in a few words what it means and how I understand it. It means, whatever may be the constitutional implications of the status and the powers of the dominion or the dominions that may be set up, the main objective is the creation of a new Indian Union. We start with that. For that purpose a constitution-making body will be set up which will be the sovereign body. A sovereign body will start—and to use the language of Sir Stafford Cripps—with a preference for an All-India Union.

Think what will be the composition of that body. The composition of that body would be that first of all it will be elected from amongst the members of the eleven Assemblies meeting together as one [electoral] college and by means of proportional representation, *not separate electorates*. When that body is found, I cannot conceive how they can come to any other conclusion except the Union; and that is why it is so composed.

But after the constitution-making body has framed its constitution by a bare majority it is true that any single province or provinces

who do not approve of that constitution are given a chance to go through another test which I shall explain hereafter. But remember that, at the most, Musalmans even by separate electorates will not be more than 25 per cent; but by the system of proportional representation they might be less in number in the constitution-making body. So the overwhelming majority will be non-Muslim and, therefore, the probabilities are contemplated that the constitution may by a majority be in favour of only one Union.

The other point which is not there is: Will the decision of this constitution-making body be taken by a bare majority or not? Reading that document, as I do, clearly it cannot be anything else because it is the accepted rule of every document that when we want to lay down a specific majority we state so. If you do not state so, then it means the rule of a bare majority. For instance, in our own constitution we have the clause that our constitution cannot be changed except by a majority of two-thirds. So that is the constitution-making body. If I may make a comment on this a little, Mr. Gandhi will come to this constitution-making body with a dead certainty of getting a constitution which will emerge for an All-India Union.

CONSOLATION

Now when that is done, the province or provinces who would feel unhappy are given the consolation—'no, no, you have yet another chance before you are killed.' (Laughter). And what is that chance? The chance is this—and it is not in the document but a suggestion of Sir Stafford Cripps—of course, various suggestions have been made; we shall also make our suggestions when the time comes; but at present he has made a suggestion. He says, look here, if forty-one per cent are against it then a plebiscite. Whose plebiscite? Of course, the plebiscite of the province.

Whose self-determination do you want to ascertain? Self-determination of the two nations put together or one nation alone? (Hear, hear). The answer is, of course, of both together.

That is another chance, and if you get the plebiscite in your favour then, at least, you will escape the slaughter house before our *qurbani* is made. (Laughter). This is the point of a most vital character so far as Muslim India is concerned.

DISAPPOINTMENT

Then with regard to the present, gentlemen, I can tell you nothing except what is contained in this document because it entirely depends on as to what will be the final picture and I cannot throw any light on it. I have explained to you, and I hope correctly, and if I am not

correct I shall certainly stand corrected by Sir Stafford Cripps or any body else. After explaining the draft declaration of the proposals I think I am echoing your feelings when I say that the Musalmans feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised. (Hear, hear).

Any attempt to solve the problem of India by the process of evading the real issues and by over-emphasising the territorial entity of the provinces which are mere accidents of British policy and administrative divisions is fundamentally wrong. (Hear). Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of national self-determination is unequivocally recognised. (Hear, hear).

It must be realised that India was never a country or a nation. India's problem is international in this sub-continent and differences—cultural, social, political and economic—are so fundamental that they cannot be covered up, concealed or confused but must be handled by all as realists.

The alleged power of the minority in the matter of secession suggested in the document is illusory as Hindu India will dominate the decision in favour of one All-India Union in all the provinces and the Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab will be at the mercy of the Hindu minority in those provinces who will exert themselves to the fullest extent and length for keeping the Musalmans tied to the chariot wheel of Hindudom. Thus the Musalmans will be doomed to subjection in all the provinces. (Hear, hear).

We cannot barter away with our consent the future for the present while fully realising the danger of foreign aggression and notwithstanding all our anxieties to defend India and to help the prosecution of want. To do [so] will be a crime on our part to posterity and generations of hundred millions of Muslim India to come. (Hear, hear).

SKELETON

As regards the proposals relating to the immediate adjustments in the central and provincial governments which we are told must be considered within the framework of the existing constitution, it is difficult to gather from the document anything definite and concrete, for, it must necessarily depend upon the full picture when it is disclosed and it is not known to us, nor is it before us yet. The document is a bare skeleton of the proposals and obviously requires a lot of filling in and adjusting before it can be made acceptable and it is one of those cases when the details will become more vital than the bare statement of certain principles.

It has roused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions,

specially with reference to the Pakistan scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India. (Hear, hear). We will, therefore, endeavour that the principle of Pakistan, which finds only veiled recognition in the document, should be conceded in unequivocal terms and until we know how the right of Musalmans to keep out or accede thereto is defined to our satisfaction, we do not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated as it was after the last war (hear, hear) after we have paid for the promises in blood, money and material.

AGAINST US

The document shows that Pakistan is treated as a remote possibility and that a definite preference for a new Indian Union which is the main objective and suggestions and the rule of procedure and the process indicated in the document and the interviews and explanations of Sir Stafford Cripps, so far, are against us, and we are called upon to play the game with loaded dice.

Our Working Committee is engaged, as you know, since the 27th of March in the task of most careful and searching examination of these proposals. I trust that in order to give real effect to the principles of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination His Majesty's Government and Sir Stafford Cripps will not hesitate and make the necessary adjustments on their behalf. Let us hope that there will emerge out of these negotiations a settlement that will be just, honourable and finally acceptable to all. (Loud applause).

9

S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/118

PRIVATE

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
5 April 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Personally I am organizing Musalmans and arming them for facing internal troubles. This I am doing very secretly and [by keeping] aloof from public activities. I think organization on such a secret line is the only desirable and possible way at present, and for this, secret and independent agents with sufficient funds should be appointed at every centre. But this must be kept aloof [*sic*]

from local Muslim League organizations as then secrecy and effectiveness will not be maintained. I place this aspect of the question for your consideration.

Owing to [a] pressing message in this connection, I am leaving tonight for Bihar. I will reach Delhi by 9th; but if I am detained for this most pressing need of the hour, I give my humble opinion regarding Cripps Proposals for your information.

a. If there is a breakdown between [the] Congress and Sir Stafford [Cripps] and he [Cripps] is willing to accept our demands, I think we should take the risk of co-operating with the Govt. as it will give us a chance to organize and arm our people and some Hindu-Adibasi non-Brahmins etc. will surely unite with us.
b. Plebiscite before joining the constitution-making body is not advisable. When Sir Stafford explained that [the] constitution-making body can even decide on independence in spite of the object being allegiance to the Crown, I think Musalmans can press for more than one Indian Union in the constitution-making body and if we fail, as we will, we will have [a] definite issue to appeal to the Musalmans for plebiscite. This appeal will be greatly effective and Musalmans will not be carried away or duped by our enemies or their tools.
c. I will not care whether Muslim representatives to [the] constitution-making body are elected by separate electorate or on proportional basis.

If the sittings of the Working Committee are expected to continue for some days and if my presence is thought necessary, I may kindly be wired to reach [*last line missing*].

Yours,
LATIFUR RAHMAN
President,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

10

Resolutions Passed by All India Muslim League at the Twenty-Ninth Annual Session

AFM 255/84-9

[ALLAHABAD,
6 April 1942]

RESOLUTION NO. 1

This session of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise[1] of Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and Member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Muslim nation in particular and conveys its heart-felt condolences and sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Resolved that the President be authorized till the next session to take every step or action as he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League as he deems proper provided that they are consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All India Muslim League.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

This session resolves that a committee be appointed by the President to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of Musalmans in consultation with the provincial Leagues and to submit a weekly report to the President of the steps taken to carry out the above mentioned objects.[2]

RESOLUTION NO. 4

Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan be elected as Honorary Secretary and Raja Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan Sahib of Mahmudabad as Honorary Treasurer of the All India Muslim League for the next term and the election of the two Joint Secretaries be entrusted to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

RESOLUTION NO. 5

This session expresses its heartfelt sympathies with the Indian nationals who had settled down in Java, Burma, Malaya and Singapore and who have had to lose their all [belongings] and sailed homewards

in most tragic circumstances in overcrowded and under-provisioned ships or trailed backwards across forests and mountains foodless and without shelters for weeks on end.

This session condemns the action of those responsible for the shameful discrimination against Indian nationals in the matter of accommodation, route facilities, food and water, and demands of the Government of India to take immediate and effective steps to save the lives of thousands of our helpless and hapless compatriots still in the inhospitable land of Burma by evacuating them at the earliest possible moment and placing at their disposal every available means of transportation and every possible facility.

This session draws the attention of the Government of India to the inadequate and completely worthless arrangements so far made by it for giving relief and succour to the Indian evacuees who are reaching Chittagong, Imphal and Madras coastal parts, amongst other places, in several thousands daily, penniless and foodless.

This session calls upon the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues to render every possible assistance to the unfortunate evacuees in their great distress.

RESOLUTION NO. 6

This session of the All India Muslim League places on record its sense of relief and gratitude for the timely action of the President in expelling from the membership of the Muslim League, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq who has completely forfeited the confidence of Musalmans by his repeated betrayal of their cause generally in India and particularly in Bengal.

RESOLUTION NO. 7

Resolved that the following amendment be made in the constitution and rules of the All India Muslim League.

In section 11 (2) VIII figure 5 be substituted by the figure 10.

RESOLUTION NO. 8

This session of the All India Muslim League demands that the province of British Baluchistan be forthwith elevated to the same constitutional level as the other Indian provinces.

RESOLUTION NO. 9

This session draws the attention of the Government of India to the grave situation that has been created in the country due to grain shortage particularly of wheat, paddy and *dal*, and requests the government to take immediate steps for the conservation of grain and other foodstuffs for the peoples of India.

RESOLUTION NO. 10

This session of the All India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to remove all restrictions imposed upon Allama Mashriqi and also lift the ban on the Khaksar movement and release unconditionally all the Khaksar prisoners.

RESOLUTION NO. 11

This session of the All India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to review and rescind the order of internment in a distant province passed against Nawabzada Abdul Rahman Khan Bugti of Baluchistan in view of the fact that there has been no judicial inquiry or finding establishing the justification of the said order and in the absence of such a position the step taken against him seems to be arbitrary, unjust and one capable of terrorizing and demoralizing the general Muslim population of that Province.

[1]Nawab of Mamdot had expired on Sunday, 8 March 1942 due to heart failure.
[2]See Annex regarding appointment of the committee.

Annex
Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F. 809/302

[NEW DELHI
12 April 1942][1]

In pursuance of the Resolution passed by the sessions of the All India Muslim League, at Allahabad on the 6th of April, 1942,[2] authorising me to appoint a committee for the purpose of taking all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of the Musalmans, I have appointed a committee consisting of:

Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (Chairman) [and Members:]
Sir Nazimuddin,
Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and
Qazi Mohammad Isa.

The committee will start work forthwith and get into touch with the provincial organisations of the various provinces and undertake an extensive tour of the country, and after acquainting themselves with the local conditions, concert measures with a view to maintain[ing] peace and tranquillity in the face of grave danger to the country and render[ing] all assistance to the suffering and the helpless.

I appeal to every Musalman man or woman to extend the fullest co-operation and help to this Civil Defence Committee of the All

India Muslim League to enable it to discharge its duties effectively.

[1]Muhammad Ali Siddiqui, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: A Chronology*, Karachi, 1996, 247.
[2]No. 10, Resolution No. 3.

11

P. Narasimham to M. A. Jinnah

F. 184/2

771 ANANDA BHAWAN,
PARSI COLONY,
DADAR, BOMBAY,
6 April 1942

Dear Sir,

PAKISTAN

I send you herewith a copy of my memorandum on the above subject submitted to the Secretary,[1] All India Congress. I have endeavoured to study the problem from the point of view of power-politics. I trust I have not misrepresented.

I request you not to mention me, should it meet with your approval. This request is not due to any fear but because I do not like any publicity.

If you find it convenient, you may acknowledge its receipt.

Yours respectfully,
P. NARASIMHAM

[1]J. B. Kripalani.

Enclosure
Memorandum on Pakistan

F. 184/3-14
[*Extract*]

The Muslim League scheme for dividing India cannot be rejected on the grounds that it is unworkable, that it is fundamentally unsound, that it has not the support of history that the price to be paid for such merits as it possesses is far too high and that there are grave defects to be set against the supposed merits.

As the historical retrospect helps to show, India was never a unitary state except under the British and whatever unity there was in ancient

and medieval times, it was for brief periods and depended largely on the personality of the ruler. So long as he was strong, the outlying provinces were welded into a single whole but the moment that strong hand was withdrawn, the outlying provinces revolted and established independence.

No amount of wishful thinking will eliminate Muslims from India. They are there and we have to work out a way of living with them which will preserve us and our children from the communal riots which have been our bane. The truth is nature and geographical facts have placed Muslims in key places in India. The great task of statesmanship is to secure the willing cooperation of the Muslims in the economic and political reconstruction of India on the basis of recognition of their rights and interests.

The Muslim attitude towards Congress is one of hostility. This hostility is not one of [an] instinctive bad-will [*sic* for ill-will] between tiger and ox or man and man but arises from the necessities of their needs and conditions. Not all their hostility springs from the instinct of pugnacity or from the joy of giving battle.

The Muslims at their homes are well disposed. They think that a separate homeland will remedy the wrongs, imaginary they may seem to us. Whatever the Congress did when they were in power, the Muslims viewed with suspicion and thought and still think that the Congress provided these facilities for advertising their own virtues namely that the interests of the minorities were safe in their hands. The Muslims opposed the Vidya Mandir and other schemes of the Congress not on their merits but because they feared that by education and propaganda the love of independence in the desire for a separate state can be weakened to an extent to which at present no limits are known. The forces which conspire to make uniformity in modern communities possible namely schools, newspapers, cinema and radio are not and cannot be controlled by them.

To make the Muslims repudiate the Muslim League ideology they should be made to feel that in the free united India their rights without which creative life is impossible would be protected and if their rights are encroached upon, they can invoke necessary sanctions. The question naturally uppermost in the minds of the Muslims is who will enforce the sanctions? Can they rely upon us to enforce the sanctions? A third party like Great Britain may be asked to arbitrate between the conflicting interests and in the last resort may even impose a settlement where none can be reached by agreement. This will antagonize one of the parties who will not rest content till the award is revised. This is illustrated by the history of the agitation for a

revision of the Communal Award in Bengal.

It seems difficult to escape the conclusion that refusal of the demand of the Muslims for a separate state would be fatal. If we deny it, we shall run the risk of impairing the growth of cordial relations between the two great communities upon the continuance of which the prospect of a satisfactory and durable peace in India so largely depends. The refusal to recognize the Muslim League as the sole body representing Muslim interests in the country would wreck all chances of peaceful settlement.

Must we be tied for ever to the unitary idea which is largely the gift of the British? Must we base our policies upon the clamours of pressure groups? Must we forswear for ever the historical truth that India was never won? Must we write ourselves off as a country that cannot grapple [with] this problem?

It will of course, be immediately objected that if Muslims are put in a key position they will be strong enough once again to throw the rest of India into chaos in another bid for Indian domination by joining with their coreligionists. As I have already said the fundamental truth is that it is not we but nature [which] has put Muslims in key places in India. These fears are groundless. It is assumed that we are a decadent and emaciated people and that it is to the interest of the Muslims to join their coreligionists abroad to overrun India. History shows that Muslims in India fought their coreligionists here as well as abroad.

[P. NARASIMHAM]

12

Bhagwan Das Kaviraj to M. A. Jinnah

F. 181/14

SHARDHANAND BAZAR,
DELHI,
7 April 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall be glad if you can spare your valuable time to discuss the scheme of Pakistan which is attracting the Indian nation and particularly the Hindu backward communities of India. My President, Dr. [Ribhu Deva] Brahmacharia, had a talk with you at your bungalow on the 7th April, 1939, in New Delhi. And now I

wish to see [you] along with him about a very serious problem of the country which has been created by you and the members of the Muslim League; the scheme is a very important one and it has attracted a very great man of international fame, I mean Sir Stafford Cripps, who is here to discuss the problem with you and other leaders of the country. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the President of All India Hindu Mahasabha, who is here, has also discussed the same with Sir Cripps and the scheme has been rejected[1] in toto by him.

In such circumstances, I wish to discuss the same scheme which is attracting the attention of the whole country and my suggestion would be so [*sic* for such] as to [help] bring unity in the country amongst the two communities of India. The discussion would last for a very short time and I hope you would be pleased to send us a letter and fix a time for [the] purpose stated above, and for this I shall be much obliged.

Yours very truly,
BHAGWAN DAS
Secretary,
All India Hindu Backward Classes League

[1]See No. 514, *TP*, I, 627-9.

13

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/236

JINNAH CHAMAN,
ALLAHABAD,
7 April 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to offer you the following observations[1] for your consideration. I am sorry I could not have it typed. I do hope you will have it typed. Please forward one copy [each] of the matter to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Mr. Latifur Rahman.

I had discussions with [a] large number of delegates from every part of India and I found that they were all thinking on identical lines. They were confident to undertake the responsibility of the defence of India singly provided you are satisfied with the transference of power.

One thing which struck me most was that there was unanimity among the Muslims of every district and province on the point that try[ing] to win over the Congress (which means the body of *banias* and Brahmins) is to try for an impossible and most dangerous task as it [Congress] has neither the will nor the capacity to fight Japan, and the only result of handing over India's Government to the Congress at this late hour will be to pave the way for handing over India to Japan and court disaster for the cause of the Allies.

If you think it proper, you can forward a copy [each] of this note to Sir Stafford Cripps and the Viceroy with such modifications as you [may] like. It may be regarded as a 'representative' voice of the general feeling among the martial classes of India.

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]See F. 204/224-35, *QAP*. Not printed.

14

A. Hai Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 797/1-2

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
7 April 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Explaining the War Cabinet's draft declaration in your presidential address[1] you are reported to have said:

> The composition of the constitution-making body would be that first of all it will be elected from amongst the members of the eleven [provincial] assemblies meeting together as one [electoral] college and by proportional representation, not separate electorates.

Thus you seem to think that the proposals contemplate the election of the constitution-making body from amongst the members of the assemblies. This is, I think, a usual practice. But the elucidation given by Sir S. Cripps in the press conference[2] as reported in the *Times of India* of 31.3.1942 is that 'the ten per cent provincial legislative delegates meant to compose the constitution-making body need not be confined to the members of the provincial legislatures but anyone qualified to be a member of such a body.'

This will be still more disastrous. Will it not be equally good to allow Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Savarkar to nominate, as Muslim representatives,

any Muslims who may be willing to sell their souls to the devil?[3] The procedure suggested by Sir S. Cripps will also produce the same result, as in the latter case it will lie with the Hindu majority in the legislative assemblies to elect, from outside or inside the assemblies, any bogus Musalmans as Muslim representatives who will be willing to betray the Muslim cause for something they [may] get for themselves.

Yours sincerely,
A. HAI KHAN

[1]No. 8.
[2]See No. 440 *TP*, I, 537-51 for proceedings. For a press report see Annex.
[3]Refers to Faust or Faustus who, in the medieval German legend, sold his soul to the Devil, Mephistopheles, in return for power and wisdom. Goethe, the eminent German poet, among others, wrote about the legend.

Annex
Report on R. Stafford Cripps' Press Conference[1]

F. 809/279

NEW DELHI,
29 March 1942

The scheme of Dominion self-government with the right of secession and its implementation by a Convention during the period of the war except for the fact that responsibility for the defence of India will be partly that of the British and partly of the Indian Government was clearly explained on Sunday evening [29 March 1942] by Sir Stafford Cripps at a Press Conference at Delhi lasting two hours. While removing all doubts and answering all questions, he made it clear that "this document is not identical with that with which I came; it has been altered as a result of my talks with leaders, but it is a final document at this stage and both parts of the document dealing with future policy and immediate changes stand or fall together. If it is rejected there shall be no further scheme before the end of the war."

He wished all to deal with the document with the "deep seriousness and responsibility which it deserves for it is difficult to imagine a more weighty issue than this upon which the future, the happiness and the freedom of 350 million people may well depend." Sir Stafford Cripps declared that here was the British Government's answer to those who had alleged that British authority stood in the way of India's self-government.

Two material changes have been made in the document. Firstly, it

is in regard to defence. The original draft stated that "during the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed full responsibility for the defence of India must be borne by His Majesty's Government." The final document published today states: "During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India." This change has been made apparently to meet the Congress point of view.

The second change: It originally stated that the British Government would be prepared to agree upon analogous new constitutional arrangements with non-acceding provinces and the revised draft states: "With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire; His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down." Sir Stafford maintained that his proposals did not concede Pakistan and if they did they did no more than what Congress leaders themselves had conceded, namely, the possibility of Pakistan.

RIGHT TO SECEDE

Briefly put, the points which emerged out of Sir Stafford's replies at the conference may be stated as follows: The Indian Union will have the right to secede from the Commonwealth and give up allegiance to the Crown. It will have the right to enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world. Action will be taken on the "cessation of hostilities," which term has been chosen in preference to the "end of the war" in order to provide for the earliest action.

All party leaders he had talked to had agreed that framing of the constitution could not be undertaken while hostilities were on. Before any province might secede he has suggested that if the vote in favour of secession was not by a 60 per cent majority it would be open to the minority to demand that the issue of secession be submitted to a plebiscite of all the people of the province whose majority verdict, by a bare majority, would prevail.

When the self-governing Dominion is formed there will be no Imperial troops in India. Any Indian State which joins the Union will remove itself from the sphere of the paramount power. Such States as do not join the Union will remain in relation with the paramount

power and troops of the paramount power will not be maintained in territory of the Union but will be maintained either outside India or in the territory of some Indian States by agreement with such States. The scheme removes the suspicion that the British Government were relying upon differences between Indians and leaves it entirely to Indians to decide their own scheme of government. One or more Unions formed will have identical powers as Dominions.

SERVICE SAFEGUARDS

There will be no protection for British capital or commercial interests in India, while responsibility for safeguards regarding the services will be assumed by the British Government. The treaty between the British Government and the Indian Union will merely provide for protection of racial and religious minorities on the lines of the scheme adumbrated by the League of Nations. The British Government will not maintain any force to ensure fulfilment of the treaty but will depend on normal diplomatic methods to secure its fulfilment. It is the desire of the British Government that all or as many of the States as possible should join the Indian Union. The electoral college will consist of members of the provincial lower houses only and will not include the Central Legislature, but 10 per cent of provincial legislative delegates for the constitution-making body need not be confined to members of the provincial legislature but may be anyone qualified to be a member of such a body. The interim arrangement aims at giving effort to the scheme of self-government by a Convention and the Government of India Act will be amended only to remove the provision requiring service qualification for three members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Thus the purpose of the document is to put immediate and effective power into the hands of Indian leaders except for defence. Sir Stafford Cripps was emphatic that handing over political control and direction of defence in the midst of the war to the Indian Government would be fatal but the Indian Government would partly share responsibility for organizing defence and would have a voice in the British War Cabinet through its representative in the War Cabinet. If Indian leaders insisted on absolute control over defence before accepting the scheme then the scheme would fall through. He could not say whether recruitment and training of the Army would be the responsibility of the Indian Government as these were matters still under discussion. He indicated that if for instance, a scorched earth policy were to be considered, a large number of items under this head would be the responsibility of the Indian Government and decision for some items would remain with the British defence authority.

Sir Stafford made it clear that he would have been most happy if he had had to provide for only one Indian Union, but proposals had to be framed to bring in all elements.

Sir Stafford Cripps said it would be open to the Indian Union to have or not to have a Governor-General. The constitution-making body would be the sovereign body and if certain provinces seceded and Indian States did not join after the Union constitution had been drawn up with their consultation it would be open to the Indian Union to change its constitution to suit its requirements. He made it clear that the peoples of Indian States would not be represented on the constitution-making body because they must take facts as they were and deal with governments as they existed in Indian States and ask such governments to nominate their representatives.

[1]The *Dawn*, 5 April 1942.

15

R. Stafford Cripps to M. A. Jinnah

F. 490/12-3

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

3 QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
7 April 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since I saw you last [on 28 March[1]] I have consulted His Majesty's Government as to what further step could be taken in order to meet the criticism that under clause (e)[2] of the draft declaration, the defence of India would not fall to be administered by a representative India. Although it is impossible to make any change in the existing Constitution during the period of hostilities, His Majesty's Government are anxious to give representative Indians the maximum possible participation in the government during that period in accordance with the principle laid down in clause (e) of the draft declaration.

I have explained to you the technical difficulties with regard to the position of the Commander-in-Chief and will not here reiterate them.

I have also pointed out that all those main aspects of the defence of India which at present fall under the care of other members of the Executive (e.g. Civil Defence, Supply, Home Affairs, Communications, etc., etc.) will, if the scheme is accepted, be administered by representative

members in the new national government.

His Majesty's Government are, however, anxious to do their utmost to meet the wishes of the Indian people and to demonstrate their complete trust in the co-operative effort of the two peoples, British and Indian, which they hope may reinforce the defence of India.

They also appreciate the force of the arguments that have been put forward as to the necessities of an effective appeal to the Indian peoples for their own defence.

I am, therefore, authorized to propose, as a way out of the present difficulties, that:

a. The Commander-in-Chief should retain a seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council as War Member and should retain his full control over all the war activities of the armed forces in India, subject to the control of His Majesty's Government and the War Cabinet, upon which body a representative Indian should sit with equal powers in all matters relating to the defence of India. Membership of the Pacific Council would likewise be offered to a representative Indian.
b. An Indian representative member would be added to the Viceroy's Executive [Council], who would take over those sections of the Department of Defence which can organizationally be separated immediately from the Commander-in-Chief's War Department and which are specified under head (I)[3] of the annexure. In addition, this member would take over the Defence Co-ordination Department, which is at present directly under the Viceroy, and certain other important functions of the Government of India which are directly related to Defence and which do not fall under any of the other existing departments and which are specified under head (II)[4] of the annexure.

His Majesty's Government very much hope, as I personally hope, that this arrangement will enable the proposals to meet with that measure of acceptance which will make it possible for His Excellency the Viceroy to embark forthwith upon the task of forming the new national government in consultation with the leaders[5] of Indian opinion.

Yours sincerely,
STAFFORD CRIPPS

[1]See No. 413, *TP*, I, 512.
[2]See Appendix II. 1 & 2, *JP*, I, Part II, 21-8.
[3]See Annex I.
[4]See Annex II.
[5]A similar letter was sent to Congress President, Abul Kalam Azad. See No. 543, *TP*, I, 683-4.

Annex I

Matters now dealt with in the Defence Department which would be transferred to a Defence Co-ordination Department:

(a) Public relations.
(b) Demobilisation and post war reconstruction.
(c) Petroleum officer whose functions are to calculate the requirements of and make provision for all petroleum products required for the Army, Navy and Air Force, and for the civil departments, including storage and distribution.
(d) Indian representation on the Eastern Group Supply Council.
(e) Amenities for and welfare of troops and their dependants including Indian soldiers' boards.
(f) All canteen organisations.
(g) Certain non-technical educational institutions, e.g., Lawrence schools, K.G.R.I.M. schools, and the Prince of Wales's Royal Indian Military College.
(h) Stationery, printing and forms for the Army.
(i) Reception, accommodation, and social arrangements for all foreign missions, representatives, and offices.

Annex II

In addition the Defence Co-ordination Department would take over many major questions bearing directly on defence but difficult to locate in any particular existing departments; examples are denial policy, evacuation from threatened areas, signals co-ordination, economic warfare.

16

R. Stafford Cripps to M. A. Jinnah

F. 490/14

3 QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
9 April 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your note[1] of last night giving me the alternative suggestion as to the determination upon non-accession by the provinces.

I have, as you asked me to do, considered the matter carefully, but it is quite impossible for me to accept it for the following reason:

You suggest that in any province where there is a Muslim majority, the plebiscite should be of that majority only and the decision should bind the whole provincial population, Musalman and other.

If you apply this to a hypothetical case in which there is a Muslim population of 55 per cent with 45 per cent of other communities, then, according to your suggestion, the 55 per cent alone would take part in the plebiscite.

A clear majority of those voting in the plebiscite would be 28 per cent of the total population and they could determine that issue for the whole province.

In other words, 28 per cent of the whole population could compel 72 per cent to act against their own wishes. This is an obvious impossibility as I am sure you will recognise.

Yours sincerely,
STAFFORD CRIPPS

[1]Not traced but see para 3 infra.

17

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 344/41-2

ABBOTTABAD,
11 April 1942

Arrived here yesterday[1] visited Kazaks Camp their leaders with Ghulam Hussain, Secretary, Muslim League, Hazara. Ascertained all facts. Have also seen [Major Bedi,] Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, other officers concerned. Getting situation improved. Imperative that Kazaks settled permanently somewhere soon. Only alternative dispersal in batches which Govt. here favours. Writing fully from Lahore.

RASHID ALI KHAN

[1]Following AIML Council resolution on Kazaks, Rashid Ali Khan had met the immigrants in March 1942 at Muzaffarabad in Kashmir as a member of the League deputation. He again visited their camp in Hazara district after they had been moved there. See Annex and also F. 809/334, *QAP*. Not printed.

Annex
Extract from Proceedings of AIML Council

AFM 285/99

[DELHI,
22 February 1942]

RESOLUTION NO. 5

This Council of the All India Muslim League views with great concern and sympathy the question of the Muslim Kazaks who have come into India from Soviet Russia and the great hardship and privations they have suffered owing to lack of food, shelter and sympathy. This Council requests the Government of India to make proper arrangement and provision for the welfare of these Kazaks and find ways and means to allow them to settle peacefully in some part of north west India.

18

Philip de Mello to M. A. Jinnah

F. 939/9

CARLISLE,
ENGLAND,
11 April 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Although you do not know me, I am compelled for patriotic reasons to write to you as the only person who can save the situation and raise the defence of India to the maximum with[in] [the] least time. The Congress has refused[1] the terms of settlement. This is no time to comment on the merit of this refusal at the present juncture. I should suggest that it is on your shoulders that you get together all other parties besides the Congress to defend India in the shortest time to maximum intensity and to leave aside all party feelings for the present by such methods as local Village Councils, which send representatives to District Councils, which in turn send representatives to Area Councils, which in turn send representatives to Presidency Council, and so on. This procedure will reduce majority and minority rule to a minimum and will create a better feeling amongst the people with the proviso that the majority or minority will not enact any measure to the

detriment of others. These things can be thought out at leisure but the most urgent need is to raise the defence of India in every way immediately with the British Government.

Yours sincerely,
PHILIP de MELLO

[1]Annex.

Annex
Resolution by the Congress Working Committee[1]

DELHI,
11 April 1942

DRAFT DECLARATION

The Working Committee have given their full and earnest consideration to the proposals made by the British War Cabinet in regard to India and the elucidation thereof by Sir Stafford Cripps. These proposals, which have been made at the very last hour because of the compulsion of events, have to be considered not only in relation to India's demand for independence, but more especially in the present grave war crisis, with a view to meeting effectively the perils and dangers that confront India and envelop the world.

The Congress has repeatedly stated, ever since the commencement of the War in September 1939, that the people of India would line themselves with the progressive forces of the world and assume full responsibility to face the new problems and shoulder the new burdens that had arisen, and it asked for the necessary conditions to be created to enable them to do so. An essential condition was the freedom of India, for only the realisation of present freedom could light the flame which would illumine millions of hearts and move them to action. At the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee, after the commencement of the War in the Pacific, it was stated that: 'Only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war.'

The British War Cabinet's new proposals relate principally to the future upon the cessation of hostilities. The Committee while recognising that self-determination for the people of India is accepted in principle in that uncertain future, regret that this is fettered and circumscribed and certain provisions have been introduced which

gravely imperil the development of a free and united nation and the establishment of a democratic State. Even the constitution-making body is so constituted that the people's right to self-determination is vitiated by the introduction of non-representative elements. The people of India have as a whole clearly demanded full independence and the Congress has repeatedly declared that no other status except that of independence for the whole of India could be agreed to or could meet the essential requirements of the present situation.

The Committee recognise that future independence may be implicit in the proposals but the accompanying provisions and restrictions are such that real freedom may well become an illusion. The complete ignoring of the ninety millions of the people of the Indian States and their treatment as commodities at the disposal of their rulers is a negation of both democracy and self-determination. While the representation of an Indian State in the constitution-making body is fixed on a population basis, the people of the State have no voice in choosing those representatives, nor are they to be consulted at any stage, while decisions vitally affecting them are being taken. Such States may in many ways become barriers to growth of Indian freedom, and enclaves where foreign authority still prevails and where the possibility of maintaining foreign armed forces has been stated to be a likely contingency, and a perpetual menace to the freedom of the people of the states as well as of the rest of India.

The acceptance before hand of the novel principle of non-accession for a province is also a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces, and which may well lead to further difficulties in the way of the Indian States merging themselves in the Indian Union. The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and extremely painful to contemplate. Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in the Indian Union against their declared and established will.

While recognising this principle, the Committee feel that every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and cooperative national life. The acceptance of the principle inevitably involves that no changes should be made which result in fresh problems being created and compulsion being exercised on other substantial groups within that area. Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible

autonomy within the Union, consistently with a strong national State. The proposal now made on the part of the British War Cabinet encourages and will lead to attempts at separation at the very inception of a union and thus create friction just when the utmost cooperation and goodwill are most needed. This proposal has been presumably made to meet a communal demand, but it will have other consequences also and lead politically reactionary and obscurantist groups among different communities to create trouble and divert public attention from the vital issues before the country.

Any proposal concerning the future of India must demand attention and scrutiny, but in today's grave crisis, it is the present that counts, and even proposals for the future are important in so far as they affect the present. The Committee have necessarily attached the greatest importance to this aspect of the question, and on this ultimately depends what advice they should give to those who look to them for guidance. For the present the British War Cabinet's proposals are vague and altogether incomplete, and it would appear that no vital changes in the present structure are contemplated. It has been made clear that the defence of India will in any event remain under British control. At any time defence is a vital subject; during war time it is all important and covers almost every sphere of life and administration. To take away defence from the sphere of responsibility at this stage is to reduce that responsibility to a farce and a nullity, and to make it perfectly clear that India is not going to be free in any way and her Government is not going to function as a free and independent government during the pendency of the war.

The Committee would repeat that an essential and fundamental pre-requisite for the assumption of responsibility by the Indian people in the present, is their realisation as a fact that they are free and are in charge of maintaining and defending their freedom. What is most wanted is the enthusiastic response of the people which cannot be evoked without the fullest trust in them and the devolution of responsibility on them in the matter of defence. It is only thus that even in this grave eleventh hour it may be possible to galvanise the people of India to rise to the height of the occasion. It is manifest that the present Government of India, as well as its provincial agencies, are lacking in competence, and are incapable of shouldering burden of India's defence. It is only the people of India through their popular representatives, who may shoulder this burden worthily. But that can only be done by present freedom, and full responsibility being cast upon them. The Committee, therefore, are unable to accept the

proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet.

[1]A.M. & S. G. Zaidi, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress: A Fight to the Finish 1939-1946*, New Delhi, 1981, 458-61.

19

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 809/309

11 April 1942

Your rejection[1] of Cripps proposals happiest augury for united peaceful India. Accept my heartiest congratulations. Myself fully undertake, responsibility securing by negotiation complete independence for India from British Government within six months provided Congress, League, Mahasabha, unitedly demand independence now, also non-communally organise parties for safety of civil population everywhere. Ready offering immediately half million Khaksars, for social service irrespective of caste or creed. Have wired similarly other Presidents.[2] Deliberate profoundly.[3] Don't miss critical opportunity.[4]

INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]See Appendix II. 3, *JP*, I, Part II, 28-31 for Muslim League Resolution and Annex to No. 18 Congress Resolution on the subject. Also see Annex I for Cripps reaction to rejection of his proposals.

[2]Abul Kalam Azad & V. D. Savarkar.

[3]In the wake of this appeal a large number of individuals joined that chorus. See Annex II.

[4]Allama Mashriqi followed up with an offer to mediate between the League and Congress. See No. 30.

Annex I

Speech by R. Stafford Cripps at a Press Conference

F. 809/304[1]

[NEW DELHI,
11 April 1942]

I have now received the replies from all the principal parties and communities to whom I submitted the draft declaration of His Majesty's Government.

The negotiations have been prolonged in the case of the Congress only. There have been many meetings and a number of formulae and suggestions especially upon the question of a Defence Minister. After

very lengthy deliberations the outcome of which seemed uncertain from day to day, I received the reply of Congress in the form of the letter which you have seen at 7 o'clock last night.

It made it clear that the Working Committee[2] were not prepared to accept the scheme or to enter a National Government.

As a result of this and other answers I have had most regretfully to advise His Majesty's Government that there is not such a measure of acceptance of their proposals as to justify their making a declaration in the form of the draft. The draft is therefore withdrawn and we revert to the position as it was before I came out here; though not quite perhaps to that position.

These discussions and negotiations have been carried on in the most frank and friendly spirit on all sides. We have all acknowledged each other's sincerity in the matter and although we must for the moment agree to differ, there is no bitterness or rancour in our disagreement.

AREA OF AGREEMENT

Sometimes in the heat and excitement of discussion and argument we are apt to overlook the area of agreement.

There is large and very important area of agreement as to the future freedom of India. I do not propose to go into the merits of the many arguments that have been made for and against the scheme. I have heard and spoken enough of those over the last three weeks and I shall say a word about them over the radio to-night.[3] I shall be leaving New Delhi on my return journey on Sunday morning.

I want first to thank you all for your help and then I want to ask you to continue that help—not to me but to India.

The discussions are over, they will slip back into history and they will leave their impress a good, clear, healthy impress which will influence the future. But the present and the future press upon us and must be faced. India is threatened, all who love India—as I love India and you love India—must bend their energies, each in his own way, to her immediate help.

That help cannot come through discussions and differences, it must come by drawing together the diverse elements into a closely knit and common effort.

That is your task, there you can help whatever your party or community. We have tried our best to agree—we have failed. Never mind whose fault it is, let me take all the blame if that will help in uniting India for her own defence.

Great Britain will do her utmost, America[4] is doing all she can,

and now India must devote herself wholeheartedly with total effort in every field of activity to defending her soil and to protecting her women and children from those ghastly horrors that have befallen her Chinese friends, neighbours.

You have my best thanks for what you have done to help me, you will have my even greater thanks in what you will do to help India.

[1]The *Dawn*, 19 April 1942.
[2]See Annex to No. 18.
[3]See F. 809/305 & 308, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]Col. Louis Johnson who had arrived in India on an economic mission from U.S.A. helped and advised him in the process. See F. 809/312, *QAP*. Not printed.

Annex II
Qamaruddin & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 893/235

DISTRICT DADU,
SIND,
[Undated April 1942]

Sir,

We, the undersigned Muslims of Dadu District, Sind, most humbly beg to request your kind honour that there are several Muslim organisations in India out of which two are well-known, namely Muslim League and Khaksar. If these two organisations are united and formed into one body it will bring our goal very near. Many Muslim papers have been writing on this unity but it has produced no effect on the minds of Muslim leaders. We have every hope in you; in the words of Allama Mashriqi, Mohammad Ali Jinnah has saved the Indian Muslims just as Prophet Moses [had] saved *Bani Israil* [Israelites] from the hands of the Pharaoh.

We therefore implore you to kindly respond to the appeal of Allama Mashriqi which he had made to you by wire on 11 April 1942, for cooperating with him. Let Gandhi and his Congress along with Mahasabha not respond to the appeal of Allama Mashriqi. It is we Muslims who after all are brothers and should unite, as in the words of the holy Book, 'all Muslims are brothers.'

We beg to remain,

Sir,
QAMARUDDIN
AND TWELVE OTHERS

20

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/151

15 MALL AVENUE,
LUCKNOW,
16 April 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

[Fazlul] Huq and his band of traitors have been thrashed at Natore.[1] The League has emerged victorious! This is our great victory. Millions of Musalmans all over India must be rejoicing at this hour with me.

I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow on urgent business. I shall be there for five or six days and shall then go straight back to Calcutta.

All are well at home and send their *salaam* to Miss Jinnah and you. I join them.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]In the by-election to the Muslim Rural constituency of Natore Kazi Abdul Masood, a Muslim League candidate, was elected to the Bengal Assembly. Jinnah sent a congratulatory message on the occasion. See F. 809/321, *QAP*. Not printed.

21

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/82-3

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You were so busy at Allahabad that I felt that it would be cruel to insist on an interview with you there. I had to go away from Allahabad a day earlier as I had a very important case to argue on Monday. May I take the liberty of congratulating you on the resolution[1] passed by the Working Committee under your able direction and guidance. In fact your speech[2] made on the occasion of the session was so full of inspiration and confidence that I felt that I could with an easy conscience leave the meeting. I completely identified myself

with the stand that you took.

My immediate object in writing this letter is to draw your attention to the necessity and importance of having a really influential man in place of late Nawab Sahib of Mamdot, nominated as a member of the Working Committee. It is really unfortunate that Nawab Sir Mohammad Jamal Khan [Leghari] has not yet been able to personally come and interview you.[3] The gentleman is so well-enlightened and so modern in his notion of things and so completely identified with the League point of view that I consider that it would be an accession of great strength to have a man like him associated with the Working Committee. You are, of course, the final judge and I have not the least doubt that whomsoever you will nominate will be the best. But as one of your devoted colleagues, it is my duty to bring to your notice the importance of the Punjab so far as the League activities are concerned. The fact is that the League organisation here is not doing anything, and notwithstanding the great desire of the late Nawab to further the cause of the League, he too found himself helpless in the situation. The nomination of a man of the influence and standing of Sir Mohammad Jamal would be a source of great strength to the League in this Province. The man counts about 15 MLAs as his own personal adherents, and if he could be included in the Working Committee I am sure that the cause of the League will receive an immense fillip. Since my return I have not yet come in contact with Sir Mohammad Jamal as he has gone to his native village in far off Dera Ghazi Khan. But if it is possible I should like you to keep back the nomination in the vacancy of late Nawab Sahib of Mamdot until you have personally come in contact with and seen Sir Mohammad Jamal.

With all regards and with my prayers for your excellent health and long life,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI
M.A., LL.B., *MLA*

[1]Appendix II. 3, *JP*, I, Part II, 28-31.
[2]No. 8.
[3]Jinnah informed Malik Barkat Ali that he had written to Mohammad Jamal to see him. See F. 215/84, *QAP*. Not printed.

22

Mohammad Abdul Matin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 566/27-9

GUNABATI, TIPPERAH,
BENGAL,
20 April 1942

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you [of] the following facts that happened within Feni Sub-Division in Bengal during the last few days of April owing to the emergent situation of the country. I visited the evacuated areas of Feni Sub-Division and I have seen the facts noted below:

i. Thirty-six villages with a population of approximately eighty thousand were ordered for evacuation within four days, that is by 4.4.1942. This order was issued by the S.D.O. Feni on 1.4.1942 but the notices were served on the 4th. As a consequence, the inhabitants of most of the villages had to fall under [*sic* for undergo] immense difficulties [moving] with their bag and baggage. There were no arrangements for supply of vehicles to carry their moveable property and no instructions were given by the local officers about their future dwelling places and hence many evacuees were compelled to flee away from British area to Tripura State where they were living like nomadic tribes and got neither medical help nor food and pure drinking water. Now there is every apprehension of an epidemic in those places. Furthermore, no compensation was timely [*sic*] paid to the evacuees and as such they had to undergo unavoidable difficulties. Moreover, the little amount that was given to some of the evacuees as compensation was also disbursed by clerks according to the discretion of the Sub-Divisional Officer. As a result, many evacuees were deprived of their legitimate compensation.
ii. One day, during the second week of April, some Sikh soldiers of the 8th Punjab Regiment entered the Feni *Jami'a Masjid* with boots on and rendered [*sic* for desecrated] the mosque unholy [*sic*]. The matter was brought to the notice of the Brigadier but no step was taken.
iii. On the 16th of April, some Sikh soldiers of the 8th Punjab Regiment entered the house of Moulvi Mohammad Siddick of Chanua, P.S. Feni, with the evil intention of rape and

violated the chastity of a Muslim girl by force who was reading the holy *Qur'an*. While this girl was crying aloud in distress, another woman of the house came and injured the soldiers with a sharp weapon. At this time many villagers assembled from all directions and the soldiers fired and killed Moulvi Siddick on the spot and seriously injured many others, two of whom [have] died till this date. After this occurrence, on the 16th evening, a large number of soldiers, [along]with Bengal armed Police, raided the village of Chanua and arrested the male members of the village and committed adultery with females by force [*sic*]. The local President of Union Board collected thirty-six naked women after this raid and sent some of them to the Feni Hospital. The arrested persons were engaged to dig earth on the following day and were not allowed even a drop of water while thirsty.

iv. On the 18th night, some soldiers of the Punjab Regiment entered the house of Moulvi Faizullah of Bhalukia Mouza, P.S. Feni, and demanded production of females. When Moulvi Faizullah cried in fear, he was seriously injured by the strokes of bayonets and the soldiers ravished on [*sic*] females in his house and in the adjacent houses. Three females of this village are in the Feni Hospital now. When Moulvi Faizullah was brought before Mr. J. N. Maitra, Sub-Divisional Officer, Feni, in a dying condition, the S.D.O. did not give a hearing to his grievances.

v. On the 18th April 1942, again in a village near Mangalkandi under Feni Police Station, some soldiers attacked the females for adultery [*sic*]. But as soon as the women jumped into the water, the soldiers threatened them with rifles to get on from [*sic* for out of] the pond for the satisfaction of their carnal desire.

All these occurrences have been reported to the Sub-Divisional Officer, Feni, and the military officer but no steps have been taken uptill now. Furthermore, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Feni, seized all letters, telegrams, addressed to the press, Government and leaders of the country from Feni Post Offices illegally.

In these circumstances, I beg to note that although martial law has not yet been issued [*sic* for promulgated] at Feni and the civil population of Feni is still under civil administration yet the lethargy and negligence of civil officers has rendered the chastity, honour, life and property of civil population, specially of females, in danger.

Under the above circumstances, I beg to approach you with an earnest appeal to pay a visit to Feni to see this deplorable condition of the Muslim brethren here, and [also] appeal to you to kindly move

the Government for the safety of life and property[1] of the civil population of Feni Sub-Division.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ABDUL MATIN
Member, AIML [Council]

[1]On 12 April 1942 Jinnah had appointed the Muslim League Civil Defence Committee for taking "all necessary and effective steps" in this regard. See Annex to No. 10.

23

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/2

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
23 April 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Court of this University, at its last meeting held on the 12th April 1942, has authorised me to take necessary steps for the conferment of honorary degree of Doctor of Laws [on you] on any date that may be convenient to you. Will you please let me know what time will be convenient to you so that I may take necessary steps?[1]

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

[1]In response to a reminder (No. 295) dated 30 September 1942, Jinnah appreciated the spirit behind the intention to award him an honorary doctorate but having "lived as plain Mr. Jinnah" declared his preference "to die as plain Mr. Jinnah." See *SHC*, UP V/5. Not printed.

24

C. K. Cumming to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/6

19 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
24 April 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry not to have sent before the draft[1] of my interview with

you last Sunday [19 April]. The reason is that I was not well for a day or two and was then much occupied with urgent work in connection with the American Technical Mission. I am sure you knew that I would not abuse your kindness by making use of anything which you had not authorized.

If I were using airmails, I could send this at full length but with cables, I fear it would be necessary for me to summarize, using scrupulous care, down to the middle of page two. In that connection, you may remember I reminded you that your case for Pakistan was given at considerable length in the interview last autumn.

With the news as it is, the entire interest in America will be concentrated on the immediate present. I now want to ask another question, if I may.

You were reported as saying that it was for the leaders to devise means of meeting and discussing the difficulties of the situation.[2] How do you consider this should be brought about and who should take the initiative? Further, will you be kind enough to give me your views on the resolutions[3] of the Madras Congress party reported in this morning's papers and the line taken by Mr. Rajagopalachari?

As I do not want to take up your time by asking for a further interview on this important matter, I thought perhaps you would be kind enough to dictate a few lines, which I might incorporate, in order to give a news lead, and send them to me with this draft. If so, I should greatly appreciate it and would probably cable tomorrow early in the morning.

Yours sincerely,
C. K. CUMMING
Special Correspondent,
Christian Science Monitor

PS. Have you any objection to using the term Muslims or Moslems instead of Mussulmans, as the latter is so strange to Americans that I am sure the Editor would alter it anyhow? I am very puzzled as to the correct term (I suppose Mussulmans must be it and the spelling even of that seems to vary). The Oxford Dictionary spells it Mussulman.

[1]Not traced.
[2]See Annex I.
[3]Annex II.

Annex I
Statement by M. A. Jinnah to a Press Conference

F. 809/302 & 313[1]

[NEW DELHI],
13 April 1942

The Congress claim of representing the whole of India was effectively repudiated and totally exposed by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah at a Press Conference on Monday evening.

Explaining why the Muslim League had to reject His Majesty's Government proposals, brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah said: "The proposals of His Majesty's Government were in their fundamentals not subject to modification. I was told that they should be accepted in toto but not in parts. His Majesty's Government had not authorised Sir Stafford Cripps to consider any alternative either for the present or the future. Regarding the immediate present, it was not open to us to suggest any alternative either for the present or the future. Regarding the immediate present, it was not open to us to suggest any alternatives, as we had to accept the proposals as a whole or not at all. We could not, therefore, discard the future and deal with the present. In effect, Pakistan was not conceded unequivocally and the right of Muslim self-determination was denied. We, therefore, did not accept the proposals regarding the future."

Referring to the recent statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru he said: "I find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in talking to press correspondents still speaks of the Congress as representing India and speaking on behalf of India. There is no foundation for that assertion. Muslim India has repudiated that claim. We maintain that the Congress does not represent not only the Musalmans of India but even a large body of the Hindus, the Depressed Classes, the Non-Brahmins and other minorities."

Referring to the Cripps proposals Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah said: "The proposals of His Majesty's Government were in their fundamentals not subject to modification. Therefore, after clarification by Sir Stafford Cripps, the Muslim League examined them carefully. I was told that they should be accepted in toto but not in parts. We could not, therefore, discard the future and deal with the present. Further that the immediate present could only be considered if the future was agreed upon and that His Majesty's Government had not authorised Sir Stafford Cripps to consider any alternative either for the present or the future. That being the position, we examined the whole of the

proposals as one document and came to the conclusion that, as regards the future, the principle of partition (Pakistan) was not conceded but there was possibility for a province or provinces to stand out. The machinery provided for that purpose was such that we came to the conclusion that in two Muslim majority provinces the rules and procedure laid down were such that the fate of ninety million Musalmans would be decided by a few votes in the provincial legislatures where the Muslims are, as in Bengal and the Punjab, in a minority in the legislature—these being the major Muslim provinces. Similarly, in the Muslim majority provinces of N.W.F.P. and Sind the weightage given to non-Muslims would make it extremely difficult for the Musalmans to realise their goal. In effect Pakistan was not conceded unequivocally and the right of Muslim self-determination was denied. We, therefore, did not accept the proposals regarding the future, although we recognised that the same may constitute the foundations of British policy as a historic document.

"The recognition given to the principle of partition, however, was very much appreciated by Muslim India.

PRESENT

"Regarding the immediate present, it was not open to us to suggest any alternatives, as we had to accept the proposals as a whole or not at all. Having decided on the future, we thought no useful purpose would be served in discussing the present and further we thought that until the complete picture was available it was not possible for us to deal with it. Details with regard to the present were of vital importance, and in this case they were more important than the principles themselves. No discussion, however, took place between me and Sir Stafford Cripps regarding the present period, except that details would be worked out and settled by the Viceroy with the parties concerned.

"I now gather from the maze of correspondence and statements that have been issued that the Congress leaders alleged that Sir Stafford Cripps was discussing with them alternative proposals of theirs, which fact has been denied by Sir Stafford Cripps. I have no knowledge of what took place between Sir Stafford and the Congress but I may add that if alternative proposals of the Congress were accepted—immediate freedom and independence of India, Cabinet to be nominated by major parties with collective responsibility, Viceroy to act as constitutional Governor-General and the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government having no power to interfere—it would have meant the setting up of a Cabinet, irremovable and responsible

to nobody but the majority, which be at the command of the Congress in the Cabinet. If such an adjustment had been arrived at then it would have been a Fascist Grand Council and the Muslims and other minorities would have been entirely at the mercy of the Congress *raj*.

"Then to say that the future would be considered after the war is to my mind absurd, because there would be nothing left of the future to discuss, except details.

CONGRESS GAME

"We stand for freedom and independence, yielding to none in that respect, but the Congress scheme will not bring freedom and independence for the Musalmans and other minorities of India who will be at the entire mercy of the caucus Cabinet. Therefore, we hold that the Congress proposals are short-circuiting the paramount and vital issue in the name of national demand and national government. This has been the game of the Congress from the beginning and that is what we have been resisting.

"The Congress recognised that the Cabinet formed under its scheme would be a composite Cabinet formed from different groups, representing various ideologies in the country, some coming from the Congress, some from the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the Sikhs. I have noted that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it quite clear when he said that suppose in a Cabinet of fifteen there was Congress majority of eight or nine. Added to that Congress majority would be the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs, and the Muslims would be left in a negligible ineffective minority. The only consolation that Pandit Nehru offered was that if the Musalmans did not agree they could resign. If this is not a foregone conclusion of the tyranny of the majority what else could it be?

"I am also surprised to read Pandit Nehru's statement that I would not have objected to the Congress demand for national government. I assert that if the Congress demand had been accepted it would have been the death-knell to the Musalmans of India."

Concluding the Quaid-i-Azam said that the Congress carried on negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps over the head of all other parties whom it utterly ignored.

QUESTIONS

Q.—Then what is the position of the League?

A.—If all parties agree to the Muslim demand for Pakistan or partition and Muslim right for self-determination, details to be settled after the war, then we are prepared to come to any reasonable adjustment with regard to the present.

So far as the Pakistan demand is not agreed to, we cannot agree to any present adjustment which will in any way militate against or prejudge the Pakistan demand.

The demand of the Congress, as explained by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the Press Conference and as disclosed in the correspondence with Sir Stafford Cripps, does definitely prejudge and militate against the Pakistan demand and is, therefore, unacceptable to us.

Q.—Then is it not for the leaders to meet and discuss the matter?

A.—It is for the leaders to devise means of doing so.

[1]The *Dawn*, 19 April 1942.

Annex II

Resolution Passed by Madras Legislature Congress Party[1]

F. 809/314

MADRAS,
23 April 1942

RESOLUTION

The Madras Legislature Congress Party notes with deep regret that the attempts to establish a national government for India to enable her to face the problems arising out of the present grave situation have failed and that as a result of this, nationalist India has been placed in a dilemma. It is impossible for the people to think in terms of neutrality or passivity during an invasion by an enemy power. Neither is it practicable to organise any effective defence independently and un-coordinated with the defence measures of the Government.

It is absolutely and urgently necessary in the best interests of the country at this hour of peril to do all that Congress can possibly do to remove every obstacle in the way of the establishment of a national administration to face the present situation, and therefore, inasmuch as the Muslim League has insisted on the recognition of the right of separation of certain areas from united India upon the ascertainment of the wishes of the people of such areas as a condition precedent for united national action at this moment of grave national danger, this party is of opinion and recommends to the All-India Congress Committee that to sacrifice the chances of the formation of a national government at this grave crisis for the doubtful advantage of maintaining a controversy over the unity of India is a most unwise policy and it has become necessary to choose the lesser evil and to

acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation when the time comes to frame a constitution for India and thereby remove all doubts and fears in this regard, and to invite the Muslim League for a consultation for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a national government to meet the present emergency.

[1]The *Dawn*, 26 April 1942.

25

S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 443/44-9

NAGPUR, C.P.,
25 April 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have reached Bombay safely by this time. I have not yet gone home. Since my return from Delhi I have been moving from place to place with the exception of five days when I was confined to bed owing to a mild attack of influenza and sunstroke. Now I am better and leaving tomorrow for Pandharkawada via Amraoti.

Necessary instructions have been issued by me to the members of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committee to be in readiness to attend the meeting that will be convened to meet the Civil Defence Committee at the place where they will first halt in this Province. A formal notice will be sent to the members concerned as soon as I get a copy of the tour programme of the Civil Defence Committee.

Almost at all the district and *taluqa* towns, the work of the Muslim National Guard organisation has been started but not on systematic lines. Final shape and uniformity will be given to local organisations in the light of the instructions of the Civil Defence Committee. Some paid propagandists will have to be appointed to tour throughout the Province.

You will be gratified to learn that the dignity with which you carried on the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps and the decision arrived at by our Working Committee[1] in respect of the proposals of the War Cabinet have raised the prestige of the All India Muslim League even in the eyes of the Hindus. Some of them have begun to realise honestly that Pakistan is the only solution of the acute Hindu-Muslim problem. The resolution[2] passed by the Rajagopalachari Party of the Madras Assembly and the article of Mr. Gandhi[3] in the *Harijan* are

being considered by fair-minded Hindus with due deference. This is all due, Mr. Jinnah, to the favour of the Almighty and the intelligent way in which you are controlling and guiding the politics of Muslim India.

Much dejection has been caused to the Congressmen this side by the miserable result of the negotiations of their high command with Sir Stafford Cripps. The too much *bania* spirit, shown by the votaries of Mr. Gandhi in these negotiations, is a subject of ridicule, nay condemnation, in the private conversations of even strong supporters of the Congress.

Preparations have been started this side by Mahasabha organisation to observe the 10th of May as an anti-Pakistan day,[4] as announced by Mr. Savarkar. The Muslims are feeling somewhat perturbed over this. I have advised them to remain adamant and dignified against all sorts of provocation and to treat all anti-Pakistan demonstrations with indifference and contempt. The other day, I saw [A. G. Scott.,] I.G. Police in this connection and asked him to take necessary precautionary measures to prevent Hindu-Muslim clashes on that day. He has assured me of doing the needful.

Failure of the Congress to form a national government at the Centre and in the provinces has, as I had already hinted to you at Delhi, given further impetus to Dr. Khare's ministry-forming activities resulting in winning over some more Congressmen to his side. Although I have not forgotten your prompt observation "nothing doing for the present" in reply to my question as to what I should say to Dr. Khare if he sees or writes to me about ministry formation on my return to Nagpur, yet I think it advisable to keep you informed of fresh developments in that respect and to seek your valuable advice and guidance.

When I was still in Delhi in the second week of this month, Dr. Khare had sent me a letter[5] together with copies of letters received by him from leaders of groups of Assembly members, willing to co-operate with him and authorising him to settle terms with the Muslim League Party. As I had left Delhi on the 13th instant I did not get Dr. Khare's letter there. It was redirected to my home address. Copies of the said letter of Dr. Khare and the letters of group leaders and the list of non-Muslim League members in support of Dr. Khare, are herewith enclosed for your information. Copies of terms of coalition with the Muslim League Party and joint programme of work, which were already submitted to you by Dr. Khare and me for favour of your perusal and approval, are also enclosed[6] for your ready reference.

During my stay at Nagpur, Dr. Khare met me twice and showed me original letters of group leaders referred to above and signatures

of some individual members who have guaranteed their support to him. Now three groups (Mr. [G. S.] Page group, Mr. Ramrao group and Dr. Khare group) have been amalgamated into one group under the leadership of Dr. Khare. Its strength is 33. One Depressed Class group of 7 members, led by Mr. [Dashrath] Patel, and another Depressed Class group of 6 members, led by Mr. [G. A.] Gawai, and 3 more Congressites, whose names are entered in the accompanying list and who have not joined any group as yet, have given Dr. Khare their word of honour to support his ministry. Thus Dr. Khare has gathered strength of 49 members only. Without Muslim League Party's support he cannot secure a majority and make headway in the matter although he expects some more defections from the Congress Party. We hold a key position for the present in this connection. With 10 Muslim Leaguers, the number will rise from 49 to 59 in the House of 110 members. Dr. Khare has been clearly told that he should count on the support of the Muslim League Party only when the terms of coalition and programme of work are approved of by the League high command and the requisite sanction is obtained.

Dr. Khare has further assured me that he would give two seats to Muslim Leaguers in a cabinet of 7 or 8 ministers. I have not given any names to Dr. Khare from the League Party for the cabinet nor shall I do so unless Muslim League Party is permitted by you to join hands with Dr. Khare in the formation of a coalition ministry and the names are decided in a formal meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party.

Dr. Khare is not making any fuss over the dearest object of his heart which is to be able to serve the Province in his own way at this critical juncture in the face of Mr. Gandhi's opposition. He is very cautiously and secretly moving to approach persons to secure their co-operation and very tactfully handling the situation created by the mistakes of the Congress Party in this Province.

Dr. Ragavandra Rao and Mr. [M. S.] Aney, members of the Viceroy's Executive Council whose words carry considerable weight in their respective circles, I am told, are also in favour of a coalition ministry under Dr. Khare's leadership. It is their active sympathy which has gone a long way to add [*sic* for towards adding] to the strength of Dr. Khare's Party so far as non-Muslim League members are concerned.

I propose to call a meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party, at the time of the Civil Defence Committee's visit or earlier, if necessary, with a view [*sic* for in order] that members may be enlightened by your esteemed suggestions and carry out your valuable directions in the matter of the proposed coalition ministry.

My personal opinion and that of my colleagues about Dr. Khare is that he is sincere, frank, outspoken and open-minded. He is more sympathetic towards Musalmans than any other Maharashtrian in this Province. As a responsible public worker and a man of status and position he is more mindful of doing some substantial service to the Province than to exact retribution from Mr. Gandhi and his votaries for his downfall and humiliation in the past. He has taken down in his diary names of his supporters after due consideration and circumspection. He has taken care to tread on solid ground and to avoid all possible pitfalls.

Notwithstanding Dr. Khare's fair-mindedness and pro-Muslim sympathies, I assure you that no Muslim Leaguer would fall in line with him regarding ministry unless Muslim interest in the Province demands such a step and you, as Quaid-i-Azam, are pleased to accord your sanction and blessings to it.

The reaction of the All India Congress Committee to recommendations about conceding Pakistan made by the Madras Congress Legislature[7] Party are being awaited with interest throughout the country. Mr. Khare also will have to adopt the policy of wait and see under the present circumstances.

An early reply is requested at my home address.[8]

With best regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S. A. RAUF SHAH

[1]See Appendix II. 3, *JP*, I, Part II, 28-31.
[2]Annex II to No. 24.
[3]Not traced. However see No. 657, *TP*, I, 806-7 & F. 809/320, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]No. 58 & its Enclosure, *TP*, II, 85-7.
[5]F. 443/35-8, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]Enclosure to No. 251, *JP*, XVII, 327-8.
[7]See note 2 supra.
[8]See No. 38.

26

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 458/37

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
25 April 1942

My dear Sir,

I am deeply grateful to you for your very kind congratulations.[1] I

have conveyed your congratulations to Kazi Abul Masud. The Bengal Muslims are behind you to a man as the Natore election has clearly shown. The Muslims of Bengal have realised that Pakistan means everything to them and they are not prepared to support anyone whose activities may cause it damage. I am enclosing herewith the resolutions[2] passed in regard to the Natore election by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]See No. 20, note 1.
[2]Not traced.

27

Mohammad Omar Noman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/5

SIMLA,
26 April 1942

Don't be afraid; verily thou art superior to all—Al Qur'an

My dearest leader,

It gave me much pleasure to learn that the Aligarh Muslim University Court have, in recognition of the meritorious services which are being rendered by your goodself for the uplift of the Musalmans of India, authorised the learned Vice-Chancellor of the University, at their annual meeting held on 12th April 1942, to take necessary steps under the constitution of the University to offer the honorary degree of LL.D. to you in a befitting manner. I cannot help eulogising the judicious attitude of the Court so adopted by them, in awarding the degree to the most deserving and esteemed leader of the Muslim community of India. This attempt of theirs will prove a serious blow to the foes of Islam and the jealous non-Muslims. In view of this I venture to congratulate you, in advance, from the bottom of my heart.

I am also glad to know that the sagacious Court have also decided to award the honorary degrees of Doctors of Theology and Literature [Letters] to certain other prominent and profound Muslim scholars[1]

of India, along with you.

Believe me,
Sir,
Very sincerely yours,
MOHAMMAD OMAR NOMAN
[*Deputy President, All India Muslim Students Federation*]

[1]Honorary degree of Doctor of the Theology was offered to Nawab Sadar Yar Jung Bahadur and degrees of Doctor of Letters (D. Litt.) to Maulana Sayed Sulaiman Nadvi and Maulvi Abdul Haque. See F. 809/323, *QAP*. Not printed.

28

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/152

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
27 April 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I expect you have by now returned to Bombay. You were not there when I left. From Delhi I went to Lucknow, and after staying there for two days I had to rush to Bombay to make some arrangements in connection with the shipment of our cargo via Bombay.

I have just now received intimation from the office of the *Star of India* that the Government of Bengal have issued an order calling upon the newspaper to cease publication from today for one week, because in its issue of the 20th instant it printed the resolutions of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, one[1] of which related to the Feni outrage by Sikh soldiers on Muslim women.[2] We propose to make a representation to Government and see if this ban could be lifted before the expiry of the time stated in the order. Confidentially, I am informed that Mr. Fazlul Huq, who was away from Calcutta, on his return removed the ban on *Jugantar* which, as you know, was for an indefinite period and forced the hands of the Governor to take action against the *Star*. Nothing need be said at present. I shall, however, keep you informed.

Calcutta is more than half empty and as the port is closed, business is almost at a standstill.

Amir [Ahmad Khan][3] is here. He visited the Muslim evacuee camps

and met the evacuees' steamer that came in from Chittagong today. He proposes to go to Gauhati and Manipur before returning to Lucknow.

Jamal Mian has gone to Dacca to address one or two public meetings there on behalf of the [Muslim] League. He is expected back tomorrow morning.

The All India Muslim League sub-committee[4] appointed by you in Delhi is expected to be in Calcutta latest by day after tomorrow. Every assistance will be rendered to them to make their task easy.

Kindly let me know if I am to send Rs. 10,000 that I have donated,[5] right away.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. HASSAN ISPAHANI

[1]Not traced. A subsequent resolution by the Congress Working Committee was also banned for publication. See No. 5, *TP*, II, 6-7.
[2]See No. 22 for an earlier report on the incident.
[3]Raja of Mahmudabad.
[4]Annex to No. 10.
[5]See No. 92.

29

Abdul Majid Jatoi to Abul Kalam Azad
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC (1667)

MEHAR, DADU,
SIND,
27 April 1942

Dear Moulana Sahib,

I have been marking with keen interest the activities of the Congress, Muslim League, and the Hindu [Maha]sabha, the main political organisations of India. I did not take any active part or express my opinion anywhere. But now I cannot keep quiet, as my heart is aching, in view of the opinion expressed by a leading Hindu daily paper, *Sansar Samachar*, in its editorial dated 25.4.1942. I attach [translation of] a cutting[1] from the same for your perusal. Please note that it is a Congress paper.

Moulana Sahib, you are a religious soul. You have translated the holy *Qur'an* for the guidance of Muslims. Have you ever acted according to that except for offering your prayers; I mean service to

the community? Let me tell you frankly [that] the service you have done to the community, and the general opinion about you among the Muslim masses of this Province which is being governed by you, is that you are the cause of ruin of Muslims here, and are out to remove the name of Muslims from Indian history. You would then be happy to see your name published in the headlines of the Hindu papers as a hero [of the Hindus] and the destroyer of Islam.

Here are opinions of those with whom you have sympathy. They want Hindu *raj* or British rule but they don't want your community to rule in any part of your motherland. They prefer foreign rule in preference [*sic*] to your community.

Moulana, I may tell you that I have everyday dealings with Hindus, and from that I have gathered that whatever you may do for them, they would never trust you. Though you have been slaughtering [*sic*] Muslim rights to win their hearts, yet they suspect you. On no occasion [did] they allow you to interview Sir Cripps alone.[2] Every time Jawaharlal Nehru accompanied you. The representatives of all other organisations interviewed Sir Cripps alone. Whatever may be the cause, they either suspected your honesty or they considered you incompetent to negotiate Congress terms. If the latter version is correct, then, Moulana, you can judge for yourself as to why they made you the President. Excuse me, Moulana, Mr. Jinnah has rightly called you the "show-boy of the Congress".[3]

Do you not feel humiliated, Moulana, by expressing your pain and astonishment at the decision arrived at by the Madras Legislature Congress Party?[4] Yes, it might have pained you because you don't want Muslims to be in power in any part of India. If Muslims come to power, the Congress power is sure to decline, and from where can you earn your bread and butter if Congress goes?

The resolution sponsored by such an old and seasoned politician like Rajagopalachari, wherein he concedes that the Pakistan scheme, which allows the Muslim community in India to have its due share of responsibility in governments in the provinces where the Muslims form a majority, should be an eye-opener to you, Moulana, who have shut your eyes to the entire cause of the community, and we Musalmans are ashamed to have a Muslim leader like you who treads under foot the legitimate rights of his own community.

Will you, Moulana, tell me what your Congress has done for Muslims in India? I am sure it must have done the same what [*sic* for as] you, a Muslim President of Congress, did in Sind. You joined the Hindus and brought them to power. Now there is slaughter[ing] of innocent Muslims everyday and their souls are praying to God to ruin those

who brought the present policy and administration in force in Sind.

Moulana, you must be feeling very happy hearing [of] everyday murders of Muslims in this Province. You did not rest when Hindus were killed in Sukkur riots. You took the trouble of coming from Wardha to Sind to console Hindus. Have you ever thought of reviewing the situation now [that] your co-religionists are being slaughtered, and specially in the days [*sic*] of the Government which you founded in Sind?

I can write pages over this, but I don't want to waste your time as, Moulana, you have very little time to think about the welfare of Muslims. You are right in sympathising with Hindus. The press is theirs; they can advertise you very well and write your name in bold type on front pages of Hindu papers, whereas Muslims cannot give you such wide publicity.

In the end, I pray to God to bring you to the right path and give you strength to serve your Hindu-trodden Muslim community. God will relieve you from paying homage to Wardha, from where all schemes crop up for the betterment of Hindus and *Achchuts* [Untouchables] but none for the poor Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL MAJID JATOI
Vice-President,
Dadu District Local Board

[1]Enclosure.
[2]Except on 28 March 1942. See No. 416, *TP*, I, 514-5.
[3]No. 424, *JP*, XV, 583.
[4]Annex II to No. 24.

Enclosure
Rajaji, Whereto[1]

SHC (1668)

25 April 1942

Rajagopalachari, the brain of the Congress, is one of the greatest personalities of India. In the year 1919, he left his profession of advocate and joined politics, where along with his associates he made many sacrifices. The attitude which Rajaji has now adopted, will cut the root of his past sacrifices as cut by a saw. We agree with this view of Rajaji that no confusion should be caused to British at this moment, but every Hindu and Muslim will look upon, with contempt the second view of his. Recently, a meeting of Madras Assembly Congress Committee was held, where Rajagopalachari brought a proposal and recommended to AICC[2] that Muslim League demand for Pakistan

should be conceded, if such [a] demand is strongly made. Rajagopalachari, has so far not issued any statement to clear his position. It is clear from this proposal that Rajaji desires [that], for the sake of freedom of the motherland, the bitter dose of Pakistan may be swallowed. He, with a view to break[ing] the chains of slavery of the motherland, wishes to concede to the demand for Pakistan, with pain.

But we are never prepared to agree to this proposal. Neither India could be divided into pieces, nor Indians are prepared to agree to this proposal. India has remained united since ages, and now Indians cannot bow their heads before an unreasonable demand and see their motherland divided into pieces. Hindus are still prepared to remain as slaves in the hands of British, but will never bow before Jinnah. Hindus do not [want] freedom by bowing before a Muslim who has got a little following. They will acquire the same by their own ability, though it may come after half a century. We are certain that no member of the AICC will corroborate with Rajagopalachari. If this demand is conceded to, there will be a civil war in India.

[1]Jatoi enclosed translation of an article published in *Sansar Samachar* .
[2]Annex II to No. 24.

30

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 915/148

28 April 1942

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

Ex-premier [Madras] Rajagopalachariar also Editor Srinivasan suggest in their messages of 22nd[1] my mediation between League and Congress concerning united demand national government. Moment Critical. Unity essential. Do you agree mediation?

INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]Rajagopalachari had advised Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to use his influence with Jinnah and Azad in making a united demand for national government. See F. 915/148, *QAP*. Not printed.

31

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 274/256

KARACHI,
29 April 1942

Telegraphed today Governor-General-in-Council as under:

My father Abdoola Haroon's Assembly seat vacant. Find my father and myself though eligible yet not included in final electoral roll Karachi City Muslims. Desire contest seat vacated by my father. Application for inclusion my name in electoral roll accordance with rule nine sub section six election rules follows. Kindly do not fix date by-election until my name validly included as voter. Kindly influence proper quarters. Thanks.

YUSUF ABDOOLA HAROON

32

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/154-5

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
29 April 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a copy of letter[1] wrongly addressed to you at Bombay. The newspapers report that you are still in Delhi.

Since writing those lines I got in touch with the Secretary to the Governor and asked for an interview with His Excellency to discuss the *Star* matter. As His Excellency has been out of Calcutta for two days, the promised interview has not come off. I am, however, informed that the *Star of India* file was urgently sent to him and it is almost certain that he will see through the whole game of Fazlul Huq and set his order aside.

The Government of Bengal (Home Department) and the Press Adviser were in constant telephonic touch with the Sub-Editors of the *Star of India* yesterday. Various proposals came forward—

beginning from a written apology and a written undertaking to be presented to the Chief Minister by one of the senior responsible men of the *Star of India* and ending with the sending of any member of the *Star of India* staff to only see the Chief Minister and not give any undertaking or offer any apology either in writing or verbally. Of course, my reply to all the above proposals which were modified at each stage was a constant 'No'. I made it clear that I would not even send my *chaprassi* to wait on Fazlul Huq even if the newspaper is to be suspended for seven years.

I again rang up Mr. [Malcolm] Carter, the Private Secretary of the Governor, just now (11 a.m.) in connection with the *Star of India*. He told me that His Excellency returned this morning and that I would be hearing something favourable to the *Star of India* in the course of the day.

Yesterday, the League Defence Committee met the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League and had a very long discussion. Nawab Ismail Khan will be issuing a statement today. The delegation is proceeding to Ranchi on the 1st and will return here a day later.

Mr. Osman Woo[2] called at Camac Street yesterday and met me and all the Leaguers living there.[3] He requested me to telegraph you asking for an appointment.[4] I have done so and simultaneously released this news to the Associated Press. The poor man has been misguided during the few days that he has been here. He has a letter and a present from General Omar Pey[5] for you and has been directed to call on you and pay his respects and convey to you the greetings of the Chinese Musalmans. I hope you will be pleased to give alternate days. He is awaiting your reply[6] to my telegram, on receipt of which he will fix up the balance of his itinerary in India.

Amir [Ahmad Khan] will be leaving for Hyderabad tomorrow.

Jamal Mian is expected back here by the Chittagong Mail tonight.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS. Since writing the above I have two further bits of extremely good news to give you:

i. The ban on the *Star of India* was unconditionally withdrawn by the Government of Bengal on its own initiative yesterday afternoon at five. Although the hour was late we managed to print and distribute the *Star* yesterday.
ii. In the Calcutta Corporation, we achieved a great victory. We

established the principle of mayoralty by rotation by electing a Scheduled Caste man as the First Citizen of Calcutta. Never before in the history of this City was an *achchut* elevated to the mayoral chair.

iii. We defeated Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, the Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha—the right-hand man of Savarkar and Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, who had the backing of the Nominated Group, the Europeans, the Mahasabha, the Independent Hindus and five Muslim traitors who call themselves the Progressive Party in the Corporation. Mr. Chatterjee was the nominee of the Hindu Mahasabha and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. There must have been much shedding of tears at the existing ministerial headquarters last night, because no one anticipated this great calamity that has so soon followed Natore.

Today's newspapers print another historical outburst of Fazlul Huq. It is silly and indicates that there is now distinctive reason to suspect that the mind of Fazlul Huq is on the point of being unbalanced.

The *Star* will be replying to it today and I commend its dak issue of the 1st of May for your particular attention.

HASSAN

[1]See No. 28.
[2]Osman Kien Hsun Woo, Secretary, Muslim National Salvation Association of China, was on a tour of India, *en route* to other countries, to liaise with prominent Muslim leaders *et al*.
[3]See Annex I.
[4]See Annex II.
[5]General Omar Pai Chung Hsi, Deputy Chief of Staff, a Muslim officer; who was also the President of the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation. See note 3 supra.
[6]See note 1 to Annex II.

Annex I

Chinese Muslims' Move[1]

F. 809/342

Mr. Osman Kien Hsun Woo, representative of the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation of Chungking, who is now in India, met recently the members of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and conveyed to them the good wishes of the Muslims of his country.

Mr. Woo has, it is learnt, been instructed to go to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, and to convey the good wishes of the Chinese Muslims to the Quaid-i-Azam also [and] to

offer him presents he has brought for him from the Muslims of China.

Mr. Woo said that in his country very little was known about India, specially the Muslims of India. "Since the Generalissimo returned to China, we got some information, but that was not sufficient. So I have come here on the advice of the Federation, the President of which is General Omar Pai Chung Hsi, who is the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Chinese Army, to make goodwill calls on all Muslims in general and to pay respects to Muslim leaders in particular. We shall thereby come to have a better understanding between ourselves and the Muslim brothers here." Explaining the purpose of his visit to India Mr. Woo said that he would report the conditions of the Chinese in his country to the Muslim brethren everywhere in India.

[1]The *Dawn*, 10 May 1942.

Annex II

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 520/11

CALCUTTA,
28 April 1942

Osman Woo Chinese Muslim representative now [in] Calcutta desires meeting you Bombay to convey greetings from General Omar Pai and Chinese Muslim brethren. Please wire[1] express when reaching Bombay convenient alternative dates.

HASSAN

[1]Jinnah wired reaching Bombay by seventh and meeting Osman Woo any day after 8 May. See F. 307/156, *QAP*. Not printed.

33

M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf Abdoola Haroon

F. 274/258

NEW DELHI,
30 April 1942

My dear Yusuf,

I was really shocked to hear the news of the sudden death of your father.[1] Of course, it must be a terrible blow to you and family. In

him I have lost a colleague and a prominent worker who rendered great services to the Muslim League. We all mourn his death and my deepest and sincerest sympathies go to you all. I trust that you will bear up the blow with courage and fortitude and with greater determination try and serve the Muslim League and Muslim India.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Esq.,
Seafield, Karachi

[1]Yusuf Haroon had wired Jinnah about the death of his father H. Abdoola Haroon. See F. 274/254, *QAP*. Not printed.

34

S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 570/107

NAGMATIA HOUSE,
GAYA,
30 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You might have received my previous letter.[1] At Patna I met the All India Defence Committee.[2] The full house of the Working Committee as well as the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Council met the Committee also. They have set up a Provincial Defence Committee consisting of myself as Chairman, Mr. Jafar Imam, MLA, and Moulana Qamaruddin as members, and Mr. Mazhar Imam as Secretary. We are undertaking an extensive tour of the Province from 5th May. Some funds [Rs. 1,000] have been raised to meet the initial expenses. I have been compelled to postpone all the meetings I was to attend in various parts of the country, and though this may cause some disappointment to the workers concerned, there was no alternative in view of the most pressing importance of the defence problem.

I will try to report to you the progress the Defence Committee will make every now and then.

Praying for the Almighty's help and your blessing in the great

task ahead,

Yours sincerely,
LATIF
President,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

[1]No. 9.
[2]See F. 809/336, *QAP*. Not printed.

35

Syed Shamsul Alam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/149-50

BASHARAT NAGAR,
P.O. SATBARIA,
CHITTAGONG,
30 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very sorry I could not take up my pen so long as I was terribly busy with my humble works and activities, though I promised one in my first and last, dated 4th March 1942,[1] a letter which had been carelessly neglected due to my utmost misfortunes and having no such fitness as to deserve a reply from your noble-self [*sic*].

I know you do reply everyone but what is the matter with me I could not imagine. During [*sic*] my last letter I was in Calcutta and now I am in my native land, a place full of Musalmans. I would mention one thing which I have been organizing most faithfully to enlighten the mass minds [*sic*] with the knowledge of what is running in the world. That is [why], Sir, I need here a party of the young and young-spirited ones to protect the Muslims from the external foes, to save Islam from internal disorder—poisoning the innocent mass minds with the following:

i. The War is already within [*sic*] India and may at once be on our heads. When it will comes? Heaven forbid, we don't want it. Still [*sic*] the Muslims will be, on one side, attacked by the Hindus with the help of the Japanese, and looted by helpless not-knowing what to do persons [*sic*] of the community on the other.
ii. In spite of all these the Japanese will be pouring [*sic*] their bombs all over in general and Muslim inhabitants in particular,

in order to draw on the support of Buddhists, their national brothers, and the Hindus—their friends.

iii. They are [in] majority, educated and more cultured.

iv. On of the most advanced political leaders, Subhas Chandra Bose, who is staying somewhere in Berlin or Tokyo, has recently made a broadcast to his followers in India to keep standstill.

v. Subhas Chandra's brother and some other Hindu leaders were arrested supposing [*sic*] to be with the fifth column and to invite the Japanese to sell the motherland.

vi. In my country, the Hindus are preparing to make arms, swords, spears, and powdering chillies, bottles etc. and keeping hoard of spirits, poisonous medicines etc. to answer the call of their duty—the duty to overcrush the Musalmans.

vii. They want to make Dacca-riot everywhere in the country, specially to revenge the Chittagong Armoury [Raid] Case[2] looting made by the Muslims with the help of the Government in 1930.

viii. They want to force 'Musalmans go away to Arabia, their father-land' with the help of their so called 'father', the Japanese [*sic*].

ix. They will most positively say like the Burmese, who looting and killing the Indians and particularly the Musalmans shouted: *'Hamara bap ata hai* and *tumahara bap jata hai'* [our father will make your father go] and you villains go away from our country.

x. To lower the prestige of our beloved Pakistan, they are always trying to mislead the Muslim minds and thus, in an emergency, will make the best use of their wagons they have been making.

In spite of all these they are always in contrast to us, which you know best. Sir, therefore, I am doing my bit for the good of the community; which I am most nobly informing you with pride at heart.

In the adjusting [*sic* for adjoining] villages of mine, I chose hundred of self-sacrificing young men, with the oath on the Holy *Qur'an*, and am going to instruct [*sic* for impart] the teachings of the same and enable [them] to serve the community, and fight if necessary against the coming foes—internal enemy and to bring peace among the Musalmans.

On my first arrival, I wondered to see that these people do not know what is 'League' and what will do 'Pakistan'. Our District League is too weak to work and in my opinion, there should be a change of staff to enbetter [*sic* for improve] it politically and socially. However, the recent happenings in Burma have made them conscious and it was good to make the people feel the necessity and importance of the Pakistan.

I would be happy enough if you kindly go through it [this letter] only once and it is [*sic*] my fortune to receive a reply.[3] Of course, I do not crave but I do most anxiously expect, and it is for your noble-self to consider to pacify a beating heart [*sic*].

Thanking you most heartily,

I have the pride to be,
dear leader,
an admirer and supporter of yours
SYED SHAMSUL ALAM[4]

[1]Not traced.

[2]The opinion about Muslim role in the Chittagong Armoury Raid has not been corroborated and appears to be based on hearsay. According to an existing source the raid was devised by Surya Sen, a revolutionary in 1930 with the aim to set up revolutionary centres for fighting against the British. See Jagdish Saran Sharma, *The National Biographical Dictionary of India*, Chandigarh, 1971, 220.

[3]Jinnah had replied that AIML Civil Defence Committee was doing their best to guide and advise Muslims. See F. 875/148, *QAP*. Not printed.

[4]The date as given below the signature is 30 May 1942.

36

Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/2-5

CALCUTTA,
1 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am submitting my first report. The [Civil Defence] Committee,[1] appointed by you, met at Lucknow on the 21st April, as arranged in your presence at Delhi. Sir Nazimuddin had to go to Calcutta on some important business and could not, therefore, join the Committee. The Committee held discussions with the Working Committee of the U.P. Muslim League and other important persons invited by it, and after full and free exchange of views drew up a programme of work, a copy of which is enclsoed[2] for your perusal.

[*Four lines omitted*]

Our Committee set up a [five-member] Provincial Defence Committee [*names omitted*].

Funds, amounting to Rs. 3,000, were collected by me in Lucknow to enable the Provincial Committee to start its work at once and undertake a tour of the Province for setting up District Committees and to give effect to the agreed proposals. The District Committees will collect their own funds for the purpose and establish their branches in urban and rural units. I have also written to other friends for contributing to this fund, and I hope to get another Rs. 2,000 by the end of this month. I may observe that the people we met from the various districts appeared to be very keen to get on with this work, and were conscious of the dangers that lie ahead of them and the responsibility for making adequate arrangements for protecting the Musalmans against them. Some of the districts, namely Gorakhpur, Cawnpore, Bareilly, [and] Shahjahanpur, have already adopted precautionary measures and are organising the Musalmans on the right lines. I may mention that Syed Rizwanullah, the General Secretary, who has been appointed Chairman of this Committee, will give his full time to this work and will be relieved of the routine work of the provincial office. The Committee also met the Chief Secretary [R. F. Mudie] and His Excellency [Maurice Hallett] the Governor of U.P. and explained to them the aims and objects which we had in view in organising

these Defence Committees. The interview was satisfactory and the Governor promised not to put any impediment in the way of our work. We also met the Executive Committee of the Muslim Students Federation and they agreed to work in full co-operation with our District Committees.

The Committee left Lucknow on the night of the 25th [April] and reached Patna on the 26th morning. In the afternoon it held four hours' discussion with the Working Committee of Bihar Provincial Muslim League, and in the evening we also met the [Bihar League] Council, which was then in session. We received enthusiastic support from them all, and the next day a [four-member] Provincial Defence Committee consisting of [*names omitted*] was appointed and Rs. 1,000 were contributed in our presence for enabling the Provincial Committee to start its work and organise District Committees on similar lines. It appears that the Musalmans of Bihar were also preparing for their self-defence and in some districts the work of preparation was fairly well-advanced, but it was not being done in an organised and uniform manner. On the next day, we met the members of the Provincial Defence Committee and chalked out a programme of work which was similar to that adopted in U.P., except for slight modifications here and there. The Districts which had been organising themselves are—Darbhanga, Bihar Sharif, Monghyr, Chapra, Arrah and Katihar. The Provincial Committee has promised to begin its work from the 2nd of May. It may be mentioned here that the members of both the U.P. and Bihar Committees have promised to give their whole time for at least two months. The gentlemen selected to serve on these Committees are the most suitable from every point of view for the work of this nature, both in the opinion of their Working Committees and ours.

We had intended to go to Assam direct from Bihar but on receiving urgent summons from Bengal, we started for Calcutta on the evening of the 27th, reaching there on the morning of the 28th. In the afternoon of the 28th, we met the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial League and exchanged views with them, and after a good deal of discussion it was agreed to appoint a Provincial Committee [*names omitted*]. Its expenses were guaranteed by Mr. Hassan Ispahani to the extent of Rs. 3,000. We conveyed your message to the Working Committees of the various provinces that you will give 25 per cent of the amount actually collected by them, and as soon as I am satisfied that the promised amounts have been collected by the various Committees and placed in the bank to the account of these Defence Committees, I shall report to

you and you will then please remit your contribution.

[*Ten lines omitted*]

On our way back from Shillong we were asked by the Working Committee of Bengal Muslim League to visit certain districts which are in the danger zone and virtually under military occupation. In one of these places certain Muslim women are said to have been raped by Sikh soldiers. This has naturally created great resentment and indignation among the Muslims and a full report[3] of the incident has been sent to you by the Provincial Muslim League. We also intend to visit this place called Feni on our way back from Assam. We had not intended to visit any district in Bengal but the insistent demand of the Working Committee had compelled us to accede to their wishes.

[*Four lines omitted*]

I am sending you a copy of the general letter,[4] [which] I sent to all the provinces at the very outset, a copy of the account of expenses, so far incurred,[5] and a copy of our tentative tour programme.[6] I hope to receive an acknowledgment of this letter from you at Madras care of the Provincial Muslim League.

My next report will be sent to you from Madras.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman,
AIML Civil Defence Committee

[1]See Annex to No. 10.
[2]See F. 761/6-7, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]See No. 22.
[4]See F. 761/14-5, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]See F. 761/16-7, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]See F. 761/18, *QAP*. Not printed.

37

Mir Maqbool Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 846/9-10

PERSONAL

THE TAJ,
AMRITSAR,
1 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The sad and sudden demise of Sir Abdoola Haroon is an

irreparable loss. God's will be done.

The late Haji Sahib was respected throughout Muslim India as an unostentatious but devoted worker of the Muslim League, and as a selfless and loyal lieutenant of yours. His successor, Yusuf [Abdoola Haroon], is promising but young. He needs at this juncture guidance from you. Is it too much to hope that for the sake of the cause of Muslim League and in recognition of the lifelong services of the late Haji Sahib, you may be able to invoke your good offices, within your limitations, to ensure that like the successor of Nawab of Mamdot, Yusuf may get a chance in the Assembly and in the Muslim League politics of Sind to carry on the great traditions of his father? You know that, out of deference to you and your time, I have seldom, if ever, approached you in such matters but this question transcends personal considerations and is essential to the cause we hold sacred. As such, I invoke your indulgence.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIR MAQBOOL MAHMOOD
Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab

38

M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Rauf Shah

F. 443/50

NEW DELHI,
2 May 1942

Dear Mr. Rauf Shah,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th of April[1] along with the enclosures, and in reply I beg to inform you that I cannot express any opinion as yet with regard to the proposals of Dr. Khare.

In any case it is a matter that I should like to be considered by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League before any step is taken by us.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. Rauf Shah, Esq.,
P.O. Pandharkawada,
Berar

[1]No. 25.

39

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 365/43-5

2 May 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You are well aware that owing to the sudden and unfortunate death of Sir Haji Abdoola Haroon a vacancy has occurred in the Central Legislative Assembly. Somehow or other, the Karachi City electoral roll does not include the names of Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Mohammad Hashim Gazder, or any other important Muslim Leaguer of the City, so much so that even the name of late Sir Haji Abdoola Haroon was not there. This is gross negligence on the part of the City [Muslim] League on the one side and carelessness on the part of the authorities on the other. The effort is, however, being made to get the name of Yusuf Haroon enrolled[1] even now as the Governor-General has got the power under rule 6 of the Legislative Assembly Rules to order amendments in the electoral roll at any stage if there is sufficient evidence to justify such modifications. It is, however, feared that the Central Government may order holding of election too quickly. This is the function of the Legal Department of the Government of India. I would, therefore, request you, on behalf of the Provincial League, to ask the authorities at Delhi to postpone election till the question of Yusuf Haroon is decided,[2] which matter may take a month at least. This entire process of election, calling upon the constituency to fill the vacancy, inviting nomination papers, etc., may kindly be got stayed.

I have asked [Shaikh Abdul Majid] the Secretary of the Provincial League, in my capacity as the Vice-President, to summon the meeting of the Provincial League Council on the 17th instant to receive applications of the candidates and forward them to you for being placed before the All India [Muslim League] Working Committee for choosing the candidate. This process also will, I believe, take the whole of May. In case Yusuf Haroon does not succeed in getting himself enrolled as a voter, we have to make a choice of another strong candidate to fight the election as Khan Bahadur Moula Bakhsh, brother of the Sind Premier K. B. Allah Bakhsh, has announced his candidature and [it] is, therefore, to bring to your kind notice that very serious effort is required on the part of our organisation [Sind Provincial Muslim League] and the backing

of the All India [Muslim League] organisation and a good number of workers and speakers from all parts of India, to defeat this strong and influential opponent. But if, God willing, Yusuf becomes eligible to contest the election, the general atmosphere will be in his favour owing to the services of his late father to the community.

I would keep you fully informed of the developments that take place in this connection from time to time. I saw [I. H. Taunton] the Chief Secretary to the Government of Sind today who has promised to write to the Government of India to delay holding the election till the question of Yusuf's vote is decided.

Local Government will also recommend this amendment in the electoral roll to the Governor-General as early as possible.

With best wishes and kind regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO
Khan Bahadur

PS. As I am leaving for Larkana tomorrow for about ten days kindly reply at my Larkana address.

M. A. K.

[1]See No. 31.
[2]As per endorsement on the document a copy had been forwarded to Firoz Khan Noon, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council on 6 May 1942.

40

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 307/158-9

NEW DELHI,
2 May 1942

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 27th[1] and 29th[2] of April, and thank you very much.

Yes, I am glad you took up a firm position with the result that the ban on the *Star of India* was unconditionally withdrawn. I also note a great change in the situation in Bengal in our favour. I will certainly make it a point to read the *Star of India* dak issue of the first of May when I get it.

I see from the A.P.I. report in the *Statesman*[3] today that Mr. Fazlul Huq has publicly declared that he is ready and willing to resign when [John Herbert], the Governor wishes him to do so. I wonder whether it is true, and if so, I wonder whether your Governor has now learnt a sufficient lesson and boldly asks him to resign. That is the only hope for Bengal.

I hope that the League Civil Defence Committee will do some good work. I shall await their report when I meet them in Bombay.

With regard to Mr. Osman Woo, I have already replied to your wire as follows:

> Your wire reaching Bombay seventh will make convenient meet Osman Woo any day after eight suiting him.

I am leaving Delhi on the 6th and I shall be glad to see him any day after the 8th that may suit him, provided he will let me know in advance at least 24 hours.

I wired to Mr. [Pothan] Joseph to meet me in Delhi, and that is why I stayed on. I have now traced him in Madras but I have not heard from him yet. I replied to his telegram on the 24th asking him to proceed to Delhi at once. We are seriously thinking of starting the *Star of India* at once from Delhi simultaneously. If I can get Mr. Joseph here before the 6th, and if it is possible for you to accompany him, the thing may be put through as there is a very strong support for the idea.

Please let me know[4] whether it is possible for you to run down immediately. If so, please wire at once.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 28.
[2]No. 32.
[3]Not traced, however, see Annex I to No. 45.
[4]See No. 45.

41

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 203/57

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
2 May 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have got a very good news for you. A member of our staff had gone to Peshawar to conduct practical examination in Islamia College. He has just returned and he says that the whole of the Frontier, including villages, have now adopted the creed of Muslim League and Pakistan. Captain [Doctor] Khan's daughter married a Sikh[1] and [they] ran away to Sind. This incident has infuriated the Pathans at Peshawar and they are out, according to my information, to kill the Frontier Gandhi [Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan] and Captain Khan.

One cannot befool the entire Province indefinitely by paid propaganda.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

[1]Flight Lieutenant Jaswant Singh, was in fact a Christian. See No. 237, *TP*, II, 353.

42

Iftikhar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/38-9

JUBBULPORE,
3 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I sent a letter to you at your Bombay address yesterday but soon after I learnt that you are staying at Delhi. Hence this letter.

I want to know if we can take up offices in the ARP [Air Raid Precautions] organised by the Government and join the Civil Defence Committee of the district. I could not get any instruction

from the Muslim League Civil Defence Committee on the subject. I have written to Choudhry Khaliquzzaman also but he is on tour and may take long to reply. I am thinking of the position when the Muslim League Civil Defence Committee will appoint its own officers. What shall we do if we have already accepted the posts in the Govt. ARP? Kindly instruct me on the subject.

There is yet one more very important subject to be referred to you, namely the Gun Carriage Factory (Jubbulpore) authorities have banned its employees from becoming members of the Primary Muslim League. This was done during the Congress regime in C.P. so much so that one Secretary of the Primary Muslim League, who had left his office and took up service in the factory, was dismissed on that account. The ban is against joining the Mahasabha and the Muslim League only and not the Congress. Kindly take necessary steps to get this ban removed. Now that a huge proportion of the Muslims have joined that service, the ban is very sharply felt. We don't mind if they are not allowed to take active part in Muslim League politics, but it is too much to prevent them from becoming its members.

I congratulate you, Sir, on the success of your appeal for the Muslim League Fund.[1] We are trying our best to ask people to send their quota [*sic*] to you direct.

Kindly do me the honour of sending a reply at your convenience. Hoping this will find you in perfect health,

I am,
Yours obediently,
IFTIKHAR ALI
Vice-President,
C.P. & Berar Muslim League

[1]Appendix I. 1.

43

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 809/358[1]

MADRAS,
5 May 1942

My telegram twenty-seventh [28th April[2]] unreplied. Can you state

minimum conditions of united demand[?] Do you approve active co-operation of Khaksars with Rajagopalachari[?]

INAYATULLAH

[1]The *Dawn*, 17 May 1942.
[2]No. 30.

44

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

[*Extract*]

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
6 May 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I addressed the enclosed letter[2] to Mr. Othman [K. H.] Woo of the Chinese Muslim Federation. ...Please see his reply[3]...

Please inform me whether I was right in my attitude towards Mr. Woo or not? Should we allow the Leaguers to participate in meetings to welcome Mr. Woo on behalf of the Muslims, organised under a bogus *Khilafatist* clique of half a dozen people [*sic*].

Kindly do instruct me immediately. My idea is that the League alone can speak on Muslim foreign policy, and Mr. Othman's mission is essentially political. And hence the League alone can welcome or reject him because Mr. Othman, shorn of his political mission, is nothing and we are in the midst of a war and the question of peace, war and neutrality lie in the domain of League alone.[4]

I do hope you are doing your best for starting our own English or Urdu daily from Delhi. The boycott of the Hindu press has shocked Muslim India to the core. The nation will welcome the launching of a separate[5] Muslim League Press and Publicity Fund by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. There are people who will be more attracted to this Fund than to anything else.

RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, ed., *Letters to Quaid-i-Azam 1942-43*, Book II, Karachi, 2001, 60-61.
[2]Dated 27 April 1942. See ibid., 67-77.
[3]Dated 30 April 1942, ibid., 82-3.
[4]See ibid., 78-81, for Raghib Ahsan's attitude towards Othman Woo.
[5]An appeal to raise funds for an independent Muslim press had been made by Jinnah in June 1937. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Towards Consolidation*, Karachi, 1992, 153.

45

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/160

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
6 May 1942

My dear Jinnah,

Thanks for yours of the 2nd[1] which reached me last evening. Express telegrams take three to four days and even express delivery letters take three days.

I have conveyed the contents of your telegram[2] to Mr. Woo.

As for our Governor [John Herbert], he is a spineless and gutless man. Huq's statement[3] was just a flourish. Nazim has seen the Governor regarding the taking over [of] the reins of office if Huq goes. Nothing definite has accrued; otherwise you would have been advised and directions would have been sought.

I have made it clear that as the whole provincial affair of Bengal is in the seisin of the Centre,[4] no action must be taken without the necessary consultation and guidance from you and the Working Committee, if you consider necessary.

Yes, Joseph is still away. He is absenting himself more often than can be tolerated. We cannot pay Rs. 1,000 [to] 1,200 a month and yet not have him at his desk. One more holiday or absence from Calcutta on his usual excursions will mean the end of our contract. I have hinted this reaction to him.

Your letter has reached me too late. Even if I leave today, I shall not reach Delhi in time to meet you. My brother, Ahmad, is leaving for Bombay on the 12th or 13th of this month. He is going there to attend to our business and also the meeting of the Federated Chambers. I hope you will be able to discuss with him your plans regarding the Delhi daily.

The Congress met at Allahabad, and as usual reversed its previous decision. Pandit Nehru made a complete somersault! He preached strong resistance and appealed for an anti-Japanese front after Delhi but at Allahabad he was once again converted to the creed of *Ahimsa*! So, the Congress too have a few Sikander Hyats and Huqs in the high command!

C. R. [Chakravarti Rajagopalachari] made a bold stand.[5] You

have not issued any statement, why? Is silence golden?

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 40.
[2]See F. 307/156, QAP. Not printed.
[3]Not traced but see Annex I.
[4]The Viceroy was also of the opinion that the Bengal political situation might ease in case Huq demitted his Chief Ministership. See No.63, *TP*, II, 93.
[5]See Annex II for further comment on Rajagopalachari initiative.

Annex I
A. R. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah[1]

1 ROWLAND ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
9 May 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Natore[2] has made people in Bengal think furiously with a view to readjust[ing] the political chessboard to suit the situation that has developed in North Burma which abuts on Eastern Bengal, almost 90 per cent Muslims in population.

You will recall the message conveyed to you by Khalique when you and he returned to Calcutta from Serajgunj. We saw Mr. Fazlul Huq the same afternoon in the Assembly and gave him to understand that if he resigned from the Progressive Party and expressed a desire to rejoin the Muslim League; his case would be considered sympathetically. He appeared to be impressed favourably but asked him to show him the way to come out. We said we would leave that to him. In fact, he himself suggested that the Secondary Education Board Bill might give the 'pretext'.

Since then, as I have said Natore and Japan, have upset his calculation as well as those of the Governor. I do not think I shall be wrong in stating that a cushy job will be found for him somewhere and the Governor[3] will arrange his exit in a manner not derogatory to his dignity. I have had two meetings with him, two meetings with [A. E. Stark] the Secretary of the European Group, one with its President and finally one with the Governor yesterday.

The Governor had also called Sir Nazimuddin about a week ago and explained to him how anxious he was to have a Cabinet with the representatives of the Muslim League in it. Sir Nazim was told that the Hindu Ministers were agreeable to work with the League but not

under a League Premier. They would not object to a Muslim Premier provided he was a non-Leaguer.

Sir Nazim reported the talk to Nawab Ismail Khan, Khalique, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Nooruddin, Hassan and myself and one or two others. The formula to which we gave a sort of tentative consent was:

1. A Cabinet with an equal numbers of Muslim League Ministers and non-Muslim Ministers the Chief Minister to be a Muslim Leaguer.
2. A Cabinet with a Muslim League majority and a non-Muslim Premier.

Sir Nazim, so far as I know, conveyed this tentative proposal to His Excellency before he left for Assam with the League Civil Defence Committee.

Mr. Fazlul Huq had a talk with me after that. He feels his exit from the League bitterly and as Mr. Stark, the Secretary of the European Group told me, he is 'prepared to eat the humble pie to make it up with Mr. Jinnah and the League'. In my talk I assured him that nobody was out to humiliate him but whatever decisions were taken, the League would always occupy a position superior to that of an individual. He is willing and prepared to go to you either at Delhi or Bombay, whichever is convenient to you. You know what a slippery customer he is and therefore I suggested that he should meet Ismail Khan, Khalique and myself, have a talk, and if an agreement was arrived at, we three, along with others, would appeal to you to take a forgiving attitude and let him re-enter the League on clearly defined conditions acceptable to you. To this he agreed, and we are going to meet on May 12, when they return to Calcutta.

It was after this that the Governor called me. We went over the whole ground once more. As an alternative to what he had suggested to Sir Nazim, he proposed that he was willing to have six Leaguers and six non-Muslim Ministers with himself as the Chief. I disagreed with him saying that as Bengal was Muslim and League minded, it should have a League majority and a League Premier.

But to accommodate His Excellency, I would personally go so far as to agree to [Khan Bahadur M. A.] Momin Saheb as Premier. And I suggested that although [being] a Joint-Secretary of the All India Muslim League, he was a man of experience and prestige and would be acceptable to us and also to the Hindus as he had taken not a very active part in the day to day affairs of the League and was not a party to the Ministerial squabble as he was neither a Minister nor a Member of the Legislature, either in the Assembly or outside. Sir Azizul

Haque has gone, and there will be a by-election. By arrangement, the Khan Bahadur should come into the Assembly unopposed and replace Mr. Fazlul Huq. This appealed to His Excellency very much.

The terms which I placed in my personal capacity before His Excellency were:

1. Mr. Fazlul Huq to go out of the Cabinet and the Assembly.
2. Muslim Members of the Progressive Party along with him to sign the League pledge provided the President of the League condoned Mr. Fazlul Huq's behaviour in the past.
3. We would have no objection to co-operate with any non-Muslim Group, so long as it acknowledges the League's representative position, but could not, under a ruling of the President of the League, co-operate with a Muslim Group unless and until it joined the League.

I am very hopeful that Ismail Khan and Khalique will be able to rope in Mr. Fazlul Huq who has already committed himself to the Governor and the European Group in the Assembly. The Hindu Ministers are perturbed a bit but the Governor has told them that he wants a United Cabinet and they will agree to what the Governor will tell them finally. In all this, the doubtful are the orthodox *Congresswallas*.

If Mr. Rajagopalachari's move succeeds, they my come in, else they will stick to the Working Committee. But they are either 18 or 20.

Whenever a big problem comes up before us, Hassan, Nooruddin and I put our heads together and if we agree, then we do what we can to support our view. After careful consultation, we feel that having regard to the Muslim districts on the frontier between Burma and India, if not for direct service then for saving Muslims from possible danger, the time has come when we should make a bid for power. We were quite happy in the opposition but times have changed. It is even doubtful whether a session of the Assembly will be called till February 1943. Anything might happen before that and we should not like to be caught unprepared or napping.

The programme now is that after the meeting between Mr. Fazlul Huq and ourselves on the 11th, I should leave for Delhi or Bombay, wherever you [may] be to report full details to you. If you decide to meet Mr. Fazlul Huq, I shall inform him and call him for the meeting. If the pardon is granted, a statement to that effect from you is published and at the same time Mr. Fazlul Huq calls upon his Muslim colleagues of the Progressive Party to join the League, which they are anxious to do, with perhaps half a dozen exceptions.

I am writing this in great hurry to catch the Toofan Mail so that it

may reach you in Delhi. Hassan tells me you have postponed your departure from Delhi for a week. In case we are able to fix up with Mr. Fazlul Huq and I am going to Delhi and he is to follow me, I am wondering if it will be asking you too much to postpone your departure for two or three days more. I know Delhi must have grown very hot and unbearable. But to remove Mr. Fazlul Huq and to reconquer Bengal for the League officially and publicly are matters of the highest moment. If, however, it has to be Bombay, we shall go there and arrange the settlement satisfactorily—*Insha Allah*.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQUI

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence* 1936-1948, Karachi, 1976, 259-63.
[2]See No. 26.
[3]See No. 63, *TP*, II, 93.

Annex II
A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 256/139-46

CONFIDENTIAL

SADAR HOUSE,
SURAT,
[*Undated May 1942*]

My dear Jinnah,

I know you must be seriously concentrating on problems affecting the progress and aims of our League. Not having, however, disturbed you of late, I venture to place a few suggestions for your consideration, particularly during this momentous period through which we are passing. I hope you will be able to spare a few minutes of your time to read this letter and give it such attention as you may deem fit.

My suggestions are these three:

i. We see in papers that a number of endeavours, both pro and anti-League, are so widely and at times wildly made which one in my position hesitates to step out, to support or contradict, mainly because one does not know how it would strengthen or handicap your moves on behalf of the League at such a psychological moment and disturb the far-reaching negotiations you may be carrying on at the moment. Much of what is written or said, here or abroad, can come under criticism, but it is just possible that that may interfere with what you may be contemplating at the time. My suggestion,

therefore, if you approve of course, is that you should call to your presence such men—talking of this Presidency—from the districts in whom you may have confidence and give them instructions and in person direct as to how they should proceed to foster our interests.

ii. My second suggestion is that I see Rajagopal[achari][1] is growing stronger every day in his vehemence to achieve, in his own way, what he calls Hindu-Muslim unity. If I do not misunderstand or misjudge him and his basic intentions, all that he means is, I believe, simply this: Let the principle of Pakistan be accepted for the present to avert the many difficulties with which India is faced today, in consequence of the war at our doors; but when, the time comes to settle the main issues affecting our co-relations the Muslims would be swayed and won over and would go against the ideal of Pakistan. This seems to be a matter of strong faith with him. Well, his faith apart, this may be considered something to our advantage for the time being. But beware seriously, if I do not err, of his 'for the present'. He adheres to it without fail. To me it forebodes mischief if nothing worse. He aims, by these methods of his, at establishing coalition governments in the Centre and the Provinces. These he imagines would work so smoothly and amicably as ultimately to make the Muslims forget Pakistan, to such an extent as not to see any utility in the division of India. In fact he seems to be convinced about it that if the Muslim opinion is then taken it would go against Pakistan. I, on my part, am equally convinced, as I have indicated before in my statements and writings, that Hindu-Muslim unity on any permanent basis is an empty dream. For the safe and successful administration of India unity lies only in an agreement to separate.

Coming, however, to my suggestion, I think the Cripps' mission, its criticism and whatever support it has received here or in England, officially or otherwise, lend colour to a hope that at the close of the war, and that may possibly come surprisingly suddenly, separation of India, as implied in the Pakistan demand, may be conceded if, and only if, the Muslims insist on it, in an overwhelming majority. Although I always adhere to the fact that words of diplomacy are treacherous, I suggest with all the emphasis I can command, that well-organised endeavours by intensive propaganda, especially and primarily aimed at preparing our people for the plebiscite, should be started throughout India without delay. Perhaps the British

Government, and most certainly Rajagopal[achari], think that the majority of the Muslims may not or, rather will not ask for separation. We must get ready in time, by acquainting our people with the essentials, from all possible angles of Pakistan and the necessity of their united voice; and give a rude shock to these people who hope that the demand for Pakistan will evaporate into the air. The propaganda well-organised by you and carried on now is essential.

iii. Now I pass on to my third suggestion which I think is the most important of the three. I feel sure that the general Muslim, the man in the street and even in towns, has not understood in any definite or clear manner the implications arising out of Cripps' visit and the Muslim position in consequence, particularly with reference to the demand of Pakistan and all that (Pakistan) implies.

Our opponents have often and consistently raised the question, "What is Pakistan". Even our Muslims in public meetings not seldom have got up to ask for the details of the Pakistan scheme as conceived by the League; its practical and workable shape with its fullest and precise details so as to see how it will affect various interests. I see you too have kept silent over that side of the ideal of Pakistan, perhaps intentionally and in your discretion. It may be right and sagacious to keep that part of Pakistan hidden until the right moment, from the public. But, I think it is essential for you as the responsible leader to have it cut and dried before you, especially to find out for your purposes its weaknesses on which its enemies might try to wreck. It must not be denied that the scheme in its workability may be found to be beset with many difficulties and ticklish problems: such as civil, military, administrative, economic, commercial, affecting minority interests and above all, to meet all that financial [*sic*]. For ought I know you have, perhaps, already a well worked out scheme up your sleeve to disclose at the proper time. If that be so nothing need be said nor suggested. If otherwise, I suggest it should be got ready. To maintain secrecy you will have to work it out yourself or take with you one or two in whom you can implicitly confide. But I opine again the scheme must be worked out and got ready.

I had casually spoken to Chundrigar and Shaikh Kadir to bring these points to your notice if they got a chance.

I am afraid this letter has become tiresomely long, but I could not put all this briefly. Please do not trouble to reply. It is a matter of party and political faith with me to lay before the leader what occurs to me as worth it. This letter absolves me of that self-imposed duty

of mine.

I hope this finds you well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

[1]See Annex II to No. 24 for the Madras Legislature Congress Party Resolution.

46

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/161

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
7 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Late yesterday evening I received a telegram from Liaquat,[1] advising me that you had prolonged your stay in Delhi for another week for the purpose of meeting me and Pothan Joseph and asking me to reach Delhi immediately as our presence there was most urgent. I wasted no time in replying[2] to it, saying that Pothan Joseph's present whereabouts are unknown to me and that I could not possibly leave Calcutta in the immediate future, and that my elder brother was leaving for Bombay on the 13th when he would avail himself of the opportunity of meeting you and discussing any plans that you might have in regard to starting of a newspaper from Delhi.

My younger brother [Mahmood Ispahani] is away and several members of the staff are not in Calcutta.

Further, the Muslim League Party in the [Calcutta] Corporation will have to be put on its legs for the year 1942-1943, at a meeting that has already been called for Friday next [15 May 1942].

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 256-7.
[2]Ibid., 257.

47

Khawaja Masood to M. A . Jinnah
F. 943/32-3

[*Original in Urdu*]

DELHI,
7 May 1942

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

At a meeting convened on 30 April 1942 by the migrants from Turkestan and attended by the Muslims in general, thanks were expressed for the resolution of sympathy passed by the Working Committee [Council] of the All India Muslim League.[1]

Generally the *Mohajirs* were sad, disappointed and sorrowful but when the All India Muslim League expressed sympathy towards them, they were overjoyed. I have been enjoined by them to express our gratitude to the AIML.

Turkestan[2] is one of the oldest Islamic countries of the world, with an area of 2,507,231 square miles, which has slowly gone under the Russian influence. Only about ten thousand square kilometres are under the sway of Afghanistan.

As is known, the Russian system of government is based on Communism and every citizen has to adhere to this creed but Muslims could not agree to it. When in 1925,[3] Communists came into power, three million Turkestani Muslims migrated to and settled in Afghanistan, besides thousands settling in Iran, Turkey, Hedjaz, etc. India became a passage for migrants. But the problem of settlement of migrants in India did not crop up till now.

Thanks to God, our plight has caught the attention of Muslims of India and it is hoped that the problem of our settlement in India would be settled soon. What greater delight could there be for us than this. Today ten crores of Muslims of India are keen to alleviate our grief and misery.

It appears from the report of the Muslim League delegation that the ML wants to resettle the *Mohajirs* somewhere in India. This step not only reflects the dignity and glory of Muslims of India but will be a living example of the Islamic sentiments of Indian Muslims.

After expressing my heartfelt sincerity, I, in all humility, dare to ask about the time when the settlement of the *Mohajirs* will start and about the area which has been earmarked for this purpose? In all

kindness, the Anjuman may please be informed about the development so that the migrants could be informed of the correct position.

KHAWAJA MASOOD
President,
Society of the Migratory Turks

[1]See Annex to No. 17.
[2]Central Asian region extending from the Caspian Sea to the Gobi Desert and divided by the Pamir and Tien Shan mountain systems into Russian (or Western) Turkestan, comprising the former Soviet Socialist Republics (now independent states) of Kazakhstan, Kirgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, and Chinese (or Eastern) Turkestan, comprising the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous Region.
[3]Communists rose to power in Russia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded in 1923; the Union broke up in 1991, all fifteen constituent republics gaining independence.

48

M. A. Jinnah to Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi
Telegram, F. 809/358[1]

DELHI,
11 May 1942

Your telegram.[2] My appeal to Khaksars is to join and support whole-heartedly the League policy at this critical juncture.[3] Not possible to discuss terms of united demand as requested by means of correspondence.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]The *Dawn*, 17 May 1942.
[2]No. 43.
[3]See Annex.

Annex
Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah
Telegram[1]

16 May 1942

Your telegram 11th May.[2] Assure you Khaksars' unflinching support every endeavour Muslim League for India's complete independence. Muslim-Hindu unity, united demands, united private protection of evacuees. Fix date discussion terms united demand New Delhi.

INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, New Delhi, 1981, 220.
[2]No. 48.

49

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/34

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
11 May 1942

My dear Jinnah,

Please find enclosed a copy of a letter from [Dr. Madhao Shrihari] Aney to myself in connection with your letter.

The Orient Press news agency is getting on splendidly. I am trying to help them with the Information Department with a view to securing for them a grant-in-aid. I have not succeeded yet, nor can I say that I have failed: but I should like to draw your attention to the desirability of keeping this Agency alive. I have no doubt that they have already approached you for assistance.

With kindest regards,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

Enclosure
M. S. Aney to Firoz Khan Noon

F. 399/35

5 MAN SINGH ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
9 May 1942

My dear Sir Firoz Khan Noon,

I duly received the telegram which was forwarded by you. It purports to have been sent by the Secretary, Jamiat-ul 'Ulama, to Barrister Mohammad Ali Jinnah.[1] I am in receipt of some other telegrams and letters, bearing on the question of the condition of Arakanese Indians [in general] and Muslims in particular. I am informed that some steps have already been taken with the help of the Indian Army to give protection to the Arakanese, residing in Burma. I am bringing the telegram, which you were pleased to forward to me, to the notice of the Bengal Government and also of

the Defence Department. I feel confident that they will take all possible steps for the maintenance of peace and order as long as it is being held by the British Government and not occupied by the enemy.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. S. ANEY
Member for Indians Overseas,
Vicoroy's Executive Council

[1]See F. 399/33, *QAP*. Not printed.

50

Altaf Hussain Parwaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 574/17-9

HARIPUR, HAZARA,
12 May 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You may be well aware that since long the migrators from Chinese Turkestan are subjected to great hardships in the City of Muzaffarabad, Kashmir, and that you had appointed Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan and Sardar Aurangzeb Khan to enquire into their condition and report[1] to you. These gentlemen met [George Cunningham] the Governor of NWFP and pressed him to transfer them to Hazara. As a result, the Government have transferred them to a village, Tarnawa, Khanpur, District Hazara, NWFP. On the 6th, 7th and 8th of May, the migrators, who have been ill, have reached Tarnawa by lorries. The Government have appointed a Sikh officer as their supervisor for food and rationing arrangements. He is treating them very badly. He has deprived them of their food from 6th of May till today. He says "when they will all assemble here, then I will give them food." The Government have also not made adequate arrangements for medicines and their medical attendance, and it has also been handed over to a Hindu doctor and a Sikh compounder who are absolutely negligent. Their ladies do not wish to get themselves treated by a Hindu male doctor, and there is no arrangement for a lady doctor, with the result that 25 of these helpless Muslim migrators have died within two days. Yesterday, we came to know that nine more had died. No arrangements have

been made for their burial etc. The dead body is generally buried after having dug six inches of ground. The report of the medical aid mission, that was sent from Haripur, is that they suffer from scurvy. In short, these migrators are deprived of medical aid and food, and the sum of three lakh rupees that the Government have sanctioned for them is not being utilised properly for their benefit; and it seems that the money has been sanctioned for their graves instead of their treatment and board.

The second contingent of Kazakhs reached here on the 11th. Haripur Muslims have received them with an open heart. They have been provided with good food and they have been given full and free medical aid. They have been given summer clothes and their cattle have been well-fed. At four o'clock in the evening, a three-year old child, whose mother died previously, had died.

Today on the 12th of May, their caravan has again started for its destination, which will reach the village Tarnawa at about seven o'clock in the evening. There was nobody accompanying the caravans, appointed by the [Muslim] League, and the Provincial Muslim League is silent. The District League members are only desirous of their personal aggrandisement. Other nations are only smiling at this. Their silence is most regrettable. Muslim League is the only authoritative protector of Muslim nation. Its silence in this behalf is harmful to the interest and prestige of the great organisation. The plight of these migrators is very sad and if another week is passed in the same strain they will all be victims of disease and death, and their death will create an awful situation for the League. The climate of the place where they are to be lodged is not suited to them, and over and above this the scanty medical aid and insufficient rations are the cause of their distress.

I appeal to your goodself to give your careful consideration to this matter immediately and issue such an order to the subordinate organisations and offices as you may think proper so that they may make adequate arrangements for their benefit. God knows how many of them will already be dead before this letter reaches you.

ALTAF HUSSAIN PARWAZ

[1]See No. 17.

51

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 307/164-7

NEW DELHI,
13 May 1942

My dear Hassan,

You will observe that I had to stay on in Delhi. Now I am definitely leaving on the 19th. I postponed my departure as I wanted to meet Mr. Joseph, and finally he turned up on the 12th as he had difficulty in getting accommodation from Madras owing to the difficulties in communication, and he was also under the impression that I had left for Bombay.

He arrived on the 12th and although I am sorry you could not come, we discussed the various pros and cons of starting a daily as soon as possible in Delhi.

The first question was whether we should start the *Dawn* as a daily and the second question was whether it will not be advisable to have the *Star of India* in Delhi. Taking all the circumstances into consideration we were inclined to be of the opinion that the *Star of India* should be started in Delhi.

The reasons are:

(i) that it is already a joint-stock company, no less a Muslim press company, and the Directors can adopt such steps as they may think proper,

(ii) that the conditions in Calcutta are such that the *Star* may have to seek a home elsewhere or completely close down, which will be most unfortunate. I understand that other newspapers and even commercial firms are living in dread and have made arrangements to shift elsewhere in case of necessity,

(iii) that in view of the conditions prevailing in Calcutta, your [newspaper's] circulation will go down. There are several other reasons the details of which I need not discuss. We, therefore, thought that the definite proposal that we can suggest is as follows:

That the *Star of India* should be transferred to Delhi before it is forced to close down in Calcutta without any home elsewhere. If that is done, we have rough calculations before us and I think that

the probable loss per year can be covered by issuing debentures. But the exact amount of the issue of debentures can only be determined after we know what is the present position of the *Star* with regard to the income and expenditure.

The main items of the expenditure will be:

(a) the editorial and managerial staff,
(b) office rent, including telephone, etc.,
(c) the A[ssociated] P[ress] and Reuters service, and
(d) the printing charges and cost of the paper. On the other hand, the income and particularly the advertisement items, which are most important, have to be considered.

On a rough calculation, we came to the conclusion that there might be a loss, if we have to run the *Star of India* in Delhi, of between rupees three to four thousand per month. That means roughly Rs. 50,000 a year.

I think it will not be difficult to raise money by issuing the debentures for a lakh of rupees, which will ensure the running of the paper for at least two years and with luck for more. Of course, in your absence and in the absence of Mr. Ahmad it is not possible for us to carry the matter further unless we know the exact income and expenditure of the *Star* as it is run at present; nor can we do anything without your approval. I am leaving on the 19th and if Mr. Ahmad is in Bombay, I shall get in touch with him and you please write to him.

The advantage of the *Star* being run in Delhi is not only for the benefit of Bengal but for all India. From Delhi the paper will carry the message of the League not only in the capital itself but in northern India and also in Bengal. Remember it [is] Delhi that controls Bengal after all in the final analysis. Besides, the *Star* may be stranded in Calcutta, having regard to the dangerous conditions facing us in Bengal.

At the present moment, there is a very strong feeling among the Musalmans not only of Delhi but also of the Punjab and U. P., and I think if the *Star* is started in Delhi it will spread like a wildfire. You will be surprised to hear that even this weekly *Dawn* has a circulation of 3,500 all over, and there is more demand than we can supply.

With regard to the printing press and all other matters, we have examined it and arrangements can be made here to our entire satisfaction, and also suitable offices are available connected with the press in a very central locality.

In conclusion, therefore, it comes to this that if you agree all

that we have to consider is what is the monthly loss that we have to provide for and if we can arrange that, we can go ahead. Of course, my suggestion is that we can arrange that by issue of debentures, and there are people in Delhi who will come forward to buy debentures straightaway to the extent of 25 to 35 rupees and similarly in the Punjab and U. P. also many will come forward.

It will, therefore, not be difficult to raise a lakh of rupees if we put our heads together, and of course the *Star* will remain the property of the Company and the management will be under the control and supervision of the present Board of Directors.

I hope I have made myself clear for your information and consideration as to what was the substance of discussion and how far we were able to boil down the matter. You can have further details from Mr. Joseph as he was present when we discussed the matter along with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

As regards Mr. Woo,[1] I wonder what has happened to him but I hope you have informed him that I have postponed my departure. I am leaving for Bombay on the 19th and I shall be glad to see him any day after that date. Please let me know when he is likely to be in Bombay and what are his engagements.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street, Calcutta

[1]See Annex II to No. 32.

52

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 203/58-9

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
14 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I understand that Mr. Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan are coming to meet you in Bombay on the 25th May 1942. I am sending you a note about Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan[1] which you may please keep in mind when discussing the

question of his election. I am also sending you a copy of the resignations[2] of Raja of Mahmudabad and Mr. Khaliquzzaman, and also a note on the last election of the members of the Court on behalf of the donors and the registered graduates,[3] which is the ground of their resignations. You remember that during my interview with you in Delhi I drew your attention to the suggestion of Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, and I was given to understand that he also had a talk with you. The suggestion was that a small committee, consisting of three or four persons, may be appointed whom I may consult not only in matters of election but also in other matters of policy. I welcomed the suggestion.

Throughout the year, no action was taken in the University in matters of expenditure or policy without the consent of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and he shares the responsibility in everything done during the year 1941-42.

I would prefer the persons who have not identified themselves with any party, such as Sir Abdur Rahim, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, [and] Mr. Zahid Husain, for the membership of the Committee. I wish you note down the chief complaints of Choudhry Khaliquzzaman on account of which he resigned the membership of the Court. In case you have got no time you may refer the matter to a small committee consisting of Ch. Khaliquzzaman, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and myself, and we should amicably settle the whole affair.

You are also aware that ever since my election in April 1941, a small group consisting of Mr. Zafar Omar, Khan Bahadur Habibullah Khan, Moulvi Tufail Ahmad and a few others, who have all along been anti-Muslim League, are carrying out intensive propaganda and they are working out a plan of campaign. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan resigned the membership of the Executive Council [along] with Dr. Zakir Husain and K. B. Habibullah Khan. But we kept the place vacant for them. Last month, Ch. Khaliquzzaman and Raja of Mahmudabad resigned and the latter carried out active personal propaganda in Hyderabad. Had the Raja of Mahmudabad, Ch. Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan not been prominent office-bearers of the Provincial Muslim League, the matter would have been different. Withdrawal and active anti-propaganda will affect the maintenance of the *esprit de corps* in the Muslim League itself. Difference of opinion and honest desire to reform are very different from propaganda based on personal

dislikes and carried out under the influence of a hostile party.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

[1]Not traced.
[2]F. 203/52 & 56, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]F. 203/53-5, *QAP*. Not printed.

53

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/162

PESHAWAR,
16 May 1942

Dear Sir,

Kazakhs have arrived in Hazara District.[1] They are in [an] awful mess—climate cannot [*sic* for does not] suit them. This is only natural; you are already over-busy, but I have to request you if you could kindly ask somebody either in Bhopal, Hyderabad, or any other Muslim [State] to grant them permanent shelter. They will start work and earn their wages the moment they all get acclimatised.

Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan is doing his bit but their affair is beyond the control of any single individual.

With prayerful regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN
MLA

[1]See No. 50.

54

Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 296/39-40

HASNAIN MANZIL,
GAYA,
18 May 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah

I enclose a cheque for Rs. 100 as my small contribution to your Fund. I am sorry at [*sic* for for] the small amount sent by my Province [Bihar] though my own town has not failed. I propose to visit Patna and other places to induce friends to contribute generously to our Fund.

As I was going to Delhi on the 22nd instant I wished to talk to you personally, but now that you are leaving on the 19th, I can only write to you. My colleague, Mohammad Hossain, has been elected to the Civil Defence Committee by the Council of State. On seeing the news in the papers, I asked him to resign. He has asked me to refer the matter to you as he contends that this Committee is not connected with war efforts but deals mainly with safety of the general public, the non-combatants. You know my aversion to joining committees connected with war efforts but I could not refuse his request to get your decision[1] on the subject. If you side with me he will resign at once, otherwise he will continue.

I received the debates of my Council [of State] by today's post; if you have any spare time please see the 24th March copy; at page 394, Hindu mentality is laid bare. Firoz Khan stood up for us and I dealt with it at page 412 and onwards.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
HOSSAIN IMAM
Member AIML Working Committee;
Member, Council of State

[1]See No. 60.

55

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/168

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
20 May 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter,[1] handed to me by Mr. Pothan Joseph.

My brother, Mirza Ahmad, is still in Bombay and I am sure you must have met him by now. His office telephone No. is 22625. I shall very much appreciate [it] if you will discuss your proposals with my brother also. The loss should not be Rs. 4,000 a month. I, however, feel, whether we have a paper in Delhi or not, we must keep the *Star of India* going in Calcutta—invasion or no invasion. It may be possible to have an office in Delhi to conduct the daily newspaper there and, as the *Statesman* does, have the common editorials sent out from Delhi, then all that Calcutta will require would be a couple of News Editors and one Sub-Editor to run the *Star*. We have, however, to bear in mind that the quota for newsprint is being reduced more and more with the result that from the 1st of June a one-*anna* newspaper will not be permitted to be of more than four pages. So, much less matter would be required for the production of a newspaper from early next month. Enquiries have to be made whether the Government will permit the starting of another newspaper just now, either independent or the daily edition of an already existing daily, because if such permission is not granted, or if quota for newsprint is not given for such a venture, then it is absolutely no use thinking of starting it. Of course, you must have made the necessary enquiries in Delhi.

There seems to be a lull in the political battlefield of this Province for the time being. The Muslim League Fortnight is being organised and it is hoped that 4 to 5 lakhs of members will be enrolled during the course of that Fortnight.

Rajagopalachariar means business this time. He is travelling and speaking. I feel that with his sincerity, dash and concentration of purpose he will get the *banias* before long to admit defeat. You still maintain silence and have not expressed any opinion on Rajagopalachariar.

Calcutta is very hot for the last four days.
With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 51.

56

Syed Mazhar Imam to Syed Zakir Ali
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 761/21-3

PATNA,
21 May 1942

Sir,

I send you herewith the initial report of our tour to some of the districts of Bihar. The [Civil Defence] Committee consisted of Moulvi Latifur Rahman, MLA (Chairman), Moulvi Jafar Imam, MLA, Moulana Qamaruddin and Syed Mazhar Imam (Secretary). Out of the four divisions of the Province, the Committee first took up two divisions, i.e. Patna Division and the Tirhut Division, and visited Shahabad, Patna, Gaya, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpore, Motihari and Chapra.

The Committee is again to commence its tour of the remaining districts from the 25th May 1942.

The Committee met the members of the Working Committee of each District Muslim League along with some other responsible and influential Muslim Leaguers in the districts, and after mutual discussions on the vital question of Muslim defence, set up District Muslim League Civil Defence Committees in the districts as given hereunder:

[*Names omitted*]

The members of the Committee also addressed huge public meetings in the districts in which the aims and objects of the Committee were fully explained to the audience. The Committee was glad to note that everywhere the Musalmans were alive to the essential need of the time and were ready to cope with the changing situation and were not downhearted or afraid. The Committee is further satisfied to remark that each district visited by us fully and immediately took up the work and at once provided sufficient funds for the expenses of its Civil Defence Committee.

The Committee is expected to finish its first tour of the Province by the second week of June and after that a complete report regarding the necessary requirements of each district in the matter of defence etc. will be prepared and forwarded to you.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
SYED MAZHAR IMAM
Secretary,
Civil Defence Committee,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

57

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/36

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
21 May 1942

My dear Jinnah,

I have been pressing the Government here to turn all appointments made to the Government of India services as temporary and reserve these for those who are now joining the combatant forces. I see signs of this going through.

I have been pressing the Home Department here to put all service advertisements in the *Inqilab* of Lahore because Muslims do not read these advertisements in Hindu-owned papers. Their point of view has been that they do not give these advertisements to the vernacular press, and if they make an exception in the case of *Inqilab*, they will be placing themselves in an awkward position. Consequently, I am going to compromise with them. If they agree to place all these advertisements in the Muslim League paper, the *Dawn*, I shall withdraw my request regarding *Inqilab*.

As regards Moulvi Daud Ghaznavi, I have written to [Abraham Jeremy Raisman] the Finance Member on this subject.

I am also pressing for the appointment of a Muslim as Vigilance Officer for the Railways. That is also progressing favourably, but naturally it will not be decided finally till the new Railway Member is appointed.

H.E. made enquiries about you[1] in order to get hold of you but

unfortunately you were leaving that day.

With kindest regards to you both,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

FIROZ

Labour Member of Viceroy's Executive Council

[1]For Jinnah's reply see F. 399/37, *QAP* . Not printed.

58

Feroz-ud-Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/390

119 CIRCULAR ROAD,
LAHORE,
23 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to your appeal for funds,[1] I have the pleasure of enclosing a cheque for rupees one thousand, and venture to take this opportunity to express my profound admiration for your untiring and persistent efforts at truly laying the foundations and firmly upholding the ideal of Pakistan. This has undoubtedly created consternation among those who are opposed to the Muslims enjoying the same privileges in a free India for which they clamour exclusively for themselves and has obliged them at long last to listen to the voice of reason. But I fear that this desire for Pakistan, though it finds a spontaneous response in the heart of every Musalman and fascinates his imagination, is too much dependent for its momentum and success on your magnetic and powerful personality. One feels despondent to realise that there are few amongst the leaders of Muslim India who could be even near your stature in political life. It is in fact a miracle that, utterly lacking unostentatious and silent workers and shorn of all possible power which should have been properly your own in Muslim majority provinces, and at a time when factors for the disintegration of our communal life are working overwhelmingly against us, you have achieved such amazing success. But, nevertheless, the stern reality that there is no second General amongst us, deepens the anxiety of all well-wishers of Muslim India.

Lest in your absence our political future be bartered away or sacrificed, I feel prompted to appeal to you in all earnestness that

while regarding Pakistan as an ideal embodying our legitimate political aspirations, you might, with your resourcefulness, evolve with the Congress and its associate body, the Hindu Mahasabha, an hounrable, equitable and peaceful settlement which might spare the average Musalman the trials and tribulations to which he might be subjected by unscrupulous exploiters. It may not be without profit for Musalmans that in a united India their legitimate rights are adequately safeguarded. In Pakistan, we can ensure the full development of only five provinces while in the remaining seven provinces, Muslim minorities will still remain at the mercy of local majorities. It may after all be expedient to agree to form a national government provided Muslims are assured their rightful share not only in the political sphere on an agreed basis of reservation of seats in the legislatures in the provincial and central cabinets but in the economic field also in which the principle of communal reservations is made applicable to recruitment and promotions in services, allocation of Government contracts and in the patronage of other economic and industrial institutions.

I would like to assure you that it is not that my faith in Pakistan is in any manner shaken or that I am half-hearted in my loyalty to this goal but I am prompted to invite your attention to my suggestion by a keen sense of the realisation of the limitless difficulties which its attainment involves.

In renewing my assurances in my implicit faith in your leadership and trusting that you will be guided in your efforts by the Almighty in arriving at a just decision. I subscribe myself as,

Your admirer,
FEROZ-UD-DIN
Proprietor,
Ferozsons Printers and Publishers

[1]Appendix I. 1.

59

Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 785/238

LAHORE,
23 May 1942

Punjab Govt.'s recent orders conferring powers upon District

Magistrates to ban political meetings demand your immediate attention. Powers first exercised when District Magistrate Jullundur banned Muslim League Conference at Phillaur. It is stated that organisers were [told] that Pakistan could not be mentioned, it could not be said that Hindus and Muslims are two nations and Pakistan creed could not be explained. District Magistrate added that he received these instructions from Govt. Entire work of League organising in Province upset. Some vernacular Muslim dailies disseminating untruth and falsehood about you. They are daily telling Muslims that Quaid-i-Azam suspended Pakistan propaganda during war. Therefore Muslims should give up Pakistan conferences voluntarily. They are exploiting your sentence that you were prepared to shelve Pakistan during war. This is creating misunderstanding and mischief. Please clear position at once. Muslim youth much perturbed. We assure you of every sacrifice. Wire reply[1] with permission to publish if necessary.

HAMEED NIZAMI
President,
Punjab Muslim Students Federation

[1]See Annex for Jinnah's reply.

Annex
M. A. Jinnah to Hameed Nizami

Telegram, F. 785/238

BOMBAY,
[*Undated May 1942*]

Your telegram[1] about banning Phillaur Conference receiving my attention. Do not precipitate matters.

JINNAH

[1]No. 59.

60

M. A. Jinnah to Hossain Imam

F. 296/41

BOMBAY,
25 May 1942

Dear Mr. Hossain Imam,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th of May[1] together with a cheque for Rs. 100 as your contribution towards the All India Muslim League Fund, and I am grateful to you for your support.

With regard to Mr. Mohammad Hossain, who has allowed himself to be elected to the Defence Committee by the Council of State, in my opinion it is quite clear that he should not have done so and that he should resign as the official policy of the League is that we cannot associate ourselves with the Government by means of serving on those small committees here and there when we have no real share in the authority and power of the Government at the Centre and in the provinces. His contention that the Committee is not concerned with the war efforts and that it deals with the safety of the general public, the non-combatants, is untenable.

If prominent Muslim Leaguers are allowed to join these various committees by such arguments, the Government will be justified in saying that the Muslim Leaguers are co-operating and that when the League officially maintains that it cannot take the responsibility of the burden of the war effort without real authority in the Government, it will lose its force altogether.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hossain Imam, Esq.,
Gaya

[1]No. 54.

61

M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan

Telegram, F. 785/238

BOMBAY,
25 May 1942

My report[1] District Magistrate Jullundur banned Muslim League Conference Phillaur sixteenth May on ground that no undertaking was given that Muslim League Pakistan scheme should not be discussed or even mentioned in Conference deliberations. This report if true raises very serious issues. League cannot acquiesce [in] any interference on part Government in explaining and propagating its creed, policy, programme by legitimate constitutional means. Any interference of this character with elementary rights, freedom of speech, expression of opinion will lead to serious consequences. I therefore request you for personal intervention deal with situation created in Jullundur by District Magistrate's order. Please wire[2] correct facts situation.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 59.
[2]No. 69.

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M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

Telegram, F. 785/248

BOMBAY,
25 May 1942

Received reports Organising[1]and General Secretary[2] Punjab Provincial League regarding Phillaur Conference. Please wire why and on what grounds District Magistrate banned this Conference. Make representations [to the] Punjab Government at once.

JINNAH

[1]Annex I.
[2]Annex II.

Annex I
Rabb Navaz Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan
F. 347/1

THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
ORGANIZING OFFICE,
FEROZEPORE CANTT.,
18 May 1942

My dear Nawabzada Sahib,

The District Magistrate of Jullundur banned the Muslim League Conference of Phillaur on 16 May 1942 i.e. the day on which the Conference was to begin, in spite of the assurance given by us that nothing would be said or done which would injure the feelings of non-Muslims. He said that all such meetings should be prohibited in which the Pakistan issue or the Two-Nation Theory would be discussed and so he wanted us to desist from touching the Pakistan issue, from introducing the Two-Nation Theory, from claiming separation from Hindu India and from explaining the present creed of the Muslim League. On our inability to accept these terms he prohibited the meeting.

Just when the Muslim League has started its conferences, the Punjab Government bans them. If no talk on Pakistan is allowed, the anti-Pakistan movement itself succeeds. People were anxious to hold the meeting in disobedience to the orders of the District Magistrate and a list of those who were ready to court arrest and face bullets was handed over to Moulana Zafar Ali Khan but the Moulana and Fatma Begum summoned them [to] await instructions from the Provincial and the All India Muslim League.

The Provincial Muslim League would not do anything. Please permit us to lay our blood in the achievement of Pakistan over the head of the Provincial League of the Punjab.

Yours sincerely,
RABB NAVAZ KHAN
[*Organizing Secretary*]

Annex II
Syed Khalilul Rahman to Liaquat Ali Khan
F. 347/1

THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 May 1942

Dear Sir,

The Phillaur Pakistan Conference organized by the District Muslim League Jullundur, under the presidentship of Moulana Zafar Ali Khan Sahib, M. L. A. (Central) on the 16th and the 17th May 1942 has been banned by the orders of the District Magistrate Jullundur. On 12th May, I had informed the Quaid-i-Azam personally of this move of the Punjab Government. Since then all Pakistan and anti-Pakistan conferences have been banned.[1] The Musalmans of the District have resented this order of the Punjab Government but as there were no instructions from the Centre otherwise, the order was obeyed. Kindly consult the Quaid-i-Azam and let me know definitely what attitude we should adopt in the future.

SYED KHALILUL RAHMAN
[*General Secretary*]

[1]The Hindu Mahasabha had observed anti-Pakistan day on 10 May 1942 all over the country including the Prov'nce of the Punjab. See No. 58, *TP*, II, 85-7.

63

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah
Telegram, F. 785/248

LAHORE,
26 May 1942

Made enquiries. No use approaching Government on Phillaur issue. Sending a detailed report.[1]

MAMDOT

[1]See No. 68.

64

A. W. Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 362/6

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
26 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am taking the liberty to send you herewith copies of a report[1] entitled, *Muslim University in the year 1941-42*, and a statement[2] issued by Mir Ghulam Bhik Nairang. I hope you will kindly go through them and let me have your opinion.

Of late a certain section of the press has been carrying on very misleading propaganda against the University. Many misunderstandings have been created and these should be removed. The report sent herewith will show how steady and satisfactory has been the progress of the University during the last year.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. W. KHEIRI
Director,
Publicity Bureau

[1&2]Not traced.

65

Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/31-9

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
26 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I regret that there has been some delay in submitting my second report. The continuous travelling since we left Calcutta for Assam did not leave me any time for writing a report. In my previous report[1] I informed you that the [Civil Defence] Committee was going to Ranchi to meet [Thomas Stewart,] the Governor of Bihar and place

the demands of Bihar Muslims before him. We interviewed the Governor of Bihar on the 1st of May and placed the demands of the Musalmans before him and explained to him the aims and objects of the Civil Defence Committee. He was very sympathetic and promised to give his careful consideration to the demands placed before him. These demands are contained in the letter of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League which I attach hereto[2] for your perusal.

We returned to Calcutta on the morning of the 2nd and interviewed [John Herbert,] the Governor of Bengal, who was opposed to the formation of volunteer corps on communal lines and wanted the Committee to agree to the Home Guard Scheme which he and his Government had formulated. After a very long discussion, lasting over an hour, it was decided that we should meet him again on our return from our Assam and Eastern Bengal tour. He also impressed upon the Committee the desirability of interviewing the Premier who is also the Home Member of the Province, and said that constitutionally it was not proper for him to meet us over the head of the Home Member of his Government. We demurred to this advice and said that owing to the peculiar position of Mr. Fazlul Huq *vis-a-vis* the Muslim League, it was not possible for us to meet him. He then said that he had to make his position clear because he had received a protest from the Home Member. We left the same afternoon for Shillong. Next morning when we reached Amingaon the Muslim Leaguers of Gauhati met us there in large numbers and took us to Gauhati where we stayed till afternoon. We were very pleased to note that the office-bearers and volunteers of Gauhati Muslim League were rendering useful help to the evacuees from Burma and devoted a good deal of their time, labour and money to providing food and other comforts to them. They were, however, working under the name of Anjuman-i-Khadimul Insan. As the work was being done wholly by the Muslim League we asked them to change the name so that the credit for it should rightly go to the Muslim League which has made itself responsible for the work. I may also mention here that at Tezpur also the Muslim League of the place was doing similar work but for some unaccountable reason under an assumed name. That League has also been directed to continue the good work under its own name. From Gauhati we motored up to Shillong, reaching there the same evening. Next morning we held consultations with the members of the Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League under presidentship of Sir Syed Saadulla. The Committee decided to set up a Provincial Defence Committee, consisting of Moulvi Abdul Hai Sahib, MLC, Gauhati, as Chairman.

Funds to the extent of Rs. 1200 were promised on the spot for enabling the Committee to start its work at once. We were also informed that at one or two places some measures for the defence of the Musalmans had already been adopted. The programme of work, similar to the one formulated by U.P. and adopted by other provinces, was also agreed to by the Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League.

The Muslims of Assam are under imminent danger of enemy aggression just like their brethren of Eastern Bengal, and also apprehend trouble from the inhabitants of certain tracts and the neighbouring hill tribes who have nothing in common with the Muslims of Assam. Further details will be explained to you verbally. Special measures and precautions have to be taken for their safety and I must frankly confess that I do not consider Muslim leaders in Assam capable of rising to the occasion. In the afternoon we met members of the Muslim Students Federation in Assam who presented an address to the Committee at a public meeting, which was addressed by the members of the Committee. Next morning we left by car for Sylhet accompanied by Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhri and [Muddabir Husain Chowdhury], General Secretary of the [Assam] Provincial Muslim League. On our way to Sylhet we were enthusiastically received by the Muslims at several places which showed that everywhere, even in distant Assam, Muslims are whole-heartedly with the Muslim League.

On reaching Sylhet we were accorded a most cordial reception and were taken out in a huge procession to the City in spite of our previous instructions to the contrary. In the evening a public meeting was held, which was addressed by the members of the Committee. In Assam, the Muslims while professing allegiance to the League and its ideals complained bitterly of their leaders. Same complaints, both written and oral, were made to us in the course of our tour in the districts of the Eastern Bengal.

We left Sylhet on the evening of the fifth, reaching Chittagong next morning. On our way to Chittagong we were met by Mr. Hamid-ul-Haq, a member of the Bengal Muslim League Provincial Defence Committee who accompanied us to Chittagong, Feni, and Comilla. At Chittagong war conditions prevailed and all means of transport had been commandeered by the military authorities. By the courtesy of the district authority two cars were placed at our disposal. We met the leading citizens of the place and set up a strong Defence Committee there for which funds were also collected for immediate work. At Feni and Comilla also same procedure was followed. At Chittagong

the District Magistrate was invited to meet us at a tea party with whom we discussed the situation obtaining in the District and the steps he was taking to protect the population where a bombing raid was expected hourly because of Akyab having passed into Japanese hands. He also informed us that he had received information that twelve thousand Indians, the majority of whom were Muslims, were running away from this part of Burma towards Chittagong and had been severely dealt with by the Mugs who lived on the Arakan Coast. Four thousand of them were murdered by the Mugs and the rest had reached Cox's Bazar Sub-Division of Chittagong District. As a matter of fact, 24 hours after we left Chittagong the place was actually bombed twice. The casualties were very high. Two hundred were actually killed on the air-field in Chittagong and another two hundred were injured severely. At Feni, where the military authorities have built the first line of defence, we met Musalmans from a number of neighbouring villages who bitterly complained of the manner in which the villages had been evacuated under the direction of the military authorities. They had a number of grievances and had really suffered great hardships in the process of evacuation. We placed these grievances before His Excellency the Governor in our next interview with him and urged upon him to take prompt steps to redress them.

Feni is the place where the most brutal outrage was committed against Muslim women by Sikh soldiers and about which a report had already been sent to you by the Bengal Provincial League.[3] It is alleged that about thirty women were brutally raped and received serious injuries. In addition to these heinous offences two or three people were killed and a number of houses looted. I believe the Governor has ordered a magisterial enquiry into the matter which is being held in camera. The Provincial Muslim League is taking great interest in the matter, but I must say it is for merely political purposes. It is sad to observe that not a single Muslim League worker went to the village which is only a few furlongs from Feni Railway Station to take down the depositions of these people or to assist them in putting up their case before the magistrate. The Muslim League lawyers practising in Feni were frightened to do anything because they thought they will be proceeded against under the Defence of India Rules. The Congress lawyers went to the spot, took down the statements of these wretched women and men of the village and sent them on to Mahatma Gandhi.[4] In our presence a small committee of Muslim lawyers was set up for assisting these men in collecting evidence and placing it before the investigating authorities. It was after a great deal of persuasion that they agreed to

serve on this committee. From Comilla the Committee went to Mymensing, Dacca and Barisal returning to Calcutta on the morning of the 12th. At all these places Defence Committees were set up and subscriptions raised for starting work. In its tour to eastern districts of Bengal, the Committee was accompanied by one or the other member of the Provincial Defence Committee. Everywhere in its tour, on the roadside stations, the Committee was welcomed by Musalmans who had travelled some distance to greet it. The slogans *Pakistan zindabad* and *Quaid-i-Azam zindabad* were raised everywhere, thus showing their complete confidence. Mr. Fazlul Huq's popularity is at its lowest ebb and people are bitter about him. At the same time it must be noted that they complained of the timid leadership and self-seeking motives of those in authority in League circles. I am, however, glad to say that Sir K[hwaja] Nazimuddin enjoys fair amount of confidence. On the 13th, we interviewed the Governor of Bengal for the second time and informed him of the conditions obtaining in the so-called invasion area and of our decision with regard to his Home Guard Scheme, which has been taken by us after consultation with the Provincial Defence Committee. It was to the effect that while we would not place any hindrance in the way of the officials in enrolling Home Guards, because the population in the eastern districts is 80 per cent Muslim and most of these guards would be recruited from them, yet we could not give up the idea of strengthening our own National Guards in these localities. We told him that we could not compromise on this point and he also did not appear to be as insistent as he was on the last occasion about preventing the establishment of volunteer organisations on communal lines. He seemed to be more interested in the constitutional question and [in] securing the co-operation of the Muslim League in the formation of a new Government and asked us to help him in the solution of the constitutional tangle in Bengal. We told him that this question had nothing to do with us and was beyond the scope of the work entrusted to the Committee. We, however, suggested that the only solution lay in Mr. Fazlul Huq resigning the Premiership and retiring from politics. The Governor assured us that Mr. Fazlul Huq was willing to do so but the very next day we found that the Governor had been misinformed on this point. We left Calcutta on the evening of the 14th and reached Cuttack in Orissa at 2 a.m. in the morning of the 15th. We stayed there for the whole day with Mr. Abdus Subhan Khan, Minister in the present Government in Orissa. As there is no Provincial Muslim League in Orissa, although there are Leagues functioning in several districts, our first duty was to set up a

committee to reorganise and revive the Provincial League which had ceased to exist since last year. We shall inform Nawabzada Sahib about this committee. We have also set up a small Defence Committee, consisting of three gentlemen named below [*names omitted*], representing three different groups in the Province.

We found in Orissa that although Musalmans were generally very enthusiastic about the League but they were being discouraged by the present so-called leaders who, for their private reasons, do not desire to submit themselves to an organised body of the Musalmans. Musalmans from the various districts had come to meet us and assured us of their full co-operation in reorganizing the Muslim League. We also held a public meeting in the evening, and during our stay met the present Ministers at Mr. Subhan Khan's place. The Premier appears to be a broad-minded man.

We reached Madras on the morning of the 17th after a most tedious and tiring journey. In the afternoon we met the Council of the Madras Muslim League and after discussions, lasting for an hour or so, it was decided to set up a Provincial Defence Committee, consisting of five members, namely [*names omitted*].

I take this opportunity of paying my tribute to the volunteer organisation of Madras Presidency. It is efficient, well-organized and well-led. The network of League established in the Presidency shows that the League organisation in this Province is excellent. In the matter of civil defence, the work of these Leagues is fairly well-advanced. The volunteers of Madras League are doing yeoman service to the evacuees. They meet various trains and take them to the evacuees' camp where they supervise and distribute food, clothing and other necessities of life. It is interesting to note that Muslim League volunteers are working in fullest co-operation with the Hindu volunteer organisations. We visited the evacuees' camp and saw these volunteers actually at work both there and at the railway station when the trains bringing the evacuees arrived at the station. I think it would be only right if you were to express in a press message your appreciation of their work. The Governor of Madras, [Sir Arthur Hope] whom we met the next day, also paid a tribute to their work. The Governor received us most cordially and promised to give help and facilities to our Defence Committees. We were to go to Nellore, the scene of a recent communal riot, the next day and as a matter of fact we went 35 miles by car but as the car developed some defect we had no option but to return to Madras. The same evening, accompanied by Haji [Abdus] Sattar [Haji Essak] Sait Sahib, a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, we left

for Calicut in Malabar where we found the Muslims very enthusiastic and loyal to the Muslim League. The Committee met the office-bearers and important members of the District League, and later a public meeting was held at which speeches were delivered by the members of the Committee. The people were most hospitable. Next morning, the Committee travelled by car in Mopalnad area, viz. the area inhabited by Moplahs and at 10 or 15 places we were welcomed by the Moplah brothers in large numbers. Each of these places had a Primary League of its own and also an office. This tour was most enlightening and illuminating. We had hardly expected that the League and its ideal of Pakistan would be so popular among Musalmans living in such remote corners. From there we left for Bangalore where we had been specially invited by the Musalmans. A public meeting was held after *Jum'a* prayers where members of the Committee were asked to address the audience. In the evening, the members of the Bangalore Cantonment Muslim League met the Committee and asked it to establish a Defence Committee there as well. This League has a peculiar position. It is not affiliated to any Provincial League, and half of the City of Bangalore owes allegiance to the Ruler of Mysore. We had some hesitation in setting up a Committee there but as 45 thousand Muslims live in the Cantonment area, which is administered by the British authorities, we thought it advisable [and] in the interest of the Muslims generally to agree to a Defence Committee being established there.

As the members of this Central Committee had been constantly travelling day and night for over a month they wanted rest and repose for a few days before resuming their tour. We, therefore, decided to take this rest at Hyderabad where we had our friends. We leave here on the afternoon of the 28th reaching Bombay on the 29th at about midday where we hope to have the pleasure of meeting you.[5] A statement of accounts countersigned by me is submitted herewith.[6]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman,
Civil Defence Committee, AIML

[1]No. 36.
[2&6]See F. 761/40-1 & 42-6, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]No. 22.
[4]See No. 4, *TP*, II, 4-5 for Congress Working Committee Resolution No. 2 on the subject.
[5]In the Civil Defence Committee's meeting with the Quaid-i-Azam on 28th May the latter called upon Muslim youth to enrol in the Muslim National Guards. See F. 809/386, *QAP*. Not printed.

66

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/169 & F. 310/2

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
28 May 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have read Hassan's letter addressed to you on the 20th May[1] in connection with your proposal regarding the starting of a daily in Delhi, and have further discussed this subject with him.

The *Star of India* has been in a bad way ever since it saw the light of day. It has all along been a losing proposition. I am enclosing[2] the last balance sheet of the Company showing a loss of Rs. 18, 549-6-3.

The Caledonian Press, who were printing the paper until the 1st of January 1941, have presented a claim for Rs. 21, 035-10-9 as due to them uptill the time the printing was taken over by the Alliance Press. Since June 1940, Adamjee and Ispahani took over the *Star of India* to the extent of being responsible for all the losses incurred. These losses, as you are aware, have been met without default uptill today. The Caledonian Press now state that Rs. 1, 708-9-0 are due to them by Ispahani/Adamjee. This will be paid, but the major portion of their claim, i.e. Rs. 21, 035-10-9 minus Rs. 1, 708-9-0, i.e. Rs. 19, 327-1-9 will still stand as due to them by Sir Nazimuddin and/or the *Star of India*. One does not know what steps they will choose to take in the matter. Maybe they will force the *Star of India* into liquidation—not that they will get a pie out of it, for it has no assets but all liabilities to its credit.

With this position staring us in the face, it will not at all be advisable to involve our Delhi venture in a mess. It is best that a clean start is made in Delhi if a start is to be made at all. Call the paper the *Star of Asia* if you like and let it be a daily, but before you embark on the venture please make certain that (a) you will be given the permission to start a new newspaper (b) you will get the necessary quota for newsprint because further reductions in size and quantity come into operation from the 1st of June.

The newsprint that is now lying in Karachi awaiting clearance and is destined for Delhi is meant for the *Star of India* although the cost of the same has been met by ourselves. These 20 tons taking an average circulation of 4,000 copies a day, six pages *Star of India* size,

six days in a week, should last six or seven months and no more. If quota is available and newsprint can be imported, then we shall be only too glad to allow the new newspaper of Delhi this newsprint until such time as it is able to return it, but not later than another four months, because uptill that time we have newsprint here that will keep the *Star of India* in publication.

It seems that lack of freight space is not the sole reason for the cutting down of the quota. It is definitely the cutting off of sources of newsprint supply that is principally responsible for drastic reduction in the importation of newsprint both here and in England.

The *Star of India* used to pay, on the average, a loss of Rs. 3,500 a month. This is in spite of the advance in the cost of printing and newsprint being brought down at one time to a couple of hundred rupees a month, but due to the cutting down of advertisements, particularly commercial advertisements, the loss once again began to move up. We had to switch on to Reuters' "B" Service in place of "A", thus saving about Rs. 1,000 a month. Further, drastic economies in the Editorial Department and cutting down all wastage to almost vanishing point enabled us to keep the loss at Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 1,600 per month. It is roundabout this figure that we stand today. Your estimate of Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 4,500 per month as loss seems to me, therefore, to be very much on the high side. Apparently, this idea was given to you by Mr. Pothan Joseph who has very inflated ideas, and can, according to Hassan, spend as much money as he can get and find as much expenditure for as much money as is placed with him. Of course, if Mr. Pothan Joseph was allowed a free hand here the loss would not have been Rs. 1,600 a month but somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. 3,500 as in the bad old days.

I gladly consent to your taking away Mr. Pothan Joseph to Delhi. So far as journalism is concerned there is not the least doubt that he is difficult to be beaten in any way. We shall pay his salary of Rs. 1,000 a month for one year and all that we shall require from him from Delhi, will be common editorials regularly to be printed, whenever possible, simultaneously in Delhi and Calcutta.

The *Star of India*, according to Hassan, has to carry on in Calcutta because this is our only effective weapon in English against our enemies. Further, to close shop and run away from war danger would be showing cold feet and will have a distasteful repercussion on us all. No newspaper here is thinking in terms of closing down and running away. We cannot, therefore, be an outstanding exception. Further, leaving the field to the only other evening rag, namely the *Telegraph*, in Calcutta, for however shorter [*sic* for short] a period it may be, will enable the

Telegraph to dig its heels firmly in, and this we cannot afford to do.

For your information, a block of newsprint that was destined for Singapore before its fall, has been unloaded in Calcutta and the bankers on whom the bills were drawn will be selling it after they release it from the Customs. If this paper goes at a reasonable price I propose to buy and send it to Delhi. It will meet our six months' consumption. Needless to say that this will also be at the disposal of the newspaper that you contemplate to start [*sic* for starting] but it will not be right to take this lot into our calculation until the deal with the bank actually goes through.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD ISPAHANI

[1]No. 55.
[2]Not traced.

67

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/86-9

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
28 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you have received a cheque for Rs. 90 which I forwarded to you the other day.[1] This is in addition to the sum of Rs. 327 which was remitted to you sometime ago.

I am planning to bring out a book on the Cripps Proposals on the model of the *Indian Constitutional Tangle*.[2] It was suggested to me by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and I have discussed with him the outline of the book. I am now gathering the relevant material. In this connection I need the *White Paper*[3] on the Cripps Proposals. If you have got a copy of it, will you kindly send it to me? If you like, I will return it to you after I have consulted it. Another thing which I require is a copy of the article,[4] written by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1939 in the course of which he attacked the Muslim League policy as the 'dog in the manger policy'. You will remember that you made a reference to this article in your speech on the last Pakistan Day in Delhi. That article is in sharp contrast to what Sir Stafford has been saying since

the failure of his recent mission in India. It would be useful for the purpose of the argument in my book to refer to the said article and trace the change in Sir Stafford's outlook on India. I, therefore, request you very kindly to send me copies of the *White Paper* and Sir Stafford's article.

Another important question which has been causing anxiety to well-wishers of the [Muslim] University, specially Muslim Leaguers, is the resignation from the Court of a few important League leaders.[5] I really do not know much about, nor am I interested in, the personal aspect of the question. But this development, one fears, might tend to create the impression that there was some sort of clash between the Muslim League and the present authorities of the University. This would be most unfortunate from the point of view of the larger interests of the University. It is not really known what specific complaints the resigning members have against the University. The most appropriate course for them, in my humble opinion, would have been in the first instance to bring up the matter in the Court itself, and failing to get redress there, to refer the matter to you before taking such a precipitous step as it really amounts to a declaration of non-co-operation with the University authorities. I hold no brief for the authorities. I am only touching on a question of principle. If the matter is referred to you, I am sure it can be amicably settled. Because God has gifted you with such power and influence that your decision has got to be respected and accepted by every party. Personally, I have great respect for those Muslim Leaguers who have resigned as I look upon them as my leaders but it does seem strange to me that they should have taken this extreme step without first referring the matter to you. I would humbly suggest that you may discuss matters with them and take such steps as would result in harmonious co-operation being restored between them and the University authorities. The interests of the Muslim League in the University as well as the larger interests of the University demand that there should not be even a hint of conflict between the University authorities and the League leaders.

I request you kindly to treat this letter as confidential.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Not traced.
[2]Published by Mohammad Ashraf, 1941, Lahore.
[3]Presented to British Parliament on 22 April 1942. See Nos. 653 & 664, *TP*, I, 803-4 & 812-3.
[4]Jinnah's speech as reported in the *Dawn* does not refer to any article by Cripps in 1939. See F. 809/266, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]See No. 52.

68

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah
F. 785/241-3

LAHORE,
28 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your telegram[1] reached me when we were discussing the very thing with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. The following is my report about the Phillaur issue:

On learning about the Jullundur District Magistrate order banning the Muslim League Conference at Phillaur, I approached the Punjab Premier and brought the matter to his notice. He said that he was not aware of the facts and promised to make enquiries about it. In the meantime I made my own enquiries and questioned some of the speakers who had gone from Lahore to attend the Conference. From what they have told me it appears that there was not a single responsible person among the organizers and the whole show was entirely in the hands of irresponsible young men. They are reported to have visited Hindu *Mohallas* in small groups and used provocative language. Not only that, they had made card-board stencils of Pakistan which they placed on walls of houses belonging to Hindus and Sikhs and painted Pakistan thereon. The same stencils were later on used on the bodies of cattle belonging to the Hindus. A prominent member of the Muslim League also informed me that some of the young men had made Pakistan stamps and used them on the clothes of individual Hindus who happened to pass by them. The Hindus and Sikhs got annoyed and reported the matter to the District Magistrate as well as the Superintendent of Police. Both officers visited Phillaur a few hours before the commencement of the Conference. It so happened that there was a Hindu festival on that very day and a number of Hindus and Sikhs had gone there from the neighbouring villages. The District Magistrate was of opinion that the Muslims of Phillaur had already given provocation to the local Hindus and Sikhs whose numbers had increased due to the said festival and that it was likely that the holding of the Conference on that particular day would cause greater bitterness. He therefore met the organizers of the Conference and advised them to postpone it. The organizers did not agree to the said proposal on the ground that all the arrangements had been completed and speakers from other districts had reached

there. The District Magistrate then asked them to give him assurance that:

1. the speakers would not use the word 'Pakistan' in their speeches,
2. that they would not explain the Lahore Resolution,[2] and
3. they would not urge that the Hindus and the Muslims are two different nations.

The organizers declined to give any kind of assurance and thereupon the Magistrate prohibited the holding of the Conference. I am also told that some of the young men resented the order and wanted to defy it but Moulana Zafar Ali Khan who had gone there to preside the meeting handled the situation very nicely and advised the organizers not to hold the meeting.

On the evening of the 25th I led a deputation[3] of some prominent members of the Muslim League and we met the Premier at his residence. We did not press the Phillaur issue very much because we considered that our case was weak. We therefore discussed, in general, the Punjab Governments' order authorizing the District Magistrates to use their discretion and stop meetings which in their opinion would cause communal disturbances. We pointed out that the order was a vague one and that it allowed a very wide discretion to the District Magistrates who might abuse the powers conferred on them by the said order. In his reply the Premier assured us that there was no intention on the part of the Punjab Government to interfere with the ordinary harmless activities of any party and hoped that the District Magistrates will make use of these powers only in cases of emergency. We pointed to him that that the District Magistrate, Jullundur, had definitely asked the Phillaur people that they would not mention Pakistan in their speeches nor should they explain the Lahore Resolution. The Premier told us that nobody could stop us[4] from explaining the Lahore Resolution. He admitted that the order gave the District Magistrates wide discretion but, he said, it was difficult for the Government to define or make any distinction regarding the meetings in the said order. The whole matter was given wide publication in all Urdu papers in order to acquaint all the District Leagues with the result of the negotiations so that they may carry on

their activities as usual.

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

N. B. Attached is the copy of a letter[5] with a draft resolution from Khan Rabb Navaz Khan, Organizing Secretary. I have not called the meeting of the Working Committee so far. I am only awaiting your orders.

IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

[1]No. 62.
[2]No. 156, *JP*, XV, 229-30.
[3]See Annex for another report.
[4]Civil Defence Committee had also discussed with Premier Punjab about Pakistan issue. The latter assured them that no restrictions would be imposed on Leaguers. See No. 146.
[5]See F. 785/244, *QAP*. Not printed.

Annex

Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 785/250

LAHORE,
26 May 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your telegram[1] which I received yesterday. You would be glad to know that we have been able to settle the matter with the Punjab Government amicably. A deputation, headed by Nawab of Mamdot, waited upon the Punjab Premier last evening. Things were discussed in a friendly spirit. I must say that the Premier was very accommodating. He assured us that the Government has no intention to interfere with the legitimate and normal activities of the Muslim League in the Province. He only appealed for moderation in speeches and writings as the present times are very critical.

I hope you would be kind enough to clear the position about the alleged postponement of Pakistan during the war. A section of press asserts that Mr. Jinnah has himself postponed this issue during the war. We know this is entirely false. But the masses cannot read between the lines. The sooner you remove the confusion the better.

I have to make a request to you and I hope you will grant it. We are successfully running a fortnightly Urdu paper the *Nawa-i-Waqt*, for the last two years. This is the only paper in the Punjab which has always supported the Muslim League. Last year when we were faced with a crisis at the National Defence Council issue all the four Muslim Urdu dailies in the Punjab turned overnight and opposed the Muslim

League tooth and nail. The *Nawa-i-Waqt* was the only champion of Muslim League which refuses to be cowed down by any threats. As our movement is daily growing stronger and stronger we have decided to convert the *Nawa-i-Waqt* into a weekly. We request you to become its patron. I may add that it is not a commercial venture. It is the paper of the Muslim Youth Movement in the country. All of us, from Chief Editor to the *Chaprassi,* are honorary workers. The paper is self-supporting and we hope to make it a success even as a weekly. Would you be kind enough to send us a message also? A few words from you[2] will encourage our young men.

[Yours sincerely,
HAMEED NIZAMI]

[1]Annex to No. 59.
[2]Annex to No. 83.

69

Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 353/61

LAHORE,
28 May 1942

Your telegram May the twenty-fifth.[1] Powers of Provincial Government have been delegated to District Magistrates to restrict or impose conditions on all meetings likely to exacerbate communal feelings.[2] District Magistrate Jullundur unable to obtain any assurance that matters likely to provoke communal bitterness would not be discussed. Assurance of this nature given by promoters of non-Muslim conferences scheduled for few days later. Consider District Magistrate had no alternative. My private information confirmed by President Muslim League is that grave provocation was given to non-Muslims by promoters who stencilled Pakistan on non-Muslim houses, cattle and even, it is alleged, on clothes of some non-Muslim boys.[3] Thus grave danger of exact situation which delegated powers designed to prevent.

SIKANDER HYAT KHAN

[1]No. 61.
[2]See F. 827/32, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]No. 68.

70

Siddique Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, CP & Berar I/89

NAGPUR,
29 May 1942

Sir,

With reference to my telegram[1] and your reply[2] to it, I beg to state that Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung has appointed a Touring Committee to tour all over Indian States and advise Muslims living in those States to adopt means and methods to protect their lives and property in case of foreign aggression and internal disorder. This Committee is similar to our All India Muslim League Defence Committee.

I do not know what made the Nawab Bahadur select me as the Chairman, although I have no connection with the All India States Muslim League. Now I am flooded with telegrams and letters asking me to accept the chairmanship. I thought it necessary before accepting or rejecting the offer to request you to advise me[3] in the matter.

With apologies for the trouble given,

Yours obediently,
SIDDIQUE ALI KHAN

[1]See *SHC*, CP & Berar I/87. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah replied to the effect that the contents of Siddique Ali Khan's telegram were not clear. See *SHC*, CP & Berar I/88. Not printed.
[3]See No. 75.

71

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/85-8

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
30 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Since my return from Allahabad, I have been confined to bed with fever and am not even now restored to full health. In fact I have had to give up my professional work since my return on account of my illness.

I am writing this letter to inform you of the grave situation that has been created in the Punjab in connection with the Pakistan issue. The Musalmans of Phillaur, District Jullundur arranged a Muslim League Conference for the 16th of May 1942. On that very date, viz. the 16th of May 1942, the District Magistrate, Jullundur, visited Phillaur and informed the members of the Reception Committee that under the special orders of the Punjab Government, received on the 15th of May 1942 after two p.m., the holding of the Conference must be prohibited. He further stated that the holding of the Conference could only be allowed on the following conditions:

a. that the question of Pakistan is not discussed,
b. that the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League is not discussed or commented upon, and
c. that it should not be mentioned that the Musalmans and the Hindus were two separate nations and that therefore the Musalmans of those provinces where they were in majority had a right to secede from the Centre.

This order is as obnoxious as any order can be, and it is a misfortune that this order should have been issued by a Government which is headed by a Musalman who is, further, a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. As I have repeatedly brought to your notice, Sir Sikander agreed to join the Muslim League in order that he might completely control the activities of the Muslim League in this Province and thus be in a position to suppress the movement. He did his utmost to prevent the organisation of the League through the control which he possessed over the Provincial organisation. But the movement was beyond his powers and in spite of the deadness of the Provincial organisation the masses caught your inspiration and the cause of the League progressed from strength to strength. He has recently entered, according to the press reports, into a coalition with the Akali Party and one of the conditions of the coalition is that all [pro-]Pakistan and anti-Pakistan conferences shall be prohibited. How far this is true, I cannot say. But the prohibition of the Pakistan Conference at Phillaur and the conditions imposed tell their own tale. I have throughout not interfered with the Provincial organisation for the obvious reason that the Provincial organisation was in the hands of men who were yes-men to Sir Sikander and who could not possibly displease him. The present order of the Punjab Government is really the climax, and the question arises whether those MLAs whom Sir Sikander got elected on the League ticket from urban areas, as otherwise their election was impossible, will do anything to oppose this order. I am sure that you must have received

complete details of this situation as people here are boiling with indignation. Surely, this matter now calls for your special attention. I deliberately refrain from suggesting any concrete course of action. It will be for you in your wisdom to give the necessary orders. After this conduct Sir Sikander is not entitled to the support of the League and it is time you order[ed] the so-called members of the Muslim League in the Provincial Legislature to form a Muslim League Party. If you call [for] a report from the official President, he will undoubtedly say that there is a Muslim League Party in the Assembly. But this is entirely an untruth. If [indeed] there were a Muslim League Party, surely there should be some protest against this order, and the obvious protest is to pass a resolution condemning this order and deciding not to support Sir Sikander's Government henceforth. Nobody here will do this, even if you order action on these lines. I am, of course, at your disposal and will do anything that you order. But this fraud of the Unionist Party deserves to be exposed. There was sometime ago a movement [*sic* for move] among some Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly to form a Muslim League Party but the proposal came to nothing as it was felt that Sir Sikander enjoyed your support and that unless and until you blessed the move of these Muslim members it was useless to start [*sic* for form] a Muslim League Party. The Provincial organisation, being in Sir Sikander's hand, would at once proceed to disown this Party. Hence these members after discussing the position dispersed. My object in writing this letter is merely to apprise you of the situation. The Musalmans owe you so much that they can only depend on you and will do what you in your wisdom consider best. I have told the local friends that I cannot take any action without specific orders from above.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI

72

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 307/170

30 May 1942

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th of May.[1] I am sorry for the delay in reply but I had a long talk with Mr. Ahmad [Ispahani] in

Bombay and he must have told you of the thing. I am now awaiting a definite reply[2] from him. I am firmly of opinion that we should not miss the present opportunity at this moment but establish a daily paper, and the transfer of the *Star of India* is the only practical proposition. I think if you will take the bull by the horns in the matter it will be jammed in and stand. There is a very strong feeling and you will get an immediate support, and what is more necessary is to consider that it is undoubtedly essential for our cause. We should not miss this golden opportunity. However, I cannot say anything more.

With regard to your having paid to Nawab Ismail Khan a sum of Rs. 500, I am glad you came to his help but let me tell you it is not my fault that he did not receive the cheque in time. However, I am glad you were good enough to advance him Rs. 500 more and I am glad that he has paid back both the amounts. So your money stands as it was.[3]

With very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
Calcutta

[1]No. 55.
[2]See No. 66.
[3]Hassan Ispahani confirmed the credit of Rs. 10,000 of Jinnah Fund with him. See F. 307/171, *QAP*. Not printed.

73

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 203/60

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
30 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was approached that I should invite the representative of the Chinese Muslim Salvation Mission, Moulana Othman Woo, to visit the Aligarh Muslim University. I request you to invite him on behalf of the Muslim University if you consider it desirable. He ought to see the premier Muslim institution of India.

I hope you have seen Ch. Khaliquzzaman about his resignation from the

membership of the Muslim University Court. I am waiting for your advice.[1]

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

[1]See No. 77.

74

Madrarullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 672/12

KHWAJA GANJ,
MARDAN,
30 May 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I wish to convey the following message on behalf of the Jami'atul Ulama of the North West Frontier Province.

This branch of the Jami'at passed a resolution on the 26th of April (in last annual session) by means of which the creed, religious and political, of the Jami'at has become that of Pakistan.

Realizing and having consideration of the stage with which the Musalmans are passing, the step taken by the Frontier Jami'at has proved to you and all the sons of Islam that the *Ulamas* of Frontier have not only approved and supported the united demand of Muslim India but have adopted it as a national creed for the Islamic brotherhood. I assure you that all the endeavours and sacrifices that may be involved for the realisation and achievement of Pakistan the Jami'at will wholeheartedly support you. Thank God that every member of the Jami'at is a lover of Pakistan and an embodiment of united action, and in knowledge and politics their place is no less than any other political and educational institution.

Under the present circumstances the following teaching of the Holy Prophet is our torch for guidance. "Islam and country are interdependent". That is to say, where the nation needs the services of the rich they also need the services of the *Ulamas*. Only these two arms working in unison can fulfil the need of a nation. That is why we are desirous to see this fulfilled, and our present step is enough to prove our bona fides.[1] In this connection, you and we should try that other influential *Ulamas* are converted to this point of view throughout India, and that they should work shoulder to shoulder for the sacred cause of Pakistan,

which aims at the unity and solidarity of the Muslim brotherhood.

We hope that you will appreciate[2] this step of the Frontier Jami'atul Ulama.

[MADRARULLAH]
Secretary,
Frontier Jami'atul Ulama

[1]The 13th session of the Jami'atul Ulama Conference at Lahore had earlier called on Muslims and Muslim organizations to formulate a common formula for presentation to Sir Stafford Cripps. See O. P. Ralhan, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Political Parties: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh,* Vol. 31, New Delhi 1997, 431.
[2]See Annex for Jinnah's reply.

Annex
M. A. Jinnah to Madrarullah
F. 672/15

[*Undated*] *June 1942*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th of May,[1] and thank you for your kind and sympathetic message on behalf of the Jami'atul Ulama of the North-West Frontier Province.

I have also noted the resolution passed by the Jami'at on the 26th of April last at its annual session. It is very encouraging indeed that you wholeheartedly support the goal of the All India Muslim League—Pakistan, for the achievement of which we are carrying on a life and death struggle. *Insha Allah* with the help and support of the Musalmans all over India and by our unity and solidarity we shall achieve our goal sooner than many people think. We all must stand under one flag and on one platform and that is the All India Muslim League, the only authoritative and representative organization of the Musalmans and work united for the achievement of Pakistan which had now become an article of faith with Muslim India.

Thanking you for your support,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Madrarullah,
Secretary, Jamiat-ul-'Ulama,
North-West Frontier Province,
Khwaja Ganj,
Mardan

[1]No. 74.

75

M. A. Jinnah to Siddique Ali Khan

SHC, CP & Berar I/90

31 May 1942

Dear Nawab Siddique Ali Khan,

I received your letter of the 29th May[1] and thank you for it. In my opinion the All India States Muslim League should not be mixed up with the All India Muslim League. Their problems are different in many respects. I need not go into the details while maintaining that we should help each other in every way we can. I think that the Committee appointed by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung should be composed of members of the All India States Muslim League and certainly no prominent Muslim Leaguer like yourself should be the Chairman of the Committee appointed by the All India States Muslim League to help and advise the Musalmans in various Indian States in the face of external danger and internal disorder. Primarily it is for the leaders of the All India States Muslim League to attend to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Siddique Ali Khan,
Nagpur

[1]No. 70.

76

M. A. Jinnah to Salar Yar Jung Bahadur

F. 67/6

31 May 1942

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I was very pleased indeed to hear from Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, who was recently in Hyderabad,[1] that you have all your sympathies with the All India Muslim League and that you were good enough to express your desire to help us in any way you can. Of course, I was very pleased indeed to hear your spontaneous and unsolicited desire to support us.

The immediate need of the Muslim League organisation is now money and I have issued an appeal recently, a copy of which I am

enclosing herewith,[2] if you have not come across it already.

May I request you, therefore, to make your contribution and also ask other friends whom God has given plenty to support us in our struggle for the hundred millions of Musalmans, and which is a struggle for their life and death.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 65.
[2]Appendix I. 1.

77

M. A. Jinnah to Zia Uddin Ahmad

F. 203/66

1 June 1942

Dear Sir Zia Uddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th of May.[1]

With regard to the representative of the Chinese Muslim Salvation Mission, Mr. Othman Woo, he has not yet reached Bombay. I expect that he will come to Bombay soon and I will see whether he would care to go to Aligarh Muslim University.

As regards Khaliquzzaman and others who have resigned, I have discussed the matter and will let you know definitely my advice in the matter as soon as I can. In the meantime please stop all controversy as I am confident that we shall find a solution, as you have said very kindly that you give your pledge to me that you will implicitly abide by my advice.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad,
Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University,
Aligarh

[1]No. 73.

78

Hari Singh Gour to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/5

8 ROYAL AVENUE,
CHELSEA,
LONDON, S.W.3,
1 June 1942

My dear Jinnah,

As your old friend and admirer I feel it my duty to inform you that after four years of intensive study, conferences with those in power, and country-wide agitation, I am convinced that whatever party be in power, India should not expect voluntary surrender of its power [by Britian] as such surrender would, it is said, endanger the financial position of England [*sic* for Britian]. But that is no reason

why India should bear the new onus thrown on her for the composition of its communal differences, which were at one time solved by providing for joint electorate and return of a candidate belonging to one community requiring a quota of votes of the other community, the Muslims retaining their reserved seats.

Though a Hindu by birth, I am an Indian first and an Indian last and I am still hoping to convince all Indians that they have no future unless and until they realize and practise the plain truth that in social and political matters, the religion of India is India. I am most anxious to return home but cannot and hence this suggestion, for which I request your earnest sympathy.

Yours for ever,
HARI SINGH GOUR

79

Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Hyderabad II/7-8

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
1 June 1942

Received your letter of 28th May.[1] Since it is a long time we have not met, so I should like to find out whether it is possible for you to come here[2] and be my honoured guest for three or four days in either August or September next, as the case may be. I shall be glad if this is so.

NIZAM

[1]Jinnah had thanked the Nizam for sending him a box of mangoes. See *SHC*, Hyderabad II/6. Not printed.
[2]No. 82.

80

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/164

PESHAWAR,
2 June 1942

Dear Sir,

Herewith a detailed report[1] for favour of kind perusal. The situation

is improving. Hyderabad will be the most suitable place for them [Kazakhs], as I submitted in my last letter.[2]

I will see them by visiting their camp very shortly. Peshawar fruit: Muslims managed to send them ten maunds of lemon and ten maunds of tomato.[3] More will be sent soon.

Insha Allah we will do our bit for relieving their sufferings[4] and frustrations but these arrangements are all make-shift.

With prayerful regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

PS. We are making preparations for the Defence Committees. *Insha Allah* these will be excellent.

MAK

[1]Not traced. But see F. 329/163, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]No. 53.
[3]For report by Kazak Relief Committee, see F. 875/141, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]Jinnah also received a press report on Kazaks from Firoz Khan Noon and copies of his correspondence relating to them. See F. 399/38-45, *QAP*. Not printed.

81

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/84-5

PRIVATE

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
2 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you received the cheque for Rs. 90 enclosed in a registered cover as well as another letter from me. I have remitted Rs. 5 as the second instalment of my contribution. I hope to be able to send you after a few days some more money on behalf of members of the staff.

Recently, Aligarh has been the scene of feverish activity against the Pakistan Movement on the part of some Congressite Muslims. I think it necessary to bring it to your notice so that the mischief may not assume serious proportions. There has always been a small clique in Aligarh consisting of a few members of the Court and the staff who are always plotting and conspiring to undermine the hold and popularity of the Muslim League and inculcate Communistic and Congressite ideas among the students and the public. The brain

of this junta is Moulvi Tufail Ahmad who is notorious for his violent writings against the creed and policy of the Muslim League. Their haunt is the house of one K. B. Habibullah Khan, a retired Deputy Collector. A little more than a week ago they held secret meetings at the said place at which they discussed plans to carry on organised propaganda against Pakistan. Dr. Syed Mahmood, ex-Congress Minister of Bihar, who had been specially invited, took part in the deliberations. He stayed for several days. According to the information available, they have prepared a booklet against Pakistan which they propose to broadcast widely with the help of the Congress. They have divided India into ten zones; and they would send their agents to carry on propaganda in each zone.

Many Communists like Dr. K. M. Ashraf have been recently visiting Aligarh and holding confabulations with local Communists. Some Communist students, instead of going home, are staying here and it is heard they are maturing plans to wean away the freshers from the Muslim League as soon as the University reopens.

I hope you will kindly let me know about the two things I asked for in my previous letter[1]—*White Paper* on Cripps Proposals and Sir Stafford Cripps' article of 1939.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]No. 67.

82

M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad

SHC, Hyderabad II/9

2 June 1942

Your Exalted Highness,

Many thanks for your telegram[1] inviting me to go to Hyderabad for a few days either in August or September next.

Of course, I would like to meet you as I have not had the honour of seeing you now for a long time, and I will try my very best to avail myself of the pleasure of your very kind invitation if I can get away from my self-imposed task and duty.

The Muslim League organisation is growing very fast and it requires all the time and energy and attention that is physically and mentally possible.

However, I shall certainly consider it an honour to stay for a few

days in your capital as your guest.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No. 79.

83

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

F. 1363/21

2 June 1942

Dear Nawab Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of the 28th of May.[1] I am glad that the matter has been satisfactorily arranged between the Muslim League and the Punjab Government, but if the incidents mentioned in your letter are in fact correct, then I think it is the duty of the Provincial Muslim League[2] to see that such incidents are not allowed to recur and [that] your Working Committee should be called [to] give proper directions to our people.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the telegram[3] which I had sent to the Premier, Punjab Government, for your information. Thanking you for your prompt action in the matter which has brought about a satisfactory arrangement between the Punjab Government and the Provincial Muslim League.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan
of Mamdot,
Davies Road, Lahore

[1]No. 68.
[2]See Annex to No. 59 for Jinnah's letter to Hameed Nizami. Also see Annex I to No. 62.
[3]See No. 61.

Annex
M. A. Jinnah to Hameed Nizami

F. 785/246 & 250

BOMBAY,
4 June 1942

[Dear Mr. Nizami,]

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th of May[1] and thank you very much for it. I am glad that the Punjab Premier has taken the attitude and adopted the course with which you are satisfied. I hope that there will be no more trouble with regard to our position regarding the Pakistan demand. Surely our position has been made quite clear and I am glad that you understand it. You say that the masses cannot read between the lines; but then you must explain to them and make them understand what the true position is.

I am sending herewith a message[2] for your fortnightly paper *Nawa-i-Waqt* which you wish to turn into a weekly and which you have been running for the last two years as requested by you on a separate paper.

As regards your request to me to become a patron of the paper, I am sorry, I cannot comply with it because such a position will raise many difficult questions. But I am glad to hear that it [is self-support]ing and the workers are all honorary workers.

Wishing you all success,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Annex to No. 68.
[2]Not traced.

84

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ahmad

SHC, FC I/90

4 June 1942

Dear Mr. Ahmad,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th of February[1] giving me all the information. I am glad to hear that you have renewed your activities in connection with the publicity of the Muslim cause.

I thank you very much for the special weekly supplements of the

New York Times[2] and the two recent issues of the *Foreign Affairs*.[3]

I am pleased to hear that you are bringing out a monthly bulletin, *Muslim India*, and hope that you will send me a copy of the first issue. I am also awaiting your promised letter discussing the situation.

Many thanks for your good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. M. Ahmad, Esq.,
120 Broadway,
New York

[1]No. 381, *JP*, XVII, 494.
[2]Not traced.
[3]*Foreign Affairs* Quarterly Review for July 1941 & January 1942. See Accession List of *QAP*, Part IV, 1973, Nos. 936 & 632.

85

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 365/46-7

LARKANA, SIND,
5 June 1942

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

The Muslim League deputation appointed by the Provincial League, viz. G. M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid and myself, toured parts of the Sukkur and Jacobabad Districts for the last one week. We did the election campaign for Yusuf [Abdoola Haroon] for the Assembly seat and also the organization of the Muslim League work in this area where Muslim League's branches never existed before. Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali was throughout with us for our both purposes. He wielded great influence in the Upper Sind Frontier District and through his zealous efforts we have had a very warm reception everywhere and also a very encouraging response. This area is the home of K[han] B[ahadur] Allah Bakhsh, the Premier, and he has landed property and contracts etc. there. Our success there is consequently a great blow to him. We are, therefore, of opinion that Mir Jaffar Khan Sahib should be encouraged to do such solid work for the organization and for this election. We value his work very much and I have been asked by my colleagues to request you kindly to write[1] an encouraging letter to Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali, appreciating what he has done for

the League and for the League candidate and also asking him to continue such energetic efforts for the cause in future as well.

Rashdi has given entirely a false and misleading account, in his paper [*Moslem Voice*] of 23rd May last, regarding the proceedings of meeting of the Provincial League Council and the election of its President. I had written out a lengthy statement giving full details but friends advised that I should not publish it for various reasons. I will, however, send you a copy of it very shortly.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1]See No. 104.

86

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 307/172

7 June 1942

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd of June[1] and thank you for it.

Yes, I have received Mr. Ahmad's letter[2] and while it is encouraging it requires working out. I have written to Liaquat[3] and sent him the copy of Mr. Ahmad's letter and I am awaiting his reply.[4]

Please let me have your cheque for Rs. 10,000 at your earliest convenience, as I have now received almost all the sums that were announced at the sessions of the All India Muslim League.

I also want you and Mr. Ahmad to consider whether he and [*sic* for or] you would be willing to serve as one of the directors of the Mogul Line [Shipping Co]. Two of the directors have recently died—one, Sir Abdoola Haroon, and the other, a Persian gentleman, resident of Bombay.

Of course, your presence will not be required to attend every meeting and it is a Company, as you know, which mainly depends upon the *Haj* pilgrimage traffic and they, Turner Morrison, are the agents. They are always ready to be guided by the advice of prominent Muslims in the administration of the traffic and in looking after the passengers. Besides, it is a Company which is willing to part with their shares to the Musalmans only on favourable terms, such as willing to part with the shares at par. The shares of the Company have never failed to give less than 5 per cent dividend for a long time now, on condition

that, if within a specified period the share-holder wants his money back, they will return it and take over the shares, but he is not to sell them to anybody else without giving them the first option to buy. I believe Sir Abdoola Haroon had bought shares worth a lakh of rupees in the Company and some small share-holders are also in it. If you are interested[5] in it I shall let you have further particulars.

In my opinion, it is a good channel for investment, and if Musalmans come forward, the Company may come back to the Musalmans as it once belonged to the enterprising members of your community who were the original owners of it. I am enclosing the last balance-sheet[6] for your information.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
Calcutta

[1]F. 307/171, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]No. 66.
[3]Annex I.
[4]Annex II.
[5]No. 92.
[6]Not traced.

Annex I
M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan
AFM 480/49

7 June 1942

My dear Liaquat,

I have received a letter from Mr. Ahmad,[1] a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. The net result of his proposal comes to this that we should start an independent daily and the name that he suggests is the *Star of Asia*. We have to make sure that the permission will be given to us to start a new newspaper, and that we can get the necessary quota for newsprint because further reductions in size and quantity come into operation from the 1st of June.

Mr. Ahmad is willing to let us have the newsprint which is destined for Delhi and these are 20 tons and according to his calculations will last us for six to seven months, circulation being 4,000 copies a day. He is also willing to pay the salary of Mr. Pothan Joseph for a year and he is trying to secure another block of newsprint which also he is willing to send to Delhi which will meet six months' further consumption. I wonder whether with this start of Mr. Ahmad Ispahani, you can

push the daily.

I have made enquiries for the Reuters and A.P. services. It will come to less than 3,000 rupees. We may be able to reduce it more if possible. With this material I wonder whether it is possible for you and others to set up a daily paper in the near future.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

[1]No. 66.

Annex II
Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah
AFM 480/52-3

8B HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
11 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter[1] enclosing a copy of Mr. Ahmad Ispahani's letter to you. After making the necessary enquiries and considering the matter more carefully I shall let you know my considered opinion[2] about the proposition put forward by Mr. Ahmad. But my first thought is that instead of starting a new paper we should convert the *Dawn* into a daily. The circulation of the *Dawn* is over 4000 and its name is known all over the country. This will be a great advantage whereas with an altogether new paper it will take some time before people come to know of it. However, I shall write to you in detail about it later when I have collected the necessary information and considered the matter more carefully.

We have decided to stay down in Delhi and are not going to Simla definitely. Delhi is very hot but we have made ourselves comfortable with *khas khas*. It is quite pleasant inside the house. The children, thank God, are doing quite well so far. As a matter of fact Ashraf eats better and has put on a little weight also.

The Civil Defence Committee is arriving here tomorrow and they are leaving for the N.W.F.P. the same night. We are having a meeting of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee also tomorrow to select a candidate for the Central Assembly from Sindh. Yusuf Haroon is the obvious

choice.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping well. Our kindest regards and love from children,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]Annex I.
[2]See Annex III.

Annex III
Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

AFM 480/55-7

8B HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
22 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter[1] enclosing the copy of a letter[2] which you have written to Hassan. I also wrote[3] to Hassan asking for certain information. I have not had a reply from him so far. I am busy with the scheme for an English daily from Delhi. As soon as I get the necessary information from Hassan I shall be in a position to let you have my views about it. One thing is certain; that we must start an English daily from Delhi immediately. We really cannot afford to wait even for a day. Every day, it is becoming more and more urgent and absolutely necessary. I have, you will be glad to know, secured permission to start an English daily from here and the necessary quota of newsprint for six months on the basis of an average of six thousand copies daily. [The] more I think about it [the] more I am of the view that we should convert the *Dawn* into a daily. It has many advantages. I shall write to you in detail about this matter as soon as I get the necessary information from Hassan and have got the whole scheme ready.

I am definitely of the opinion, Sir, that whether Ispahanis give us any more help than what they have promised or not, we must start a daily from Delhi. This is the most crucial time and if we hesitate we shall suffer greatly. You must have seen Fazlul Huq's letter in the press regarding the formation of a new party.[4] The Hindu press and the *Statesman* have given great prominence and are likely to carry on propaganda in favour of this move. It is really heartbreaking that we have not got a single paper which will give full expression to our point of view. I sent a comment[5] yesterday to the A.P.I. on Fazlul

Huq's new move but I don't suppose it will be published in any paper. Our case is going by default and we cannot afford it.

I am enclosing a letter from Latifur Rahman. I think I should help him. Either you can send him a cheque[6] for the amount he requires or authorize me to do so. We can easily spare this amount from the funds that are at the disposal of the Central Office.

It has been very hot here but we are bearing it.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping fit. With our kindest regards to both of you and from children.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See *AFM* 480/54.
[2]No. 98.
[3]Not traced. However see No. 113.
[4]Annex to ibid.
[5]See Annex IV.
[6]See Annex V.

Annex IV
Statement by Liaquat Ali Khan[1]

F. 809/422

[NEW DELHI, *21 June 1942*]

Mr. Fazlul Huq has once again poured vituperation on the head of the All India Muslim League and its leader Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and has made certain statements which are a travesty of the truth for which he has acquired a well-earned reputation.

The loss of the prominent position which Mr. Fazlul Huq once occupied in the counsels of the Indian Muslim nation has completely unbalanced him.

His sole concern is the loss of his leadership and not the welfare of the Musalmans. Whatever else one might accuse Mr. Fazlul Huq of, one cannot accuse him of being modest in his pretensions. He states unblushingly that "of all the Muslim political leaders I have the greatest right to lead the League."

It is the desperate attempt of a man, who finds himself at the bottom of the sea, to come up to the surface by any means, fair or foul. But I have no doubt that he will find the waves of Muslim public opinion too strong against him.

The reason for his giving the name of Progressive All-India Muslim

League to his new party is too obvious. It is intended to practise fraud and deception on the masses who are uneducated and for whom the name of Muslim League has acquired a magic attraction.

I am confident that Mr. Fazlul Huq will not succeed in this nefarious move of his. The Musalmans have learnt to distinguish between dross and gold.

[1]The *Dawn*, 28 June 1942.

Annex V
M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan
AFM 480/58

25 June 1942

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd of June.[1]

I am enclosing the letter from Mr. Latifur Rahman.[2] If you think it necessary to help him, by all means do so. I think you should pay him from the Funds that are at the disposal of the Central Office.

Yes, I saw a summary of your statement[3] regarding Mr. Fazlul Huq. It appeared both in the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Times of India*, but as expected it was not given fully.

With regard to the question of the English daily, I shall await your complete report and I am glad that you have already managed to secure permission to start an English daily and also the necessary quota of newsprint for six months. I am entirely in agreement with you that there is a dire necessity to establish an English daily in Delhi without any delay.

I want to announce the personnel of the Working Committee[4] as soon as possible. I should like to know if you have any suggestions to make. Please do so.

I am enclosing herewith a letter[5] from Mr. Mahmood Hasan, the editor of the *Deccan Times* for your consideration.

Yes, Delhi must be very hot. In Bombay it is now pouring and it is at any rate cooler here than in Delhi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Annex III.
[2]Not traced.
[3]Annex IV.
[4]No. 180.
[5]Not traced. However, Jinnah had forwarded the letter to Liaquat Ali Khan. See *SHC*, P & P II/60.
Not printed.

87

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 203/67-8

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
8 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 1st June[1] this morning on my return from Lucknow.

I saw the Raja of Mahmudabad and Ch. Khaliquzzaman at Lucknow yesterday in the meeting of the Council of the Provincial Muslim League. I had a talk with both of them. They said that they would draw up their complaints and send the same to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in the first instance and would discuss them with me later on either in Aligarh or in Delhi. I made it quite clear that I would not agree to one thing, i.e. I would not like to have the persons who really belong to the Congress and who are also carrying on negotiations with the nationalist Muslims to come to the University as a part of the internal administration. Ch. Khaliquzzaman said that he himself would not like it. If they agree not to include the names of the four persons in Aligarh, I anticipate no difficulty.

Nawab Ismail Khan resigned the membership of the Executive Council last year. He would have been persuaded easily by H.H. the Nawab of Rampur, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and myself to withdraw his resignation, but he refused to withdraw unless Dr. Zakir Husain Khan and K. B. Habibullah Khan are also persuaded simultaneously to withdraw. This could not be done, and his resignation remained in abeyance for the whole year.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

[1]No. 77.

88

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/94-5

TELLICHERRY,
8 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you are well and happy.

I enclose herewith some cuttings from the *Hindu*.[1] The report of Chowdhry Khaliquzzaman's speech at Bombay is worth looking into. It is being exploited against C.R. [Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia]. While personally I have nothing against the statement of Khaliquzzaman that Pakistan is only a stepping-off ground for further expansion by alliance with other Muslim countries,[2] this speech is being made use of by the Hindu Mahasabha and others to ridicule and show up C.R.

I am enclosing two more cuttings from the *Hindu*.[3] C.R.'s quotations from the previous writings of Mr. Gandhi may be found useful, so also Mr. [K.] Santhanam's reply to [J. B.] Kripalani.

You might have got a report[4] from members of the Civil Defence Committee about our work in this Presidency and particularly in the District of Malabar. They toured through the Moplah country and were very well-impressed by the work that has been done and the spirit of the Moplahs. I feel very happy that my life's work to convert this brave and virile community of 15 lakh into a consolidated and disciplined army for the help of Muslim nation in India is slowly taking shape. With your inspiring name to help us and the loyal co-operation of great workers, the goal that I have set before me is getting nearer and nearer. A number of the members of the Working Committee have now visited Malabar and the Moplahs and everyone has been deeply impressed. We are looking forward to your visit. That will be the culmination of all our hopes and desires. So far I have stood between you and the intensely felt desire of our brethren all over South India to see you in their midst. After the great work that has been done in the South, you must give us some consideration. Your people have been organised, consolidated and strengthened in your name. Their great desire to see you is only natural. You have toured all over Northern India so many times. But the Province of Madras has been left severely alone in spite of the fact that our organisation has been the best in the country.

I write all this in support of the request that I now make with all the emphasis at my command, that you must reserve the second half of next December and the 1st week of January, for a tour to our Province. Thoroughly knowing all the conditions as I do, I will draw up a programme which, while being more useful from the point of the requirements in our Province, will cause the least amount of strain on you. At present you need only reserve the above-stated period for this tour and give us the permission to prepare a tentative programme. The rest may be settled later. I hope you will consent to this request. Of course, all this programme is certainly subject to the situation in the country being normal. I hope you[5] will not disappoint us this time.

Yours sincerely,
H. A. S. H. ESSAK
MLA (Central)

[1&3]Not traced.
[2]See F. 809/386, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]No. 65.
[5]See No. 121.

89

F. A. Kashmirwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/473

BUNGUSH BRIDGE,
DELHI,
9 June 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I very humbly requested you for the receipt of the sword[1] which I presented to you in the name of God as a donation at the annual session of the League in Allahabad.

I very humbly request you to please send me the receipt[2] including the total amount realized [from sale] of the sword [by auction].

I am one of your most
obedient followers and *Mujahids*,
F. A. KASHMIRWALA

[1]See Appendix I. 62 for receipt of the sword which was auctioned for Rs. 32, 014. Also see F. 809/299, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah acknowledged receipt of the sword and informed that he had received a large portion of the amount. See F. 150/474, *QAP*. Not printed.

90

M. A. Jinnah to Salar Yar Jung Bahadur

F. 320/8

10 June 1942

Dear Nawab Salar Jung,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th of June[1] and thank you for it. I am very much encouraged by your sympathetic letter. You know that I need all the sympathy and support of the Musalmans in this grim struggle that we are carrying on, which involves vital issues affecting the future of one hundred million Musalmans. Things are moving fast and if we are not vigilant it will be hard for us to be able to live in this country as an honourable nation.

Thanking you; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Salar Yar Jung Bahadur,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]Salar Yar Jung had informed Jinnah that he was quietly making a collection and would remit it soon. See F. 320/7, *QAP*. Not printed.

91

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

F. 365/48

10 June 1942

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th of June[1] and I am glad that you had a very successful tour in Sukkur and Jacobabad Districts. I will write[2] to our friend, Jaffar Khan Jamali, for his great help and our appreciation for what he has done for the League. I have met him more than once, and also at Allahabad I saw him. I know he is a very staunch Leaguer.

With regard to Mr. Rashdi's account regarding the proceedings of the meeting of the Provincial League Council, I should like to know fuller details[3] and I am glad that you are sending me a copy of your statement.[4]

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Khuhro, Esq.,
Larkana, Sind

[1]No. 85.
[2]See No. 104.
[3]See No. 103.
[4]Not traced.

92

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/174

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
11 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 7th instant.[1]

I sent you the papers and opinion of our solicitors yesterday. Kindly return them to me along with your directions as early as possible.

Here is a cheque for Rs. 10,000. This settles the Fund account. I hope you have been able to pass the three-lakh figure[2] by now.

With regard to the Mogul Line, Sir Abdoola Haroon has [*sic* for had][3] sent me papers and material in support of the Company's proposal. My brother has no objection to being nominated [as] a Director of the Company, and we shall purchase for the present Rs. 10,000 worth of shares of the Company. Later, on further satisfaction, a further [sum of] Rs. 90,000 may be invested by us in the Mogul Line.

So far, our Civil Defence Committee has not drawn a *pie* from your Central Fund, and I am doing all I can, not to ask for an *anna* from you.

Mr. Othman Woo has met you.[4] He did not create much of an impression upon me. He is certainly not stamped with brilliance.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 86.
[2]By the middle of July 1942 an amount of Rs. 300,000 had been collected from all over India. See F. 809/470, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]Sir Abdoola Haroon had died on 26 April 1942.
[4]See No. 102.

93

Syed Zakir Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/50-2

AGRA,
11 June 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to enclose a copy[1] of the future programme of the tour of the Civil Defence Committee for your perusal. You already know of the Committee going to Nagpur from Bombay. After finishing the work at Nagpur, the Committee broke up to reassemble at Delhi. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin left Nagpur for Calcutta whence he will go to Pachmarhi to interview [Henry Twynam] the Governor of C.P. and will then join at Delhi. The Chairman and Khaliq Sahib, after breaking journey at Bhopal, reached Lucknow on the 6th June and inspected the work of Defence [Committee] performed in U.P. since the appointment of the Committee in April last. Qazi Isa is remaining at Bhopal for a few days and will join at Delhi. Out of Rs. 1,000 taken from you at Bombay, over Rs. 700 have already been spent on the journey to Ahmadabad and Surat and back to Bombay, Bombay to Nagpur, Nagpur to Lucknow, and thence to Delhi. A small sum was advanced to Khwaja Sahib for his journey to Calcutta, and his expenses to Pachmarhi and thence to Delhi have to be paid. Similarly, Qazi Isa is to be paid travel expenses from Bhopal to Delhi. A cheque for Rs. 1,000 has been sent to Nawabzada Sahib for purchasing tickets for the members from Delhi to Peshawar. The detailed account of the expenses, countersigned by the Chairman, will reach you in due course. As I told you verbally at Bombay, I think we shall be able to complete our tour within the sum placed at the credit of the account but I am afraid it may not suffice to pay the return journey fares from Quetta; and when immediately we get back to Delhi, a typewriter has to be purchased for office work and a typist engaged. I, therefore, request you to kindly place some more money[2] at the credit of the account. In addition to the appointment of the Provincial Defence Committees, it is hoped the visit of this Committee to NWFP will have some other affairs too, the details of which will be made known to you in the next report[3] of the Chairman.

Trusting you are keeping the best of health, [and] with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
SYED ZAKIR ALI
Secretary,
AIML Civil Defence Committee

[1]See F. 761/52, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah sent a cheque for Rs. 1,000 through Nawab of Mamdot. See F. 761/49, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]See No. 146.

94

Mohsinah Sadiq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/87-90

KINNAIRD COLLEGE,
LAHORE,
12 June 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I apologise to you for being a stranger but I hope you will excuse me when I explain to you my purpose.

I wanted to write to you long ago but I always felt shy. I am a Muslim girl and believe in God and my religion. I want to die for my religion and fight for it until a drop of blood is left in me. I am studying in this College in the 2nd year and living in the hostel because I come from Amritsar. I hope you must [*sic*] be knowing Sh. Sadiq Hassan, MLA of Amritsar. I am related to him.

I believe in Muslim League because I think it is the only representative class [*sic*] of Indian Muslims. I am ready to obey any orders that you might give to me. But I want to ask you one thing and this is the thing for which I have written this letter. I do not understand Pakistan. My brother is a great patron of Pakistan but whenever I ask him questions, I am never satisfied with his answers. The second thing I do not understand is: does not Muslim League want freedom? Does it want to remain under the English?

You say that we must have Pakistan but I think that if Pakistan exists [*sic*] then it may be that sometimes Hindus may tease Muslims in their provinces. When you see that, it means you will also tease the Hindus living in your provinces. Then it means that there will always be war in India, and there will be a great bloodshed.

I do not understand all these things. Will you please explain these

to me fully? You know this College in which I am studying is under the influence of the Congress; so the people who are in favour of Muslim League cannot even speak here.

Dear Mr. Jinnah, I want to serve my religion and country. I want to die for both of them. If you give me any orders, I will gladly obey them because I think [*sic* for regard] you as my father.

May I have the honour of calling you as my father in the next letter? I have a great deal of respect for you in my heart. To be a Congressite is not good, but to be a Socialist, I think, is good. What are your ideas about this? Please let me know about this.

I am always feeling depressed and a shadow of gloom overwhelms me when I think over these things. I hope you will satisfy me with your answers.

I want to do a great deal for my country and for my fellow-men but I am helpless in this matter. I am kept in *purdah* but not a strict one. I am not allowed to talk to the strangers very freely and the thing is that I myself do not want to follow the example of modern girls. They are always under the influence of the Western civilization.

Is it nice to wear *Khaddar*? It is very hot here. We do not have so much comfort in colleges as we have at our homes.

Please reply soon,[1]

Yours faithfully,
MOHSINAH

[1]See No. 117.

95

Message from M. A. Jinnah[1]

BOMBAY,
12 June 1942

I received Allama Mashriqi's telegram[2] today. My clear reply is that until the Congress tentatively withdraws the Allahabad Resolution[3] how can attention be given to these proposals.[4] If the Congress withdraws this resolution, I am prepared to negotiate.

[1]Brought by Dr. Haji Aslam Chishti. See Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Jinnah's Correspondence*, 221.
[2]Not traced.
[3]See Annex.
[4]See No. 48.

Annex
Resolution adopted by The All India Congress Committee

ALLAHABAD,
[1-2 May 1942]

UNITY OF INDIA[1]

The AICC is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different states and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal.

Giving permission for the resolution [to be] moved [...] the President [A. K. Azad] gave it as his opinion that the resolution in no way contradicted the position taken up by the Working Committee at Delhi with regard to the question of the demand for the partition of India made by the Muslim League and incorporated in the resolution[2] dealing with Sir Stafford's draft proposals.

[1]A.M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. 12, 388-90.
[2]Annex to No. 18.

96

Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/170-3
[Original in Urdu]

QAISER BAGH,
LUCKNOW,
14 June 1942

In the name of Allah the Most Beneficent the Most Merciful

Respected Jinnah Sahib,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I hope that my previous letter[1] might have reached you by now. I wish to bring the following events also to your notice.

As earlier stated, the Education Scheme is ready and can take a start from the Aligarh University. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and Raja Amir Ahmad Sahib of Mahmudabad may please be asked to provide

assistance in this behalf. Raja Sahib can convince Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan to put in their best.

Presently Jamia Millia, Delhi, has become a centre of Gandhism. Any person staying there for a few months starts believing that Gandhi, Nehru and Rajendra Prasad are the only humanists in India. It is a matter for consideration as this propaganda would adversely affect the thinking of the Muslim students of this institution. After discussing the matter with the Principal of Jamia Millia, Dr. Zakir Husain, I had prepared a pamphlet,[2] which was distributed at the League's Madras session. Perhaps you might be aware of it.

Dr. Zakir Husain has formed a group in the Aligarh University, which is interfering in the affairs of the university. He is the author of Wardha Scheme and his supporter, Director of Education in the Kashmir State Govt., is implementing it in the State although 80 per cent of the population, comprising Muslims, is unhappy about it.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Zakir Husain is having friendly terms with Nawab Ismail Khan, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman for the last 15 or 20 years, who seek his guidance in Aligarh University matters. All the three are opposed to Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad.

You may please write to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad on the following lines, under intimation to me:

i. While implementing the Education Scheme in the Aligarh University, the influence of Congress, the Gandhi group and Dr. Zakir Husain should be eliminated.
ii. All differences among the League leaders should come to an end.

The Education Scheme has been prepared by Doctor Zafarul Hassan and Doctor Afzal Husain Qadri,[3] who have been pro-League since 1931, and have, at times, faced difficult situations for their stand.

With a little bit of tact, the control of the University can be reverted to the right persons and thus the aim of educating the Muslim youth on the right lines would be achieved.

Anxiously awaiting a reply,

FAQIR NAZIR AHMAD

Note. You had kindly promised at Calcutta to support the Education Scheme when it would be introduced. The time has now come to fulfil this promise.

[1]F. 875/163-4, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Not traced.
[3]See No. 403, *JP*, XVII, 522-3.

97

S. M. Koreshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1010/14

DELHI,
15 June 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is my privileged duty to inform you that the Muslim Students Federation, Delhi, has ventured to start an English monthly magazine. It is our sincere desire to start it with the blessings of our beloved and audacious leader, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah.

We would feel highly honoured if you most graciously grant our humble request.[1]

We hope to publish the first issue of the journal by the first week of July.

Praying for the health and long life of our only authoritative leader,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. KORESHI
Editor,
Pakistan Herald

[1]Jinnah wished the magazine every success. See F. 1010/15, *QAP*. Not printed.

98

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 307/175-6

15 June 1942

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th of June.[1] As far as I can judge the two questions that we have to consider are:

(1) Whether the present Muslim Press & Publications Ltd. should establish the *Star of India* in Delhi? Mr. Ahmad has pointed out various difficulties. It is for you to consider whether they can be overcome as you know the position best. You have also to consider, if you can overcome the difficulties, whether you will transfer the *Star of India* to Delhi and run it as a daily and also continue to run it in Calcutta as an evening paper.

(2) Whether we should start a new daily paper in Delhi by

means of an entirely new concern? In that case the name of the *Star of India* will not be of much help and we might as well call it the *Dawn* and turn this weekly into a daily. As a weekly, the *Dawn* has reached a circulation of 4,000 and is known all over India and even abroad. But the real question is: what is the definite part that you are prepared to play and what is the amount of support that you will give?

I have already sent to you all the information that was available to me but Liaquat [Ali Khan] is going into more details and I have requested him to communicate with you. It will be a feather in your cap if you and Liaquat can establish a daily paper which, I need hardly say, is most necessary at the moment.

I am confident that you are bound to get very enthusiastic support not only in Delhi but throughout Northern India generally, and especially in the Punjab, U.P. and Bihar. This is really the moment for it. Please, therefore, take it earnestly and put your heads together and persuade Mr. Ahmad and Sir Adamjee and others to come forward and give their best support and all the help they can.

As regards the resolution that you have proposed,[2] well, that all depends upon what you propose to do after the resolution is passed, but anyhow no harm can be done by getting the power in the hands of the directors to use the name of the *Star of India* for such a newspaper on such terms as the directors may think proper.

I am returning the copy of your letter addressed to your solicitors and their reply which you were good enough to send me along with your letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]Ispahani had asked his solicitors whether it will be legal for the share holders to make a gift to the AIML of the name of the *Star of India* for publication from Delhi. The solicitors advised that the proper way will be to give licence or permission to the new Company to be floated at Delhi to use the name *Star of India* but not to transfer proprietory rights. See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence,* 271.

[2]See F. 307/177, *QAP*. Not printed.

99

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 458/40-1

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
16 June 1942

My dear Sir,

We have declared a League Fortnight here in Bengal for enrolling members and Muslim National Guards for defence purposes. A report will be sent to you as soon as the results are tabulated. The work of forming Defence Committees is also proceeding. The Government has initiated a new scheme of defence volunteers, known as Home Guards. We have decided to boycott them.

A new difficulty has arisen regarding the National War Front Scheme of the Viceroy, and there is difference of opinion regarding our attitude towards it. Some are of opinion that the League should be neutral; this would give liberty to any one to join it if he wishes to do so; others [think] that we should specifically declare that no Leaguer should join the movement; still others [say] that we should oppose it actively. Between the second and third there appears to be no difference except in degree. The National War Front here is in the charge of an I.C.S. official under the Government of India. It is proposed to have an adjutant or commandant or representative in each district. The object mainly is to inculcate anti-Japanese and anti-Nazi or anti-Fascist sentiments. At the meetings it is further stated that as, owing to military exigencies, places have to be evacuated [and] boats, bicycles, motor-cars, and vehicles surrendered, the public should accept this 'denial' policy and co-operate with the military in carrying out their orders and instructions. We are not aware if this movement has any other purpose in view; it is intended to disseminate the above views through non-officials.

We would beg you to let us know your views[1] in the matter. I have a recollection, which may be wrong, that when the Viceroy initiated the movement and suggested the 'vow', which should be repeated by every member of the National War Front, he stated that its sole object was to create a mental attitude, and anyone opposing the movement would be dealt with under the Defence of India Rules. I need hardly say that whatever may be your instructions in the

matter we shall abide by them.

Yours sincerely,
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY
Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League

[1]See Enclosure to No. 109.

100

Hamid Husain Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/174-5

430 PARSI LANE,
MHOW, [CENTRAL INDIA,]
16 June 1942[1]

Respected Sir,

May I take the liberty as a Muslim to write to you the following few lines for your due consideration and needful action:

I have served as a Joint Secretary of the Luck[now] City Muslim League. I have been serving here in an office since June 1942. The people here are much keen to become at least two-*anna* members of the Muslim League. They are completely [*sic*] interested in all the League programmes. There is no one to lead them to the League fold. Why are you or other authorized persons quite uninterested in the Muslim population of the Malwa Province [Agency], particularly of Mhow, Indore, Dhar State, Ujjain, Nimach and other such places? A vast majority of the Muslim population is interested in you and the Muslim League. Would you advise me[2] as to how I should make propaganda for the League among the Muslim inhabitants or residents of the Malwa Province and Central India?

I trust that you will excuse my frankness. With best wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
SAIYID HAMID HUSAIN MIRZA

[1]The date should be June 1945.

[2]On 21 June 1945 M. H. Saiyid advised the correspondent to approach the Committee of Action on the subject and also study the constitution of the AIML. See F. 875/176, *QAP*. Not printed.

101

Jamilud Din Ahmad[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 199/82-3

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
16 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received the formal receipts for the cheques which I forwarded to you on behalf of members of the staff. Your Secretary, Mr. Saiyid, sent a reminder to Dr. A. H. Siddiqi c/o myself for the amount of Rs. 1,000 which was promised at the Allahabad session. As he is not here I have replied to Mr. Saiyid.

I may also inform you that Dr. Siddiqi while leaving Aligarh in April sent to me the list of members of the staff who had asked the Accounts Office to deduct certain amounts from their salaries to be paid to the League Fund. He requested me to get the cheque for the amount contributed from the Accounts Office and send it to you. The Office paid the amount in two cheques and a third was given by Mr. A. M. Kureishy, all of which I forwarded to you. Some members of the staff are paying their contributions in monthly instalments; therefore, some more cheques are expected to be sent to you. There are others who have sent their contributions direct to you. All these cheques and contributions may kindly be counted towards the amount of Rs. 1,000 which was promised at Allahabad. When the University reopens in July we hope to get more members of the staff to contribute towards the League Fund.

I wrote to you several letters[2] during recent weeks but I am very sorry I did not receive any reply. I am writing a book on the Cripps Proposals. I asked you for copies of the *White Paper* and Sir Stafford Cripps' article written in 1939. I shall feel very grateful if you will kindly send me at least a copy of Sir Stafford's article.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Jamilud Din Ahmad wrote a similar letter to M. H. Saiyid, Secretary to Jinnah. See F. 199/80-1, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Nos. 67 & 81.

102

M. A. Jinnah to Zia Uddin Ahmad

F. 203/69

16 June 1942

Dear Sir Zia Uddin,

I had a talk with Mr. Othman Woo with regard to your suggestion[1] that he should go to Aligarh. I understand that he is inclined to do so and he told me that if he makes up his mind he will wire to you beforehand. His is [on] a goodwill mission on behalf of the fifty million Musalmans of China and to that extent we should reciprocate apart from the political and constitutional issues in our country which are quite different problems from those of China.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad,
Aligarh

[1]Zia Uddin Ahmad had requested Jinnah to invite Othman Woo to the University. See No. 73.

103

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 365/49

KARACHI,
16 June 1942

Sir,

I enclose herewith a copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, reviewing the entire political situation in the Province *vis-a-vis* the application of Martial Law to half [of] the Province. I request that you will kindly go through the contents of the resolution very carefully and give us benefit of your guidance[1] in this matter. It is further requested [*sic*] that your presence at Karachi is very necessary at this time. All my colleagues have asked me to request you in this respect. We have to consult you and seek your guidance on very important matters and of great consequence to the people of this unfortunate Province. May I hope that you will kindly make up your mind to pay us a visit by the end

of this month or latest in early July.

With kind regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1]See No. 119.

Enclosure

RESOLUTION PASSED BY SIND PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE

F. 365/50-7

The Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League has given its most earnest and serious consideration to the circumstances leading up to and the situation arising from the declaration on the 1st of June 1942 of Martial Law in more than half of the Province and deems its duty to take the necessary steps to safeguard:

a. the constitutional rights of the people,
b. the economy of the Province, and
c. the civic rights of the citizens;

all of which, in the opinion of the Committee have been seriously infringed, threatened or affected. The Committee records here below its conclusions and appoints the following four of its members, namely:

i. M. A. Khuhro,
ii. Shaikh Abdul Majid,
iii. Mohammad Hashim Gazder, and
iv. G. M. Sayed

to wait upon H.E. the Governor of Sind, [Hugh Dow] and discuss with him the issues involved.

2. The following are some of the consequences of the extraordinary step that has been taken by the authorities in promulgating Martial Law:

a. complete breakdown of civil administration in more than half of the Province;
b. resort to Martial Law all at once in such a large area in the hope of retrieving the situation;
c. serious likelihood of dislocation of the economic life of the Province and the inevitable consequences bordering upon a general famine, as a result of the operation of Martial Law on the lines on which it is being at present enforced; and

d. apprehension of Martial Law being extended to the remaining parts of the Province and thereby making conditions still worse.

3. In the opinion of this Committee, this disastrous crisis is the inevitable outcome of the anti-Muslim and unscrupulous policy of exploitation followed by the present Ministers, resulting in a long chain of events that have been taking place during the period they have held the reins of Sind administration. The Ministers have thereby given an indisputable proof of their incompetence and complete failure to maintain law and order.

4. It is common knowledge that throughout their regime, the Ministers have taken no steps to alleviate the causes of the growing discontent amongst the masses or to reform their methods of administration, with the result that the situation has been steadily deteriorating. Finding themselves faced with the growing discontent and the serious consequences of their aimless policy, which was solely directed against the best interests of the masses, the Ministers have now resorted to Martial Law and thereby surrender no less than half of the Province to military rule. The Committee is strongly of the opinion, which is shared by a very large and ever-increasing section of the population, that the Ministers having been confounded by the growing number of murders, dacoities and other acts of lawlessness, were compelled in their bewilderment and to save their face, to take this action. As far as this Committee is aware, in the history of provincial governments in British India, this unhappy Province is the first to have achieved the invidious distinction of having more than half of its area subjected to Martial Law, while the so-called popular Ministers continue to retain their office. There are extensive provisions of the existing laws, including the all-embracing Defence of India Rules, that are calculated to be adequate to meet even such an abnormal situation as is created by war conditions. On the other hand, the Government of India Act, 1935, lays down several provisions for effectively dealing in almost every conceivable manner with a situation that appears seriously to threaten the peace and tranquility of the Province. In spite of all this, the present Government have deemed it fit to promulgate Martial Law and thereby deprive the larger part of the very people, from whom they are supposed to derive their present position as Ministers, of their fundamental rights. This position militates against the constitutional law and is quite incompatible with the very spirit of provincial autonomy. It is really strange that such a drastic and desperate step should have been taken without making previous arrangements to see that the

vast number of people whose fundamental rights were thereby going to be so seriously invaded were duly instructed and prepared in regard to the handicaps and hardships inevitable to the operation of Martial Law. It was further necessary to restrict this operation to only such a small area as was absolutely essential for the purpose in view and at the same time to ensure that the daily rounds of the people's activities connected with their lawful livelihood were not interfered with and as far as humanly possible no innocent people were victimised. But the Committee regrets to observe that no such precautions were taken. Even if the need for promulgation of Martial Law was real, the Committee feels that if the present Ministers had had the slightest regard to the popular feeling or felt in any manner responsible to the people at large, they would have at the most sought military assistance without placing such a vast area all at once under military rule, just as had been done during the unfortunate Sukkur riots.[1] But the hot haste with which a measure of such a drastic nature was precipitated upon the entire population in this vast area in itself betrays a sad lack of sense of responsibility and unmasks the hollowness of their representative character. Standing as the Ministers therefore do, so thoroughly self-condemned and exposed, this Committee, which voices the feelings of the entire Muslim population of the Province, when it emphatically urged upon H.E. the Governor to end this travesty of provincial autonomy and relieve the present Ministers of their office to which they have forfeited every possible claim.

5. In view of the above, it is the earnest request of this Committee that H.E. the Governor of Sind will be pleased:

a. to convene immediately a session of the Sind Legislative Assembly to consider the problems of vital nature referred to above;

b. to appoint a Court of Inquiry to investigate and report upon the causes responsible for the failure of the present Ministers and their administration that led to the necessity of promulgation of Martial Law, without having tried the various remedies provided under the Government of India Act and the Defence of India Rules;

c. to take steps to see that Martial Law is so administered that while it enables to effectively deal with the turbulent and guilty elements, it does not restrict the lawful pursuits of agriculturists or the carrying out of legitimate activities of constitutional nature and the exercising of civil rights by peace-loving and law-abiding citizens.

6. The Committee further deems it necessary to draw the attention of the authorities to the handicaps of the citizens occasioned by the operation of Martial Law in the affected areas in particular so as to make it possible for agricultural operations to continue unhampered, as otherwise there is a serious danger to the economy of the Province which may be so adversely affected as to create a situation that may bring a widespread ruin upon the entire Province. Side by side with this, the Committee urges the necessity of suitably amending, relaxing, or rescinding the restrictions imposed upon the population under the provisions of Martial Law so as to enable the people to carry on their social activities of peaceful nature and at the same time to enable the recognised political bodies to carry on their constitutional propaganda and organisational work, especially when a by-election for the Central Assembly seat is shortly to take place. Some of the difficulties which are being experienced by the people now and which need to be remedied immediately are the following:

a. The ferries on the river be opened for traffic with suitable provisions to check the movements of undesirable persons so as to permit agriculturists, firewood sellers, cattle-owners and others whose livelihood makes it necessary to use the ferries.
b. The night movements of agriculturists be permitted in order to enable them to irrigate their fields if their turn for water happens to be fixed during night-hours or if they have to work their Persian-wheels for *jowar* and other food crops in lift lands or in non-barrage areas.
c. The carrying and use of hatchets and other implements necessary for agricultural operations be made possible.
d. The restrictions imposed upon the assemblage of five or more persons be suitably amended so as to permit the carrying out of agricultural operations such as canal-clearance, division of crops, ploughing, transplantation, harvesting, etc., and performance of social duties connected with marriages, deaths, etc.
e. The order regarding wholesale disarming of people at one and the same time throughout the vast area now under the Military should be modified with suitable precautions to ensure their rightful use, as otherwise the bad characters may be able to carry on their unlawful activities without any fear of armed resistance from the disarmed population. In such villages, where the population exceeds 500 souls, at least six or more guns be permitted to be retained by the

people for protection of the village or town. Complete disarming of the civil population will, in the opinion of the Committee, create a chaotic condition and a very difficult situation in the *mofussil*, particularly when it may not be possible for the Military authorities to arrange their own patrol for each and every village, in such a vast area of over twenty thousand square miles, controlled by them.

f. Those persons in this area who had a genuine cause for fear due to personal enmity and were, therefore, granted extra or special gun licences by the civil authorities for the protection of not only their own person and property, but also of their localities should be returned their arms and be encouraged to render assistance to the Police authorities or be provided with military or police guard at their own expense.

g. Where arms cannot be restored, effective arrangement for immediate aid in time of danger must be made.

h. With a view to achieving quick results, the restrictions and hardships inevitable upon the operation of Martial Law should be applied only to those areas which are the source of trouble. The area should, therefore, be confined only to:
   i. Shahdadpur and Sinjhoro *Talukas* of Nawabshah District;
   ii. Sanghar and Khipro *Talukas* of Tharparkar District;
   iii. Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro *Talukas* of Sukkur District;
   iv. The area within one mile on each side of the railway line between Kotri and Reti on the N.W. Railway and Khokhrapar and Hyderabad Sind on the Jodhpur Railway;
   v. The left bank of the river to check the traffic on the ferries and across the river, and
   vi. The eastern border to check the movements of suspicious characters to and from the States of Jaisalmere and Jodhpur.

i. Local Advisory Committees be set up to advise and collaborate with the Military authorities in the course of their duties so as to eliminate the possibility of harassment of innocent persons through the machinations of local subordinate Police upon whose advice the Military may have to depend, being unaware of local conditions and approaches to out-of-way places to be visited by them in the course of their rounds.

j. Large number of people, who seek to migrate from the affected areas to places of their permanent residence or for personal safety or convenience, may be enabled to do so, especially those who move each season to the river for harvest work in the barrage areas and return to their homes on the

close of the harvest; also those traders and their agents from Karachi who have to bring cattle by road across the river from the affected areas for the supply of meat and milk to the urban population of Karachi and Hyderabad be afforded easy and safe passage, including the use of ferries, to safeguard them against the loss of money or personal inconvenience and also to ensure the regular supply of these needs of the urban population.

7. The Working Committee further resolves that a copy of this resolution may be forwarded to:

a. The President, All India Muslim League.
b. The Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor of Sind.
c. The Private Secretary to H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and
d. The Secretary of State for India.

M. A. KHUHRO
President
SHAIKH A. MAJID
General Secretary

[1]Refers to incidents of violence and lawlessness in and around Sukkur during 1939, in which Hindu villages were pillaged and several people killed. A court of inquiry, at which Justice Weston presided, found that the communal disturbance was premeditated but that there had been sporadic outbreaks of violence. See Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics*, Karachi, 1998, 183-4.

104

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali

F. 314/1

17 June 1942

Dear Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali,

Mr. Khuhro and Mr. Sayed have given me a detailed report[1] of your tour and I am glad that it was a great success and that you rendered very valuable assistance to the deputation on tour.

This is just to say that I am very grateful to you for having put your heart and soul with the League and that you are doing all you can for the organisation of the Muslim League not only in your Province but in Sind also and thereby generally helping the Muslim

cause, their betterment and their uplift.

Hoping you are well. With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali,
Rojhan, P.O. Jhatpat, Baluchistan

[1]No. 85.

105

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/178

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
17 June 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A question has arisen in our Provincial League as to whether we can or cannot join the National War Front drive of the Government in the Province. There is no direction from the Centre in the matter and as a definite direction is to be given to the Leaguers, I shall very much appreciate your opinion.

Personally, my common sense dictates that we should have nothing to do with whatever the Government of Bengal promotes or backs because if we do, consistency disappears. We proclaim that we have no confidence in Fazlul Huq and his team. How can we, therefore, support or join any blessed front "national" or "international" sponsored by them?

Kindly reply[1] to this letter as members of the Working Committee and the Leaguers of the Province are awaiting direction.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]See No. 109.

106

N. A. Qadir Bhatty to M. A. Jinnah

F. 915/70

90 MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
18 June 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to draw your attention towards the immediate problems of the nation. I must also warn you that in case of danger the Muslim League, disorganised as it is here and elsewhere, and unable to control Sikander [Hyat Khan] or depose Fazlul Huq, and her mercenary volunteers will be helpless, and also the Congress.

Therefore I strongly demand [of] you to unite with other bodies and publicly declare that you support Allama Mashriqi.

The whole nation, except a few big men, is alive to danger and I must tell you that if you discarded our needs, due to any wrong notion of self respect or fictitious reasons, you will lose all the sympathies and respect you have uptill now commanded and the League or Congress will be nowhere.

Yours truly,
N. A. QADIR BHATTY

107

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 520/14

18 June 1942

Abul Kalam Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru write expressing unequivocal immediate friendly settlement. Prepared calling Working Committee meeting selection representation after intimation myself your agreeability. Your insistence in message[1] withdrawal Allahabad Resolution[2] mere technicality unnecessary. Yourself responsible delay. Beseech immediate agreement.

INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]No. 95.
[2]See Annex to ibid.

108

Mohammad Anwar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/80-3

BAHAWALPUR,
19 June 1942

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

As a humble Muslim student, I want to make a request to you, which, I hope and trust, would be immediately complied [*sic*] with.

I hope to be pardoned for this long letter. I fully realize that you are a busy man and have not so much time at your disposal for attending [to] such letters individually. I have intentionally departed from the routine system and addressed you directly because the matter in hand is of enormous importance. It is a bold step on my part but still I venture to convey what I deem urgent.

Indian Muslims, as all of us know, are internally almost like a beehive. No doubt Muslim League as Pakistan League represents the bulk of the Muslim population and voices the innocent cry of so many voiceless souls, but still there are some other influential groups also whose influence no sane person can deny. I am very much grieved to see the internecine vilification and propaganda. No one has yet tried to bring these disjointed wheels of the same cart together. I look for this great end—mutual unison—to you because you are in a position to fill the gulf. Moreover, you, being the President of the most representative Muslim party of India, are to make your sphere wider and wider until it is all-representative. It is no use waiting for some other leader to invite you to an agreement. It is you who are required to take the initiative and surely you would be responded to. Now, when on the resolution[1] of Rajgopalacharia, nationalist Muslim leaders voted for C. R., is it not your duty to respond to the gesture? Anyhow, concord is itself an aim worthy to be attained. Is it not our duty to stand on one platform, under one flag, with one slogan in these dark and grim days of turmoil and tribulation? Is it not our duty to sink our differences and present a united front just to save our hearths and homes, our culture, and most of all our religion? And for its attainment I think you are the fittest man. Pray take initiative and link up all Muslims in one thread. If you don't, then who would?

Secondly, I want to say something about your [rupees] ten lakh

appeal. Ten lakh is not too much; only some spirit is needed. But I hear that it has only reached three lakh as yet.[2] Is it not a shame for Muslims? Poor men are doing their bit but where are the Sirs, Khan Bahadurs, *Taluqadars*, merchants, etc.?[3] These Muslim quislings! Does it not mean that the proletariat class should get more representation in Muslim League? I request you to clean the stables and give more chance to lower class people, to get them educated in politics.

One thing more. Do you keep religion in view whenever you chalk out your schemes or are they prepared merely on political basis? I want to impress that politics without religion is a flower without perfume. Irreligious [*sic*] polity is a curse, as late Dr. Iqbal had said:

> Be it the pomp of royalty or fanfare of democracy, if religion is divorced from politics, what remains is tyranny.

I am afraid if I have hurt you in anyway. I hope to be excused. I have conveyed what I honestly felt and now it rests with you to give it a practical shape and see its fruit.

As regards execution, I simply say—command my Quaid, and we would obey.

I have the honour [to be],
Sir,
Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD ANWAR
4th year student

[1]See Annex II to No. 24.
[2]Rupees three lakh had been collected by mid July 1942. See F. 809/470, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]Jinnah had already appealed to the rich and well-to-do Muslims for an amount of ten lakh. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice*: *Unity, Faith and Discipline*, Vol. III, Karachi, 1997, 3.

109

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 307/179

20 June 1942

My dear Hassan,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter that I have written to Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, for your information.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Enclosure
M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy

F. 307/180

20 June 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th of June[1] and beg to inform you that the policy of the League, as I understand it, is that we cannot join any committee or committees or any organisation which is set up or may be set up by the Government and is under the control and direction of the Government, so long as we have not a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the provinces.

It is not a question of opposing the war efforts and it does not arise at present. Our position is that we cannot undertake the burden and the responsibility of advising our people to join any of these bodies that are set up or may be set up by the Government when we have no control and direction of any kind over them.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

H. S. Suhrawardy, Esq.,
Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League,
Calcutta

[1]No. 99.

110

Amir Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/54

TRIKARPUR,
SOUTH KANARA,
20 June 1942

Sir,

I am authorised to inform you that the following resolution was passed at the meeting of the North Trikarpur Primary Muslim League Committee, held on 31.5.1942:

[*Resolution by North Trikarpur Muslim League Committee*]

We, the Muslims of North Trikarpur, beg to inform the South Kanara District Muslim League Committee, the Madras Presidency Muslim League Committee and the All India Muslim League Committee, particularly the honourable and esteemed leader of Indian Muslims, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, that the entire Government of India had been transferred from the hands of Muslim India to the British Government and so it would be their duty to re-transfer the same Government to the Muslim India only. Therefore, we request All India Muslim League Committee and all other committees connected with that organisation, to take necessary steps to gain that object.

Yours faithfully,
AMIR ALI
Secretary,
North Trikarpur Muslim League Committee

111

Shah Manzoor Alam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/183-5

GORAKHPORE,
20 June 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I cannot say what opinion you must be [*sic*] forming about me. But I would humbly request you to give no place to bad ideas in your mind about me. Certainly, I made a great delay in sending the promised humble sum of rupee one to you. You can very well realize the circumstances in general terms. After all [I] am performing my sacred and solemn duty. May God give me courage and wisdom so that I fulfil it meritoriously and gloriously.

Quaid-i-Azam! I wish to put the following questions before you and hope that you will clarify every point and will satisfy me. I know this full well that nobody can convince me except you. I think you will honour me greatly, if you will make an acknowledgment of this letter from your true follower in every sense but not a blind follower:

i. Can we expect any change in the policy, programme and ideology of the Muslim League due to Mr. Osman K. H. Woo's[1] visit?
ii. Why the League is not taking measures to help the evacuees

of Burma on an all-India basis? Congress is doing this in an organised manner. It has set up camps for the evacuees and provides them with food and other necessary articles. [Why] the League cannot do this?

iii. May I have the honour to enquire from you about our National Fund. How much have you received so far?[2]

May I hope an early reply from you? Wishing you good luck and long life,

I am,

Yours most obediently,
SHAH MANZOOR ALAM

[1]Osman Woo Kien Hsun, Secretary of the Muslim National Salvation Association of China, was on a tour to India to establish contacts with Muslim community. See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence,* 251, note 1.
[2]Rupees 202, 400 as stated in the *Dawn* dated 21 June 1942. See F. 809/421, *QAP*. Not printed.

112

Yusuf Ali Butt to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/186-7

QUETTA,
20 June 1942

Respected Jinnah Sahib,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is with great pleasure that the news of your visit[1] to Quetta in connection with the defence of India, especially that of Musalmans of India, has been heard here. I welcome it and pray to God for the fruitfulness of your efforts. The step taken by you in forming the Defence Committees and advising them to tour various provinces is the wisest possible at this critical juncture.

Let me suggest one thing. I hope it will be given due consideration. My suggestion is for co-operation between various Muslim leaders, especially yourself and Allama Mashriqi,[2] one of the top-most leaders of the country.

I have strong belief in the fact that if the sincere efforts of one great personality—Quaid-i-Azam can be successful in getting us Pakistan, there is no reason as to why his efforts, in consultation with Allama Mashriqi and other Muslim leaders, should not do the

needful in solving the problems of the Musalmans of India.

With best regards,

Yours faithfully,
YUSUF ALI BUTT
B. A.
Auditor

[1]On 29 June 1942 Jinnah informed Vice President of Quetta Muslim League of his inability to attend to Conference there. See No. 127.

[2]Jinnah had already appealed to Khaksars to join and support the League wholeheartedly. See No. 48.

113

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/182

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
22 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant,[1] returning the enclosures.

I had a letter from Liaquat [Ali Khan] two days ago asking me to give him some particulars regarding the cost of running the *Star of India*. These particulars are being sent to him.

My brother has authorised me to tell you that, under whichever name you choose to start a daily in Delhi, we, the Ispahanis, will back it with pleasure and shall do our bit for a noble cause. We shall guarantee a loss of up to a thousand [rupees] a month for a year. As for Adamjee, we feel that you should approach him. It will be infinitely better if you do so.

Fazlul Huq has once more burst out in boils! You must have read his call[2] to Muslims to be traitors like himself and to smash Muslim solidarity. *Insha Allah,* his face will be further blackened. The B.B.C. boosted his move last night.

Sikander Hyat[3] has apparently got tired of remaining idle. So he is in the limelight again.

Saadulla's[4] prospects are appearing more hopeful. Events are moving fast in India and outside.

You have issued no statement!
With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
[M. A. HASSAN ISPAHANI]

[1]No. 98.
[2]See Annex.
[3]As per terms of the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact announced on 15 June 1942, the former had made certain concessions to the Sikh community in return for which Baldev Singh was to join the Ministry undertaking to support the Unionist Government. See No. 287, *TP*, II, 408-9. Also see F. 827/30, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]He took office as Prime Minister of Assam on 25 August 1942. See No. 568, ibid., 931, note 5.

Annex
Press Report on A. K. Fazlul Huq's Proposal for a Progressive All India Muslim League
F. 281/35-44

CALCUTTA,
20 June 1942

The Bengal Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, has addressed the following letter to prominent Muslim Leaguers throughout India, regarding his proposal for a Progressive All India Muslim League:

I am writing this letter to you in the confident hope that the matters which I have taken the liberty to discuss will receive your serious and earnest consideration.

You know that for the last seven months my political enemies have made the whole country resound with denunciations concerning me and my Cabinet, and that I have been branded as one of the worst possible characters in human history. It has been publicly alleged that I have betrayed the Muslims very much as Mir Jaffar is alleged to have done at Plassey. During all these months, more than 500 meetings have been organised by my political opponents with the permission and under the protection of my Government and at each of these meetings speaker after speaker has spoke the vilest of lies about me and invented the grossest untruths in order to blacken my character before my community. I have not said or done anything yet to counteract this mischievous propaganda. I felt that if I were to take the field against my opponents, there will be charges and counter-charges resulting in a serious split in the Muslim community. I however find that my forbearance has been mistaken for weakness, and that many of the leaders of my community from whom I could have

expected ordinary justice, have been believing in these wild and *ex parte* propaganda and even some have joined this campaign of vilification against me.

The student community have been sought to be utilised for strengthening the campaign. The impressionable minds of our youths have been deeply stirred by the wild accusations that have been made against me, and bands of young men had been sent about the country carrying on the campaign into its every nook and corner of Bengal. I have suffered all these vilifications in the fervent hope that truth would triumph ultimately and that the fabric of lies and vilifications which have been built up by my political enemies, would collapse in course of time. Unfortunately, however, I am faced with the fact that a section of the Muslims of Bengal seems to have forgotten all my past services to the country and the community, and have easily swallowed the atrocious lies that have been circulated about me. I feel that I cannot keep silent any longer.

What has happened in my case has been nothing either new or peculiar. Throughout the ages, even prophets and messengers of God have not been able to escape either the vicious tongue of the traducer or the malicious pen of the prejudiced writer. The noblest characters in history have been held up to ridicule and subjected to misrepresentations, whose pernicious effects even centuries of attempts on the part of admiring posterity have not been able completely to efface. Even our Holy Prophet has not only been no exception to this rule, but perhaps its most conspicuous exemplifier [*sic* for exemplar]. I am not therefore surprised at what has happened to me. I have only myself to blame for what has happened. I have been anxious to avoid a split in the community even at the risk of allowing my political enemies to go on unchecked with their vicious propaganda. The inevitable has happened. Misrepresentations now hold the field and I find I will have to make tremendous efforts to extricate my reputation from the avalanche of lies under which it now lies buried.

The propaganda that has been carried on against me has had a definite object in view. It has been the aim of my political enemies to create a prejudice against me in order to crush me politically and pave their way to a possible political success by putting me completely out of the way. The moment was opportune for a conspiracy of vengeance and the circumstances also favoured the conspirators. The dissolution of the Cabinet on the 1st December, 1941,[1] had raised high hopes in the minds of the Ministers of the old Cabinet, but the turn which events took after the dissolution, took them completely by surprise. The formation of the new Cabinet upset all their calculations

and absolutely sealed their fate. They suddenly found themselves in the wilderness, whereas they had expected to be in the enjoyment of the highest political power.

But they were not without friends. There were many who had suffered disappointments in life in consequence of administrative measures of which I was suspected to have been the author. Common adversity brought [the] high and [the] low together, and the intriguers and the disappointed place-hunters banded themselves together into a common cause in order to wreak vengeance upon me. They had a ready programme. Islam was proclaimed to be in dire need of unselfish champions of the faith. The flag of the Muslim League in Bengal was declared to be tottering to a fall and had to be upheld. The ex-Ministers and their friends proclaimed to the world that I had betrayed the cause of Islam by a treacherous conspiracy of which they had become the victims in their attempts to defend the faith. But they did not stop at mere proclamations. With misleading slogans in their mouths, they began their whirlwind campaign in order to hoodwink the unwary Muslims of Eastern Bengal. Everything seemed to favour them. Our Government gave them free permits to hold meetings; their sackcloth and ashes inspired public confidence; their political rosaries were a guarantee of their genuine love for Islam; the tale they had to tell was so speciously worded that their words carried conviction to unwary minds. Funds began to pour in and the hospitable columns of *Independent* and journals became available to my political enemies, not for propaganda alone but also for propagation of the most atrocious lies that [the] perverted human ingenuity could invent. These being the authors of the campaign and these being their methods, I would next ask my friends to consider what is it that they have been alleging against me. In the first place, they say that by forming the new Ministry I have betrayed the Muslim cause just as Mir Jaffar is said to have done at Plassey. But what are the facts? Before the Cabinet crisis came, I was the Chief Minister, the leader of the Coalition Party, the leader of the Assembly, the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and enjoyed every post of honour and dignity in the Province. There was therefore nothing better to which I could aspire, or for which I would go into a conspiracy to bring about a new order of things.

On the contrary, my present antagonists had everything to gain if they could oust me from power, as it was certainly the ambition of their leader to replace me as Chief Minister and to enjoy all the honours and privileges attached to that office. This he could not possibly do unless there was a vacancy, or in other words unless I

had either voluntarily vacated office as Chief Minister or had been removed from that office by a vote of no-confidence of the House or dismissed by His Excellency the Governor. Neither of these eventualities was possible, and for that reason they adopted the only course left to them, namely to force a dissolution of the Cabinet by tendering their resignations. This is exactly what they did. As my friends are aware, there were mischievous rumours afloat towards the end of November that I was going to form a new party by dissolving the previous Coalition Party. All these rumours were absolutely false and in order to remove doubts and misunderstandings, I published the following statement which appeared in the newspapers of the 30th November 1941.

> Statements have appeared in the press which indicate that as the outcome of disunity in the Cabinet, I have accepted the leadership of a new party to be called the Progressive Coalition Party. I desire it to be known that there is no truth whatever in these reports. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that as the Chief Minister and leader of the Coalition Party in the Assembly, it would be unconstitutional for me to enter into negotiations with parties now in opposition with the object of forming a new party. It is impossible to maintain the solidarity of the Coalition Party no less than that of the Ministry and to ensure that the decisions of the Coalition Party are accepted by every member of the party.

Nothing could have been more explicit. But in spite of this statement my political enemies tendered their resignations quite abruptly on the 1st of December, 1941, and thus brought about the dissolution of the Cabinet. They then tried their utmost to oust me from power by forming a coalition with the Congress, the Krishak Projas, the Hindu Mahasabha and other groups, and they spared no pains to come to some kind of understanding with all the groups which were then in opposition in order to oust me from power. This is not a random statement but a definite assertion of facts, [for] some of which I possess conclusive proofs. Providence however protected me. All their efforts met with a dismal failure and I then took the first opportunity to form a coalition with those very parties whom they had unsuccessfully approached previously, and who undoubtedly afforded materials for forming a more representative Ministry than the previous one. Had it not been for this step that they had taken on the 1st of December, the former Ministry would have continued to function and the present state of things, whether satisfactory or otherwise, would never have come into existence. But out of evil cometh good, and I leave this matter at that.

Baffled in all their attempts, my political enemies turned in despair to Mr. Jinnah for assistance. They misrepresented the facts in order to induce Mr. Jinnah to interfere and to oust me from the Muslim League. They did it with the hope that if I were ousted from the Muslim League, I would be deserted by the Muslim MLAs and would therefore be unable to form a Cabinet. Mr. Jinnah behaved towards me in his usual autocratic fashion. He sent me a telegram[2] on the 6th December saying that my conduct amounted to treachery and called upon me to submit my explanation, if any, within 48 hours. I certainly resented the rudeness of the language used by Mr. Jinnah, but I ignored the language and thought that I should explain to him what the actual position was. I, therefore, sent him a telegram [on 7th December][3] appealing to him as the President of the League to come and find out the facts for himself and then decide what action he should take. Far from giving me a hearing, Mr. Jinnah again telegraphed[4] to me on the 8th December that I should submit my written explanation so as to reach him on the 10th December. I wired back[5] to say that I could not possibly submit any explanation unless I was given some idea as to the facts that had been alleged against me. I also pointed out that it was not possible to write out an explanation and send it to him within the time fixed, because the papers would have to be posted by the evening of that very day if they were to be available to him at Delhi on the 10th. But Mr. Jinnah was deaf to reason or appeal. In his usual autocratic fashion, he passed an *ex parte* order on the 10th December expelling me from the League.[6]

These are the facts in a nutshell. Throughout their campaign my traducers have been making wild accusations against me but they have not been able to bring forward any facts in support of these accusations. I maintain that this is undemocratic and utterly un-Islamic. Even the meanest criminal has a right to be heard in self-defence and I am surprised that some of my friends should have refused to vouchsafe to me the privilege which is not denied even to the most heinous of criminals. Even a murderer is never denied the right of an open trial, but a section of the Muslims have behaved towards me in a manner which shows how little they are influenced by the teachings of Islam and how utterly un-Islamic has been their behaviour towards me. And this brings me to a consideration of the state of things in the Muslim League itself. You are fully aware that the All India Muslim League and its branches are at present being dictated by a coterie of politicians who do not brook opposition and who are determined to have everything in their own autocratic fashion. The whole atmosphere is entirely un-Islamic and utterly undemocratic.

It is the will of one man that prevails and the members of the League are generally not permitted to have any will or opinion of their own, and this one man is more haughty and arrogant than the proudest of the Pharaohs. To add to our miseries, this superman has been allowed to exercise irresponsible powers which even the Czars in their wildest dreams might have envied. The present Muslim League atmosphere is un-Islamic. I feel very strongly that the Muslim League should be under the guidance of real and genuine Muslims. Before anyone can claim to be a Muslim Leaguer, he must first be a true and genuine Muslim.

All these considerations have led me to the conclusion that it is high time that we organised a Progressive All India Muslim League which will, it is hoped, in course of time replace the present un-Islamic All India Muslim League. We fully realise that it is essential for the Muslims to have a distinct political organisation of their own to safeguard essentially the Muslim interests. The present All India Muslim League has forfeited its claim to be considered such a political organisation for various reasons.

In the first place, its leadership has passed into the hands of a coterie who are autocratic in their dealings and who do not allow free expression of public opinion.

Secondly, the whole power in the League is vested in one man, who is the President and known as the Quaid-i-Azam, whose will is law and who is not bound to give any reasons for any steps he may take either with regard to public matters or with regard to the internal administration of the League.

Thirdly, and as a result of this state of things, free expression of opinion in the League has been utterly stifled.

Fourthly, the present All India Muslim League does not include within its folds various essential sections of the Muslims of India. Chief among these are the Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind, who are admittedly the most learned of the Muslim divines and who are considered as authorities on Muslim theology and culture; the Momins, who constitute a considerable section of the Muslim population of India; the Ahrars of the Punjab; the Khudai Khidmatgars of the N.W.F.Province; the Khaksars; and most of the Muslims of Sind and other provinces.

But the most regrettable feature the All India Muslim League is the fact that prominent members of the League do not hesitate to encourage hooliganism and goondaism in order to enforce the arbitrary decisions of the League leaders. And all this hooliganism and goondaism is backed by scurrilous writers in the Muslim League

press. Some of them not only publish the most atrocious lies themselves but refuse to publish versions which are not to their liking, even though these versions may represent the truth and their own versions may represent nothing but lies. The Progressive Muslim League which I visualise would be distinctly Islamic in its ideals and would lead the Muslims to have a broad political outlook which, while maintaining the utmost fidelity to the best interests of Islam, will also keep in view the interest of the country as a whole. In other words, the ideal of the Progressive Muslim League will be Islam first, and Islam throughout, but without ignoring the legitimate rights of other communities. I feel that it is also necessary to inculcate the great truth that Islam came with a mission for the whole of mankind and that it preached to the world catholicism [*sic*] and tolerance in the highest form. Unity between Muslims and other communities has got to be regarded as a fundamental necessity for the political advancement of India. The policy pursued by the present Muslim League is neither Islamic nor patriotic. It serves neither the Muslims nor anybody else. It pretends to be exclusively Muslim, claiming to serve Muslims alone, but really leading even the Muslims to a political ruin and disaster.

With a view to give effect to these ideas, an Organising Committee has been formed in Calcutta with the Hon'ble [Khwaja Habibullah], Nawab Bahadur of Dacca as the President and Mr. Syed Badrudduja, MLA as the Secretary. A Committee has also been appointed to help the President and the Secretary in the work of organisation. I am now appealing to you to rescue the Muslim League from the clutches of un-Islamic leaders before it is too late. The only effective way of doing this is to organise the Progressive Muslim League so as to bring within its folds Muslims of all shades of political opinion, including all and excluding none, the basis of universal Islamic fraternity. I appeal to you to organise the Progressive Muslim League in all villages and hamlets in Bengal so as to form Village Leagues, Union Leagues, Sub-Divisional Leagues and District Leagues, leading up to a representative Provincial Progressive Muslim League. You are one of the leaders of the Muslim community and have distinguished yourself in the service of Islam. I have therefore to appeal to you for help and co-operation and I hope I have not appealed in vain. As soon as a sufficient number of Primary and District Leagues are organised, I shall call a meeting of all the different units of the Progressive Muslim League to a conference in order to discuss and decide the details regarding the rules and regulations of the League and also the immediate programme of work of the Progressive Muslim League.

When we have fully organised the Provincial Muslim League, it is my intention to develop it into an all-India organisation as early as possible. We are sure to meet with opposition from those whose vested interests will be threatened, but we must not care for their opposition. We must go ahead and I am sure that with the mercy of Providence we shall succeed in the end.

I shall be grateful to have your reply, in order that I may be able to clear up any misunderstanding that may arise regarding the various matters that I have discussed in this letter. My ambition will be to convert to my views those who may now differ from me, and shall even gladly accept your refusal to co-operate with me in case I fail to convince you by reason and logic of the absolute justice and righteousness of my cause.

Finally, I wish to make one point perfectly clear. I know that my efforts to organise the Progressive Muslim League will lead to a split in the Muslim community, but my political opponents have left me [with] no other alternative. I have waited so long that I feel I have passed beyond the line of personal political safety. I can wait no more. It is they[7] and not I who will be responsible for the consequences. Mr. Jinnah passed an order of expulsion on me without the slightest justification, and his followers in Bengal for personal and other reasons, are busy in organising the League in order to crush me politically. I feel that it will not be in the interest of the Muslims of Bengal that any Muslim League should function in Bengal in which I will not be allowed to take part. Of all the Muslim political leaders, I have the greatest right to lead the League. I propose to do so, and, with the mercy of Providence, I am determined to succeed in my efforts.

Yours sincerely,

A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

[1]See No. 252, *JP*, XVII, 328-30.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice*: *United We Win*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1996, 327.
[3]Ibid., 328.
[4]Ibid., 328-9.
[5]Not traced but see ibid., 329-30. Also see F. 1022/29-30, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 225, note 1.
[7]See Annex IV to No. 86 for statement by Liaquat Ali Khan.

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Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 809/422

BOMBAY,
22 June 1942

I am glad that at last Mr. Gandhi has openly declared[2] that unity and Hindu-Muslim settlement can only come after the achievement of India's independence and has thereby thrown off the cloak that he had worn for the last 22 years. He tried in a consummate manner to fool the Muslims but at last he has shown himself in his true colours.

I had held that Mr. Gandhi never wanted to settle the Hindu-Muslim question except on his own terms of Hindu domination. It is he and he alone who has, whenever there was a chance of agreement, by some means or other dashed our hopes. Now we are presented with a new formula and that formula is 'Quit India'. But after having said that the British should withdraw, he adds—he always keeps a loophole—'in an orderly manner.'

Since his first pronouncement he has been engaged in making explanation after explanation. It is quite clear to those who understand Mr. Gandhi's language that he wants the British Government to accept that Congress means India and Gandhi means the Congress and come to terms with him as the spokesman of all-India with regard to the transfer of power of the government to the self-styled Indian National Congress and keep him in power and authority by means of the British bayonet so that the Hindu Congress *raj* can dominate over Muslims and other minorities.

He does not mean to achieve India's independence. He and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are both indulging in slogans and catchwords. If they can persuade the British Government to withdraw immediately even without Mr. Gandhi's qualification of 'orderly withdrawal' the Muslim League would welcome it. It is a libel to say that the Muslim League is in favour of a continuation of British *raj* in this country.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has made it quite clear that he is not prepared to discuss the issue of Pakistan, nor is he prepared to discuss the communal question in any shape or form 'until India's independence is achieved and foreign authority eliminated.' But he says, 'so far as I am concerned I believe that Congressmen would willingly meet Mr. Jinnah if that serves the cause we have at heart.'[3]

But he is not prepared to consider the cause that we have at heart and he says, 'but it would be very much to the point if he discussed the means of achieving independence for India or, to put it differently, the means of eliminating foreign authority from India first' and then other questions will be considered.

It is no use talking in abstract terms of wanting to achieve India's independence. When you don't mean it, it is no use using catch-words like 'freedom for India' 'independence', 'National Government', etc. The independence and freedom of all the peoples of this sub-continent should be thought of not only in the negative terms of elimination of foreign authority or rule resulting in anarchy and chaos, as Mr. Gandhi promises, but in a situation and the setting up of a Government to which the power and authority of the British can be transferred and that could take the place of foreign authority which Mr. Gandhi wants to end to-day. Such a government would command the confidence and allegiance of the different nationalities and interests that exist in this vast sub-continent.

So long as this present deception and false propaganda is maintained by the Congress, India's progress will continue in jeopardy. I am told that there is going to be a 'big move.' This threat is intended to coerce a distressed and shaken Britain to accede to Mr. Gandhi's demand. I can only say, that Britain will be making the greatest blunder if she surrenders to the Congress in any manner which would be detrimental to the interests of Muslim India.

We do not know what this 'big move' is going to be. Nothing is going to move us from the set purpose of achieving our goal of Pakistan. When the time comes the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League will decide how to face the new situation if it arises and I will call a meeting of the Working Committee as soon as occasion arises.

[1]The *Dawn*, 28 June, 1942.
[2]See Waleed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 12, note 2.
[3]See Annex.

Annex
Press Interview given by Jawaharlal Nehru

F. 1010/16-9

BOMBAY,
17 June 1942

The view that he would willingly meet Mr. M. A. Jinnah if that

would serve the cause Congress had at heart—achievement of India's independence—was expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a press interview this morning. Pandit Nehru's attention was drawn to the suggestion made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari[1] that he (Nehru) and Mr. Jinnah should meet to bring about a communal settlement. Pandit Nehru said: "In regard to C. Rajagopalachari's suggestion so far as I am concerned and I believe so far as Congressmen are concerned, we would willingly meet Mr. Jinnah if that serves the cause we have at heart. But obviously such a meeting can only be profitable if there is a common subject to discuss on which there is a measure of basic agreement even though there might be a great deal of disagreement otherwise. For instance there is no particular point in our discussing 'Pakistan' because we have no common ground on that issue but it would be very much to the point if we discussed the means of achieving independence for India or to put it differently the means of eliminating foreign authority from India and leaving ourselves to determine our problems without foreign interference. If that can be a common basis Mr. Jinnah can certainly continue to hold his opinion in regard to Pakistan while I shall continue to hold my opinions in opposition to it. That is we join together on a fundamental issue leaving the conflict on other issues unsolved for the moment. It is possible that mere cooperation on a common issue might lead to a solution of other issues or if it does not then we face those other issues between ourselves later on. Or else as the Congress President said representatives of the Congress and the League may meet to consider the various possibilities of having a common front. Surely that suggestion itself is an initiative. Unfortunately in various public speeches of Muslim League leaders it has been rejected. The whole point is that there must be a common front on the basic issue of Indian independence—on the withdrawal of foreign authority from India. If such an agreement is reached then other problems are simplified tremendously. That is why I said at Delhi after the Cripps negotiations were over that I cannot conceive of Mr. Jinnah or Mr. Savarkar being opposed to the attitude the Congress had taken up in regard to those proposals because all that we said was that political power should be transferred from England to Indian hands. The other question as to how that political power should be controlled and administered in India might certainly have raised communal and other issues but we never reached that point and therefore no communal issue was raised before Cripps. I was surprised later to find Mr. Jinnah supporting Cripps and saying that he objected to the Congress demand which had no relation to the Congress as such but to the transfer of political power to India.

That showed again the fundamental difference on political grounds quite apart from communal grounds of Mr. Jinnah's approach and the Congress approach."

Asked why under such circumstances the Congress should not leave the Muslim League alone, Pandit Nehru said: "We who want freedom for India are always hankering to win every other Indian to our side."

Referring to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's campaign, Pandit Nehru said that his activities "have been singularly misguided, from every point of view, certainly from my point of view and if I may say so from Mr. Rajagopalachari's point of view also." Pandit Nehru added: "After all he has adopted this attitude in order to gain certain results he desires but he has probably succeeded in making that more difficult."

Pandit Nehru then dwelt on the possible support which the Congress could get from the masses in any future movement that might be launched. He said it was always difficult to judge the psychology or other reactions of large masses. He had previously stated that Mahatma Gandhi reflected in large measure the passion of India which meant the masses in India. In spite of the varying tendencies in India, sometimes quite contrary to each other, there was today a very general looking up to the Congress even among those who had nothing to do with the Congress. This was due to the extraordinary events that were shaking up all people's minds by the war and its consequences and the belief that the present order of things was bound to go. Looking round, therefore, the only nucleus round which the masses might gather appeared to them to be the Congress. In masses he included the intelligentsia also.

Reaffirming his opposition to Fascism and Nazism, Pandit Nehru said that there was no question of India aligning herself with Japan or any of the Axis Powers even if she was in a position to do so. "I had expressed myself fairly strongly against the Axis Powers. As a matter of fact Mahatma Gandhi had also expressed himself strongly against Fascism and Nazism. As far as support to Britain is concerned, every nation does what it considers best for its own interests. The defence of India is primarily an Indian concern and a free India would defend herself to her utmost and would align herself with others who help her in doing so. Even though we might have had sympathies with certain countries yet we might have remained neutral. How long we could have maintained that neutrality is a different matter. We see every country dragged into the war. The position now is that we cannot wipe out the events of the last two or three years. The question of India remaining neutral hardly arises. India's armies are in

so many frontiers and I don't see how a free India can remain neutral. Nationalist India or the Congress has not been neutral in its attitude to the war. It has had its sympathies with certain causes and with certain countries."

Pandit Nehru criticised Government's action in commandeering educational premises to house officers. He said that in Central Provinces a training college had been taken over by the Government for defence purposes. While he recognised that military necessity might require evacuations, taking over of buildings, Government should see that proper facilities should be afforded to those affected by the orders. He said how in China and in Spain that in spite of the war education had been pushed ahead.

[1]UP Provincial ML Council discussed Rajagopalachari move. A resolution was put before the Council by Z. H. Lari and Fakhrul Islam to appreciate the attitude of Rajagopalachari. The resolution was rejected. See F. 1010/13, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Mohamed Hasham Kassam Kamdar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1010/20

BAZAR PETH,
KALYAN,
23 June 1942

Respected Sir,

You must have been well aware that the *Muslim Bulletin*, a Gujarati weekly of Rajkot (Kathiawar), has stopped its publication since the 6th instant for non-payment of Rs.1,000, the security demanded by the Agency in connection with the two so-called objectionable articles published in the same, some two months back.

It is needless to say that the monetary condition of the above-said paper is not at all satisfactory or such that it could pay the security, demanded by the Government.

It will be considered justified if you could help the same from your Press Fund, as a loan or help, as I understand from the Bombay papers that you had granted a substantial amount to make good the loss of a new Gujarati weekly, started by a Bombay Muslim.

I hope you will do the needful in the matter and oblige. With *Salaam*,

Yours obediently,
M. H. K. KAMDAR

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Syed Zakir Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/87-8

MAMDOT VILLA,
LAHORE,
23 June 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your kind letter of the 17th instant[1] with a cheque for Rs.1,000 has been received. The Committee reached Punjab punctually according to its programme but according to the [Punjab] Provincial [Muslim League] programme the Committee visited Jhelum first on its way from Frontier to Punjab and reached Lahore on the 22nd. The Committee has appointed a Provincial Defence Committee and will now visit Jullundur, Amritsar, Lyallpur [now known as Faisalabad] and Multan and then proceed to Karachi. The work of this Defence Committee is being immensely and universally appreciated everywhere and is creating self-confidence among the Muslims. The other far-reaching effects of the work of this Committee are most valuable, which you will learn in detail from the Chairman of the Committee in his next report.[2] The continuous and strenuous tour is giving us no time to write reports. We are getting a very busy programme in this extreme heat giving us hardly any time for sleep or rest. This tour has established the *bona fides* of the claims of the League and everybody, friend or foe, is convinced that it is the League which represents the Muslims and looks after their interest, and the Muslims realize that the League is theirs. This is a great achievement.

That you are following the movements of the Committee with interest and eagerness is a great encouragement to us.

Trusting you are keeping the best of health,

Yours sincerely,
SYED ZAKIR ALI
Secretary,
AIML Civil Defence Committee

[1]Jinnah had sent a cheque for Rs.1,000 through Nawab of Mamdot and asked him to send the Committee's further report. See F. 761/49, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See No. 146.

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M. A. Jinnah to Mohsinah Sadiq

F. 957/86

23 June 1942

Dear Miss Mohsinah,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th of June,[1] and I am glad that you are taking very keen interest in the great struggle that the Muslim League is carrying on.

There is plenty of literature available now and you might study it. That will give you an idea of the policy and programme of the League.

I am sending some booklets to you under a separate cover,[2] but there are other books that are also available.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Miss Mohsinah,
2nd year student,
Kinnaird College,
Lahore

[1]No. 94.
[2]Acknowledged by the addressee on 5 July 1942. See F. 875/220-1, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to Mrs. S. N. A. Jafri

SHC, P&P III/50

24 June 1942

Dear Mrs. Jafri,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and thank you for it. I am sending you my photograph and also that of Mrs. Jinnah under a separate cover, as desired by you.

I am glad to hear that you have started an English weekly, *Onward*, from Allahabad.[2] We are in dire need of press and propaganda, and I wish your venture all success. I hope it will advocate fearlessly and independently the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. I hope you will also in your 'Women's Corner' advocate and champion the cause of Muslim women for their uplift, educationally, socially and politically.

A nation can achieve its objective and goal only when men and

women work in complete comradeship. I appeal to my women friends to organise themselves, take their rightful place, and make [their] fullest contribution in the national struggle in which we are, at present, engaged and not rest content till we have achieved our goal of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mrs. Jafri,
c/o *Onward*,
Allahabad

[1]Not traced.
[2]In reply to a letter dated 28 May 1942, Jinnah had sent Editor, *Onward* a message wishing him all success. See F. 1010/10 & 11-2, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

F. 365/58

24 June 1942

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th of June[1] along with a copy of the resolution. I have already written[2] to Mr. [G. M.] Sayed asking him to let me know the result[3] of your deputation having met the Governor of your Province.

As regards my coming to Karachi, much as I would like to, it is difficult for me to get away at present. I have to attend to so many things which require all my energy and time. But I am glad that the Civil Defence Committee will soon be in Sind and you can all put your heads together and adopt some policy and programme that you should all follow not only with regard to the situation that has arisen owing to the *Hurs* and how to tackle it, but you should [also] formulate a policy for the Musalmans generally.

I am sure I will get a report[4] from the Civil Defence Committee as to what the position in Sind is as soon as they conclude their visit in Sind, and I assure you that I am following the events with great care. The report of the Civil Defence Committee will enable me to understand the situation better when I may be able to write to you and place my views before the leaders of Sind Provincial Muslim League.

I have not yet received your promised report[5] as to what happened

at the last meeting of the Provincial Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 103.
[2]Not traced.
[3]Sind Governor, Hugh Dow had not been convinced with the arguments of Delegation regarding lifting ban on Martial Law in some parts of Sind. See Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khuhro,* 206.
[4]See No. 146.
[5]Khuhro sent the report on 6 July 1942. See No. 144.

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Sayed Gul Badshah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 655/1-2

TORU,
MARDAN,
24 June 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Respectful compliments. I was studying the daily paper *Shahbaz* of 18 June 1942. I was astonished to see that M. Madrarullah, a person from the N.W.F.P., has dropped you a letter[1] in favour of Pakistan in the position of General Secretary of Jami'atul-'Ulama-i- Sarhad. In the letter the scheme [*sic*] of the annual meeting of the Jami'at was also described. Before this, this person and his fellow, M. Mohammad Shoaib, have been doing aimless things in the name of the Jami'at. I cannot help showing the fact in this case that all the Muslims of the Frontier Province, concerning [*sic*] any party, know it well that the Jami'at, which is working here, is a branch of Jami'atul 'Ulama, Delhi. Besides this, there is no other Jami'atul 'Ulama. But it happens that sometimes in some particular papers of Lahore some statements are given in the name of the supposed Jami'at and in the name of supposed conferences they publish some schemes [*sic*]. I strongly request you that people of this kind are causing loss [*sic*] to the cause of Muslim League. The above-mentioned persons have got neither members nor office, and possess no regularity [*sic*]. If you send somebody from there to N.W.F.P. to see and find out the facts, then that shall give a clear proof of what I have said. We have seen the result of the presence of Jami'atul 'Ulama, Cawnpore, in comparison to that of Delhi. I request you that it shall be better for you not to appoint these parties in name as a source to fulfil your aim [*sic*].

This request of mine does not concern [*sic*] my favour or disfavour about Muslim League or Pakistan and its other policies[2] but is concerned with the presence of a responsible movement.

Yours sincerely,
SAYED GUL BADSHAH
Member, Working Committee,
Toru Jami'atul 'Ulama

[1]No. 74.
[2]See Annex to ibid for Jinnah's response.

121

M. A. Jinnah to Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait

SHC, Madras II/96

24 June 1942

My dear Sattar Sait,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th of June,[1] and thank you for sending me the press cutting and your views on the various matters referred to in your letter.

As to my coming to Madras, *Insha Allah*, if I get the opportunity, I will do so, but I cannot at present commit myself. December and January next are yet far off. We will discuss the matter when we meet. I assure you that it is not that I am unwilling, but that, firstly, I am so absorbed in other matters at this critical juncture that I have to remain at a central place in order to watch the developments of the events from time to time and secondly, I cannot stand the strain and pressure of going about to different places as it seriously affects my health.

However, if the situation in the country became normal, I shall take the first opportunity of coming to your Province, and especially the District of Malabar.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait,
Tellicherry

[1]No. 88.

122

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/181

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
25 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 20th instant,[1] enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to Suhrawardy by you on the same date.

You have clarified the position, and Bengal will act accordingly. Personally, I could not think how it was possible to do otherwise.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 109.

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S. Z. Al-Mujahid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/199-200

GULAOTHI,
DISTT. BULAND SHAHR,
U.P.,
25 June 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I take this opportunity to ask you to permit me to do my bit for my nation. My college, the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, of whose Union I happen to be the Joint Secretary, is now-a-days closed for the summer vacation. It will reopen in August. During this period of vacation, I think it better to translate *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*[1] in Urdu so that every man—Muslim or non-Muslim—who does not know English may read it. I should make it clear that by doing so, I do not want to gain for myself—I want to do so for the sake of my nation. I, therefore, beg you for its permission.

You will, perhaps, be glad to know that I have already written two books, one in English, *The Bright Future of Muslim India,* and the

other in Urdu—*Pakistan ya Darul Islam*. The book in English has been handed over to Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan Sahib for writing its foreword. The book in Urdu could not be published owing to lack of money.

I may further add that I have been Joint Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Muslim Students Federation for the last two years.

I hope you will kindly allow me to translate the book, *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*, whose preface you have written.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I have the honour,
to be,
My Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most obedient servant,
S. Z. AL-MUJAHID

[1]The title of the book, edited by AIML, Delhi, was: *The War: Problem of India's Future Constitution.*

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Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 520/16

MADRAS,
25 June 1942

Congratulations Jinnah-Rajagopalachari meeting.[1] Fervently urge tangible results.

INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]For an account of Jinnah's meetings with Rajagopalachari see Nos. 189 & 218, *TP*, II, 275 & 306.

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Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah[1]

PRIVATE

BUTLER PALACE,
LUCKNOW,
26 June 1942

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

A meeting of the Working Committee of the A.I.S.M.L. [All India

States Muslim League] was summoned at Mount Hotel, Nagpur, on 24th and 25th of June 1942 to consider, along with other matters, the present critical situation in Gwalior. The Working Committee noted with regret and grief the events as they happened during the last three years and marked the once liberal and benevolent Gwalior Government growing notorious for denying legitimate rights of the Musalmans and for refusing to redress their grievances, presumably under the influence of anti-Muslim elements that have, of late, crept into the State. The developments that precipitated a crisis immediately after the Allahabad Session of the All India Muslim League can only be associated with the most barbarous governments. The State had gone very low and the treatment meted out to a peaceful organisation like the A.I.R.G. [Anjuman-i-Islam, Riyasat Gwalior] and its workers, who always adhered to constitutional methods, passed all limits of decency and civilization so much so that Mr. Manzar-i-Alam Ansari, Advocate of Gwalior who is also a member of our Working Committee, had been coerced into living a life of self-imposed externment. The State is trying to utilise the wartime emergency for suppressing the demands of Musalmans and the news of this coercion by all methods fair or foul. The local Gwalior leaders have, so far, acted wisely and displayed maximum self-control in withholding from the public the news of the inhumanities done [*sic*] to them. They have repeatedly endeavoured to avert the repetition of the Jaipur drama whenever they were confronted by any critical situation. The details are most painful.

Since 1939 Mr. Manzar-i-Alam Ansari had been, according to your instructions, seeking the advice of Dr. S. Z. A. [Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad] and Nawab M. I. K. [Mohamed Ismail Khan]. He also kept yourself, myself, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan informed in this connection. The present position is that Dr. S. Z. A. has written a personal letter to M. I. K. recommending that he may represent the case of Gwalior Musalmans to the Government of India as Secretary of the M.L. Party of the Legislative Assembly. Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib was of opinion that you may yourself deal with the complicated Gwalior situation, and promised Mr. Manzar-i-Alam Ansari to write a letter to you embodying his suggestion. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib evinced keen practical interest and advised Mr. Manzar-i-Alam Ansari to start a press agitation[2] before taking any other step. To start with Nawabzada Sahib extended the help of the *Dawn* which was, however, immediately banned by the Gwalior State. Nawabzada Sahib also promised that he would try to enlist for the Musalmans of Gwalior the practical help of Sir F. K. [Firoz Khan] and other

influential Muslims in the Govt. of India.

The W.C. of the A.I.S.M.L. has now authorized me to take proper steps for redressing the grievances and safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Musalmans of Gwalior. In a fit case, like the present one, the A.I.S.M.L. should use all the means that lie within its power and help the Musalmans in Gwalior with all its might. But you are aware of its means and also know its might. Under the circumstances of this special case, therefore, I must seek your advice before deciding a line of action for the A.I.S.M.L. I am leaving Lucknow for Quetta but the Gwalior affair is very pressing and most urgent; therefore, I hope to be favoured with a reply at Quetta so that I may also discuss the problem with members of the M. L. Defence Committee, who will meet together at Quetta. I shall be at Quetta from 1st to 4th of July.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

[BAHADUR YAR JUNG]

[1]Received from Karachi University.
[2]For his statement, see F. 809/438, *QAP*. Not printed.

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S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/2

NAGMATIA HOUSE,
GAYA,
28 June 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

By the grace of Almighty we have practically completed the defence organization of the whole province. From the reports of the District Committees it is apparent that they have also begun their work earnestly.

We are holding the Bihar Provincial Momin Conference at Phulwari Shariff (Patna) on 4th and 5th July 1942, where we have invited all leading Momin leaders from all over India to re-organize All India Momin Conference on the right lines. We request your kind blessing on the occasion and if convenient please send to the Chairman Reception Committee, Momin Conference, P.O.Phulwari Shariff (Patna) a message to inspire us, the poor masses of Muslim India, to live or die for Islam.

From 29th April I have got an attack of rheumatic pain in my left foot but in spite of that I had to continue my tour of the whole

province being literally carried like luggage but this defiance of medical advice has now made me worse and am practically on bed since the last two days. I hope God will give me strength to be able to take up to my active duties soon.

Yours sincerely,
[S. M.] LATIF[UR RAHMAN]
MLA; President,
Bihar Provincial Momin Conference;
Vice President,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

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M. A. Jinnah to Vice President, Quetta Muslim League

Telegram, F. 564/1

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
BOMBAY,
29 June 1942

Your telegram.[1] Extremely sorry not possible leave Bombay attend Conference but wish your Conference most heartily every success. Musalmans must organise themselves stand united achieve our goal Pakistan.

JINNAH

[1]Not traced.

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S. N. A. Jafri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/52

FATMA ESTATE, PRAYAG,
ALLAHABAD,
29 June 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for the kind letter[1] about my paper, which is proving very helpful. I hope you are glancing through the paper every now and then. If you dislike any feature of the paper, kindly let me know.

It will be at once eliminated. Similarly, if you advise me to add any feature, I shall do so.

I am writing this letter to you to worry you about elucidation of a particular point. In your letter[2] to Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy regarding the National War Front, you say that the League would be opposed to our joining that. The question is what is the National Front. In so far as District and Provincial War Committees are concerned, you have already allowed discretion to the members to join them if they consider that it will be in the Muslim interest. As for the subscription to the War Fund, a large number of Muslim Leaguers have contributed towards War Fund and are still doing so. Then come the measures for the relief of sufferers and for the safeguard of life and property, or in other words, civil defence. The view expressed by the Provincial Muslim League Defence Committee was that we should co-operate with Air Raid Precautions and Civic Guards. We are, therefore, feeling much difficulty in interpreting your letter properly. We want to know[3] what is tabooed now. I shall feel very grateful if you kindly send me a statement which I shall publish in the *Onward* and I shall see that it is taken by the Associated Press and other agencies from my papers. I deserve this privilege on the principle, first come, first served.

Yours sincerely,
S. N. A. JAFRI

[1]See F. 1010/10, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Enclosure to No. 109, which had also been published in the newspapers.
[3]Jinnah informed him that he would not add anything to what he had already said in his letter of June 20 to Shaheed Suhrawardy. See *SHC*, P&P III/53. Not printed.

129

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/3

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
1 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please excuse my writing to you on a highly delicate and intricate subject-matter of public importance concerning the Muslims and the Muslim Leaguers. Ordinarily, I would have refrained from giving you any trouble over this or any [other] question when you are so much occupied in other more important matters of high policy.

Having seen in the papers a communication said to have passed between you and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League,[1] I desire to approach you on the subject, further to clarify and amplify certain matters so that none should remain in any doubt as to the clear intention of yours and of a previous decision which had been arrived at at a meeting of your Working Committee held between the 29th of August and the 2nd September 1940. The resolution passed by the Working Committee dated the 2nd of September 1940 reads as follows:

> In view of these circumstances the Working Committee leave those Muslims who think that they can serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with the War Committees free to do so.[2]

I am enclosing herewith a true copy of correspondence which has passed between us on the subject of the National War Front. My letter is dated the 14th March 1942,[3] and your reply is dated the 19th March 1942.[4]

In your reply you have been pleased to observe that you have to add nothing further to the policy already indicated at the meeting, namely at the conference of the Executive held at Nawabzada's house, Delhi, on the 23rd of February 1942,[5] when, on a reference being made by an executive of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, you were pleased after discussion to observe that the Muslim League as a body cannot make any commitment or suggest to the members to do this or that. The resolution of the All India Muslim League Working Committee is there. Now, as I understand, the letter and the spirit of the resolution of your Working Committee, dated

the 2nd September 1940, perhaps is that the All India Muslim League as a body can make no commitment or advise provincial bodies or members of the Muslim League to take any particular line of action, but leave those, who in their individual and personal capacity for any personal reason think [it] desirable to associate with War Committee, free to do so. This clearly means from a common-sense point of view that without responsibility in the Government of the country the Muslim League as a body can render no assistance [to], or encourage, it; but should A, B, C, or D (a Muslim) think that he personally can serve any useful purpose he may on his [own] responsibility do so. As I understand and [as] I could interpret, I put it that the wording of the resolution has more negative than affirmative force.

Since after the passing of this resolution there was a reference from the Bombay Presidency Muslim League regarding the A.R.P., which reference, after discussion in your Working Committee held at Nagpur in last Christmas week, directed the Secretary of the All India Muslim League to refer the Bombay Presidency Muslim League to the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 2nd September 1940. A clear elucidation on this question and on this reference is circulated to all the Provincial Leagues in the letter of the General Secretary dated the 24th January 1942.[6] I further find that the All India Civil Defence Committee, when it interviewed the Provincial Governor of Bihar, had amongst [the] many points they pressed, explicitly pressed that more Muslims should be taken and employed in the A.R.P. In the instructions that the All India Civil Defence Committee had given in writing to the Provincial Civil Defence Committee, there is a definite instruction that in case of necessity and if desirable, the Muslim League Civil Defence Committee can co-operate or co-ordinate with other allied bodies for the purpose of civil local defence. The Chairman of the All India Civil Defence Committee has also issued several statements from time to time, the first from Lucknow, dated the 23rd April,[7] wherein it is mentioned as follows:

> It will be the duty of our Committee to give their fullest co-operation both to the official and non-official organisations which have similar object in view.

Again, he has said in other places that the policy of his Committee was to co-operate with all other organisations having similar objects to his own, whether official or non-official. Therefore, so far as the question of civil defence in the country and the local area is concerned, in case of commotion or lawlessness or [of] the likelihood of any disturbance, it is perhaps the definite policy that we should

meet all eventualities either singly or in co-operation with allied bodies. All this applies in case of internal defence, of course; it is impossible to suggest or undertake even remotely the idea of organising for bigger defence against foreign aggression. That rests the matter.

What I do desire and request you to kindly make clear [is] how far, according to your recent statement in reply to the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League regarding the War Committees and the National War Front organisations, the position stands in so far as you were pleased to observe as follows:

> As I understand it is that we cannot join any committee or committees or any organisation which is set up or may be set up by the Government and is under the control and direction of the Government so long as we have not real share in the power and authority of the Government at the centre and the provinces.

May I take it that you mean to suggest that as an organisation and at the head of it you cannot advise Muslim Leaguers to render assistance and to co-operate as members of any of the above-mentioned committees. Quite right and perfectly sensible that without power and authority the organisation cannot reasonably render assistance. But excuse me, Sir, if I request you for further clarification as to what shall be the position of the resolution which was passed by your Working Committee on the 2nd of September 1940, after this statement of yours, for in that resolution there is neither any organisational commitment nor encouragement to the members of the Muslim League, but no doubt the intention was to leave those who for any personal, domestic or other reasons choose to co-operate free to do so. Surely and definitely the intention was that the organisation as a whole should in no way be embarrassed by the action of an individual. He may choose his own line of action if desirable without abusing or using the name of the organisation. That was the position, I understood, of the letter and the spirit of the resolution and the intention underlying it.

May I respectfully request you to give me a clear guidance as to how far the position has changed or altered in the light of your reply to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. Of course, so far as Bihar is concerned, there is a peculiar position that need not be discussed but it is my duty while respectfully obeying and acting on your rulings also to point out, and you must believe me when I say that in Bihar the Local Government have recently decided to form a Village Defence Committee, and at least two members of each such committee in the villages are going to be provided with guns.

Situated as we are, we are not members of any of these Village Defence parties or any other party than our own. In the circumstances of the Government's decision only those who are members of the National War Front and as such members of their local unit in the villages shall be provided with arms for defence against any likelihood of the breach of peace or threatened apprehension of rioting. May I most emphatically point out that the whole of the National War Front is captured and monopolized by the Hindu Mahasabhaites. The danger is that these very men of the National War Front's village defence may vindictively [*sic*] revenge [themselves on] the poor Muslims who are in a hopeless minority everywhere in Bihar.

The temporary gun licences that were given to Bihar sub-division Muslims last year are not likely to be made permanent after the expiry of a year and after conditions have become normal. Some, no doubt, will possess guns as is permissible under the Arms Act but that will not be sufficient guarantee against any danger. However, let me assure you that I am not very enamoured either of the National War Front or of the War Committees. What I do desire [and] what I feel is that it is prudent that we should act tactfully and cautiously in the interest of the oppressed Muslims in this Province. Our own Muslim National Guards organisation alone, with the help of the local Muslim League Civil Defence Committee, will not be able to effectively control the situation without assistance from Government or from other allied non-official bodies, for in the present temper of the country when tension is growing and bitterness is increasing, it is desirable without prejudice to our creeds and fundamentals to create an atmosphere which may be helpful in suppressing disorders. Enough of riots we [have] had and in none of these riots the aggressors have been punished though enormous public money has been wasted. However, I hope and trust you will oblige me by giving me clear guidance. I am obliged to you for your previous guidance but this time I hope and trust you will give me detailed guidance, as I have stated above. In the ordinary circumstances I would not have troubled you but the circumstances warrant your clear instructions. Let me add again in the end that I am not at all in favour of joining the National War Front. In fact there is no committee, there is only the dictatorship of a provincial leader and under him are a number of district and other local leaders and the Village Defence Committees. This organisation is receiving large support and resources from Government and now they are trying to get their men armed with weapons. The entire organisation

is manned by the Hindu Mahasabhites, the arch-enemy of the Muslims, and that is the danger; hence my anxiety. Pardon me, Sir, the case in Bengal stands on a different footing. There the Muslims are in a majority and a responsible government is working while here in Bihar we are at present governed under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, and let me put it very plainly that the relations between the Bihar Provincial Muslim League and the Government are not very happy since the passing of a resolution by the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Council last year and which I had discussed with you previously on the 28th of October, at 10 Aurangzeb Road, Delhi. Please do not, for a moment, think that I have any desire to show any weakness or a vacillating policy. What I do desire is that in this province, where we are in a minority and financially very weak, we must have a policy, though in conformity with the All India Muslim League yet conducive to the particular Muslim interest of the province, and may I add further that when the Provincial Defence Committee waited on the Governor on the 10th June last he definitely asked them as to what would be their attitude towards National War Front and A.R.P., and I understand he further stressed that they must have a definite attitude towards National War Front. The whole thing is very difficult to solve without your clear guidance. Please excuse me for this long [*sic*] length of my letter but I had to put my case as fully as I could. Our action will depend on your decision whatever it may be. For, I believe in upholding and enhancing the reputation of the League and in unity and solidarity. Please in absolute confidence vouchsafe to me a reply[8] and oblige [*sic*].

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL

[1]See No. 99 & Enclosure to No. 109.
[2]For full text, see *AFM* 129/104. Not printed.
[3]No. 405, *JP*, XVII, 526-7.
[4]Ibid., note 1.
[5-7]Not traced.
[8]No. 137.

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Syed Kasim Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1010/22

NARSINGHPUR,
C.P.,
1 July 1942

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of approaching you with the following few lines which, I hope, will meet with due consideration.

That in these days of political unrest, it is necessary to carry on vigorous propaganda to enlighten Muslims. In many provinces, the public is only Hindi-knowing and as they have no Muslim League paper in Hindi they cannot follow the policy and present politics correctly. There is great need for such a paper—either weekly or fortnightly—in C.P.

I am thinking of such an enterprise since long but due to financial difficulties in the way, I cannot carry it out. I am a member of Provincial Muslim League and am trying my utmost to foster the cause. I think that if you will help me a bit by encouraging me to start a Hindi paper, I will successfully do it as I am also a journalist.

I am confident that you will think over the matter seriously and will give me financial as well as moral help in such a move which [*sic* for as] will benefit the Muslim masses.

Thanking [you] in anticipation, an early reply is solicited.

Yours truly,
SYED KASIM ALI

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A. Jabbar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/212-3

NEW DELHI,
1 July 1942

Dear Sir,

I am writing these lines in full confidence that they will receive a favourable consideration.

The country today is in great peril. It is threatened from all sides. The Japanese have fully dominated Burma and are knocking at our gates and it is feared they will soon be invading our country. Knowing their treatment full well, we all must defend the country against them.

The Allies cannot do this without our help, as is evident from the example of Burma. But India is throwing no considerable portion of its resources into the war for its own defence, though different parties are keeping aloof for different reasons. But now is not the time to remain a spectator. Something has to be done.

There are only two main parties in India: the All India Muslim League and the Congress. The lead must come from them. The Congress is not prepared to give one, unless its claim for complete independence is satisfied. The British Government is not granting independence on many grounds, one being lack of communal harmony and agreement between the parties.

Now, the only party capable of giving lead in the right way is the All India Muslim League. It does not seem any good policy to remain aloof in such critical times, simply because the Congress is not going to concede the demand for Pakistan at this moment. Will [*sic* for would] it not be better for India if the League co-operated with the Congress on the common ground of withdrawal of foreign authority from this country and postpone the demand for Pakistan, to be settled by a plebiscite after the war? The times are difficult and demand immediate action.

One question about the Congress too. They tell us that independent India will be a federal state, with full provincial autonomy, subject to the central administration only in matters of defence, and [in such] others as posts and telegraphs. We are led to believe from this that the question of suppression of Muslims by Hindus does not arise at all as the Muslims in Muslim majority provinces will be self-governing as in Pakistan. In the federal matters they will have their full say. For defence, it would be better to keep India's natural frontiers as they are; and India as one country will be able to keep greater forces and put up stiffer resistance to the invader. Will it not be possible to arrive at a settlement with the Congress on this basis, with some modifications of granting more rights to the Muslims in the Pakistan provinces, leaving India as one integral whole; and leave the idea of two states altogether, to which it will be equivalent? In my opinion, Pakistan has no great merits and seems to suggest some selfish motives which is opposed to the true spirit of Islam. The idea is based on the disunity of Hindus and Muslims but poison won't do

away with the evil effect of some other poison administered to a man.

The situation on India's frontier is deteriorating every day, and the delay of every minute is an addition to our troubles and difficulties; but the Indians have been merely watching. I have always remained a great lover and supporter of the League and am grieved at heart to see it, even under your able leadership, sitting inactive, and doing nothing. But it is never too late to mend. I earnestly hope that you, with the least possible delay, will take a wise step[1] and end the present deadlock. It is only possible for a leader of your talents to lead the League in whose sheltering care we all have grown, to lead India in its present struggle. I address this letter to you with best wishes, and pray to *Allah* to grant success to any step that you may take. I will be highly obliged to receive a reply.

With hearty thanks for your kindness,

I remain, Sir,

Yours truly,

A. JABBAR

[1]Jinnah outlined his views in an interview given to Preston Grover. See Annex.

Annex

Press Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to Preston Grover[1]

F. 809/446-7

BOMBAY,
1 July 1942

QUAID-I-AZAM WARNS BRITAIN: PAKISTAN THE ONLY WAY

"The only way for Britain, he said, to do justice is to hand over the Muslim homelands to the Musalmans and the Hindu homelands to Hindus. It is practical proposition and will cause the least amount of trouble and friction. Sooner the British give their decision in this regard the better it is for all the parties. The Pakistan scheme of partition of India is just and reasonable both to the Hindus and Musalmans of India." These views were expressed by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah in a Press interview given on July 1 to Mr. P. Grover of the Associated Press of America.

He declined any comment on his recent conversation with Mr. Rajagopalachari, as it was premature to do so.

The Quaid-i-Azam characterised the proposal of Hindu Congress

for the united and democratic government for the whole of India, as one which could and would mean, for all intents and purposes, *Hindu Raj* and Hindu domination over one hundred millions of Musalmans. "If such a constitution is forced upon India by the British, or if they are influenced in that direction by America, there will ensue immediately a first class disaster in this country. Muslim India will never submit to a unitary or united self-government for all India taken as one single unit, as that will immediately bring the North-Western and Eastern zones (the Muslim homelands, where Musalmans are in a majority) entirely under the yoke of Hindus."

He added: "Muslims are a nation and they insist upon their rights as a nation, separate from the Hindus, and I am confident that if Britain will take courage in both hands and give their decision in favour of partition the Hindus will reconcile themselves within a few months, as obviously it is more favourable to them, for they will have the government of three-fourths of India in their hands while the Musalmans will have only one-fourth of India. But unfortunately their game is that they want the whole which can never be.

"The expressions 'National Government', 'independence' and 'freedom' are merely catchwords and slogans. The Congress has never put forward any concrete form of constitution for the government they wish to set up as an all-India united central government.

BITTER EXPERIENCE

"We have had enough experience of the provincial constitution for 27 months when the Congress Hindu majority under the constitution of 1935 enjoyed certain legislative, executive and administrative powers although these provinces were certainly not fully self-governing, as the last and final word rested with the Governor, the Governor-General, the Secretary of State and Parliament and many safeguards were provided for the minorities and Britain accepted their statutory obligations to protect the rights and interests of the minorities.

"Notwithstanding this, the Hindu Congress in six provinces during these 27 months made every effort to suppress the language, customs and culture of the Musalmans. Even in educational institutions which were wholly Muslim, the students were compelled to use text books prescribed by the Hindu Congress Government emphasising the Hindu culture and traditions and belittling that of the Musalmans, what little of the Muslim culture they contained. Hundreds of instances can be given of their having trampled upon the elementary rights of Musalmans.

"The difference between the Hindus and the Muslims is deep-rooted and ineradicable. 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.

READINESS TO HELP

"I stated," the Quaid-i-Azam said, "from the very commencement of India being declared a belligerent that in our own interest and to defend our homes and hearths we should assist England in the prosecution of war, provided Great Britain accepted our hand as confident friend and as equal partner to face the peril and provided real share in the authority of the Government at the Centre and Provinces was given to us within the framework of the present constitution. But England, so far, has not accepted our hand and is waiting to persuade the Hindu Congress.

"The first proposal was made by the Viceroy in November, 1939, which was later improved upon by what is known as the Declaration of August [8], 1940,[2] and lastly Cripps proposals in April, 1942.[3] England is pining away to satisfy the Hindu Congress but the Hindu Congress demands full twenty shillings in a pound immediately, at the cost of 100 millions of Musalmans and other minorities which will well nigh come to another hundred millions. What they want is, as I have said, hegemony, supremacy and Hindu domination over all and that they want to establish with the help and presumably with ultimate sanction of the British bayonets.

"England dare not sacrifice and let down the Musalmans of India. But at the same time England is marking time and waiting and considering how to satisfy Hindu India. Hindu India on the other hand, is in a position of being encouraged and its hopes are maintained by constant approach to them with something better every time, with the result that they have decided upon a policy of non-cooperation and are holding the sword of Damocles or resorting to Civil Disobedience and thus they think they are in a better position at the bargaining counter.

NO OBSTRUCTION

"We have so far, beyond strongly condemning the policy of the British Government and their blunders in pampering the Congress, have not considered it advisable to put obstacles in the prosecution of war or obstruct in any way their progress in that direction, unlike the Congress policy and programme. But if the British, even with the help of America adopt any measures which will militate in any way

against our Pakistan demand I am firmly of opinion that it will lead to terrible chaos and disaster, as one hundred millions of Musalmans of India will never forgive the British if they are let down.

"The Congress demand is one which cannot be satisfied within the framework of the present constitution. It can only be achieved by immediately making fundamental revolutionary changes in the present constitution in order to set up what the Congress conceive to be the 'National Government' of a united and democratic India. We are not against any revolutionary changes in the constitution or complete repeal of it immediately in order to secure our Pakistan scheme, but if the National Government of Congress conception is set up then it automatically not only torpedoes the Pakistan scheme but the question of any kind of partition of India cannot arise thereafter. Therefore, the only just course for Britain is to decide in favour of the principle of Pakistan and proceed to frame the constitution accordingly."

[1]The *Dawn*, 12 July 1942.
[2]Enclosure to No. 506, *JP*, XV, 687-9.
[3]Appendix II. 1, *JP*, I, Part II, 21-2.

132

Horace G. Alexander to M. A. Jinnah

F. 939/10-11

FRIENDS' AMBULANCE UNIT,
(INDIA SECTION),
BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
1 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not suppose that you will remember me. But I called on you in London about the time of the Round Table Conference. I have lately arrived in India with a colleague, Mr. [J. Richard] Symonds, with the hope of arranging some work of civilian relief on behalf of the Friends' Ambulance Unit.

When we approached the India Office in London, we explained to them that, if we were able to come to India, we should wish to work on a voluntary basis with all organizations, both official and unofficial, who were doing the same kind of work. We came by air and arrived, 10 days ago, at Gwalior, and from there we went straight to the

district in the C.P. where the Society of Friends carries on some work, in order to confer with our own members in India personally. Then, we visited Mr. Gandhi[1] whom I have known for many years; and now we have been talking with officials here. We are naturally most anxious to co-operate with any Muslim bodies who are doing civilian relief work. And as soon as we reach Calcutta at the end of the next week, we hope to meet Mr. [H. S.] Suhrawardy. We are also seeing Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan tomorrow.

It has not been possible for us so far to get to Bombay. And, naturally, the main sphere of our activity seems likely to be on the east coast of India in Bengal and the neighbouring provinces. But we are extremely anxious to meet you personally as soon as possible; and we hope to come to Bombay about the middle of the next month to meet five of our members from England, who are due to arrive by boat about that time. So, I hope we may have the pleasure of calling upon you about the middle of this month. About the definite dates, perhaps I may write to you again.

Our Calcutta address is: Buchanan's Hotel, Sudder Street.

Yours sincerely,
HORACE G. ALEXANDER

[1]After his first visit to Gandhi, Alexander had "mentioned the possibility of acting as a mediator" between the former "and the world." The Viceroy had taken a very strong exception to such a propensity. See No. 355, para 14, *TP*, II, 488.

133

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/183-4

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
3 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I booked a personal call for you this morning and was told at 11 a.m. that your servant had told "Trunks" that you were out of station. This is regrettable as I desired to speak to you and to seek your guidance.

Some days ago Prince Dillan, the younger brother of the Nawab of Rampur but a strong Muslim Leaguer, met me and in a general way stated that he was sent for from Patna by one of Fazlul Huq's

nephews, an intimate friend of his, and told that the old man was just about sick of everything and the gilt of victory over his past colleagues having worn out, and with his experience of being taken advantage of by his powerful Hindu colleagues, he wanted to make his peace with you and with the Muslim nation.

Yesterday Dillan again came to me and told me that Huq wanted him to arrange a meeting with me as he desired to have a heart-to-heart talk. He asked me not to refuse this request as he hoped that something good may result for the community. I at first refused but as he persisted, I agreed. We met in Dillan's house last night at seven and talked freely for an hour and a half.

He narrated the whole story of the rift, his suspicion of attempts being made to unsaddle him, the clique that worked a web around him—the break, the struggle for the "Call by H.E. to form the Cabinet", his success, the difficulties faced by him; the pressure on him by his Hindu colleagues, the desire to call the whole thing off, to make peace with you and the League, to return to it, to dissolve the Progressive Party, the Progressive Muslim League, to break the Progressive Coalition Party and Cabinet now functioning in the province, and to reconstruct it as is considered advisable by you. He swore that he wanted to see you and that he feared rough handling and it is this that has kept him away from seeing you. I assured him that whilst not guaranteeing what you would do or ask to be done as a *sine qua non* of the "peace declaration" I guaranteed him that he would receive from you, as before, and as you in your greatness accord to every Musalman, a cordial and friendly welcome. He asked me, as a special favour, to accompany him or to go a day ahead of him to Bombay. I said that I did not want to be made a fool of but if he were serious, I would gladly travel with him on the same train and notwithstanding my many commitments here, I would gladly sacrifice my time and money and go to Bombay. He said he was serious. We fixed the 4th as the day of our departure by the Jubbulpore Mail.

Unfortunately you are out of town. Please let met know where you are and what your programme is by express telegram.[1]

Sir Nazimuddin is lying ill at Khairpur. It would help, if we are able to get him to Bombay as well when this conference takes place.

Please treat the contents of this letter as confidential and be assured that if I had thought that Huq was not serious to close up the Muslim ranks, I would not have bothered you either by letter or with my presence.

With my kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS. I have telegraphed our Bombay office just now asking them to let me know immediately where you are and your address.

[1]Jinnah wired that he would be in Bombay till 15 July 1942. See F. 307/186 *QAP*. Not printed.

134

S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/8

BIHAR PROVINCIAL MOMIN CONFERENCE,
NAGMATIA HOUSE,
GAYA,
6 July 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have received my previous letter.[1] I am just returning from Phulwari Sharif (Patna) after attending the Momin Conference. You will be glad to hear that it was a huge success and Momin leaders and workers attended from all parts of India, the gathering being [an] unprecedented one. We have succeeded in constituting the All India Momin Conference and they have elected me as its President. Owing to very heavy work I have already got at my hands, I have got a very learned and influential Momin leader, Khan Bahadur Moulana Mobarak Karim, Retired Superintendent of Islamic Studies, Bihar & Orissa as Working President. I am enclosing a copy of the brief proceedings[2] for your information.

Praying that this finds you in the best of health and spirit,

Yours sincerely,
LATIF

PS. Tonight I am going to Benaras and other places in U.P. for this work and will come back by 12th.

[1]No. 126.
[2]Enclosure not traced, however see Annex.

Annex
Formation of All-India Momin Conference[1]

F. 809/455

NEWLY FORMED ALL-INDIA MOMIN CONFERENCE

Momin leaders from all over India, exceeding five thousand assembled at Phulwari Sahrif (Patna) on the 4th and 5th July 1942 and adopted a unanimous resolution constituting the All-India Momin Conference, with Mr. Latifur Rahman as the President, Khan Bahadur Moulana Mobarak Karim as the Working President and Mr. Ishaque Hossain, M.A., B.L., as the General Secretary.

Prominent among those present included Mr. Latifur Rahman, M.L.A.; Mr. Jalil, Councillor, Calcutta Corporation (Bengal); Mr. Noor Mohammad, Secretary, Jamiatul Mominin, Calcutta (Bengal); Moulana Mohammad Yahya, Editor, *Al Momin* (Bengal); Moulvi Abdul Karim Mojibi (Bengal); Haji S. Ahmad, Engineer (Bengal); Moulana Ghulam Mustafa (United Provinces); Moulana Imamuddin Ramnagri (United Provinces); Mr. Abdul Rahim Zia (Burhanpur, Central Provinces); Khan Bahadur Moulana Mobarak Karim, Retired Superintendent, Islamic Studies (Bihar); Mr. Qasim, M.L.A.; Mr. Noorul Hasan, M.L.A.; Moulana Abdul Matin, Bihar; Hakim Zahirul Hasan; Mr. Bashirul Huq; Messrs. Maniruddin; Haji Abdul Sakur; Dr. Karim Baksh; Dr. Salimuddin; Sardar Abdul Halim; Sardar Abdul Mannan; Moulvi Abdul Wahid; Moulana Abdul Majid; Mr. Sultan Afzal; Mr. Yasin; Hafiz Ali Mohammad; Sardar Aqil Khalifa; Haji Abdul Karim; Mr. Hakim Zahur (Arrah); Mr. Bismil, B.A. (Arrah); Mr. Latif, Pleader (Arrah); Mr. Ali Ahmad Baland Akhtar (Bhagalpur); Moulvi Karamat Ali (Sasaram); Dr. Didar Baksh; Haji Mohammad Sayeed (Madanpur); Haji Noorul Huda (Patna) and Moulvi Abdul Hamid (Nagarnausa).

The text of the resolution adopted unanimously is as follows:

Whereas after the All-India Momin Conference held at Cawnpore in 1937 there have been no regular sessions of the same and a deadlock prevails in the working of the Momin organisation and whereas the present executives of the so-called Momin Conference have lost the confidence of the Momins, it is necessary that a new life should be breathed into the All-India Momin movement and for this an All-India Momin Conference is constituted with the following as office-bearers:

Mr. Latifur Rahman, M.L.A. (President);
Khan Bahadur Moulana Mobarak Karim (Working President),
Moulana Mohammad Yahya (Bengal); Vice-President;
Moulana Ghulam Mustafa (United Provinces); Vice-President;

Mr. Mohammad Omar Rajab (Bombay); Vice-President;
Mr. Abdul Rahim Zia (Central Provinces); Vice-President;
Mr. Mohammad Ishaque Hossain, M.A., B.L., Pleader; General Secretary;
Moulvi Abdul Karim Mojibi; Joint Secretary;
Moulvi Fazilat Hossain, [and]
Moulana Abdul Hamid, Assistant Secretaries;
Hakim Haji Noorul Huda; Treasurer.

The President is authorised to nominate his Working Committee and Vice-Presidents.

[1]The *Dawn*, 12 July 1942.

135

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/185 & 196

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
7 July 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The papers say you left Bhopal for Bombay on the 6th. My office was told by your house that you were expected back on the morning of the 9th instant.

I was to have left for Bombay today by the E[ast] I[ndian] Railway and was to have met Huq there on the morning of the 10th. However, Prince Dillan informed me that Huq had decided to return from his visit to Delhi and then go to Bombay from here. So my departure is being delayed.

Since I last wrote to you, Dillan has met me several times calling for and receiving clarification. He asked me if I desired to meet Huq again. I told him that as I could not deliver the goods, constant meeting would not improve matters in any way.

Now, from what I can gauge, the essence of his game is the revival of the old stunt, his stunt and John Herbert's ambition, to have a national Cabinet.[1] He wants to emulate the Viceroy in following his policy of expansion. He wants to add to his Cabinet three or so Muslim Leaguers. I had it conveyed to him that if this is his game, it is futile to think of a settlement or forgiveness. We cannot allow ourselves, for the sake of a few piffling seats in the Cabinet, to be

bribed and bought; allow ourselves to be muzzled in the province; to stop our agitation in the province; to relax the hold that we have created on the Musalmans of Bengal; to allow Fazlul Huq to regain his position among the Musalmans of Bengal. No, Sir; nothing doing!

His reply is this: Let me meet Mr. Jinnah. I shall convince him that if there is to be a Muslim League Government this is the only way. Otherwise, the Hindus will join hands and back the Nawab [Khwaja Habibullah] of Dacca and finish us all.

My reply to his last argument was a monosyllable "tripe!" If Huq plus Dacca have been brought to their knees by the weight of Muslim public opinion in seven short months, how long will [Nawab of] Dacca alone stand? His influence is zero. When he betrayed the League for a ministership and the lucre that it carries, he was unable to take away a single member from our Party. This was his influence then. Today his power is on the minus side!

Huq says, "I shall convince Mr. Jinnah. If I fail to do so, I shall abide by whatever he decides in the matter." He told this to me and he told this to Dillan four times. Both Dillan and I feel that this is a lip undertaking and reliance should not be placed upon it.

In these circumstances, bearing in mind that your time and my time and money are precious, will it be worth our while to encourage Huq to see you? If nothing comes off, then this thoroughly unreliable man may issue a fresh statement damning the League and saying how dictatorial you were and add any cursed nonsense or lie to it. The statement may not cut ice with anyone because even every Hindu will disbelieve it although the press will utilise it for the benefit of the anti-Muslim forces in this country.

However, it is for you to decide after considering carefully the pros and the cons. An express telegram[2] from you will be appreciated. Just the word "Come" will be construed as "Bring Huq with you". "Don't come" will mean to me: "Do not bother. It will be sheer waste of time".

The developments abroad are not too happy. At home, the Viceroy[3] has again been foolish. His Executive Council is the biggest political scream of the decade. There must be something radically wrong with the British mind. I knew that adversity made cowards of people but did not know that adversity [also] made idiots of human beings.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS. I shall not be surprised if Huq is playing one of his pet games—
(1) delaying tactics,
(2) to slow down agitation in the province,
(3) to save his face in the coming Nadia Assembly by-election; and to give us the slip again!

PPS. If you say "Don't Come" I shall see Huq in a neutral place and tell him—nothing doing. I am not prepared to waste my time and money and accompany you to Bombay when I know that no Muslim Leaguer can compromise with you on the question of Muslim League majority in the Cabinet as a result of proper re-constitution. If you cannot guarantee this and accept it as a condition precedent to the conference in Bombay, do not distract us or waste our time. You carry on and do your worst. You cannot improve upon your follies and upon the disservice you have already done to the Musalmans. We shall carry on our fight for the Musalmans of Bengal and will continue our efforts to crush you and traitors like you.

[1]Fazlul Huq had earlier informed Governor Herbert of his always having been ready to resign provided that that sacrifice led "to some desirable results". In that contingency he suggested a successor cabinet of 12 ministers. See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 655-9.
[2]No. 141.
[3]The Viceroy had discussed with Leopold Amery the chance of finding alternative employment for Fazlul Huq in case the latter chose to demit the Chief Ministership of Bengal. See No. 63, *TP*, II, 93.

136

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Badruddin Ahmad

SHC, Bihar I/9

8 July 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of June[1] and beg to inform you that in reply[2] to an enquiry[3] from Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, I have already explained my opinion and it is quite obvious that the policy of the All India Muslim League applies to all the provinces equally.

I have nothing more to add to what I have already said.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Badruddin Ahmad, Esq.,
Secretary, Bihar Provincial Muslim League,
Patna City

[1]Not traced.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 109.
[3]No. 99.

137

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail

SHC, Bihar I/7

8 July 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of July[1] which is a very lengthy document and all besides the point.

I have already expressed my opinion in reply[2] to an enquiry from Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, and that applies to all the provinces equally.

I have nothing more to add.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab S. M. Ismail,
Ismail Manzil, Patna City

[1]No. 129.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 109.

138

Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/104-10

2 LYTTON ROAD,
QUETTA,
9 July 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must have read in the papers about the success of our

provincial conference which was held on the 4th and 5th, under the presidentship of Nawab of Mamdot. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung had also attended the conference, and we were fortunate to have the members of the Defence Committee too. I am sure Nawab Ismail must have written[1] to you about our Provincial League and the way it is now reorganized and disciplined. I will not quote [*sic*] my opinion but my colleagues of the Defence Committee thought that the province where the Govt. extended fully the hand of friendship and co-operation was Baluchistan. The members were officially welcomed at a tea party in which the AGG[Agent to the Governor General][2] down to every district official was present. Permit me to quote one small instance of the official consideration. During the talk with the AGG, Nawab Ismail Khan said that he had not heard the latest news as there was no radio in Isa's house. The same evening the Publicity Department, under orders, fixed a radio in our house!

All the local Muslim officials made a representation to the Govt. that though they are in service, yet their heart is with the League and so they have decided to attend the conference. Permission was promptly given to them. Every District and Branch League was fully represented at the conference. Almost every tribal leader was present at the conference. The outside guests had full opportunity of mixing with them. What Nawab Ismail Khan and others gathered from the interviews and about the success of the conference, I [had] better leave it to Nawab Sahib to write to you. On the 5th, our conference began at 9.30 p.m. and lasted till 3 a.m. and not a soul left the *pandal*. This would show the eagerness of the Musalmans. Besides the shops, every *tonga*, every cycle and every car belonging to Musalmans was flying the League flag.

The officials requested Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib for the co-operation of the League in ARP work, as so far they could not get any public support. With [*sic* for For] all the inexperience with which we started the League here, I am proud to confess openly and publicly that small though we may be in population yet we have a very well-organised League. I wish you could come and see the enthusiasm and sincerity of our poor people.

Nawab Sahib of Mamdot delivered a very nice and highly appreciated presidential address. Nawab Sahib is an honest and sincere Leaguer and free from the influence of Unionist Group of the Punjab. He is our real hope in the Punjab. In my humble opinion, and please forgive me for having the courage to suggest such a

Punjab Assembly. We can straightaway get 22 to 25 members, and let this Party adopt the same policy as the League Party adopts in the Central Assembly. I am confident [that,] once we make such a small stand, in no time would this Party gather strength. Otherwise, with the present Unionist Party in power and only Congress as the opposite party, no Musalman, even if he wants to, dare break away from the Unionists. The League-Unionist Pact has served its purpose, and thank God League is [now] strong enough. It has a great backing to stand on its own legs and let this Pact stand no longer in the [way of] formation of a pure League Party. If the present Unionist Party can bend before the wishes of half a dozen Sikh members, then it would certainly concede the demands of League Party composed of at least 22 members. Now when a Unionist wants to break away he does not know where to go—he cannot join the Congress and he finds no League Party. So unwillingly he lingers on in the Unionist Party.

I am herewith sending you three cuttings[3] from the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore.

While at Bombay you had asked us to look for a suitable Leaguer from the Punjab whom you would bring on [to] the Working Committee. I personally think that Nawab Mamdot is the most suitable person. The other person besides him is Sheikh Karamat Ali, Advocate, MLA (Punjab). He lives in Sheikhupura.

I do hope you are keeping fit. We are having a lovely weather.

It has been raining here for the last three days and has made it very cool.

My wife sends you and Miss Jinnah her *'aadaab* and my *'aadaab* to Miss Jinnah too.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

ISA[4]

[1]See No. 146.
[2]Sir Aubrey Metcalfe.
[3]Not traced.
[4]See No. 175 for Jinnah's reply.

139

Bhagwandas Jain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 180/2-3

1 MIRKHAN KI SARAI,
ALLAHABAD,
10 July 1942

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

As I always have appreciated your boldness and personality, it is with great fear that I address you and sincerely request you to kindly give a patient consideration to my views below.

A Hindu though I am, I have always been fully in favour of the Pakistan demand and what [is] more my two letters had been published in the *Leader*, Allahabad, on June 30th[1] and July 8th,[2] in criticism of Mr. J. B. Kripalani's articles against Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. I believe you are as earnestly working for the Muslim rights as anything.

In this connection I submit one point very timidly for your favourable consideration. On Sardar Patel's declaration[3] of the Congress willingness to let the whole Indian Government be transferred to the Muslim League, you rightly disbelieved the sincerity of the offer, but rightly again[4] expressed your willingness to shoulder the burden [of responsibility and authority] which the British Government should rightly give to the Muslims because they got it from the Muslims. But fortunately Mahatma Gandhi has reiterated Sardar Patel's view in his concluding address to the A.I.C.C. May I hope that you do not question the sincerity of the offer now, and if Mr. Rajagopalachariar approaches[5] you on behalf of the Congress (his differences on the Pakistan issue having dissolved themselves), or for that matter any man representing the Congress, you would please make the settlement and throw your might to compel the British Government to part with power.

I hope I would not be disappointed in my hopes because you

have pledged yourself to treat the Hindus generously.

With best regards,

I remain,

Yours very obediently,
BHAGWANDAS JAIN

[1-2]Not traced.
[3]Not traced. In his statement, Currimbhoy Ebrahim had reacted to Congress statement to handover power to Muslim League and called it a device to entrap Musalmans. See F. 809/494, *QAP*. Not printed. For Jinnah's statement, see No. 203.
[4]See Annex to No. 131.
[5]See No. 156.

140

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ahmad

F. 582/58

10 July 1942

Dear Mr. Ahmad,

I am grateful to you for sending cuttings from the American newspapers[1] and I am very much pleased to read of your activities in representing the Muslim League's point of view[2] to the American public as far as it is possible for you to do so. Please keep me in touch with what is happening in the American world as there is a false propaganda being carried on by our opponents.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. S. M. Ahmad,
20 Broadway,
New York

[1]The *New York Herald Tribune*, 10 April 1942; *The Christian Science Monitor*, 14 April 1942; *The New York Sun*, 16 April 1942 & *The New York Times*, 21 April 1942. See *SHC*, FCI/93-6. Not printed.
[2]See S. M. Ahmed, *America's Interest in Political Crisis in India*, *SHC*, FCI/91-2. Not printed. It was reproduced in *Dawn* dated 2 August 1942. See F. 809/485,489 & 497, *QAP*. Not printed.

141

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Telegram, F. 307/187

10 July 1942

Hassan Ispahani, Camac Street, Calcutta

Your letter seventh July.[1] Futile unless he prepared dissociate himself from his party, withdraws all allegations, submits discipline Muslim League, in writing as condition[s] precedent.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 135.

142

Abdul Awal Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/232

CARMICHAEL HOSTEL,
CALCUTTA,
12 July 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Excuse me for this disturbance and intrusion into your valuable time. I have read your latest announcement[1] but I am sorry that it is far from being satisfactory to even the fanatic[al] supporter of the policy and programme of the League who has got a grain of patriotism in him. I fail to understand what differences we have with the Hindus, regarding the withdrawal of Britishers from India. Do you want the Musalmans to be protected by the British bayonets in India?[2] How can you expect the nation, which had played the most cruel and treacherous part in bringing about the annihilation of the Musalmans economically and politically all over the world throughout the last three hundred years of mankind, to give you protection against suppression and oppression by hostiles [*sic*]? Will you explain to me this puzzle as the most outstanding leader of Muslim opinion in India explaining to his most ardent follower the implication of his

leadership? May I beg; will you?
Waiting for your very kind reply,

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL AWAL KHAN

[1]See Annex to No. 131.
[2]Jinnah observed that "we depend upon nobody except ourselves" for achieving the goal of Pakistan. See Annex to No. 150.

143

Abdul Ghafoor to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/233-4

GORDON COLLEGE,
RAWALPINDI,
13 July 1942

Respectable Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

My strong belief that the Muslim nation is never behind any other nation in coming forward or accepting an invitation to make an understanding with a hostile nation, and my belief that on the contrary the Muslim nation has always taken initiative for peace negotiations, has prompted me to write these lines. The importance of this request justifies, for me, the venture to occupy some of your most precious time. As the newspapers say, the Muslim League has been reluctant to respond fully[1] to the request of Allama Mashriqi inviting the League leaders to Madras to make any understanding between the Muslims and the Hindus of India possible. Let me be bold to express that our traditional large-heartedness demands that even if we think that our attempts may fail to achieve the desired end of an understanding between the two nations, we should show [that we are,] and prove to be, ever ready to open negotiations with the opposite camp and never be waiting for the others to take the first step. Muslim students here are surprised at the reluctance of the League to appoint some of its members to go to Madras at the request of the Allama to open negotiations. By no means [do] we doubt the sincerity of the League or have [we] let our confidence in the League be shaken. Yet we request you persistingly [*sic* for persistently] and rather impatiently to actually take effective steps to make the Madras meeting possible or help Allama's efforts to become fruitful. It is clearly against our

high morality to turn a deaf ear to the request concerning the opening of negotiations. We should not take any attitude which does not make the League popular. We know the recent rapid spread of our League's popularity; yet we know how much we still have to do in that connection. We cannot afford to observe an attitude which clearly does not promote League's popularity.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL GHAFOOR
M.A.

[1]See No. 95.

144

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

F. 365/59-60

13 July 1942

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

Many thanks for your letter of the 6th of July,[1] enclosing the notes of the meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Council held in May last. Please keep me in touch with you from time to time.

As regards Mr. Rashdi, he came to see me here a few days ago and I told him that apart from the reports which I have received against him from various quarters, what I gathered from his writings in his own paper was enough to create apprehensions in the minds of those who have been watching developments that have taken place in Sind. I advised him that if he cannot see eye to eye with the majority—and there are now responsible men at the helm of the Muslim League—, his proper course would be to persuade them and not to be aggressive and create a division, and that he should really devote most of his time to making his paper really a first-class paper and leave the affairs of the Muslim League in the hands of the office-bearers and the executive. I hope that he will follow my advice and not create any trouble. But of course you are the best judges as to how you should deal with him and what you should do in the matter.

As regards my coming to Sind or calling a meeting of the Working Committee or the Council at Karachi, I shall certainly consider your suggestion and see what I can do in the matter. But you know it is not very easy to get the people to go to Karachi as it is not a very central place. I can quite appreciate your desire to get us all there.

No doubt it will give a considerable impetus to those of you who are carrying the burden and working for our cause. So I fully appreciate your point of view, but you must also understand the difficulties.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuhro,
124 Muslim Colony,
Britto Road, Karachi

[1]Not traced.

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Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/41

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
14 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

When I saw you last, I forgot to obtain your advice on a matter of importance. Subsequent to your statements[1] in the press to the effect that the Muslims should keep [away] from participating in War Councils and National War Front, the States' Muslims are asking me whether they may join such organisations within the area of their respective States to help their rulers, or if they should withdraw where they have already joined. I am of opinion, personally, that the grounds on which you are keeping the Muslims of British India from helping the war efforts are not applicable to the States as well. You are fully justified when you think that unless the Muslims are provided [with] the means of effective co-operation with the Government of India, it is not advisable for them to aid war efforts in British India. But this issue does not at all arise in the States, where the Muslims have no direct relations with the British Government. Their rulers are bound by some treaty obligations to help the British Government, and as such any excuse from the State Muslims to keep themselves [away] from helping the war efforts is taken as a denial to help their rulers. So, I think that in such States where the rulers have been considerate to [wards] the rights of Muslims and have never caused them harm, the Muslims may not be prevented from helping their rulers. I have

received a letter from the President of the Mysore State Muslim League, Mr. Mahmood Sharief, asking my advice in the matter, and in turn I seek to be advised by you in this connection, personally, before I can give him a definite reply.

I shall feel much obliged to hear from you at your earliest convenience. May *Allah* keep you long to rightly advise us in all our difficulties. With *salaam* to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

[1]See Enclosure to No. 109.

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Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/53-83

CENTRAL OFFICE,
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
14 July 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very sorry that there has been some delay in submitting this report, the reason being that the programme drawn up for the second part of the Committee's tour was so exacting and heavy that it left [us with] no leisure. I had intended to indite it at Quetta where our colleague Qazi Isa had promised to let us have sufficient leisure to recuperate ourselves [*sic*] from the fatigue of long and uncomfortable journeys in highly inclement weather and devote ourselves to other pursuits, but in fact this promise was not kept and we were subjected to a great strain on account of numerous engagements made by him on our behalf. Towards the end of our visit at Quetta, the Secretary [Syed Zakir Ali] of the Committee also unfortunately became indisposed. He has recovered from his indisposition only a day or two ago.

In my previous report[1] which was handed over to you by the Secretary of the Committee at Bombay, an account of the tour of the Committee and its activities was given up to the time of its departure from Bangalore. The members of the Committee had decided to take a few days' rest at Hyderabad before resuming the tour but even there they were not given any respite. Besides numerous social

engagements arranged for them, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung invited the Committee to meet his Working Committee for explaining the defence programme and exchanging views with his Committee. His Exalted Highness the Nizam also interviewed three members of the Committee. One evening he granted an interview to Sir Nazimuddin at which he did not discuss any political subject, but when he sent for Chaudhry [Khaliquzzaman] Sahib and myself the next day, he discussed nothing else but politics. He asked us [about] the implications of Sir Stafford Cripps' Proposals as far as the demand for Pakistan was concerned. He was also anxious to know, from us, how far the rights and interests of Indian States would be jeopardized by Sir Stafford Cripps' Proposals. Throughout the discussions, which lasted over an hour, he showed a keen interest in the subject-matter and put some very pertinent questions. He also expressed a desire to meet you[2] again. In Hyderabad we also tried to induce Nawab Kamal Yar Jung to bear the expenses of a Planning Committee to be appointed by you with such terms of reference as the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League may deem fit. He readily agreed with this proposal. Nawab Salar Yar Jung Bahadur was also approached by us to donate a handsome amount to your Fund and he promised to do so. I hope he has done so. Before concluding this portion of the report, I would like to say that the programme of the defensive measures adopted by the Anjuman-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen (Hyderabad) is very similar to our programme and the work done so far in pursuance of it is systematic and efficient.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

The Committee reached Bombay on the 29th [May] at midday and was accorded a public reception at the railway station. The Committee after about an hour went to the Govt. House to interview the Governor [Roger Lumley]. The Governor discussed at some length our defence programme and also showed to the Committee the statements which he had got prepared after official enquiries from the different sects of the Muslim community residing in Bombay with regard to evacuation, food-stuffs and other necessities of life kept in reserve for emergency. He also wanted to know how far the League members and workers will be free to join the National War Front started by the Govt. We told him that it was not possible for them to participate in any such activities having regard to the acute political differences existing between the peoples of this country and the disregard shown by the Govt. to the Muslim League demand for association with the war effort on honourable terms. He also wanted to find out our

views with regard to the move made by the Corporation to secure the control of the A.R.P. Organization in non-official hands and to which, as he informed us, the leader of the Muslim League party in the Corporation had also agreed. We informed him that as we had had no opportunity of discussing the subject with the Provincial Working Committee, we were not prepared to offer any definite views. In the evening a very well-attended meeting was held, which was honoured by your presence also.[3] The next morning a demonstration by the Muslim National Guard of Bombay was given and the Committee was delighted to see that adequate training was being given to the guardsmen in A.R.P. and First-Aid methods. In the afternoon, the Committee held an hour's discussion with the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League at its office, and it was decided to set up a Provincial Defence Committee consisting of:

1. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Chairman
2. M. Aziz Gaffoor Kazi, Secretary
3. Mohammad Ali Maniar
4. Hakim Mirza Haider Beg
5. M. Abdul Qadir Sheikh, and
6. Hashim Haji Ismail

It must be stated here that in Bombay City, an Emergency Committee of over a hundred members had already been set up a month or two previously [*sic* for ago], which had done some preliminary work and collected a large sum of money for putting the defence measures into operation. It was decided at the meeting of the Working Committee to dissolve this Emergency Committee and transfer its fund to the Working Committee of the Provincial League to meet the expenses of the tour of the new Provincial Defence Committee set up by the Central Committee. In the evening, the Committee divided itself into two parties, one going to Ahmedabad and the other to Surat. I accompanied the party that went to Ahmedabad where we were given a very fine reception. We addressed a public meeting, soon after our arrival there, in the Shahi Masjid. The meeting was very well-attended and it demonstrated beyond all doubt the real interest [that] the Muslims of Ahmedabad take in the Muslim League affairs. We were invited to lunch by the Chhipi community which had so far kept aloof from the League. The lunch was attended by over 300 people and after explaining the defence programme to the assemblage, the leaders of this community promised to lend their whole-hearted cooperation and support to the Defence Committee to be set up there by the Provincial Defence Committee. In the afternoon,

we met the members and workers of the local Muslim League and of rural areas who had come there to meet us. They also had set up an Emergency Committee, but it was decided to dissolve it and set up another Committee in its place to be nominated by the Provincial Defence Committee. The President [I.I. Chundrigar] of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and Mr. Maniar, a member of the Provincial Working Committee, accompanied us to Ahmedabad and were present at all these functions. It will not be out of place to observe here that the President enjoys full confidence of the members of the League and is very popular among them. In the evening, the party left for Bombay and during the night at several stations, they were welcomed by the local Muslims. The party which went to Surat had also a very crowded programme. It addressed public meetings at Surat and Randher and met League workers and explained to them the defence programme and also inspected the Volunteer Corps at Randher. The strength of the Volunteer Corps there is over 600, which is very satisfactory. Mr. Abdul Qadir Sheikh, a member of the Provincial Working Committee, accompanied the party that visited Surat. Both the parties returned to Bombay on the morning of the 1st June. Soon after their arrival they were taken to inspect the Afghan National Guard and received an address from that body. The officers in charge of this Guard promised to cooperate fully with the Muslim League National Guard and to carry out the orders given to them by the Commander of the Muslim National Guard. After this the League Committee met the Provincial Defence Committee at Sir Currimbhoy's office to discuss the programme. After it had been fully explained, the Committee accepted it without any modification. The Committee left for Nagpur in the afternoon reaching there the next morning.

It was brought to the notice of the Committee that in one division of the [Bombay] Presidency, probably the Southern, the League organization either did not exist or was in a moribund condition, and so no Defence Committee could very well be established there. In another division also, some districts were also without League organization. The President has assured the Committee that he will soon appoint an Organizing Committee to establish League branches in all such places and that he will personally supervise this work. It was decided that the Provincial Organizing Committee should precede the Provincial Defence Committee to these places.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

We reached Nagpur on the morning of the 2nd May [June]. That very evening a public meeting was held in the City, which was addressed

by the members of the Committee. Next day this Committee met the Working Committee of Nagpur and such other prominent persons as had been invited by the President and after discussions lasting for several hours, it was ultimately decided to set up a Provincial Defence Committee composed of:

1. Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, Chairman
2. Nawab Siddique Ali Khan
3. Moulvi Burhanulhaq
4. Qazi Syed Karimuddin, Secretary
5. Seth Haroon Abdoola Sahib, and
6. K. S. Mirza Zahur Hasan Beg

A sum of Rs. 750 was collected on the spot for enabling the Committee to undertake its tour of the various districts. I am sorry to say that although outwardly the differences between Syed Abdur Rauf Shah and Nawab Siddique Ali Khan had been made up, yet their followers still remain hostile to each other, with the result that the League organization is torn up into party factions; and most of the time of the Committee was taken up trying to adjust the differences of the parties. At this Conference we were sorry to note that veiled sneers and jibes were flung at each other without let or hindrance. Instead of concentrating their attention on the programme put before them, they indulged in complaints and counter-complaints. At one time the Central Provinces had a very good volunteer organization but today, owing to partisan feelings running high, it has become weak and feeble while the Hindu volunteer organizations are being considerably strengthened and augmented. Another party led by Moulvi Burhanulhaq has made its appearance in the Province. It is cooperating with the Govt. officials in their War activities without ascertaining the views of the Provincial League, which is reprehensible. The principal reason for this quarrel between the parties appears to be an existing clause in the constitution of the Provincial League with regard to the representation of the various districts in the Provincial Council. There is no possibility of any agreement being reached on this point between the parties. It is, therefore, necessary, in order to put an end to these differences, that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League should arbitrate in the matter and give its final decision. This alone will smooth matters there. As far as the outward relations between Nawab Siddique Ali Khan and Syed Abdur Rauf Shah are concerned, there is nothing to cavil at, but as I have said above, they are unable to restrain their followers from carrying on their quarrel interminably. In view of the grave menace to the safety of the Muslims in C.P., and the preparations

which are openly being made by the Hindu Mahasabha, it is essential that the Muslim minority should not allow itself to be side-tracked by these polemic differences, but that every nerve should be strained to organize it efficiently for its [own] security. Although a Committee has been appointed, I don't feel very optimistic about its work.

The workers wanted the Committee to interview the Governor [Henry Twynam] and bring their complaints to his notice, but as he was not in Nagpur but in Pachmarhi, it was decided to delegate this duty to Sir Nazimuddin who was an old colleague of the Governor. Sir Nazimuddin on his return from Bengal interviewed the Governor at Pachmarhi, in the company of the President of the Provincial League, with satisfactory results. The Committee dispersed to meet again at Delhi on the 12th of June, because the members of the Committee from U.P. had to go to Lucknow for the annual meeting of the Council of the Muslim League and an important meeting of the Working Committee.

DELHI

The members of the Committee except Sir Nazimuddin assembled in Delhi on the afternoon of the 12th [June]. They had discussions with the members of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League at the office of the AIML, and after a full and frank discussion and exchange of views, a small Committee was set up to organize Musalmans of Delhi and its suburbs for their civil defence. The Delhi Provincial Muslim League had already established a Defence Committee for preliminary investigations and enquiries and by the unanimous wish of the members present, this very Committee was converted into Delhi Provincial Muslim League Civil Defence Committee. The names of the members of the Committee are as follows:

1. Sheikh Abdussalam Sahib, Chairman
2. Sheikh Shujaul Haq
3. Babu Mohammad Ismail
4. Saghiruddin Hasan Khan
5. Sagheer Ali Qadri
6. Mohammad Abdullah, and
7. Abdul Wahid Qureshi, Secretary

A sum of Rs. 350 was raised for the expenses of this Committee. The same evening the Committee left by the Frontier Mail for Peshawar, breaking journey at Lahore for the day. Sir Nazimuddin joined the Committee before it left Delhi. The Committee reached Lahore next morning and was met by the office-bearers of the Provincial Muslim League and the Lahore City League. After consultation with the

office-bearers of the Provincial League, we framed a six days' tour programme in Punjab. In the afternoon Sir Sikander Hyat, who had arrived in Lahore that very morning, entertained the Committee to tea. After tea the Committee had a long talk with him on the subject of civil defence. He assured the Committee that he will not put any obstacles in the way of the Provincial Defence Committee setting up its branches in the districts and that he would have no objection to the Muslim League Civil Defence volunteers being organized so long as they carry no weapons, wear no military uniform, and do not march on public thoroughfares in military formations. He approved of the idea of armlets being distributed to the Muslim League Civil Defence volunteers and of their resorting to indigenous physical exercises instead of military drill. The Committee was told, soon after its arrival in Lahore, by a number of League members that under the orders of several District Magistrates, no speeches could be delivered at public meetings about Pakistan. The Committee, therefore, discussed this matter with the Premier who gave an assurance that no such restriction had been placed by the Govt. and the League members were free to talk on this subject at public meetings. To set all doubts at rest the members of this Committee, when they toured in the districts of Punjab, particularly dealt with Pakistan in their public speeches. The same evening the Committee left for Peshawar.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

We reached Peshawar on the 14th [June] about midday and were received by the notables and public of the City. We were taken out in a long procession to the *Shahi Mehman Khana* where we were lodged. In the afternoon we were taken to Tahkal, a town about 10 miles from Peshawar, the headquarters of Khalil tribe where we were cordially received and entertained to tea. Afterwards we addressed the gathering and explained to them our programme. They expressed their full sympathy with the aims and objects of the League and promised their full cooperation and support. We returned just before sunset and started our discussions with the so-called Working Committee of the Provincial League. Although the Committee agreed with us on the desirability of setting up a purely Muslim League Defence Committee for the Province, yet it insisted that in the formation of District and Town Committees, representation should be conceded to the Khaksars, Ahrars and Jamiatul Ulama, to which proposition we could not possibly give our approval. A Provincial Committee was however appointed consisting of:

1. Bakht Jamal Khan, Chairman
2. Taj Ali Khan of Bannu, Secretary
3. Mirza Ghulam Husain
4. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan
5. Haji Syed Shah
6. Shahzada Fazal Dad, and
7. Maulana Shah Mohammed

This question was however left over for further consideration. As for funds necessary to meet the tour expenses of the Committee, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan undertook to make available Rs. 600 by the time the Committee started its tour.

In the morning [15th June] the Committee had consultations with persons who had come from outlying districts to meet the members. The Committee then paid a visit to the Islamia College where it was received by the Honorary Secretary, K. B. Sadullah Khan, the Principal, the staff and the students. It inspected the college building, laboratories and library etc., and then addressed the students and appealed to them to devote their holidays to organizing the Musalmans in their towns and villages for their defence. In the afternoon the Committee went to Musakhel, a place about 15 miles from Peshawar, where it was received by the tribesmen (Mohmands) of that locality. The Committee was received there with great enthusiasm and presented with an address in which assurances were given about their loyalty to the League. Speeches were delivered by the members of the Committee emphasizing the policy and programme of the League and the objects of the tour of the Civil Defence Committee. These speeches were translated in Pushto by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Qazi Mohammad Isa. Some tribesmen also made brief speeches to assure the Committee of their full agreement with the ideal of Pakistan. In the evening, after the *'Isha* prayers, a huge public meeting was held in the Central Mosque of Peshawar City. At this meeting some poets, who only a short while ago were the co-workers of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan [Sahib], recited Pushto poems in condemnation of the Khan Brothers. The Ahrar and Khaksars also attended the meeting in large number and Congressmen were also present to hear the speeches of the members of the Committee. The meeting broke up at about 1.30 a.m.

In the morning [16th June] the Committee gave interviews to the citizens of Peshawar and in the afternoon, after lunch, the Committee started for Kohat by cars. A correspondent of the Associated Press accompanied the Committee. On its way the Committee visited Afridi Gun Factory where beautiful guns are turned out with very crude

and primitive hand-driven machinery. The men in charge of the Factory took the Committee round the premises and explained the various processes whereby a rifle is ultimately evolved. The Govt. has recently placed orders with this Factory for the supply of 5,000 rifles. We reached Kohat in the afternoon and were entertained to tea by the leading citizens of the place, where speeches were delivered by the members of the Committee to explain the defence programme. It appeared, from the speeches of the office-bearers of the local League, that they had already joined a Defence Committee consisting of the representatives of the various communities, and they urged us not to set up a purely communal Defence Committee as they, in common with the Hindus, feared raids from the independent tribes on the borders. They were taken to task for joining such a Committee without consulting their Provincial Muslim League. After some discussion they agreed to sever their connection with this Committee and establish a Committee of their own. It appears that there is no branch of the League at Kohat worth the name. Its membership is confined to a score of persons. No attempt whatever is made either by the Province or [by] the District workers to increase membership. I will have to say something more on the subject when I conclude this day-to-day narrative. In the evening a public meeting was also held where speeches were delivered by the members.

On the morning of the 17th [June], the Committee left for Bannu by cars. It travelled through the tribal area where travelling is only possible between 7 a.m. and 1 p.m. The whole road is patrolled by pickets and as soon as they are withdrawn, the traffic is suspended. The Committee reached Bannu at about midday. In the afternoon there was a large gathering of the Khans and Sardars with their armed retainers, at which speeches were delivered by the members of the Committee to expound the creed of the Muslim League. These speeches had to be translated in Pushto as few of them understood any other language. After they had understood the purport of the speeches they evinced great enthusiasm and gave a solemn undertaking to do their utmost for the achievement of this ideal of the Muslim League. They departed before sunset for their respective homes which were at some distance from the town.

The population of Bannu town proper is 35,000, of which 30,000 are Hindus and Sikhs; only 5,000 Muslims live in the town itself, the gates of which are barred and locked at 6 p.m. and do not reopen till 6.30 a.m. As a matter of favour to the Committee, the gates were opened for the admission of its members to the City at 10 p.m. in order to enable them to address a public meeting in the heart of the

City. There was a large gathering of the various elements of the City. It cannot be said with any certainty how many were Muslim Leaguers. I believe that in this place also there are not many regular members, although the bulk of the Muslim population living in and outside the City are supposed to be League-minded.

On the 18th [June] morning we left Bannu for Peshawar and performed this journey of 125 miles in about 5 hours. Soon after reaching Peshawar the Committee started for Shabqadar, about 32 miles from Peshawar, to keep its lunch engagement with the Mohmand tribal chieftains living in independent area. The tribal Khans not only entertained the Committee to a sumptuous meal in proper tribal fashion but also presented the Committee with an address wherein their sympathy with the ideal of Pakistan was expressed and promises of help for its attainment were held out. Suitable speeches were delivered in reply to the address. After spending about 2 hours with them, the Committee left for Sherpao, another 15 miles from Shabqadar, to have tea with a powerful Khan of that place. Some Congress MLAs were also invited to meet the Committee. We exchanged views with them and found them quite reasonable and in a chastened frame of mind. They expressed a desire to have a private interview with me at some other time. It may be mentioned here that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, a member of the Central Legislature and a staunch Congressman, had recently resigned from the Congress on account of differences with that body and was making overtures to the League leaders for joining the League, but the matter was not finally settled during our stay in Peshawar. From Sherpao we went on a visit to K. B. Sadullah Khan at his village Umarzai. From there we returned to Peshawar. Same night we left Peshawar for Abbottabad.

After a most uncomfortable journey by rail [19th June] we reached Havelian in the morning and from there motored up to Abbottabad. We interviewed the Governor who had come down from Nathiagali to meet the Committee to save us a long journey by car. The interview was very satisfactory and he expressed his approval of our programme. He further stated that he would be glad if the Muslim League Defence Committees were set up in every village and town. On return from there the Committee proceeded to Mansehra—a distance of 15 miles—to attend the *Jum'a* prayers and address the congregation. In the afternoon, after a tea party a public meeting was held in Abbottabad and then again in the night another public meeting was held.

The Committee left by car for Taxila [20th June] to see the Kazakhs' Camp about three miles from that place. The Committee spent about

three hours in the Camp and discussed with their leaders through an interpreter their plans with regard to their future. They gave us to understand that they would prefer to be settled at one place instead of being divided up in small parties and sent to different places. The Governor with whom we discussed this question was also of the same opinion and informed us that he was in communication with the Political Dept. of the Govt. of India for settling them in Hyderabad State. Epidemic of scurvy had broken out among them and they were dying at the rate of twenty per diem, but recently the epidemic was being controlled and the death rate reduced to 4 or 5 daily. A sympathetic Musalman doctor and his compounders are rendering yeoman service. Besides the amount provided for them by the Govt., donations for their relief are being received through Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, and Fatima Begum Sahiba. She has already distributed more than Rs. 1,000 among them. They are badly in need of summer clothing and tents, for they are living in scorching heat without any adequate shelter. It was decided by the Committee to issue an appeal for supplying them with vegetables, tents and summer clothing and to authorize Sir Nazimuddin to interview the Govt. of India officials in Delhi and request them to arrange for their removal to Hyderabad State at an early date as an end must soon be put to their sufferings. In the afternoon the Committee left for Jhelum in the Punjab and terminated its tour in [*sic* for of] the N.W.F.P.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Confidential

I am sorry to observe that the Provincial League is not properly constituted and the office-bearers, with the exception of the President who stands in a category of his own, do not enjoy good reputation among the public. They are suspected of being in league with the Govt. officials. How far this is true, it is difficult for me to say. They make no efforts to enrol members and take full advantage of the popularity of the League-mindedness of the general public. The Muslim League deputations which had visited the Province twice had aroused considerable enthusiasm among the Muslim public and the creed of Pakistan is also responsible for this new enthusiasm for the League. The unpopularity of the Khan Brothers is alienating the Muslim public from the Congress fold. I must also pay my tribute of praise to the work done by the President, Bakht Jamal Khan, quietly and unobtrusively. The registered membership of the whole Province is very meagre. Annual elections are seldom held in the

districts and there are serious complaints about the manner in which the Provincial League is constituted and its office-bearers elected. We felt that it would be futile to set up Defence Committees there immediately when there are no proper branches of the League in the districts. The Committee, therefore, issued special instructions to the President of the Provincial League, who is also the Chairman of the Provincial Defence Committee, a copy of which is [being] sent separately for your perusal. It is sad to remark that in a Province preponderantly Muslim, where Muslim League propaganda has made great headway and people have become League-minded in vast numbers, the Provincial League should not attempt to consolidate its position and organize the Musalmans properly under the banner of the League. It is the considered opinion of the Committee that someone from the Centre should be deputed to organize this Provincial League and adequate funds placed at his disposal for engaging whole-time paid workers who would go out to the villages and carry the message of the League to those who live there. I think immediate attention should be paid to this matter. We are greatly indebted to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Bakht Jamal Khan Sahib for accompanying the Committee throughout its tour in the Province and giving their valuable time to the League work for six days at a stretch. I intend to speak to you more frankly on this subject when I meet you personally.

PUNJAB

The Punjab tour was started from Jhelum which is the recruiting centre for the British Army. The bulk of population is Muslim, and take very little interest in politics. A branch of the League has only recently been established there. Its influence is still limited. It is one of the places where good work can be done provided paid propagandists of the right type are employed. The Committee stayed there a night and a day and addressed a public meeting. The President [Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot] and the Secretary [Syed Khalilul Rahman] of the Provincial League joined the Committee there and travelled with it back to Lahore. The Committee reached Lahore on the morning of the 22nd [June] and a public reception in its honour was arranged at the railway station by the City Muslim League. In the afternoon the Committee met the members of the Working Committee of the Provincial League at Mamdot House. After a discussion lasting over 2 hours, it was decided to set up a Provincial Defence Committee of 5 or 6 men. Certain names were suggested for it but the Central Committee did not give its approval till later as it wanted to ascertain whether these names would be acceptable. A sum of Rs.

1,600 was promised on the spot for the work of the Committee. In the evening a largely attended public meeting was addressed by the members of the Committee under the auspices of the City Muslim League. Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, the President of the City Muslim League, is doing very good work and has been making door-to-door visits in the City in order to induce people to send their contributions to your Fund. Next day [23 June] the Committee went to Jullundur City by car, where a big reception was arranged in honour of the Committee. Later in the night, a big public meeting was addressed by the members of the Committee, which continued till the small hours of the morning. Next morning [24 June] it met the office-bearers and workers and the representatives of the students and explained to them the programme of work. They undertook to successfully carry it out. Before leaving Jullundur, the Committee visited several Islamic institutions which are doing good work and are in a flourishing condition. The League is well-organized in this District and may be said to be one of the best branches of the League in this Province. The Committee travelled back to Amritsar by car reaching there in the afternoon. It met the League workers at a tea party, where great criticism was made of the manner in which the League is being run there. It was strange to note that some of the office-bearers were the worst critics of the League branch there; when it was pointed out to them that the remedy lay in their own hands, they still continued to harp on the same theme. They all complained that no effort was made to enrol members in the City or District and [that] the local League was dominated by the bosses of the Unionist Party. When asked why they do not exert themselves to free the League from their domination, they had no cogent reply to give. For an hour pandemonium reigned over this gathering. In the evening a public meeting was held which was the largest that was addressed by the members of the Committee in the Punjab. We noted with pleasure that these very critics expressed very different sentiments at the meeting. A sum of Rs. 1,200 was handed to me for your Fund, which I have remitted to you by cheque. The Committee returned to Lahore that very night by car about 2 a.m. Sir Sikander Hyat had also returned to Lahore and called on the members of the Committee at Mamdot House, and discussed with them some current political questions, particularly the Baldev-Sikander Pact[4] about which varying opinions were held in League circles. Some were strong supporters of it, while others condemned it outright. One good thing has, however, been achieved as a result of it, and that is that the Sikh community has been split into two warring sections. On the 25th [June] the Committee

met a large number of City workers at Zarafshan and told them how to set about their work. They are very enthusiastic and promised to carry out their duties faithfully. Later in the day it conferred with the members of the Provincial Defence Committee whom it had selected in the meanwhile. Their names are given below:

1. Nawab Sahib of Mamdot, Chairman
2. Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan
3. Moulana Ghulam Bhik Nairang, MLA (Central)
4. Sheikh Karamat Ali Sahib, MLA, and
5. Professor Dildar Khan Muqbil

The *Salar* of the Provincial Muslim National Guard was to be an ex-officio member of the Committee charged with the duty of raising the Volunteer Corps in the various districts. The Secretary of the Committee, namely Habeeb Syed Anwar, was not to be a member of the Committee. He was selected for this office by the President. The Committee had to drop Professor Enayatullah, whose name had been suggested by the President, as there was strong adverse criticism against his activities in the Province. The two groups in the League, the Unionists and non-Unionists, each wanted the Committee to be constituted of its own men and the Committee, therefore, experienced great difficulty in selecting the personnel. One consideration, which, however, weighed with it, was to strengthen the position of the newly elected President of the League who we are glad to see is shaping well. The Provincial Defence Committee has already started its work. On the 25th [June], Choudhry Khaliquzzaman Sahib and Syed Zakir Ali Sahib went to Lyallpur at the special request of the Muslim Students Federation, where they had a very good reception and addressed a largely attended public meeting. All the members of the Committee reached Multan on the morning of the 26th [June], where a public meeting was held in the afternoon which created great enthusiasm among the Muslim public. This concluded our tour in the Punjab. With regard to the League organization in the Punjab, it may be remarked that it is gradually gaining strength and freeing itself from the domination of the Unionist Party, but still a lot of spade-work has to be done before it can become an independent organization of the Musalmans of the Province. Among the members of the Council of the Provincial League, there is a body of men who feel dissatisfied with the way the League is being run there, but they fight [*sic* for feel] shy of doing any work themselves or exert themselves to bring about the necessary reform. Their helplessness and want of grit is deplorable. They want the Working Committee of the AIML to intervene and take drastic action against their opponents in an

unconstitutional manner. This mentality is regrettable. These very opponents of the Unionist group have done no work in the rural areas where the influence of the Unionist group is supreme even today. Late at night the Committee left for Karachi. On the way, Sir Nazimuddin was taken seriously ill, and despite the medical assistance rendered to him at various railway stations, his condition continued [to be] serious. We therefore wired to the Prime Minister of Khairpur Mirs, who happened to be our friend, to send a car and a doctor at the railway station to remove him from the train as it was not possible for him to continue the long and arduous journey to Karachi in his present condition. The Prime Minister himself came over to the railway station and took over Sir Nazimudddin in his charge and promised to keep him there as long as it was necessary for his recovery. We are greatly beholden to him for his courtesy and kindness. Sir Nazimuddin remained his guest for over 10 days and was well looked after. The remaining members of the Committee continued their journey to Karachi where they reached at about 7 p.m. in the evening.

SIND

The Committee was met at the railway station by all the leading Muslim citizens of Karachi. On the morning of the 28th [June] the Committee conferred with the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League. Mr. G. M. Sayed explained at length the situation in Sind and the dangers which the Musalmans of Sind apprehended. This Committee was greatly surprised to learn from him that the Sindhi Musalmans not only feared raids from the neighbouring Hindu States but also from their own kith and kin, the Baluchis. There are a sufficient number of Baluchis settled in Sind and it is feared that they may induce the Baluchis of the neighbouring tribal area to swoop down on Sind and commit depredations there. We advised them to get in touch with the tribal chiefs and come to some understanding with them. We were also informed that a Defence Committee had already been set up there, which had done some work in the Province. Its personnel were as follows:

1. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, Chairman
2. Mr. Mohammad Hashim Gazder
3. Syed Hasan Bakhsh
4. Mr. Agha Ghulam Ali, and
5. Mr. G. M. Sayed, Secretary

As it contained influential League leaders we thought it advisable to convert the same Committee into our Sind Provincial branch. At this meeting we also ascertained from the members present, who had

come from the various districts of the Province, about the prospects of the success of the League candidate in the forthcoming election to the Central Legislature. They assured us that with hard work the prospect of League candidate's success was good. The rival candidate who is contesting the seat is Moula Bakhsh, brother of the Premier of the Province. This will, therefore, be a clear fight between the League and K. B. Allah Bakhsh and all that he stands for. The constituency is a very big one, spread over the whole Province. Our candidate, Yusuf Haroon, has already toured some of the districts and obtained promises of support from influential people there. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidyatullah is up to now also working for him. This election is very important from the point of view of the future prestige of the League in this Province. K. B. Allah Bakhsh is sure to exert his full influence in favour of his brother and the Govt. officials are also likely to do the same. It is, therefore, necessary for the Centre to afford every assistance to its candidate by sending influential and well-known politicians to canvass for the League candidate and exert their influence on his behalf. The election is likely to take place by the middle of October. Owing to the Martial Law being in force at present, no public meetings can be held in the districts affected by it but private canvassing is not prohibited.

In the evening a big public meeting was held in the Khaliqdina Hall at which speeches were delivered not only by the members of the Committee but also by the leading Muslim Leaguers of Sindh. This meeting was a great success. Next day [29th June] the Committee interviewed the Governor [Hugh Dow]. His talk left no room for doubt that he was hostile to the League and did not entertain a high opinion of the Muslim League leaders or their influence over the Muslim masses. He was very critical of our action in establishing a separate defence organization. He appeared to take his cue from Allah Bakhsh. This is the worst Governor we have met on the whole of our tour and we were sorry that we ever interviewed him. It is satisfactory to note that the leading workers, such as Mr. G. M. Sayed, K. B. Khuhro, Mr. Abdul Majid Sindhi and Mr. Gazder, are all united and not working against each other. If they continue like this, the League is bound to prosper in the Province. Mr. G. M. Sayed told me that he wants K. B. Khuhro to be taken in the Working Committee of the AIM League in place of the late Sir Abdoola Haroon and Sheikh Abdul Majid to succeed late Sir A. Haroon to the Presidentship of the Provincial Muslim League. Mr. Rashdi, who met us at Lahore and who had come away from Karachi only a few days before we reached there for no ostensible reasons, is regarded with

great suspicion by all the leading figures in the Muslim League. It is surmised that he may by insidious methods attempt to create dissensions and disruption in the League. Even Yusuf Haroon has no faith in him.

BALUCHISTAN

At night on the 29th June we left Karachi for Quetta. On our way we broke journey at Khairpur to see our colleague Sir Nazimuddin and we were glad to see that he had improved but was not still in a condition to take the tedious journey to Quetta. We left in the afternoon for Rohri from where we were to catch our train for Quetta. At Rohri we met Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung who was also going to Quetta for the Provincial Muslim League Conference. We reached Quetta in the afternoon of 1st July and were accorded a big reception at the railway station not only by the Leaguers but also by Khans and Sardars who had been sent there by the Govt. We were taken out in a long procession through the City of Quetta where numerous gates had been erected. On the morning of the 2nd July we met the Provincial Committee of Baluchistan and discussed the defence programme with it. After exchange of views it was decided to set up a Provincial Committee consisting of ... [*blank space*] By some error the names were not taken down on the spot. They will be communicated to you later.[5]

A sum of Rs. 1,000 was promised, out of which Rs. 300 were paid in cash to meet the expenses of the work of Defence Committee. With this meeting the work of this Committee concluded. The next two days[6] [4th and 5th July] were taken up by the Provincial Conference held under the Presidentship of the Nawab of Mamdot where members of the Defence Committee also spoke on different subjects and sponsored resolutions. The Committee also interviewed the Agent to Governor-General who had especially come down from his summer residence at Ziarat to meet the Committee. The interview was highly satisfactory and he promised not to obstruct the work of our Provincial Defence Committee. The Political Agent also entertained us to tea at which the A.G.G. and other high officials and Govt. notables were also present. All the leading Govt. officials, Khans and Sardars attended every meeting of the Conference. The Govt. officials went out of their way to be pleasant to us and to provide for our comforts. We could not quite understand why this considerate treatment was meted out to us. We left Quetta in the night of the 6th July and went to Khairpur to fetch Sir Nazimuddin who was now fully recovered. After spending a day in Lahore we left for our respective homes. Before I conclude this I should like to say that I have received nothing but the

fullest cooperation from all my colleagues of the Committee. Despite the discomforts of long and tedious journeys and severe strain placed on them by exacting programmes, they were ever ready to fulfil the engagements made out in advance for them and never for a moment did they grudge giving their time to the work in hand. The Committee worked in the spirit of fullest cooperation with a single idea of advancing the cause of their national organization, the Muslim League. I am also very grateful to the Secretary of the Committee who indefatigably laboured to provide every comfort and convenience to the members of the Committee. During this long journey, he had to put up with great discomforts and inconveniences but, be it said to his credit, undaunted by them he faced them with cheerfulness. I strongly commend his work to you. In these reports I have expressed my personal views only, and I do not wish to fix any responsibility for them on any of my colleagues. It is my intention, when the Committee meets again in August, to ask it to record its considered views and impressions regarding the whole of this long tour and communicate them to you. I should be grateful if you will be good enough to advise us as to our future line of work. I am glad to tell you that the Provincial Committees set up by us have begun their work in right earnest. In some provinces the work has almost been completed. I shall let you have a detailed report on the progress of work in the various provinces within a month.

The office has not yet been set up. We have yet to engage a typist and a clerk. You will see from the accounts that the tour has been completed within the amount originally deposited by you. The Committee has travelled 15,000 miles by rail and over one thousand miles by car.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman,
A.I.M.League Civil Defence Committee,

[1]No. 65.
[2]Nizam of Hyderabad had invited Jinnah to visit him in August or September. See No. 79.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 7-8.
[4]See No. 113, note 3.
[5]The names as subsequently intimated were Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali (Chairman), Malik Haji Jan Mohammad Khan, Abdullah & Amir Jan, Syed Abdul Ghafoor Shah (Secretary). See F. 761/92, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]See No. 138.

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S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/134-5

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
14 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your reply[1] to my long letter dated the 1st July, 1942.[2] Your kind reply is posted dated the 8th July, 1942. It was received by me yesterday morning, the 13th July. It is my misfortune that after opening the cover, I, for the first time in the history of my correspondence with you, came across [*sic*] and was rudely shocked and painfully distressed by reading that this time, I don't know why, of course, I have to yield and as it pleases you, we are your subordinates, you have been pleased to address me in your demi-official [letter] as "Dear Sir", and subscribed as "Yours faithfully". It sounds as if the letter is addressed to a complete stranger and quite different from all the previous correspondence which dates back to 1924. In my long letter, while explaining the situation, I have been throughout cautious and humble in my submission and at the end I have said as follows, which I have also repeated in several previous letters. I have ended as follows:

> Our action will depend on your decision whatever it may be, for I believe in up-holding and enhancing the reputation of the League and in unity and solidarity.

In the reminder which I have addressed to you on the 8th July 1942, I have closed as follows:

> Assuring you of our esteem and regards and unflinching devotion to your person.

Throughout I have been loyal but I am simply surprised when in the letter under reference you treat me as a complete stranger. However, I shall not deviate from the path of rectitude and righteousness towards a cause to which I stand highly committed. Again assuring you of our devotion, I end my letter with my appreciation for the second paragraph of your letter. Your decision[3] shall be faithfully complied with. Whatever may be the discouragement I

shall remain undaunted in personal loyalty and devotion.

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL

[1]No. 137.
[2]No. 129.
[3]No. 160.

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K. Abdus Samath Rowther to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/67-8

PALAKARAI,
TRICHINOPOLY,
15 July 1942

Our beloved leader,

I have much pleasure to address this letter to you to seek your advice and guidance.

It is gratifying to note that under your able guidance and under the kind supervision of our able Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the *Dawn*, the only official organ of the All India Muslim League in English, has today swept the whole of India and its popularity is but a sign-mark [*sic*] of the strength of our ranks round the banner of the League and under your leadership.

In order to keep the masses in touch without [*sic*] present day-to-day politics; to keep the movement energetic and ever alive; to inject new life and newer thoughts, we feel that it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be enabled to seek food for thought in the language which they can easily understand.

It is a noble lead that the *Dawn* must be published in various languages and by this it could be made easy to carry to every house in any corner of India the message of the League and its activities.

Hence we, the Muslims of South India whose mother tongue is Tamil and where Tamil is the medium of expression, much desire that a translation of the *Dawn* should be published in Tamil and for the success and popularity of the paper there is every guarantee.

It is our desire that the paper should carry the name of the *Dawn* itself and should be only a true translation of the *Dawn* with not a word in addition or subtraction.

In short, the *Dawn* should be published verbato [*sic* for verbatim]

in Tamil.

We intend making local arrangements to finance the paper and for this we stand guarantee.

As to how the news will be despatched to us before-hand to make the publication in Tamil and English simultaneously and about other matters pertaining to the journal, you will kindly guide us.

Earnestly soliciting your kind reply,

I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,
K. A. SAMATH
Financial Secretary,
Trichinopoly District Muslim League

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Altaf Husein Rushde to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/111-3

AJMER-MERWARA,
BEAWAR (RAJPUTANA),
15 July 1942

Sir,

I was much annoyed going through the statement[1] of Mr. Fazlul Huq in which he made a fervent appeal to the Musalmans of India to organise a Progressive Muslim League as a protest against the Muslim League and honourable members of its Working Committee. An idea of this sort is nothing but a farce in itself, which instead of progress leads the Muslims to political disunity and social rivalry. However, I feel that an atmosphere of this kind is detrimental to our cause. Besides this, it is really a matter of regret to dispute your consummate statesmanship and versatile ability in organising a nation which had ceased to be a factor in Indian politics. Truly speaking, you have built an ark to save the Musalmans of India from deluge. But in spite of the fact that the present situation arising from the malicious propaganda originated by Mr. Fazlul Huq seems to create a mischief, and very possibly will lure uneducated section of the community in[to] the meshes of its net, to those who cannot fully understand the difference between the Progressive Muslim League and the Muslim League, and hence there is every possibility of misunderstanding and disunity in our organisation—the sole representative body of

Muslim India. Under such circumstances, I feel it necessary that you may kindly lend your sympathetic ear to Mr. Fazlul Huq's recent appeal from Lucknow asking for justice. I have every hope that you will leave no stone unturned to cement [*sic*] the differences between you and Mr. Fazlul Huq for a reasonable settlement, by withdrawing decision of the Muslim League dated the 10th December, 1941,[2] expelling him from the membership.

May the frankness and generosity of your spirit continue to soften and subdue enemies and give you many friends, if possible as sincere as yourself. You may long serve your country and the nation with your excellent talents, untiring energy and unblemished integrity.

Your most faithful and
obedient servant,
ALTAF HUSEIN RUSHDE
President,
Govt. College Students Federation

[1]See Annex to No. 113.
[2]See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence,* 225, note 1.

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Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/48-50

PERSONAL/SECRET *15 July 1942*

My dear Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter.[1] I was delighted to read in the *Statesman* today your full commentary[2] on G's [Gandhi's] article in the *Harijan,* for you have truly exposed him. The man who has preached non-violence all his life now wants to throw the country into anarchy and brazen-facedly suggests that the strongest party should become the top dogs, and how can they do this except by force! By telling the Japs [Japanese] that there is a revolution here, he is inviting them openly to concentrate their attention on this country which would, under anarchy, become a weak spot.

Would you advise a strong policy against Congress, [and] if so, at what time or stage? Do you think, if left alone, it will prove abortive like the Congress agitation in NWFP?

I am doing my best here through American and British press representatives so that the people in those countries do not surrender to Gandhi's blackmail. Can you get the Communists and Depressed

Classes to join hands with you in this danger? Is there anything that I can do here to assist your programme? Are you holding a Working Committee meeting? It might be a good thing to hold one here in Delhi where you would find all press representatives. I suppose up to August 7, Gandhi will use the days for intensive propaganda in papers. It may be advisable to wait and see but I do not think that Gandhi's plan will peter out without mischief. AICC are sure to pass the resolution. Do you think that Gandhi is going to confine himself to fight[ing] on paper or is he really serious? What attitude should I adopt here, please advise?

It may be a good thing to hold a Muslim [League Working Committee] meeting in Bombay about August 7th, unless you fear communal trouble.

[PS.] Nazim and Bahadur Yar Jung saw me regarding Kazakhs and I have accordingly made representation to the Home Department to approach the Political Department for settling these men in Hyderabad.[3] They are going to enquire if Hyderabad State is willing. Meanwhile, I am told that NWFP Government have reported that these people do not wish to be settled together but wish to be split up according to their tribes, and some people have already been locally accommodated.[4]

Please destroy this after you have read[5] it.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ
Member, Viceroys Executive Council

[1]Jinnah thanked F. K. Noon for furnishing all the information. See F. 399/47, *QAP*. Not printed.

[2]See Annex for Jinnah's comments. Firoz Khan Noon had also issued a statement to the same effect. See F. 809/470, *QAP*. Not printed.

[3]Rashid Ali Khan conferred with Kenneth Fitze, Political Secretary, Government of India and Firoz Khan Noon and urged them about transferring the Kazakhs from NWFP to Hyderabad, Deccan. See F. 809/490, *QAP*. Not printed.

[4]Nawab Ismail Khan had reported that they preferred to be settled at one place. See No. 146, under NWFP.

[5]Jinnah replied that the matter would be considered by the AIML Working Committee at an early date. See F. 399/51, *QAP*. Not printed.

Annex
Statement by M. A. Jinnah
F. 809/456 & 458

BOMBAY,
14 July 1942

In his article in the *Harijan* dated July 12[1] Mr. Gandhi has spread

his latest bait that he is open to conviction. He says, "Have Pakistanists attempted to convert oppositionists in a friendly way?" although at the same time he is rattling the sword of launching a big movement, I suppose a mass civil disobedience, asking the British Government to "quit India" and in the same breath agreeing to let British troops remain in India to defend her. Now let us examine the facts in the light of Mr. Gandhi's writings and his actions and those of the Congress.

Even the remote and veiled recognition of Pakistan in the draft declaration of His Majesty's Government brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps was characterized by Mr. Gandhi as "wicked" and he for one had nothing whatever to do with it. He became more emphatic in the *Harijan*[2] when Mr. Rajagopalachari was inclined to rely upon his previous articles saying that the Madras leader had misunderstood him and unequivocally declared that Pakistan in his opinion was not only a crime but much worse and amounted to a sin, thus damning anyone who ventured to think in terms of Pakistan not only in this world but also in the next.

The All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad not only rejected the proposal[3] of Mr. Rajagopalachari favouring Pakistan, but on the contrary passed a resolution[4] moved by Mr. Jagatnarain Lal, completely turning down any idea of Pakistan and declared itself definitely and emphatically for *Akhand* Hindustan. What remains the difference between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress? The Hindu Mahasabha has been openly saying for a considerable time now—"achievement of India's freedom and independence first and communal settlement afterwards," on the basis that Musalmans are a minority amongst other minorities in India and on the fundamental principle of the establishment of *Akhand* Hindustan and Hindudom. Mr. Gandhi is also revolving on the same pivot. Recently Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it quite clear that he was not prepared even to discuss the Pakistan scheme[5] and called it a mockery.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S SIN

Mr. Rajagopalachari has committed not only a crime but a sin in favouring the idea of partition, for as a result of his trying to persuade Mr. Gandhi and the Congressmen, in a friendly way, he has been virtually expelled[6] from the organization. Is Mr. Gandhi really sincere in the light of the above facts that he is open to conviction, or is it merely one of his new techniques to mislead people?

In the issue of the *Harijan* dated the July 12, I see that side by side with this article, another one has also appeared in which while dealing with the Andhra separation, Mr. Gandhi says: "The Andhras do not

claim to be a separate nation having nothing in common with the rest of India. Pakistan on the other hand is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and sovereign State," and yet in the article under discussion he says: "Only the protagonists know what they want and mean. I plead for such an exposition. Nobody has told me all its implication." Surely Mr. Gandhi does not need a better exposition than his own. He has himself put the Muslim demand in a nutshell.

From the lines of his writings and the way in which his mind is working, it seems that no mere mortal can ever succeed in convincing Mr. Gandhi of the rightness of the Muslim demand except perhaps the inner voice of Providence.

The picture that he draws of the result of his movement, his one aim and object being to displace British power from India, means, on his own showing, that there will ensue a rule of the jungle. But he knows that he does not mean that. It is merely a rouge [ruse] to coerce and embarrass the British Government to surrender to the establishment of the Hindu *raj* in this sub-continent.

I cannot imagine how any Indian can visualize with equanimity the lurid picture which he depicts. And here it is in his own words: "Thus assuming that the British leave, there is no Government and no constitution, British or other. Heretofore there is no Central Government. Militarily the most powerful part may set up its rule and impose it on India if the people submit. Muslims may declare Pakistan and nobody may resist them. Hindus may do likewise."

I suppose he means to set up Hindudom. He proceeds: "Sikhs may set up their rule in territories inhabited by them. There is no end to the possibilities." Surely this is a manifestation of an angered and a desperate mentality. Is this the best contribution that Mr. Gandhi can make to India in the evening of his life?

INDEPENDENT INDIA

Then comes the end of the article when naively he says: "Why should not the Muslims who believe in 'Independent India' join such a struggle. If on the other hand they believe in Pakistan through the British aid and under the British aegis, it is a different story. I have no place in it." Mr. Gandhi's conception of "Independent India" is basically different from ours. What we want is the independence of Hindus and Muslims and others. Mr. Gandhi by independence means Congress *raj*. We do not believe in Pakistan through the British aid or under the British aegis. Pakistan is an article of faith with Muslim India and we depend upon nobody except ourselves for the achievement of our goal and Muslim India is ready and willing to face from

whatever quarter the opposition and obstacles that may come.

I ask Mr. Gandhi to give up the game of fooling the Musalmans by insinuating that we depend upon the British for the achievement of our goal of Pakistan. I ask him to drop what he calls "the few Muslim friends," that are still left. Hands off the Muslims, and as one of the foremost leaders of Hindu India and as a realist I ask him to show his sincerity and frankness for an honourable settlement. Mr. Gandhi will have then rendered a great service not only to the two great communities—his own and mine—but also to the millions of the other minorities and interests in this country that are involved.

[1&2]See *The Collected Works of Mahatama Gandhi*, Vol. 76, New Delhi, 1994, 274 & 276-7.
[3]Annex II to No. 24.
[4]Annex to No. 95.
[5]See Annex to No. 114.
[6]Rajagopalachari had himself resigned from Congress Working Committee. See C. Rajagopalachari to Abul Kalam Azad, 30 April 1942, in A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. 12, 465-6.

151

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/188-9

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
15 July 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your telegram yesterday morning.[1] So your message took four days to reach me.

I have conveyed your *sine qua non* through Dillan to Fazlul Huq. It seems that he may give me the required letter if I give him the verbal assurance, on my own, that I shall only publish the letter if he issues a prejudicial statement after the meeting with you resulting in no settlement. He seems to be more than confident that he will convince you and will come to an agreement with you regarding Bengal and continues to declare that if he fails, he will accept your decision. He may be sincere and still I may doubt his sincerity.

However, there is one thing clean and clear and that is: if unity is our need and the need of our people and the eye-sore of our enemies, then we should strive our utmost to achieve it. With Japan knocking at the Eastern gate of our Province, unity amongst us Muslims will be welcome, a unity achieved without extreme embarrassment to the vanquished.

Huq's mind may work like this:

> I accept the *sine qua non*—I go to Bombay—I get nothing or next to nothing—I get kicked there and on my return get kicked by my own supporters—I am thrown out of office, and become the *dhobi's* dog who is neither the house[-dog] nor the *ghat*-dog—neither in favour of the League nor in favour of my present followers and supporters. So I stand to lose everything if I am mercilessly dealt with without a hope of retrieving my lost position. Why should I run this extreme risk?
>
> I am Chief Minister today. I have a following in the Assembly that cannot be challenged. I have not to fear a general election. I am master of all I survey in Bengal. When the elections come, I shall see. In the meantime, why should I apply the knife to my own throat?

So, if nothing comes off at Bombay, why should he be denied the right to carry on his struggle as he is doing now minus of course the right to issue any statement concerning his talks with you in Bombay? If he breaks his pledge, then out will come his letter to me and blacken his face six shades!

It is for you to consider the above lines and if you can give me, in confidence, permission to verbally assure the old man that if nothing comes [out] of his visit to Bombay, he is free to do as he pleases. I shall hold his letter to counteract any treachery and blast him if he issues a statement after seeing you in Bombay. This is merely a safeguard. Several people think that it will add to the prestige of the League if Huq goes to your doors, whether he yields as he says he will, or does not. Further, if he does not yield, he will not be able to issue statements to the effect that you were dictatorial and demanded his head on a charger although he went all the way to your house and pleaded for mercy. They also feel that reconquest of Bengal will strengthen the position of the League not only in this Province but all over India.

For your information, on Sir Nazimuddin's return I have acquainted him with all the steps that I have taken and also your reactions. I do not want him to feel that I am going over his head. This Province is the house of suspicion; therefore, one has to be extra cautious.

I await your early reply[2] by letter because letters take less time

than express telegrams these days.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 141.
[2]See No. 162

152

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan

SHC, UP IV/29

16 July 1942

My dear Amir,

I had received your letter[1] but I did not understand that you were waiting for my permission to proceed to Afghanistan. However, if you ask my opinion I will not advise you to go at present. We have a lot to do here, as you must be observing from the developments that are taking place from time to time. I may have to call the meeting of the Working Committee at any time.

As regards your coming to Bombay I fully expected that you were coming, but it seems I have lost you. Do you mean to say that you will not see me until you make your contribution to the League Fund? You are not coming to me empty-handed because for the moment you cannot make the handsome contribution which you are contemplating. You are coming to your own home. Please don't worry about the contribution.

I thank you for sending me the press cutting. Yes, I had already seen it.

Hoping you are well [and] cheer up. Things are going on very well. With love from *Phuphi* and myself,

Yours affectionately,
M. A. JINNAH

PS. We are going to Bhopal for a few days and on my return, after a week or so, I shall be looking forward to meeting you.

[1]Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad had sought Jinnah's permission to visit Afghanistan. See *SHC*, UP IV/28. Not printed.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/237-8

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
17 July 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing cuttings from Bengal Hindu press[1] on Wardha's latest move. I do not find any enthusiasm for this Gandhian move in any circle save the Forward Bloc. The Muslims generally realize that this blackmail is aimed at subjugation of Muslim India and the consequent establishment of Hindu *raj*. Muslims in Bengal desire that the League high command must warn Musalmans to totally boycott all Congress movements as a community. The League must make intensive propaganda on the line that Muslim India demands immediate recognition and implementation of the principle of Pakistan. We hope in due course you will call the meetings of the League Council and [Working] Committee and chalk out a programme for dealing a knock-out blow to the Congress. If the British recognise our demand, we will be ready to fight out the Congress.

I personally believe that the Gandhian move will prove most disastrous for the Congress and the hopes of all-India Caste-Hindu domination will be dashed to pieces, because it is clearly based on the hope of Japanese victory.

Here, I may point out that Gandhian idea of Hindu-Muslim unity has always been the idea of absorbing Muslims in the welter of Hinduism. First he tried to achieve it by and through Hindu *raj* under the aegis of Britain. He followed this chimera from the days of Nehru Report (1928), and even earlier, down to Sir Stafford Cripps Mission (1942). After the total failure of his stunts of resignations of Congress Ministries, anti-war campaign, individual *satyagraha* against war, and the partial recognition of the principle of Pakistan by Cripps Plan, Mr. Gandhi has definitely decided, in spite of Mr. Nehru, to achieve his old object of Ram *raj* and complete dissolution and liquidation of Muslim community under the aegis of Japan or Germany. He first tried under the unholy gentleman's agreement to do this by British power. Now he is dreaming to do this by the potential or actual help of the Axis or the crisis created by the

menace of Axis's [*sic* for Japan's] invasion of India.

Muslim India must evolve a strong programme to counter this sinister move of Mr. Gandhi.

As regards Mr. Fazlul Huq's latest move,[2] Muslim Bengal is definitely of the opinion that on no condition can Mr. Huq be entrusted with any post of trust in the League, the Bengal or the Central Government. His real object is to re-enter the League and smash it from within by playing one against the other. Just now I received a deputation of Bengali Muslim youngmen. They are extremely furious about the rumour that you are going to re-admit him in the League. They said that under no condition should he be allowed to come into the League. He must retire.

I again stress the urgent need of opening League centres in London and New York and appoint[ing] some League representatives in Europe, England and Egypt.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Not traced.
[2]See No. 133.

154

W. D. Monro to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/9

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

CLIFDEN,
MURREE,
18 July 1942

Sir,

I expect that in these momentous days you may have more than [what] you want in the way of correspondence; but I hope you will not find it impossible to study a rather out-of-your-way opinion from one whose connection with India dates from the hour of his birth, and has been one of either direct observation or acquaintance based on first-rate information for fifty years since the days of adolescence [*sic*].

Let me start by being quite frank about my general views. My attitude towards Islam as well as Hinduism is combative rather than friendly. I began the work of my manhood [*sic*] as a Christian missionary and my sympathies have not changed though I may say

that my antagonism towards Hinduism, both philosophic and popular, is far deeper than my quarrel with Islam. I have studied both Sanskrit and Persian and in a lesser degree Arabic. I have a fairly solid working knowledge of the religious ideas of both Muslims and Hindus.

Also, I do not believe that India is ready for *swaraj,* and I believe that the present approach to it is one fraught with sheer disaster to India. Perhaps the essence of the problem is that it is absolutely unique in the whole of human history, and politicians persist in trying to settle it on principles which emerge from historical processes, totally foreign to those of India's past.

I base my disbelief on this consideration generally, and two points will summarise the working-out of this antagonism.

Firstly, I see everywhere evidence of the absence, in the great body of India's peoples, of those elements of moral and social stability without which self-government, in anything like the modern sense, must swiftly lead to tragedy. You are welcome, if you like, to expose my reasons for this sombre view of all-Indian mentality. I can assure you, these have been marshalled with ample thought.

Secondly, whereas 40 years ago—I might say up to 30 years ago—, the *swarajist* movement[1] could boast a sort of unity in common distaste for British dominion. Now, since the attainment of *swaraj* has become a real probability, the racial animosities which have been lulled and half-forgotten under the *Pax Britannica* have taken new life.

No thinking man in India doubts this. It is convenient for Messrs. Gandhi and Nehru to obscure the real meaning of the fact, just as they turn a blind eye to the corruption, notoriously rampant in many of the great nurseries of the rising intelligentsia, and to such fearful phenomenon as the increase of monetary corruption in the last 40 years. Gandhi and Nehru know full well that, as things stand, the institution in India of a *swaraj* which India has never yet known would infallibly mean the recurrence of bloody and desperate inter-racial conflicts.

As I say, I believe India as a whole is not ripe for *swaraj* just now. To the best of my belief, the social morale of the people as a whole has in recent years deteriorated rather than improved; and to talk big about democracy when social instability is—forgive me for saying it—still pervasive and even rampant, is simply sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind—even leaving Japan entirely out of the picture.

The fact is that Gandhi and Nehru have got the ear of left-wing

politicians and professedly liberal thinkers in England, and they—Gandhi anyhow—are trying a huge bluff to frighten England into throwing up the sponge.

You at least see through the villainy of the *Akhand* Hindu stunt. If I may say it, I think you Muslims are paying a heavy price for setting too low a value in the past on western education, and the sly Hindu has, on the other hand, reaped a huge harvest by absorbing all he can, even with gross disloyalty to his own *shastras*. But Hindu supremacy, they mean to have, and they think they are sure of it. Well, your eyes are open anyhow. If things are likely to go as these gentlemen insist, see to it that you have ready a modern Mahmud of Ghazni, Ahmad Shah Durrani[2] or Haider Ali. You will have to reckon with the Sikhs too; they do not love the Hindus and would greatly rejoice to get an unwarlike Bengal but their memories of certain Muslim rulers are still less friendly.

I offer two pieces of advice:

i. Stand like a rock against *Akhand* Hindu bombast. Hindu life as a whole, controlled actually not by wordly leaders skilled in western dialectic but by the temple Brahmins, is at heart weak, perhaps rotten; it has none of the virile stability of Islam and ten of you would scatter forty or fifty of them like chaff—barring Rajputs and Dogras.

ii. Stand like a rock against [their] trying to rush *swaraj* now. Your chance—India's chance—now lies in heart-whole fidelity to Britain. Gandhi and Nehru know perfectly that India cannot defend herself and would at once become the prey of the Japanese, who are out for Asiatic empire and regard the Indian peoples, without British help, with cynical contempt, as fit only for exploitation. No race on earth, not even the Nazis, would be more ruthless in stamping agitators flat.

Such loyalty now would win loyalists' real respect in the future and would raise their claims high above those of selfish Hindu demagogues.

I remain, Sir,

Faithfully yours,

W. D. MONRO

Chaplain of Jhelum

[1]The formal announcement about the formation of Swaraj Party was made on 1 January 1923. See O. P. Ralhan, *Encyclopaedia of Political Parties:* Vol. 28: Swaraj Party, 366.

[2]Refers to Ahmad Shah Abdali.

155

Hurs of Pir Pagaro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/246-9

PRIVATE

BANGALORE CITY,
18 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Let us introduce ourselves before writing anything. We are the leaders of a well-known Hurs organisation. We have come to this place on some business. Even if you inform the authorities about this, it does not matter. They can never recognise us. You know what we have done in recent days in Sind Province. Don't think that what we have done is wrong. We have done all those things with a definite object, [of] which we don't want to inform you now alone, and of course we will continue it! This much of introduction is enough.

We read your reply [statement][1] to Mr. Gandhiji (recently) with great sorrow. It does not matter even if you have differences with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress about Pakistan. We want you to co-operate with Mr. Gandhi's latest proposed move [mass disobedience]. Our (Hurs') object is nothing but to get independence first. For that, Britishers must withdraw from India. There can be no unity when there is a third power. Of course, we know that you want Pakistan. We will certainly help you in that matter, only after we have got our chief aim, independence. Our organisation contains [*sic*] nearly 60,000 well-trained soldiers (all with arms). We are waiting for an opportunity to kick out these British people. That is our chief aim. For that, we will do our best. So we request you to co-operate with Mr. Gandhiji. You may be worried how to co-operate with him. We will tell you how it is [*sic*]. First call up your Muslim League members and pass a resolution about withdrawal of British power from India and ask every Muslim to co-operate with you. Your word is word [*sic*]. We know you are the dictator of the Muslim League. First get independence and after that we will help you in getting Pakistan. That can be settled very easily with the help [of] our strong Hurs organisation. Your co-operation is absolutely necessary at this critical moment. If you don't do what we have requested, you will see your eternal end on August 7th, when AICC meets to discuss the resolution. So you must give your decision before that dangerous date. If, by chance, you are safe on that day, you will be

brutally murdered within six months. No power on earth can save you from your death. We need not say what we are capable of. Hurs are everywhere in India. We do not want to do this, but it is inevitable, if you don't co-operate with the Congress.

You will see even your friends, whom you think are your dearest friends, will be your enemies—will co-operate with us in murdering you. This is not the only punishment. We know that you are a great leader and you care two hoots for your life. That is why we have decided to murder the next three heads who take your position (i.e. presidentship of Muslim League) and we will see that your Muslim League is ruined once for all. As far as possible we want [to] avoid all these things, but they are inevitable if you don't co-operate in getting independence, by joining the latest Gandhiji's movement. Do not think that this is a mere idle threat, but this is a matter of life and death not only for you, but also for your so-called Muslim League.

Ever your friends, if you co-operate, and
ever enemies of your Muslim League, if you don't
co-operate with us.

HURS
[*Followers of Pir Pagaro*]

PS. Read between [the] lines.

[1]Annex to No. 150.

156

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/86

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

48 BAZLULLAH ROAD,
THYAGARAYANAGAR, MADRAS,
20 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just received a memorandum[1] said to be a statement of the claims which Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib made as representing the position of the Muslim League in a conversation with an important friend. In para 3 of that memorandum it is stated as follows:

> In defining the area of the homeland, the North-West State would include Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier

> [Province] and the Punjab as they are constituted today. As regards Bengal, certain districts from Assam, where Muslims are in great majority, may have to be amalgamated with Bengal Province. On the other hand, certain districts in Bengal, where Hindus are in a great majority, may have to be seceded from Bengal. Subject to this modification in Bengal and Assam, the other Muslim [majority] provinces, as mentioned above, will come under Pakistan without any modification.

I am very anxious that the case for separation should not be spoiled by overstatement. In fact I am meeting many an argument against separation on the ground that they do not do justice to your position, and it would hurt the cause if Nawabzada is represented to have made the claim in regard to Punjab as contained in this paragraph. Punjab like Bengal contains districts where Hindus are in a great majority, and those districts both in Punjab and Bengal will have to be marked out of the scheme of Pakistan.

I may again repeat what I said to you in person that it will not help the case to emphasise the claim that separation should be based on the ascertainment of the wishes of not all the people of the area but that the plebiscite should be confirmed [*sic* for confined] to the Muslims alone. In this, Nawabzada's statement follows the resolution[2] of the Muslim League Working Committee at the time of the Cripps negotiations. But the claim that the whole of Punjab as constituted today is to be deemed as an area wherein the Muslims are in a majority, is inconsistent with the resolutions of the Muslim League wherein the claim for separation is confined to areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary.

You can realise that why I am anxious about these points. I am charged with unreason, because I am pushing on with a proposal without being mindful of the connotation or content of the principle and if the claim in respect of Punjab is made to include the thirteen districts in East Punjab wherein the Muslims are less than 50 per cent, I could easily be convicted of patent unreason and recklessness.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
RAJAGOPALACHARI[3]

[1]Not traced.
[2]See Appendix II. 3, *JP*, I, Part II, 28-31.
[3]See No. 167 for Jinnah's reply.

157

Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 339/10-13

MUSTAFA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
20 July [*1942*]

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you have received my report[1] and gone through it. I have explained in it the reasons which were responsible for the delay in dispatching it. The Secretary has sent me a list of things he requires for the office of the [Civil Defence] Committee but I do not intend to incur any further expenditure till I know from you what your opinion is about the future work of this Committee. Is it contemplated that this department of the League should continue to function during the period of War? If so, we should have a properly new office with all accessories. Another question on which I wish to consult you is about the honorarium to be paid to the Secretary, Syed Zakir Ali. He will have to devote his whole time to this work and will not therefore be in a position to follow his own avocation. I have written also to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to find out what, in his opinion, should be the amount of honorarium to be paid to him for services already rendered.

I believe you have been to Bhopal recently and must have met Khaliq there. He must have told you of our difficulty in recommending suitable names for the Working Committee. In case you decide to nominate someone from the Unionist ranks, then, in my opinion, Barkat Ali should be retained to counter-balance his influence in the Province.

With regard to Sindh, G. M. Sayed and others want K. B. Khuhro to be taken in, as this will satisfy his vanity and he will not therefore create any trouble about the presidentship of the Provincial League, which should certainly be in the hands of a person of steady character.

I hope you are quite well.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KAHN

[1]No. 146.

158

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/165-6

PESHAWAR,
21 July 1942

My dear Sir,

It is after ages that I am going to write you this letter about the meeting of the Working Committee.

The latest Congress resolution[1] is the most dangerous performance of Messrs. Gandhi and company. It is pregnant with mischief which no Muslim can view with equanimity.

Messrs. Gandhi and Nehru want to steal a march over Muslims and wish to get Muslims ignored.

AICC meets on 7th August in Bombay. Our Working Committee should meet also either on 6th or 8th August and so on. The Hindus want to get either the whole of India or embarrassment [*sic*] and want to kill Pakistan indirectly.

I respectfully make the following suggestions:

We should pass a counter-resolution asking the British Govt. to hand over the rule of India to Muslims as their lawful heirs, if the former are going to withdraw from India, as they got India from us, and in the real sense of the word, the Muslims of India are the only nation in India to whom the administration ought to be returned with grace. Strike while the iron is red [*sic* for hot]. Great Britain, as you have said, is already shaken and over-occupied, and the Hindu-Congress by means of bluff, propaganda and intimidation wants to coerce it. If you have agreed not to take Sir Sikander Hyat Khan on Working Committee but to take a nominee of his, I think he can be asked to attend as an invitee—so can certain other prominent Muslim leaders like Syed Raza Ali and others.

I am sending another statement to the press[2] which will be non-committal—submitted for favour of kind consideration.[3]

By the way, Nawab [Iftikhar Husain Khan] Mamdot is doing wonderfully well. Probably Sir Sikander has suggested Raja Ghazanfar Ali as his nominee. I learn because of the *Hindustan Times* episode you are contemplating to pass over Malik Barkat Ali (I do not know how far it is correct), then I believe some more suitable person can be had but not necessarily immediately.

Anyhow the meeting of the Working Committee seems to be

warranted by the exigencies of the present situation.

With respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1]See Annex.
[2]Aurangzeb Khan had repudiated Gandhi's charge in a press statement. See F. 809/480, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]Jinnah replied that all his suggestions would be carefully considered and invited him to a proposed meeting of AIMLWC. See F. 329/167, *QAP*. Not printed.

Annex
Resolution of the Congress Working Committee[1]

WARDHA,
6-14 July 1942

The events happening from day to day and the experience that the people of India are passing through confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must end immediately, not merely because foreign domination even at its best is an evil in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India, but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, militarism and other forms of imperialism and the aggression of one nation over another. Ever since the outbreak of the world war, the Congress has studiedly pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its *satyagraha* ineffective, it deliberately gave it a symbolic character in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment carried to its logical extreme would be duly appreciated and that real power would be transferred to popular representatives so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realisation of human freedom throughout the world, which is in danger of being crushed. It had also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's hold on India.

These hopes have, however, been dashed to pieces. The abortive Cripps' proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold on India was in no way to be relaxed. In the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, Congress Representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the national

demand, but to no avail. This frustration has resulted in a rapid and widespread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms.

The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension as this, unless checked, will inevitably lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjection. The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign Power. The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into good-will and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom for the nations and peoples of the world and in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign power and only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention, can the present unreality give place to reality and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them on a mutually agreed basis.

The present political parties formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and influence the British power, will then probably cease to function. For the first time in India's history, the realisation will come home that the princes, *'jagirdars'*, *'zamindars'* and propertied and monied classes derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong. On the withdrawal of British rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a provisional government, representative of all important sections of the people of India which will later evolve a scheme by which a constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and for the co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression.

It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the peoples' united will and strength behind it. In making the proposal for the withdrawal of the British rule from

India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increase pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers.

The Congress is, therefore, agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China. The proposal of withdrawal of the British power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of all Britishers from India, and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others. If such a withdrawal takes place with goodwill it would result in the establishing of a stable provisional government in India and co-operation between this government and the United Nations in resisting aggression and helping China. The Congress realises that there may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom, and more especially at the present critical juncture in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks and perils. While, therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve the national purpose it wishes to take no hasty steps and would like to avoid, in so far as it possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nations. The Congress would be pleased with the British Power if it accepts the very reasonable and just proposal herein made not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence. Should, however, this appeal fail the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and the weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920 when it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of the political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. As issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations the Working Committee refer them to the All-India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A.I.C.C. will meet in Bombay on the 7th of August, 1942.

[1]No. 265, *TP*, II, 385-7.

159

M. I. Hasan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

BUDAUN, U.P.,
21 July 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As the subject on which I am addressing this letter to you is an all-India question and directly affects the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, I venture to write to you a few lines. Besides, the man about whom I wish to say something is easily an all-India Leaguer rather than anything else. I had, however, also promptly communicated the necessary information to the head-quarters of the Provincial League.

I deeply regret to have to bring to your notice that Moulana Abdul Hamid of Budaun, a prominent member of the All India Muslim League, who owes so much to your patronage, lately tried to invite endless trouble here. He tried the old game of creating dissensions between Shias and Sunnis by starting *Madha Sahaba* at Budaun. We all had grave fears that unless the trouble was nipped in the bud the old painful story of Lucknow was sure to be repeated at Budaun.

What happened was that one day, suddenly and without consulting anybody, he announced that a public meeting would be held at the Jam'a Masjid on July the 8th to celebrate the Siddique Day, i.e. the death anniversary of *Hazrat* Abu Bakar Siddique—the first Caliph. This announcement was a signal for endless protests and agitation throughout. As President of the local Muslim Defence Committee, I received a written protest from a local Shia leader, an advocate of this place and a staunch Muslim Leaguer. In his letter of protest he pointed out that Hamid Mian, who was also a member of the Defence Committee, was acting directly against the main printed directions of the Provincial Defence Committee, which directions were to create and maintain harmony and peace among the various sections of Musalmans. Besides, by doing so he was also acting against the general policy and standing orders of the Muslim League. I promptly took up the matter and tried my best to avert trouble. Unlike Lucknow, Budaun is a place where about 90 per cent of [Muslim] families are inter-related between Shias and Sunnis. So we all thought that at the start of agitation, life would become hell in Budaun. Besides it would not remain a local question. During the days

of Lucknow trouble, Budaun was perhaps the only place which remained almost completely aloof from taking sides in the Lucknow agitation and where relations between Shias and Sunnis remained as cordial as ever. We all, therefore, did our level best to persuade Hamid Mian to give up his idea of this innovation. But we regret we failed. Under the circumstances the best plan that I thought [of] to guard against future trouble was that I requested the Shia gentlemen to leave the matter to us, the Sunnis, to deal with and to wait for results. I am very grateful to them that they listened to me. When I found that Shia gentlemen were, after my advice, really showing all restraint and calm in the matter, I promptly invited the Sunni public opinion in order to bring pressure [to bear] on Hamid Mian. I was fortunately very successful in making the Shias quiet since the Sunnis themselves led the opposition to the innovation of Hamid Mian. In spite of the overwhelming majority of Sunni public opinion against the move of Hamid Mian, he did not listen to anybody. I enclose herewith[2] a printed poster with the signatures of about one hundred people of all classes and interests which will give you an idea as to the representative capacity of those people—*vakils*, barristers, doctors, municipal commissioners, members of the district board, presidents and secretaries of the various Ward Leagues etc.

When Hamid Mian did not listen to us, the only alternative for us was to use force in order to stop the meeting. But we did not like the idea as that would have brought trouble and breach of peace rather much too soon. Besides, our object was served, since we had completely satisfied the Shia gentlemen that the Sunni Muslims as a whole were opposed to the idea and disowned all responsibility for the future consequences of the individual and irresponsible act of one of us. Their consistent behaviour uptil now is a proof of this fact. Besides, the advice given to them from their higher quarters and published in the Shia organ *Sarfaraz* to show restraint and calm in view of the conduct of the Sunni Musalmans, is also a definite proof of the success of our plan. The Shias have now no reasonable ground for even thinking of taking any step in retaliation. Hamid Mian, therefore, did hold a meeting with the threat of shedding his last [drop of] blood which none of us wanted him to do. But very few people went there and it did not last for more than half an hour. We took a sigh of relief and we thought the matter [had] ended there and Hamid Mian after his personal triumph would sit quiet at home. But to our great regret and surprise, he pursued a very unwise policy after holding his meeting, namely the policy of retaliation

against all those who were opposed to his meeting. He kept on the agitation by stirring up the religious [*sic* for sectarian] feelings in order to attract Sunni public opinion. Shias had forgotten all about it; but he is reminding them consistently. His misbehaviour reached a climax when on Friday the 10th July he openly abused me and all others opposed to his meeting. This he did at the Jam'a Masjid. His abuses were so filthy that even the worst *goonda* of this place would not think of indulging in such abuses. His object was to stir up religious feelings by characterizing those not wearing beard as *fasiq* and *fajir*. Can any sensible person approve of this disgraceful conduct on his part? His subsequent misbehaviour is having its repercussions and reviving excitement [*sic* for resentment] among the Shias.... If Hamid Mian is allowed to continue to do his religious propaganda, I am afraid all our efforts made so far would be brought to naught and a fierce agitation would be revived among the Shias. The result would be an open fight between the Shias on one side and the Sunnis on the other. I know, as I do, Hamid Mian can never afford to give up the League unless there is something mysterious as some people imagine. In any case in a matter like this, personal regard and personality should be given no preference over public good. Some sort of action is indispensable to keep him correct for the future.[3] I have no personal dispute with him and as everybody knows we were best of friends.

I apologise for writing so much to you,

Yours sincerely,
M. I. HASAN

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 85-8.
[2]Not traced.
[3]See No. 170 for Jinnah's reply.

160

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail

F. 304/136

BHOPAL,
23 July 1942

Dear Nawab Mohammad Ismail,

I am very sorry that you seem to be hurt. There was no intention indeed on my part to have in any way hurt your feelings. The letter

in question[1] was addressed to you officially and the subject matter was such that it should be strictly in official form, and that is the reason why it commenced with "dear sir" and ended [with] "yours faithfully".

You need not for a single moment consider that this means any change on my part in the friendly relations that exist between you and me. I have to do my duty and you have to do yours. We are both servants of the Muslim League and Muslim India and there is no question of one being a subordinate and the other a superior, except in the constitutional sense when we have to exercise our rights and perform our duty as laid down by our constitution and rules.

Hoping you are well, with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab S. M. Ismail,[2]
Ismail Manzil,
Patna City

[1]No. 147.
[2]See No. 164 for his reply.

161

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 274/259-61

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
23 July 1942

My dear uncle,

I am in receipt of your telegram[1] and thank you most heartily for the gracious interest that you have been taking on my behalf.

I much regret that I was not able to write to you earlier to inform you that [*sic* for about] the progress of my election work, but this was mainly due to my desire to complete one round of tour in the Province so as to be in a position to convey some definite news about the matter.

I have been almost all over Sind and visited all important centres for the purpose of my election work. I am glad to be able to state that the work is progressing satisfactorily, but as the date of election has not so far been announced by the Government, our work is not in

full swing as yet.

The only candidate who appears likely to oppose me is K. B. Moula Bakhsh, the brother of Sind's present Chief Minister K. B. Allah Bakhsh. Although the latter's official position is the only prop upon which my opponent's campaign stands any chance of success, there is no reason for us to worry unduly about the final result of the election. Thank God, there is a gravity awakening in our people here who have come to realise the importance of Muslim League whose popularity is now an established fact and therefore a great source of help and inspiration to us in our campaign.

In this connection, I must mention the active and willing co-operation of my friends, amongst whom Mr. G. M. Sayed and K. B. Khuhro are prominent, in their ceaseless efforts to work whole-heartedly for the success of our cause. The election campaign carried on by us is being conducted systematically on lines that are calculated simultaneously to make our people League-minded and, therefore, wherever we go, we ensure the necessary propaganda for popularizing the League and establishing its branches in every important place visited by us in the course of our tour.

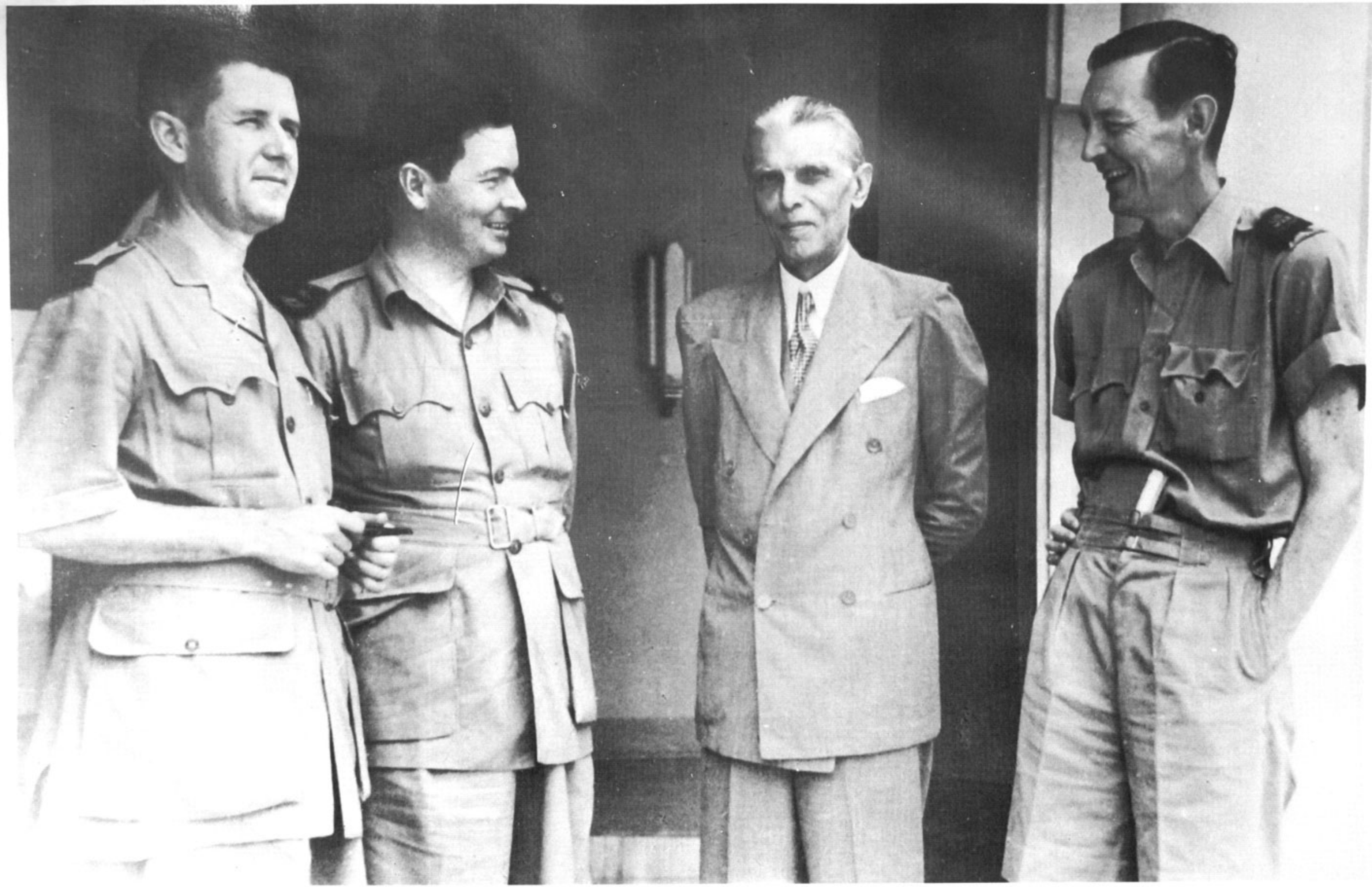
As for Rashdi, I am not quite able to understand his attitude. It is commonly said that he supports my opponent but when I put him a direct question about it he told me it is not so. In his paper *The Moslem Voice* he first wrote supporting my candidature, but of late nothing has been appearing in it about the matter.

I had expected that I would be coming to Bombay in connection with my financial matters about which I had spoken when we met last at Delhi, and therefore I had hoped to take an opportunity to inform you of all these matters in person. But as the banks have now decided to refer the matter to their London head offices, my intended visit to Bombay has not materialized. As I had informed you at Delhi that personally I had been of the opinion that Mr. G. M. Sayed should be made the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, but when he expressed his unwillingness to accept the post, I thought it in common with certain friends that I should stand for the post. It will not be accurate to say that in this I had been playing into Rashdi's hands. I cannot say what Rashdi had exactly in his mind, but my desire to stand for the presidentship was my own, and not the outcome of Rashdi's pressure or play upon me. But now the matter has been postponed and there is nothing for the present to be done about it.

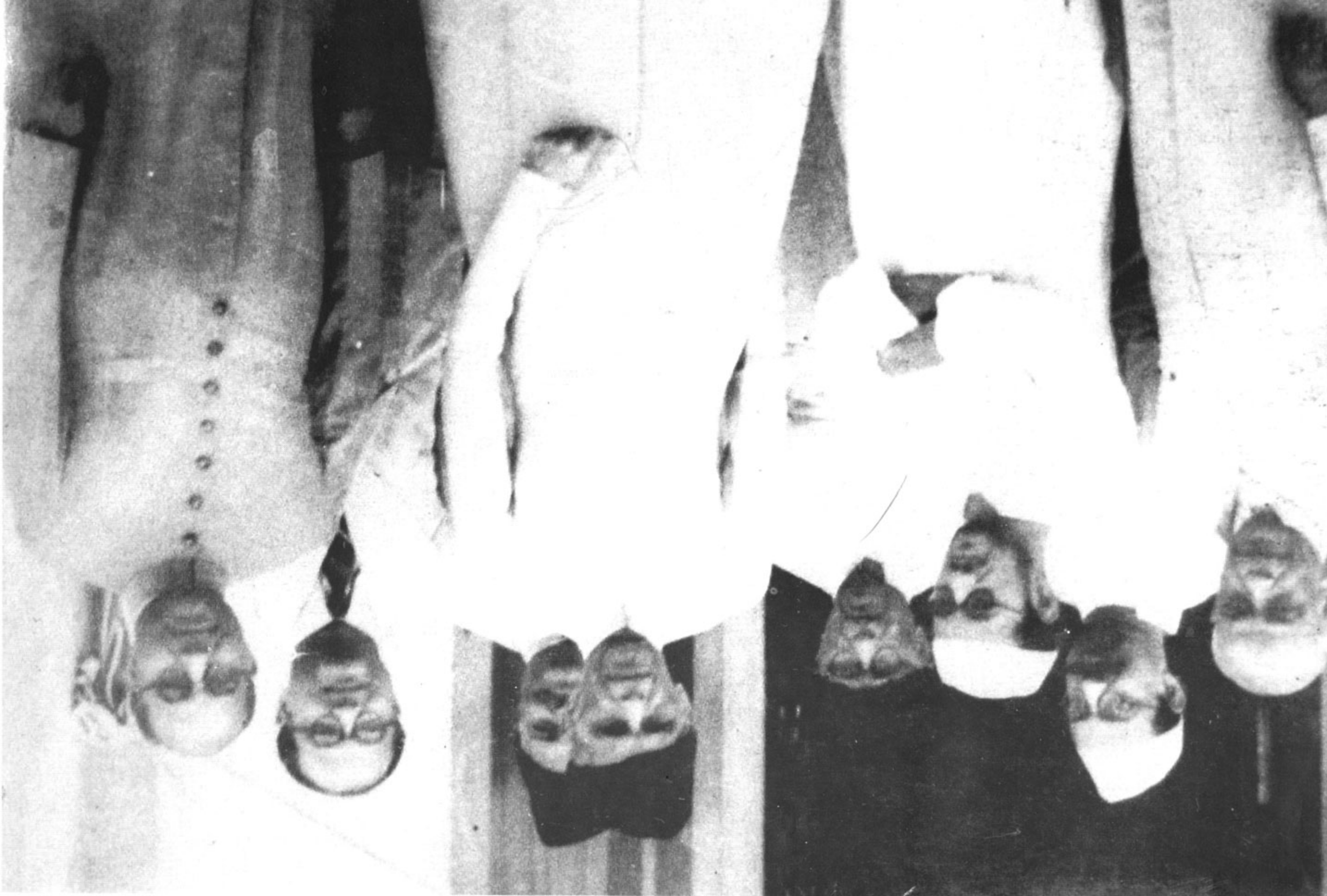
As for the political situation here, I understand that Mr. G. M. Sayed proposes to inform you about it. Martial Law is still in force



Jinnah with workers of the Dawn



Jinnah with Foreign Press Correspondents, 1942 (L to R) Sidney Standish, Preston Grover & William Chaplin





Jinnah addressing AIML session at Allahabad 1942

their right of inheritance.

I then sent a chit to the speaker informing him that he had levelled baseless allegations against Quaid-i-Azam. I also sought clarification from him about excommunicating a Muslim girl who had married against the will of her parents. The Moulana asked me to produce evidence whereby Quaid-i-Azam had severed his connections with his daughter who had married a non-Muslim. If it could be produced, he would apologise publicly. I seek your guidance in this respect.

The Moulana also alleged that the demand for Pakistan was a hoax as its basic principles had not been elaborated. In this connection you had rightly explained at Aligarh that there was no need for any principles as these were laid down by *Allah* centuries ago. The Moulana termed these as only a propaganda as Quaid-i-Azam had given no such explanation. He insisted that if Quaid-i-Azam could justify the claim for Pakistan, he would join the Muslim League.

Muslim League is a strong party in Jullundur District. The criticism carried on against Pakistan needs to be replied to strongly. Please explain the position through the press before 4 August whereafter the next meeting of Majlis-i-Ahrar would be held.

Please also guide me on the right of inheritance of Muslim women and on the matter about your daughter.

God may give you long life to serve the Muslim nation.

Your sincere volunteer,
MOHAMMAD SHAMS-UL-HAQUE
Editor, the Elan

164

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/137

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
26 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not know in what words and language I should sincerely convey my gratitude to you for your most kind and sympathetic letter full of sincere good wishes. I assure you that my anxiety has been relieved by reading your kind letter. Let me assure you that

Bihar shall solidly stand by you in an hour of trial and shall act at your direction. It is a pleasure to work with you and you can safely rely and trust me always. We have known each other now well over 25 years. May God grant you longest life and good health to guide us onward to march and reach our goal.

With respects and regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL

[1]No. 160.

165

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/52

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
27 July 1942

My dear Jinnah,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 23rd of July.[1] I am glad that you are taking up the matter in the Committee. Some people here are pressing that Churchill should make a statement before the 7th of August on the intention of His Majesty's Government regarding India. There are also some who press that the Cripps proposals may be revived after their recent withdrawal. I do not see what object there can be in reviving the Cripps proposals, which have already been rejected by the Congress. How can any statement be made by a responsible man without due regard to the claims of all parties concerned? Where will you hold your meeting—in Delhi or in Bombay?

There is just a possibility that I may be passing through Bombay for a day or so in the middle of August. I may be going to Poona for a fortnight to go about the troops in that neighbourhood.

With kindest regards to you both,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ

[1]Jinnah had informed Firoz Khan Noon that his suggestions would be considered by the All India Muslim League Working Committee. See F. 399/51, *QAP*. Not printed.

166

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/191

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
27 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just returned from Delhi and received your letter of the 23rd instant.[1] I regret I am unable to understand its contents because they are not a clear answer to my letter of the 15th instant.[2]

In confidence, I asked permission of you to give [Fazlul] Huq, on my own account and behalf, a verbal assurance that if nothing came of the interview in Bombay, he would not make any statement whatsoever and if he did, his letter would be released to the press. You have not expressed yourself one way or the other. Please let me know more definitely, and forgive me for bothering you.

I have been informed on my return from Delhi that Huq has after all agreed to give me the letter I want on [the] condition that I give him a verbal and personal undertaking in terms stated above.

He is away in Delhi and is expected to return here in a couple of days.

Please write[3] and let me know what your reaction is to the proposal. If you say no, I shall not hesitate to dish him a point-blank refusal and tell him—no guarantee.

Liaquat must have written to you about the *Dawn* daily.[4]

With my best regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 162.
[2]No. 151.
[3]See No. 183 for Jinnah's reply.
[4]See *AFM* 480/62-4. Not printed.

167

M. A. Jinnah to C. Rajagopalachari

SHC, Non-Muslims II/87

28 July 1942

Dear Mr. Rajagopalachari,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 20th of July,[1] and I regret the delay in reply as I was away from Bombay.

I am sorry I cannot discuss the matters of detail as I intimated to you in our interview.[2] First of all the question of the principle of separation should be agreed upon by those who represent Hindu India. All other questions that you have raised are merely matters of detail as to how to give effect to and carry on the partition of India.

I do not want that we should be involved in discussing the details before the fundamental principle is agreed upon, as in my opinion it will create unnecessary confusion regarding the matter.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

C. Rajagopalachari, Esq.,
48 Bazlullah Road,
Thyagarayanagar, Madras

[1]No. 156.

[2]See Nos. 189 & 218, *TP*, II, 275 & 306.

168

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/68-9

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
28 July 1942

My dear leader,

I note from the press that you have returned to Bombay from Bhopal. I think that you are enjoying the best of health. The responsibility of the well-being and integrity of a whole nation of one hundred million is by no means an easy thing. May *Allah* bless you with sound health and long life! *Aameen*.

The meeting of the Working Committee, as reported in the press, will be held soon, perhaps before the seventh August or about that time. The Congress claims to launch mass direct action on behalf of the entire country. If it only claims to do it on behalf of the Congress party, we might ignore it. But, inasmuch as we have all been included in the claim, we have to express our opinion, dissociating ourselves from this move, and condemn it. Whether we should decide to launch a counter-[move] to it, is the question which demands deep consideration as to what extent we are interested in this question, and whether it is advisable to do so.

The Government has not met our demand fully, although the Cripps proposals contained a half-hearted acknowledgment of our goal. In my opinion, we cannot accept it as a concession to our creed at all. Perhaps, under the circumstances, we might take a neutral attitude. But my fear is that the Congress would regard such an attitude as a form of weakness or of a silent approval of their move for direct action, launched with the object of coercing the British Government into conceding their demand and more to recognise the Congress as the national organisation acting on behalf of the entire country. Perhaps, the best thing that we can do, under the circumstances, is to condemn the move, dissociate ourselves from it as a nation and make the world realise that the Muslim nation is not a belligerent in this alleged non-violent war for India's independence.

There is another aspect of the question that we have to bear in mind in this connection. What should the Muslims do to prevent any attempt to create communal disorder and disturbances? Whether we should not be fully prepared for such an emergency and situation? After all, the Hindus of the Congress and of the Hindu Mahasabha are not two different entities. They are one and the same for the common purpose of attacking the Muslims. Besides, when we adopt a neutral attitude what will be the treatment that the Government would give to the Muslims during a communal strife?

All things having [been] considered, my humble opinion is that we should condemn this move strongly and keep our hands off it completely. This move may or may not be launched; it may only be a *Bania* threat. Possibly, AICC [All-India Congress Committee] might contend itself at the meeting of the 7th August to instal Mr. Gandhi as the dictator, which he is even now, and give him the authority and discretion whenever he thinks fit to launch the movement, and in the form in which he deems fit to do so. In that way, the evil day might be put off or the 'great professional' mediators, Pandit Malaviya and

Dr. Sapru, might wait on the Mahatma and the Viceroy to start negotiations, so that the movement could be shelved decently and thereby prevent the disgrace of an exposure of the threatened sham fight. The Government will, I dare say, deal with this threatened action of the Congress in a different way from the past, it being war time now.

Congressmen want the Government to supply them with sackcloth and ashes for martyrdom so that they could retrieve their lost position in the country and win next elections and ministerships.

I have submitted some of my thoughts for your kind consideration.[1]

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
MLA

N.B. I am enclosing a cheque—very small token of a subscription to your Fund. This is a poor man's humble first instalment.

[1]See No. 172 for Jinnah's reply.

169

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Ismail Khan

F. 339/14

28 July 1942

Dear Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th of July[1] and also your report. With regard to the other matters in connection with your [Civil Defence] Committee and its future work, it is receiving my attention. I would like the matter to be discussed in the Working Committee. Will you, therefore, place your suggestions formally before the Secretary, All India Muslim League, requesting him to include the matter in the agenda of the next meeting of the Working Committee.

Yes, I met Khaliquzzaman at Bhopal and discussed various things, and he gave me all the information regarding your tour as well as of other matters.

I had sent you a telegram,[2] addressed care of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, congratulating you all for the splendid work that you have done and that your tour has been appreciated by our people throughout India.

I propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee as soon as possible. In the meantime, I shall announce[3] the names of the members after a couple of days. I have given my very careful consideration to it and I will do my best.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan,
Meerut

[1]No. 157.
[2]Not traced.
[3]No. 180.

170

M. A. Jinnah to M. I. Hasan[1]

28 July 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st of July,[2] and I regret [*sic*] very much indeed the account sent to me by you with regard to the activities of Moulvi Abdul Hamid of Budaun. But if it is true, the only course open to you is to hand over the matter to your Provincial Muslim League in the first instance and move the machinery, which is available to you, according to the constitution and rules of your Provincial Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. I. Hasan, Esq.,
Bar-at-Law,
Budaun (U. P.)

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 40.
[2]No. 159.

171

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 141/19

MADRAS,
28 July 1942

Mahatma Gandhi others telegraphed Jawaharlal's letter eighth[1]. My honest opinion civil disobedience little premature. First concede open heartedly [and] handshakingly League theoretical Pakistan. Thereafter demand Quit India, if refused start total disobedience. Think profoundly. Country emasculated midst war. Real vitalising incentive necessary [for] success.

INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]Not traced.

172

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan

SHC, Madras II/70

30 July 1942

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 28th of July.[1] All of your suggestions will receive my very careful consideration. You must have read in the newspapers that I propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee as soon as possible and the matter will then be decided finally.

Many thanks for your cheque for Rs. 10 as your contribution in response to my appeal for the funds of the All India Muslim League; an official receipt will be sent to you in due course.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Hameed Khan, Esq.,
Mount Road,
Madras

[1]No. 168.

173

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 392/73

30 July 1942

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th of July[1] and thank you very much for it. I was very anxious to know about your health, and I sent you a wire[2] as I was told that you were laid up in Khairpur, but as you perhaps did not leave your address there, the wire did not reach you, and I was informed by the Post Office. Since then, I was glad to hear from Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung that you have been alright and were in Delhi when he was also there.

I am glad you have put your heads together in the matter of Kazakhs, and I hope that something will be done to relieve them of hardship and suffering.

As regards your Bengal affairs, I am waiting for a comprehensive list of the injustices done to Musalmans by the present Bengal Ministry and, as I had told you, I will take up the matter as soon as I get an authoritative report. Please, therefore, expedite the matter.

You must have read in the papers that I have already announced that I shall call a meeting of the Working Committee very soon. I hope to call it sometime about the 15th of August and hope that by that time you will be quite alright after having some rest.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traced.
[2]Jinnah had inquired after his health. See F. 392/72, *QAP*. Not printed.

174

Syed Nasiruddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/270-1

ALIGARH,
30 July 1942

Sir,

In the *Dawn* of 12th July 1942,[1] Mr. Manzar-i-Alam Ansari

has published a letter, entitled *Beware of Bismarckian*[2] *Policy*. The writer has adopted the line of propaganda that is now being done by Dr. Sir Zia Uddin's party organ, *Tahrik* of Aligarh, and has made veiled attacks on some prominent members of the community who have rendered great services to the country and the Muslim University.

He writes:

> So far as the University itself is concerned, they (anti-Pakistanis) mislead and act in complicity with a few Muslim Leaguers. Their aim really is to capture the Muslim University organisation for the purposes of furthering their own political cause. Instead of making a frontal attack, as they did in 1920, they are attempting to do it now through a few persons who, though now in the Muslim League, have been won over by them on account of their past association with the politics of two decades ago.

The Muslim Leaguers referred to here are surely Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, who have recently tendered their resignations from the membership of the Muslim University Court and the Executive Council on account of the objectionable activities of the Vice-Chancellor along with several other gentlemen like Mr. Ghulam Mohammad (Finance Minister, Hyderabad) and Mr. Zahid Husain (Financial Adviser to the Government of India in the Supply Department). If the three Muslim Leaguers, named above, have really adopted the 'Bismarckian Policy' and made an unholy alliance with anti-Pakistanis, it is high time that Quaid-i-Azam should take disciplinary action against them instead of allowing them to be ridiculed in the official organ of the Muslim League. I draw the attention of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan under whose supervision the paper is issued, and request him to see that the organ of the League is not allowed to be used by Dr. Sir Zia Uddin's party against the Muslim Leaguers whom he does not like for one reason or another.

SYED NASIRUDDIN
Vakil

[1]See F. 809/455, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Bismarck (1815-98) was largely responsible for the unification of Germany by his policy of 'blood and iron'. He founded the German Empire (1871-1918) and was its Chancellor (1871-90), also known as the Iron Chancellor.

175

M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa

F. 302/111

31 July 1942

My dear Isa,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th of July[1] and the press cuttings enclosed. I was really pleased to hear of the great success of the Baluchistan Muslim Conference. Your account was most heartening and made me very happy.

The result that you are witnessing is no less due to your magnificent efforts, which you have made in Baluchistan. A new life has been put in our people in this remote part of India by the efforts of yourself and your co-workers.

I have announced the personnel of the Working Committee to-day,[2] and I have asked the Secretary of the All India Muslim League to inform the members to meet at Bombay. The exact date will be announced by him very soon.

Hoping to meet you very soon. With very kind regards to Mrs. Isa and yourself from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Qazi Mohammad Isa, Esq.,
2 Lytton Road, Quetta

[1]No. 138.
[2]See No. 180.

176

M. A. Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/79

COIMBATORE,
[MADRAS],
31 July 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You may remember well that the first and foremost conference on Pakistan was held in the Coimbatore District, for which you were pleased to send a congratulatory letter.[1] It was the Muslim Beedy

Factory labourers who conducted the same. Now the City Muslim League Committee has sent a requisition letter that the labourers should make a demand from the Muslim capitalists to enhance their pay by two *annas*, while remaining under the shade of Muslim League banner, for the reason of increased price of food-stuff.

I request you to drop a letter to the Coimbatore Muslim League Committee that they should pay heed to the request of the Muslim labourers. The labourers also have established a Muslim Beedy Labourers Union, consisting of members of [City] Muslim League Executive Committee. In order to prevent the said Muslim labourers from joining the other side, kindly direct the Coimbatore Muslim League to take necessary steps.[2] I am the Secretary of the Coimbatore Muslim League and President of Muslim Beedy Labourers Union. So I request you to take much pain in the matter of creating amicable terms among the Muslim capitalists and Muslim labourers.

Wassalaam

Yours ever,
M. A. RAHMAN
President,
Muslim Beedy Labourers Union

[1]Not traced.
[2]Liaquat Ali Khan replied that the letter in question had been sent to K. T. M. Ibrahim, Secretary Madras Provincial ML for action as considered proper. See *AFM* 267/34. Not printed.

177

Tajuddin Pir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/275-6

STRICTLY PRIVATE

C/O POSTMASTER,
SRINAGAR,
KASHMIR STATE,
31 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A wild rumour in Lahore that the Unionist Party demand the head of Malik Barkat Ali on a charger [*sic* for charge], is growing in strength, and it is also said in this connection that they are threatening to go out of the fold of the All India Muslim League if their demand is not

satisfied.

The High Court closed on the 17th instant and I reached here on the 19th but as I was not properly settled yet, I could not thus write earlier.

I consider it my duty to inform you that as the old party of Muslim League is represented by Malik Barkat Ali in the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, it will be a calamity of the first water if they (Unionist Party) are successful in their nefarious design. I am sure you do not want to be told by me (who is the oldest of your followers in the Punjab and will stick up to the end) that such a misfortune is [not] possible to happen under your regime [*sic*]. You told us in Calcutta that you want to give these fellows a long rope, and I dare say it has been the longest.

You know everyone of them and their politics. They have been able to make the League inactive in the Punjab; even Moulana Zafar Ali, MLA (Central), is again singing their praises in spite of the fact that his son went to jail with the Hindu shopkeepers of Lahore for quite a good consideration! All other papers are alike; the only English Muslim daily in India (the *Eastern Times*) cannot even buy the Reuters news. His leader on the first July (with your photo and blessings) on Pakistan was very apologetic, yet he has always written strongly since the proprietorship changed hands. I know Sheikh Abdul Hamid, who is the editor-proprietor now, and I can say with confidence that he will support the policy and programme of All India Muslim League all along the line in spite of the Unionists.

I hope that Miss Jinnah and yourself are in the enjoyment of the best of health. Mrs. Pir joins me in sending *salaam* and respect to your sister and yourself.

I am,

Very sincerely yours,

TAJUDDIN PIR

Bar-at-Law

178

Mohammad Badiuzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 68/13-4

MUSLIM HOSTEL,
PATNA COLLEGE,
BANKIPORE,
31 July 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am just writing a separate letter[1] [to you] regarding the discrepancy in the amount shown to have been actually received by you from the Memons at Dongri, Bombay.

In this letter I wish to request you to kindly convene a special session of the All India Muslim League in order to counteract the evil machinations of Gandhi to throw the Muslims overboard. This is going to be the last fight of Gandhi and the British Govt. As it [British Govt.] is pre-occupied in all theatres of war, it is likely to succumb to Congress designs. Therefore, in order to give a correct lead to Muslims, simply a meeting of the AIML Working Committee or Council will not give that impetus to League mandate, as a special session of AIML can.

It is just possible that I may be wrong in my suggestion but let me point out to you that it is going to be the last fight with the British for a long time to come.

It is the testing time for the League, and I think that nothing should escape the attention of the Muslims.

I hope you would kindly consider my suggestion[2] for a special League session.

With best regards,

I remain,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most obedient servant,
M. B. ZAMAN

[1]See F. 68/17-8, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See Appendix I. 92 for Jinnah's reply.

179

Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to Foreign Press

F. 1195/2 & F. 809/482 & 490

BOMBAY,
31 July 1942

The latest decision of the Congress Working Committee on 14 July, 1942[1] resolving to launch mass movement if the British do not immediately withdraw from India is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede to establish a system of Government and transfer power to that government which would establish a Hindu *raj* immediately under the aegis of the British bayonet and thereby throwing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of the Congress *raj*.

Mr. Gandhi announced at the outbreak of the war, in order to cajole the British, in his first interview with the Viceroy in September 1939[2] he offered unconditional help in the prosecution of the war and almost broke down and said in tears what is worth India's freedom if England is broken and when he imagined the bombing of Westminster Abbey and the houses of Parliament he shed crocodile tears. Thereafter he manoeuvred his position of being a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde[3] in the Congress hierarchy and took shelter under the cover that the Working Committee had overruled him (Gandhi) and he put forward the most fantastic proposals in total disregard of the interests of not only Musalmans but the various minorities in the country and the Indian States. He asked for an immediate declaration of independence and freedom for India with the right to the people to frame their own constitution by a Constituent Assembly chosen by means of adult franchise which meant 75 per cent of Hindu majority. He kept on writing that he was a friend of the British people and that there were unbreakable lies between the British people and himself. He acted as an advisor to the British Government and strongly recommended them to accept the Congress demand and proposals. When he failed as a professed friend and advisor to the British he became a coercer. He called upon the members of the Central Legislature not to cooperate and absent themselves from the legislature and in November 1939 he asked the Congress ministries to resign from seven major Hindu provinces[4] and thereby making the working of the constitution impossible although he and the Congress agreed to work the

constitution under what he called a gentleman's agreement under the aegis of the British Crown.

NEW SCHEME

This threat and intimidation and obstructive attitude did not cut much ice with the British Government. Then he hit upon another method based upon the same lines of coercion while professing and declaring that he had no desire to embarrass the British Government in the prosecution of the war and that he did not wish to start a mass civil disobedience movement as long as the Muslim League was opposed to it. But under the guise of a slogan—freedom of speech—he resorted to individual *satyagraha* after the August [8] Declaration of 1940.[5] He sat at the Sevagram *ashram* planning and organizing the campaign of what he called individual civil disobedience under the protection of the British Government and with full freedom and complete immunity from any law operating against him. He sent hundreds, nay thousands, of Congressmen to preach slogans which were intended and calculated to hinder the war effort. They were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and after 14 months of this farce when it was about to peter out he suddenly discovered, and the Congress organization discovered, that he had pursued that line of programme under mistaken authority.

Shortly after this, arrived Sir Stafford Cripps and during this time it was the policy of the British Government that clearly encouraged Mr. Gandhi as all the time the eye of the British Government was centred on the Congress in an effort to humour and placate them. This was done even at the cost of Muslim and other minorities interests. After the Cripps proposals[6] were disclosed the Congress, and especially Mr. Gandhi, could not bear the remotest idea of separation indicated in them, as they had fully expected that the draft declaration would not only rule out any discussion on the Pakistan scheme but definitely and clearly denounce it. This is clearly proved by the Congress Allahabad resolution[7] and the subsequent writings of Mr. Gandhi who considers an indivisible India as an article of faith and talk of any scheme of separation a sin.

One more proof is that one of the foremost leaders of the Congress (Mr. C. Rajagopalachari) who favoured the idea of separation[8] was virtually expelled from the Congress organization, and several others have also resigned. Hence in his bitterness and deep disappointment Mr. Gandhi has now resorted to this new 'big move'.

MUSLIM RESOLVE

It is quite obvious that the British Government dare not, for two

reasons, surrender to Mr. Gandhi's demands:

> First, it will be going against the solemn resolve on the part of a hundred million Muslims of India that they stand for Pakistan in India and will never submit to a Hindu *raj* or any unitary central government of a Hindu majority, and secondly it would be the grossest breach of faith with the Muslims if they disregard all their declarations ending with the declaration of August 1940, which was as follows:
>
> > 'His Majesty's Government, it goes without saying, could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities, for the peace and welfare of India, to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.'

It is in these circumstances that Mr. Gandhi has resorted to the slogan of 'Quit India'. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress know full well that a disarmed India cannot accomplish this task against an unwilling Britain. I refuse to believe that Mr. Gandhi thinks for a moment that the British would willingly withdraw immediately at his request. And Mr. Gandhi himself admits that if such an event occurs without self-government or any constitution under which any government can be set up the result must be anarchy and bloodshed.

Mr. Gandhi cannot believe that immediately the British withdraw the representatives of various parties and interests will at once agree and set up a provisional government for this sub-continent. What is there to prevent them from agreeing now? It is utterly childish to say that no agreement can be arrived at so long as the British are here. But one thing is certain—no agreement can be arrived at on the basis of the terms that Mr. Gandhi dictates to the Muslims and the rest and no system of government can come into being on those terms without the help of the British bayonet and under the aegis of the British, which task cannot be undertaken by Britain because it will be highly dishonourable; even if it is undertaken, such a system of government will break within a few months.

The Muslims have not the slightest objection to the British withdrawing from India to-day. What Muslim India fears is that in their distress, Britain may commit the blunder of appeasing the Congress at the cost of Muslim India and other minorities and interests. Mr. Gandhi is leading the Congress and others who may be induced to follow him into disaster and there is yet time for him to halt.

This is a challenge to the British Government in the first instance

and they are quite capable of looking after themselves. But it is also a challenge to Muslim India as Mr. Gandhi has not only negatived their demands but without reference or consultation with them is launching a movement whose one and only object is by hook or by crook to bring about a situation which will destroy the Pakistan scheme.

Muslim India cannot remain mere spectators. I am going to call a Working Committee meeting at an early date and we shall have to decide what course to adopt to face this danger.

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]See Annex to No. 158.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 28, note 2.
[3]Refers to Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) in which the good and bad aspects of human character are represented as a kindly physician (Jekyll) and a criminal ruffian (Hyde).
[4]See Congress Working Committee Resolution regarding Negotiation with the British Government, 22-23 October 1939, A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. 12, 202-4.
[5]Enclosure to No. 506, *JP*, XV, 687-9.
[6]Appendix II. 1, *JP*, I, Part II, 21-2.
[7]Annex to No. 95.
[8]See Annex II to No. 24.

180

Announcement by M. A. Jinnah

F. 809/503

BOMBAY,
31 July 1942

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah has announced the following to be members of the Muslim League Working Committee:
Abdul Matin Choudhry, Esq. (Assam);
Sir K. Nazimuddin (Bengal);
Moulana Akrum Khan Saheb (Bengal);
[M.A.] Hassan Ispahani, Esq. (Bengal);
Moulvi [S. M.] Latifur Rahman Saheb (Bihar);
Hossain Imam, Esq. (Bihar);
Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan (U.P.);
Choudhry Khaliquzzaman (U.P.);
Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad (U.P.);
Begum Mohammad Ali (Delhi);

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot (Punjab);
Mian Bashir Ahmad (Punjab);
Sheikh Karamat Ali, M.L.A. (Punjab);
Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan (N.W.F.P.);
Sardar Bakht Jamal Khan (N.W.F.P.);
Qazi Mohammad Isa (Baluchistan);
G. M. Syed, Esq. (Sind);
Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ayub Khuhro (Sind);
Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart (Bombay);
S. A. Rauf Shah, Esq. (C.P.); and
Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait (Madras)

181

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/88

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

48 BAZLULLAH ROAD,
THYAGARAYANAGAR, MADRAS,
1 August 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your kind letter, dated 28th July.[1]

It is probable that Gandhiji may meet you very soon. I hope you will be helpful!

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

PS. How I wish you had not said some things that you have said in your last statement.[2]

C. R.

[1]No. 167.
[2]No. 179.

182

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 274/262

SEAFIELD,
KARACHI,
1 August 1942

My dear uncle,

You must be aware that a great calamity has befallen Sind due to the recent floods. Three districts in the Upper Sind have been affected. It is estimated that about seventy-five thousand people have been rendered homeless and thousands of cattle drowned; the losses are estimated to be about seven crores of rupees. The victims are mostly Muslims; therefore, it was natural that the Sind Provincial Muslim League should take up the relief work. I, on behalf of the League, at once issued an appeal for funds and there is a good response; mother has donated Rs. 5,000 to the Provincial

League and other donations are also coming in. I have been appointed as the treasurer, [and] I will let you know the position of the funds and also of the work which is being carried on. I, along with Shaikh Abdul Majid, at once visited the affected areas and have returned only to-day. The Muslim League has rendered valuable services in the affected areas. The League had engaged boats for the rescue of the people, and gave immediate relief in the shape of food-stuff and fodder for the cattle. I am sending you a cutting of the *Daily Gazette*[1] for information. I am again leaving Karachi in a day or two for the affected areas.

I was happy to find that you have elected [*sic* for nominated] K. B. Khuhro and [G. M.] Sayed on the Working Committee.[2] I hope they will try to give you all possible help.

I am sending you [another] cutting of the *Daily Gazette*[3] in which your statement has appeared. Believe me, Sir, we will not shrink from orders that you [may] give us. I may as well tell you that there is a batch of young people in Sind who will lay their lives without any hesitation at your command. As for Sind people, they will stand shoulder to shoulder for any task, and they will march on to our goal of Pakistan under your leadership. We eagerly await the orders.

Mother has asked to let you know that she will fulfil the promise of 10,000 [rupees] made by father to your Fund. As soon as the banks release our accounts, the cheque will be forwarded.

Sincerely yours,
YUSUF HAROON

[1&3]See F. No. 214/263-6, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See No. 180.

183

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 307/192-3

1 August 1942

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of July,[1] and I really cannot understand you. If Mr. Fazlul Huq writes to me a letter to the effect that he is ready and willing to dissociate himself from the party of which he is the leader, withdraw all allegations against the Muslim League, and submit to the discipline of the League, then he must carry out his assurance, if after further discussion I am of

opinion that he should do so and he fails to convince me of any other course. Otherwise, if he declines to abide by the assurance embodied in this letter, then what is the use of such a letter at all, and [of] our meeting?

It seems that he wants to see me and negotiate with me as an emissary or representative of the parties and organisation of which he is the head just at present. That party is, in our judgement, inimical to the Muslim League and Muslim India. We have already judged him as a traitor. How can you expect me to start negotiations with him so long as he remains associated with that party? You may as well imagine Lord Haw Haw asking Mr. Churchill for an interview to negotiate on behalf of his German friends. The first thing, therefore, is that he must dissociate himself from the party of which he is the head—a party which is inimical to the Muslim League, he being a deserter. After he has complied with this condition, the question of any domestic quarrel may be considered by us, and in that matter he must abide by the decision of the Muslim League.

It is no use saying that he is prepared to give me a letter which will not be released to the press unless he makes a statement to the press, thereby necessitating its release. The one and only interpretation that the public and press will put on my meeting him will be that we are negotiating with him as the head of the Progressive Coalition Party and as the Chief Minister of Bengal and as a man who, not being content with having started many hares, [such] as Proja Party [and] Progressive Muslim Group, is now threatening us with the establishment of an All India Progressive Muslim League. On whose behalf will he be negotiating with us? The clear implication is: on behalf of his party and groups; whereas, so far as we are concerned, we can only deal with him as an individual in this matter on the footing of his really repenting his attitude; and from this point of view we will see whether the decision of expulsion, taken by the Muslim League and the ban imposed upon him, should not be reconsidered on his making all necessary amends in the best interest of Muslims of Bengal and India as a whole.

I hope I have made the position clear.

With kind regards from both of us to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street, Calcutta

[1]No. 166.

184

I. Pirwany to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/30-1

261-B, OPP. AIZZA HIGH SCHOOL,
MALAKPET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
3 August 1942

Respected Sir,

In a recent statement[1] to the press the other day you said that if mass civil disobedience was started by the Congress, the Muslims of India would treat it as a threat to their aim of Pakistan and that they would oppose it with all their might. To consider the situation, you intended to call a meeting of the Working Committee of the League.

Although concurring with the spirit of the above statement, I think the words used by you would lead a person or at least give ground to the Congress leaders to blame that you were working in alliance with or as a tool of the British Government against the fight for freedom of the Congress. Congress propaganda, in the country and out of the country, is already too strong for the League to counteract; to offer them one more stage to attack from would be extremely detrimental to the Muslim cause in these grave days of life-and-death struggle.

In my humble opinion it would be far [more] advisable to launch a fight for the attainment of Pakistan simultaneously against the British and the Congress which could be called a fight for the independence of the Muslims of India. This would make the world opinion rise in sympathy to our cause. Now what that fight should be, is a matter for you and the Working Committee to decide.

As a member of the Muslim community, I thought it was my duty to put before you the facts as they appear to me, thereby serving my community and hence the above few lines.

Yours faithfully,
I. PIRWANY

[1]No. 179.

185

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/194

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
3 August 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am afraid some of the members of your Working Committee do not pay the respect that is due to you. They do just the reverse of what you direct and appeal. On the publication of the Congress Working Committee's 'Quit India' resolution,[1] you issued a statement[2] to the press in which you appealed to the Musalmans to stand ready and refrain from prejudging the move and issuing statements.

Aurangzeb Khan has once again burst out in boils. This malady of his calls for drastic treatment. He is too fond of issuing statements, some of them worthless and meaningless and some even prejudicial. We do not want a [Shri] Satyamurti[3] in our midst.

I am enclosing a formal letter, addressed to you as President, and I shall be grateful if you will direct the Secretary [of AIML] to include it in the agenda of the coming meeting of the Working Committee.

I await your reply[4] to my last letter.[5]

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Annex to No. 158.
[2]No. 179.
[3]Deputy Leader of Congress Party in the Central Assembly, referred to here for his dissent during discussion on Allahabad Resolution. See N. N. Mitra, *Indian Annual Register*, 1942, Vol. II, 202.
[4]No. 183.
[5]No. 166.

Enclosure
M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

CALCUTTA,
3 August 1942

Dear Sir,

I shall be grateful if you will direct the Secretary [Liaquat Ali

Khan] to include the following as an item in the agenda[2] of the next meeting of the Working Committee. I propose to raise a discussion on it:

> The issuing of statements by members of the Working Committee particularly in instances where the President has called upon Muslim Leaguers to refrain from doing so.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,
M. A. H. ISPAHANI

The President,
All India Muslim League,
Bombay

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 294.
[2]The agenda sent to Working Committee members by Liaquat Ali Khan on 4 August 1942 did not obviously contain the point raised by Ispahani. See *AFM* 137/24. Not printed.

186

Yousuf Moledina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/288

MOLEDINA HOUSE,
144 SAMUEL STREET,
BOMBAY 9,
3 July [August] 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Is it possible for Britain to yield to Gandhi's coercion and accept Congress demands in face of opposition from 100 million Muslims?[1]

If on the other hand—to take the most optimistic view of the effectiveness of his movement—the movement results in weakening the Allied [British] hold on India, it will create confusion resulting in anarchy and civil war. One shudders to imagine the horrors of such a state of affairs. Muslims will suffer the most. But their sacrifices will not have gone in vain. Militarily the strongest people as they are in India, they will not only be able to achieve Pakistan, but will also establish their rule over the whole of India.

Why, then, should we dread anarchy?

Although your last statement[2] (which appeared on August 1st) gives answers to questions raised above, one is still confused as to what our attitude should be in the event of Congress launching the

movement. The Congress must be warned of the consequences and futility of any move without Muslim support. And in spite of this, if the Congress turns a deaf ear, the British Govt. be warned not to yield to the Congress demands in utter disregard for Muslim interests.

As for a provisional settlement, you have already expressed your willingness to put off the Pakistan issue till after the war,[3] and, provided Britain is prepared to part with power, you have demanded 50 per cent representation in any provisional government formed in coalition with the Congress for the duration of the war.[4]

Why not reiterate the demand and ask the Congress to desist from its suicidal policy and instead accept Muslim League proposals for an interim settlement and put forth a united demand to Britain to part with power? The Congress will thus stand exposed and self-condemned.

All this may be confused thinking. It may or may not help our line of action in this present confused state of affairs. I only felt like expressing my views to you.[5] Hence this letter.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

YOUSUF MOLEDINA

[1]Congress had demanded immediate withdrawal of British from India. See Annex to No. 158.
[2]No. 179.
[3]See No. 220, note 3.
[4]The proposal was formally adopted by the Working Committee on 20 August 1942. See No. 238.
[5]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 187.

187

M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf Moledina

F. 875/287

4 August 1942

My dear Mr. Moledina,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 3rd of July [August],[1] by mistake I suppose. I am glad that you say that my statement of the 1st of August has made the position quite clear. You want to know as to what our attitude should be in the event of Congress launching the [Quit India] movement. To that I have already stated that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is going to meet in the near future, as you have perhaps also observed

in the papers, to decide the course which we should finally adopt.

The suggestions made by you, however, will receive my very careful consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yusuf Moledina, Esq.,
Moledina House,
144 Samuel Street, Bombay 9

[1]No. 186.

188

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/195

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
4 August 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You were no doubt pleased to learn that the *Morning News* came into being on the 1st of this month. It is a tiny show but [it] is all the same first class. Its editorial of today is magnificent. One more weapon in the armoury of the League! We want twenty such. May *Allah* help us in our effort. Take it for what it is worth. If it turns out correct, I shall be proud of myself for having kept you well-posted. If I am wrong you will, of course, excuse me.

Now for some news.

Gandhi plans to launch his 'big move' in the NWF Province. The Khan Brothers, who are busy in organising the 'great day', are not attending the meeting of the Working Committee.[1] They require every minute of the time between now and the 'great day' to perfect their scheme so that it works without the least hitch. The plan is that the Khan Brothers and a large number of Khudai Khidmatgars[2] walk into the tribal country, i.e. across the frontier. This move will naturally be resisted by the British/Indian Government. The tribal fellows, simple as they are, will then get ruffled for this clever move, and its object will not be understood or appreciated by them. To them it will simply mean high-handedness on the part of the

Government in preventing Khudai Khidmatgars visiting their Muslim brethren. Their sentiments, it is expected by those who know, will be easily aroused and trouble will start in the NW Frontier or from the other side of the frontier. While this game goes on another match will be simultaneously staged in the villages and small towns of the provinces like Bombay, Bihar, U.P., C.P. and even Madras—civil disobedience, a squeeze and hindrance of war effort in general.

The Congress will, for the beginning at least, leave the big cities, humming with industrial activity and enabling millions of rupees to find their way into the Congress industrialists' pockets.

Further, places where the Congress is not 100 per cent strong and sure, will also be left out of count until the whole movement gathers momentum and success. Then will come their turn!

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]They did not attend the Working Committee meeting held from 5 to 8 August 1942. See A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. 12, 474.
[2]An organization for socio-economic reformation of Pukhtoon society founded and led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, whose motto was to serve the people for the sake of God.

189

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Non-Muslims II/88

MADRAS,
4 August 1942

Gandhiji wires saying how can distracted person profitably meet you. Probably reference is to your recent statement.[1] Considering gravity of situation I suggest removing his impression by inviting him.

RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]No. 179.

190

Hajee Joosub to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/4-5

PRETORIA,
4 August 1942

Views of Muslim community of Pretoria which are identical with general opinion of South African Muslims are that you should strictly adhere to Pakistan and strongly support stand made by you. Kindly convey to Sir Stafford Cripps appreciation of his and British Govt.'s courageous attempt to solve problem of India's future. Wishing you every success.

HAJEE JOOSUB

191

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/71

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
4 August 1942

My dear leader,

I am much obliged to you for your very kind letter.[1] Perhaps the Muslim League Working Committee will meet after the AICC [All India Congress Committee] meeting. Your recent statement[2] has once again exposed the hollowness of Mr. Gandhi's patriotism and love for independence.

May I request you to kindly let me know if I can serve on the Provincial Sub-Committee of Blood Bank? Can a Muslim Leaguer entertain any member of the Viceroy's Cabinet on his appointment and can he go to the railway station to give him a send-off? Can a Muslim Leaguer be a member of War Committee? Is the resolution raising the ban on such membership still in force?

I am anxious to avoid any breach of League resolution. I am afraid that the policy is not clear as regards the war efforts of the Government. I have been under the impression that we should have

nothing whatsoever to do only with the Viceroy's expanded Executive Council and the National Defence Council, for it was on these two matters [that] the negotiations broke down. As regards the War Committees, I do not believe that there is a specific ban. If there is, I shall be obliged if you kindly advise me.

It is a great pity that the deadlock is not only continuing but the gulf between the Congress and the League is widening. How can we help it when Mr. Gandhi is anxious to jump over [*sic*] us to Hindu domination. I am sure that the Working Committee will once again make our position clear regarding our ultimate objective and the interim arrangements inasmuch detail as advisable.

With esteem and kind regards,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

[1]No. 172.
[2]No. 179.

192

Earnest Wood to M. K. Gandhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 943/35

OOTACAMUND,
4 August 1942

Dear Mahatmaji,

You have known me for many years as a well-wisher of India and as one who has entered very closely into Indian life. Further, I am one of those who would trust Indians in power as much as I would anybody else, and have no fear of a Hindu majority abusing its power to the detriment of people of other communities.

But at present we have to have a formula which will satisfy those who have not this confidence, particularly the huge Muslim population. Their very size increases their fears and makes them think that the Hindus may wish to weaken them. Smaller communities have far less fear.

So I make the following suggestion: In all elections to the legislatures establish the following rule. If in a contest, a Hindu candidate comes in first, and if there is also a Muslim candidate, both shall be

considered elected. If in a contest, a Muslim comes in first and there is also a Hindu candidate, similarly both shall be elected. This means that the Hindu and Muslim representation will be equal regardless of numbers.

This, I consider, is a practical working suggestion in a situation which is critical. No one wants to revive the Hindu-Muslim conflict which existed for centuries before the British got control of India.

It is what I would call modified democracy, and though the idea is new and many will scoff at it without thinking deeply, I believe it would work. If Congress and Muslim League leaders would agree to this, I think you could then together ask the British to proceed without delay to the transfer of the central power.

As to smaller communities, it is well-known that their interests are best safeguarded in any democracy when the largest powers are closely balanced against each other. Each great power is glad of their support to create a majority for its acts.

I think there is an opportunity for the Hindus to decide [as] to what length they are prepared to go in the interest of peace and the avoidance of possible or probable violence. In putting forward this proposition I feel and hope that I am thinking as though I were one of that community.

Sincerely yours,
EARNEST WOOD

193

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/168-9

PESHAWAR,
4 August 1942

My dear Sir,

May I offer my sincerest congratulations on your last masterly article [statement][1] on the Wardha Resolution and the future intentions of Messrs Gandhi, Jawaharlal and Co.

May I also congratulate you on your new selection of the AIML Working Committee, especially in reference to Sind and the Punjab. All the four gentlemen are the best imaginable persons from the two provinces. Mr. Khuhro is an unruffled statesman of Sind—Mamdot is a worthy son of a worthy father and has got inexhaustible amount

of energy and drive for generosity. Mian Bashir Sahib is the boss of the Muslim Students Federation and an abnormally silent worker. Sheikh Karamat Ali represents the Unionists but has got the guts to stand up and boldly declare his views.

You will be delighted to learn that Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Company in NWFP has evoked no response and they are dying their natural death steadily. If I am allowed to make a forecast, there will be a complete crash very soon.

With respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

PS. Some more important news when we meet at Bombay, *Insha Allah.*

[1]No. 179.

194

I. A. Shaikh to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 568/158-9

KHAS BAZAR,
AHMEDABAD,
5 August 1942

Dear Sir,

It is not a matter of reminding [of] the atrocities experienced by the Hurs of Sind. One-sided and arbitrary actions have been taken against them without even taking into consideration the principle of natural justice, and more than 45 innocent Hurs have been already hanged without proper inquiry and without giving them the opportunity to defend themselves. This is not a question of only impulse or emotions but is a question of justice, equity and good conscience. Much worse of the above things is that Mr. Allah Bakhsh, who is a puppet in the hands of Congress and is opposed to the League, has been given an arbitrary power to declare any Muslim to be a Hur—may he be anybody—and such a power in the hands of a man like him, is to the greatest detriment to those who are in the opposite camp. He may, by the air [*sic*] of power that he gets, be induced due to venom of jealousy to bring any Muslim Leaguer to

trouble, and hence it is in the fitness of things that something should be done in this direction so that the Hurs, a brave community, may get justice and no excessive, out-of-place and undesired illegality be hailed upon those who are innocent, without any proper inquiry and fair trial.

My committee has been pleased to pass a resolution, copy of which is attached herewith.[1] The committee hopes that something substantial shall be done in this matter and necessary directions will be issued for our guidance throughout India, and it may be made an all-India question.

Anticipating a favourable consideration,

Your brother-in-Islam,
I. A. SHAIKH
Honorary Secretary,
Ahmedabad District Muslim League

[1]Not traced.

195

V. S. Dornakal to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Non-Muslims I/10

NAGPUR,
5 August 1942

Executive Committee of National Christian Council representing non-Roman Churches in India is deeply distressed over existing deadlock and growing bitterness and misunderstanding believing the fundamental issues are spiritual. We plead for solution through reestablishment of goodwill, mutual respect [and] trust. We urge Congress to take no action endangering such solution. We also urge Government make fresh approach to problem of securing India's complete freedom. We appeal no less urgently to all other political parties. Failing a settlement there cannot but be great increase of anger and hatred in the world leaving for future generations a heritage of strike and resentment. We are convinced that by some method not yet fully explored, possibly that of conference or arbitration, a way out of present dangerous situation can be found.

V. S. DORNAKAL
President,
National Christian Council

196

A. A. Hayles to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/12

PERSONAL

THE MAIL,
MADRAS,
6 August 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not know whether you will remember our meeting in Karachi in 1938, but I cherish very pleasant recollections of it. I was in Bombay about the middle of July and hoped to renew our acquaintance, but, unfortunately, you had left for Bhopal. Shortage of staff makes it impossible for me to leave Madras save on very infrequent occasions, so our opportunities to meet are rare. That is my misfortune.

I am writing now to ask whether it is possible for you[1] to make a special effort to avert the disaster threatening India by asking Mr. Gandhi to meet you to talk things over. I learn from a close friend of his that he fears a snub at your hands should he suggest a meeting, but I know that he is mistaken. Since, however, he cherishes this notion, it would be a magnificent thing if you would invite him to a discussion on the points at issue between the League and the Congress. I know the differences are so acute that agreement seems hopeless, but if you act, you will know that history will not be able to blame you for the debacle should Congress persist in its present course. Please pardon me if I appear to presume on our acquaintance; my excuse is that the times are so critical, and so much is at stake that all, even the least of us, must do what we can to find a way out of present troubles.

Should you be coming to Madras at any time, my wife and I would be delighted if you would be our guest, at least for a meal, for we have great admiration for one who has done so much to weld a great community into a powerful unit. When I tried to do this in 1921, and subsequently, in this Province I failed miserably and it seemed that nothing could end the dissensions among local Muslims. But you have succeeded, and today it is a united community, so much so that one who was formerly a great opponent of the League admits its power and influence in this part of India.

I trust that your health is good, and that you will long be spared

to serve your community and, through it, India.

Yours sincerely,
A. A. HAYLES
[*Editor*]

[1]For Jinnah's reply see No. 207.

197

C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Non-Muslims II/89

MADRAS,
6 August 1942

Pray co-operate with Gandhiji and demand for yourself whatever you think safe quota of Provisional Government during pendency War and join Congress. Take up Government [of] country.[1]

RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]For Jinnah's statement see No. 203.

198

Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/112-3

2 LYTTON ROAD,
QUETTA,
6 August 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I thank you very much for your very kind letter of 31 July,[1] which I got yesterday. I am grateful to you for having included my name again in the new Working Committee of the AIML.[2]

For the last ten days, I have been down with fever. Thank God I am a bit better today. I have been told that it was announced on the radio that the Committee meeting would take place on the 18th at Bombay but officially I have received no intimation to that effect. Travelling from and to Quetta has become an arduous task. Owing to floods the train from Quetta go[es] as far as Jacobabad, and then instead of proceeding straight via Shikarpur-Ruk-Rohri, it takes the

branch line of Usta-Larkana-Kotri. At Kotri, it waits the whole night as night travelling is not yet permitted in Sindh. Then it moves to Rohri and on to Lahore. It thus reaches Lahore on the fourth morning. Previously, it used to take only 28 hours up to Lahore. I shall, *Insha Allah,* attend the meeting even if there is a bit of strength left in me.

You have very properly filled in the vacancies in the ranks of the Working Committee. Mian Bashir Ahmad is a nice man of literary taste but he does not seem to have the courage to stand up and put up a fight even against his opponent, and I earnestly hope that he will change now.

Recently, I have been thinking of a scheme which we must adopt, and I do hope you would forgive me for having the liberty of presenting it before you. I think the time has come when we should acquaint the whole world with what the League is and what it stands for. For this purpose, I propose three deputations: one to go to America via England educating the people there, and at this stage they all must be sick of the Congress and would give us a very patient and sympathetic hearing. Lots of money can also be collected in the course of such a lecture tour. The second deputation should visit the Islamic countries to place the point of view of hundred million Musalmans before these Muslim quarters. At present, almost all these Muslim countries are ignorant of our aspirations and demands. The third deputation, though not so essential, if it goes to China, would serve a very useful purpose.

Not only would the world then understand what Pakistan is, but under the present-day conditions, when the Allies are fed up with the Congress tactics, we will receive great support everywhere and thus we shall be receiving indirect endorsement of those Governments for our demand for Pakistan.

This was my suggestion, and I am confident that you will examine it favourably.

With very kind regards from my wife and myself to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
ISA

[1]No. 175.
[2]No. 180.

199

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 365/63-4

LARKANA, SIND,
7 August 1942

My dear Sir,

I acknowledge with thanks your kind letter, dated 31st July last,[1] regarding my appointment as one of the members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

The floods in Upper Sind have caused great havoc. One really cannot imagine what a great damage has been done to the life, property, cattle, buildings and crops unless one has seen it personally. The Districts of Larkana and Sukkur have suffered terribly. The Muslim League workers are busy in both the Districts giving possible relief as much as they can do. But we cannot possibly do much as the area is very vast and all the communications have been cut off due to the floods.

There are rumours that you are calling a meeting of the Working Committee on the 15th or 16th instant. I would request you that it would be much better if you can postpone it for at least a week as that will give me and Sayed more time to organize relief work here. Hoping to see you in the near future at Bombay.

With kind regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1]Not traced but see No. 180.

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Y. A. Fazalbhoy to S. A. Brelvi
(Copy to M.A. Jinnah)

F. 875/292

GROSVENOR HOUSE,
PEDDER ROAD,
BOMBAY 6,
7 August 1942

My dear Brelvi,

Today, as you know, the All-India Congress Committee is meeting in Bombay and will take a momentous decision, the outcome of which will affect the entire history of our country and its four hundred million inhabitants. At this moment, I cannot help but feel, and I have no doubt that there are many who must feel likewise, that Gandhiji would be most ill-advised to start the non-cooperation movement without first winning over the Muslims to his side, or at least before making a last concerted effort to gain their goodwill and friendship. I shall, therefore, feel obliged if you will kindly publish the accompanying letter in your esteemed columns.

Yours very sincerely,
Y. A. FAZALBHOY

S. A. Brelvi, Esq.,
Editor, The *Bombay Chronicle*,
Bombay

Enclosure
Y. A. Fazalbhoy to M.K. Gandhi

F. 875/293-5

7 August 1942

Gandhiji,

I write this letter to you as a plain Mr. somebody from among the public. I feel that I must write to you because today the Congress is meeting to pass a resolution, asking you to make your final appeal to the British Government. I feel that there are perhaps thousands like myself who, although admiring you for the readiness with which you are accepting the leadership, feel that your struggle will encounter very many difficulties and, ultimately perhaps, you may even fail because you start the movement without Hindu-Muslim

unity. You start a movement for independence without Jinnah and the Muslim League on your side. What keeps Jinnah and the Muslim League [away] from you? Is it the dreaded word Pakistan?

But is Pakistan so dreadful? We are a hundred million Muslims, and we want Pakistan because we have our own design for living. We feel that in independent India of the future we shall perhaps be found only amongst the cooks, butlers, *khansamas* and *victoriawallas* and *tongawallas*, and we may perhaps even have the monopoly of being the butchers, *sarangiwallas* and *tabalchis*. It is perhaps a fact that there is hardly a Muslim business house without a Hindu, but the converse is unfortunately far from true. It is not a matter for regret that even in a city like Bombay there is no Muslim hospital where young Muslim doctors can be trained in the science of medicine and surgery and where young Muslim girls could be trained as nurses. In Pakistan, we feel that in our own design for living, we shall have the initiative which will inspire us to greater things.

If British power is to be withdrawn, we must have unity if we are to have contentment and peace to follow. If you succeed with Jinnah and the Muslim League against you, as you have yourself said, the period following the withdrawal of the British power may witness anarchy and civil war. But in this separation [*sic* for division] of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, we can have greater unity; for after all in Pakistan, we are not taking away any part of India. It is precisely in the separation that we shall achieve union in which there shall be peace without conflict.

Perhaps, I may explain by an analogy. I know the case of a family in which when the senior member passed away, the younger generation each had its own design of living. They did not quarrel and fight and break up the joint family home and business, but what they did was to separate from the joint family home while remaining together in business, and they have today built up an organization which is supporting hundreds of men and are looked upon as great figures in the commercial world of India. There is much that Pakistan will want from Hindustan and *vice versa*, and it is in this economic co-operation that we shall ultimately find unity and come closer together in one union. It is this essential unity of India which is so important. Seen from this angle, Pakistan does not appear so dreadful and should we not believe in it? It puzzles us because it means that we, a hundred million Muslim brothers, are asking the other three hundred million brethren of ours just for a chance to live according to our own design for living; is this asking for too much?

Today, it seems to us that it is within your power to bring about

this unity. You have already said that you would be satisfied if the Muslim League were given the Government, and that you would gladly co-operate with them. Why not, then, this little step further, because immediately you have Jinnah and the hundred million Musalmans on your side, you win a great victory because once we are united our freedom is assured. You will have won the first great victory for the united nations, for you will have achieved the freedom of four hundred million people of India, and you will have served the cause of the united nations as well. And what is more, by conceding Pakistan you would have won for the union of Pakistan and Hindustan, the new order of the four essential freedoms.[1]

Can you tell us, are we right in thinking like this or are we wrong?

Y. A. FAZALBHOY

[1]In a message to the United States Congress on 6 January 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt set Four Freedoms as the goals of American foreign policy, namely freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from want and fear.

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S. G. Subramonia Aiyer to M.A. Jinnah

F. 925/57

321 VALIA CHALAI STREET,
TRIVANDRUM,
7 August 1942

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

This is an earnest appeal from a Hindu. Kindly consider this, and pardon me if I am wrong in writing to you.

Unity is our supreme need. You are the only man to take an initiative for it. Congress might have many deficiencies, but you cannot deny that it stands for our complete independence. Sacrifice your prestige a little for the sake, at least, of your Pakistan which is more easily available after independence than now, and open negotiations with Gandhiji. Your help will be very much appreciated by the Congress. Come forward, take a bold step and earn good fame. Pardon the Congress if it has committed any mistakes against you.

We, in India, do not desire struggle or calamity [*sic*]. But we must not allow a foreigner to insult us. So your lead now will be very much appreciated.

I, in conclusion, make an earnest and humble request to you to

work for independence first and then for Pakistan. Will you kindly do it?

Yours sincerely,

A Hindu who admires and respects you as a leader,
S. GANAPATHY SUBRAMONIA AIYER

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M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

Telegram, F. 365/65

7 August 1942

M. A. Khuhro, Larkana, Sind

My most heartful sympathy for Musalmans who have suffered specially poor owing calamity Indus floods.[1] Please announce my humble contribution rupees one thousand.[2] Posting cheque. Sincerely hope Musalmans will do all they can help our brethren in distress.

JINNAH

[1]See No. 199.

[2]Khuhro acknowledged Jinnah's "profound sympathy and generous donation" in a telegram dated 11 August 1942. An announcement was also made in the *Dawn* dated 16 August 1942. See F. 365/67 & F. 809/512, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 809/507

BOMBAY,
7 August 1942

The recent Congress Working Committee resolution,[2] although couched in different phrases, is substantially the same as the one which was passed in September, 1939,[3] says Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement.

In the resolution that was passed in September, 1939, the demand was for a declaration of immediate independence and freedom of India, with a provisional national Government transferring all power of the Government of India, and secondly the right of the people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly to be elected by means of adult franchise. The only difference therefore

between the two resolutions is that in the first what was implied by the declaration that was sought is now covered by the adoption of the slogan 'Quit India'.

Muslim India, as I have repeatedly said, stands for the complete independence of all the peoples of India. But we turned down the Congress proposal because the demand for a national Government to be set up immediately would have meant Hindu *raj* or a Hindu majority Government.

As to the second item—the right of the people to frame their own constitution—the constituent assembly would have been one with an overwhelming majority of Hindus and if it were to be elected on the basis of adult franchise the Muslims would have not secured even 25 per cent of its strength. It is a foregone conclusion what decisions such a body would arrive at.

HINDU MAJORITY

Not only this, but the fundamental principle was also laid down in September, 1939, that the constitution should be on the basis of an all-India federal government with units as autonomous as possible. This clearly meant that even those zones which are the homelands of the Muslims and where they are in a majority would have been entirely under the Central Government with a Hindu majority in all vital matters.

This position the Muslims would not accept as it clearly meant ruling out of order their demand for Pakistan and would have implied their submission to a Hindu *raj* as a national sub-group instead of this being a nation in fact, as they are, even in those parts of India where they are in a majority of more than 75 per cent, as in the north-west zones, and more than 70 per cent in the eastern zones. In these two zones there are not less than 70,000,000 Muslims. But having ignored these 100,000,000 Muslims and other minorities and interests, the Congress has adopted the programme of mass civil disobedience if their fantastic demand is not conceded by the British at once.

Congress leaders have now started foreign propaganda. According to them the Congress is fighting purely from an altruistic point of view and does not wish to have any share in the authority and power of the Government, the Government of India may be handed over to the Muslim League[4] and they will willingly accept Muslim *raj* rather than British *raj*. What is most amazing is the fact that Mr. Gandhi has endorsed such individual utterances.

TOO GOOD

In the first place no intelligent man can believe the sincerity of such a desire, for it is too good to be true. But if they are sincere, I should welcome it. If the British Government accepts the solemn recommendation of Mr. Gandhi and by an arrangement hands over the Government of the country to the Muslim League, I am sure that under Muslim rule non-Muslims would be treated fairly, justly, nay, generously; and further the British will be making full amends to the Muslims by restoring the Government of India to them from whom they had taken it. I am sure Muslims would welcome such a decision on the part of the British Government.

Another bit of propaganda is that the Congress is willing to come to a settlement with the League. Here again the proposal is disingenuous because it has laid down the basis of settlement to be the unitary federal government, knowing full well that the Muslim League is opposed to such a basis.

It is evident that the Congress has definitely turned down any discussion of the Muslim proposal for the partition of India or the Pakistan scheme by the official resolution passed on May 1[5] by the A.-I.C.C. Pandit Jawaharlal recently made it clear that he would not even discuss the partition scheme and that it was a mockery. I have noticed in the Congress press the pre-arranged correspondence[6] which passed between a busy-body of a Muslim [Dr. Syed Abdul Latif], who landed in Bombay the other day from Hyderabad, and the Congress President [Abul Kalam Azad]. It leaves no doubt in my mind that they have made most contradictory statements and interpreted the official Congress resolution of May 1 in a manner which is most misleading.[7]

MISLEADING

What is one to think when Congress leaders resort to such procedure and give publicity to it in this manner instead of communicating the proposals, if they have any, to me or to the Secretary [Liaquat Ali Khan] of the All India Muslim League? One can only conclude that it is meant for the edification of the public in this country and for propaganda abroad; and for a responsible organization to resort to this method, if it is in earnest about a settlement, is hardly compatible with its prestige and reputation unless the intention is to create disruption among the Muslims and to mislead them. I am confident that these things cannot in the slightest degree mislead the Muslims of India. They can no longer be treated as children.

It is very painful to me to expose these tactics, but I have no other means of meeting this sinister propaganda in which the Congress

seems to have specialized. I know it is said that some of my statements hurt it,[8] but if speaking the truth, which is always bitter, and exposing the machination of our opponents hurts them. I cannot help it. The only remedy is that they should revise their methods.

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]The *Dawn*, 16 August 1942.
[2]Annex to No. 158.
[3]Annex I.
[4]On 2 August 1942, Sardar Patel addressing a public meeting at Surat had declared "Let Britain only transfer power to Indian hands whether it is to the Muslim League or any other party and the Congress is prepared to dissolve itself." See N. N. Mitra, *Indian Annual Register*, 1942, Vol. II, 14.
[5]Annex to No. 95.
[6]In reply to the letter from Dr. S. A. Latif dated 6 August 1942, Abul Kalam Azad had declared that there would be no restriction in the deliberations if the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League met. He reiterated that no part of the Delhi resolution [Annex to No. 18] had in any way been affected or modified by any subsequent resolution of the AICC and in fact the AICC had confirmed the Delhi resolution. See *The Daily Gazette*, 8 August 1942.
[7]See Annex II for a comment on Dr. S. A. Latif's activities.
[8]See No. 189.

Annex I
Extracts from Congress Working Committee's Resolution[1]

WARDHA,
8-15 September 1939

WAR CRISIS

[*Paras 1 to 6 not printed*]

[7.] If the war is to defend the status quo, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India or elsewhere and imperialism and fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her possessions, establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference, and must guide her own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for

economic cooperation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy, utilising the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity.

[*Paras 8 to 11 not printed*]

[12.] The Working Committee therefore invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people? A clear declaration about the future, pledging the Government to the ending of imperialism and fascism alike will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it, to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future.

[*Paras 13 to 15 not printed*]

[1]A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. 12, 195-8.

Annex II
Note by Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri

SHC, Hyderabad II/155

ALIGARH,
Undated August 1942

DR. S. A. LATIF: A DISGRACE TO MUSLIM INTELLECT AND PROPRIETY

In a recent statement to the A.P.I. published by the *Hindustan Times* of August 7, 1942,[1] while criticizing Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Latif has fully exposed himself and has come out in his true colours. Born out of the political confusion and maze which overhung the Muslim India just after the [Government of] India Act of 1935 and like an upstart mounting to political prominence by every sort of imposition and fraudulence, Dr. Latif's career of public life was bound to be only short-lived.

Being one of those who have closely watched the Doctor ever

since he published his scheme of *Cultural Zones* and having had an opportunity of personally meeting him and discussing these problems, the writer has a claim to know something about his vision and mind.

Dr. Latif owes his prominence to a scheme for solving Hindu-Muslim question, which is known as the *Cultural Zones Scheme*, published in 1938.[2] This scheme in a nutshell suggests:

1. the formation of homogeneous zones of Hindus and Muslims by large scale migrations and
2. the establishment of a Central or Federal Government over the head of these zones.

This scheme which betrays [*sic*] an obvious lack of political foresight and is a misrepresentation of the real Muslim mind earned him a fame by sheer irony of fate. In fact the Hindu press pushed him into limelight. His scheme which on the very face of it is a negation of Pakistan idea was heralded in the Hindu press as *The Pakistan Scheme*. The Muslims who were in those days fast moving towards the "Pakistan Idea" by the able exposition of Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, the chief exponent of Pakistan since 1933, mistook Dr. Latif to be a champion of their cause. Some of the members of the Muslim League especially late Sir Abdoola Haroon[3] encouraged him and introduced him into League circles. He however lost his influence in the League very soon, firstly, because his understanding of the Muslim political problem was very defective and, secondly, some of us from Aligarh by giving a clearer idea of Pakistan defeated all of his moves for making Muslim League to accept an All-India Centre and thereby dooming the Muslim India for ever under the dominance of Hindu *raj*.

Dr. Latif who all along these days played in the hands of Congress leaders did not leave the matter there. In May 1941, he issued a circular[4] in which by playing the role of an arbitrator he wanted to dupe the Muslim League to accept an All-India Centre, which means an All-India Federation or the Hindu *raj*. In this circular, he also proposed to bring about a Journal called *Rapprochement* for achieving his object. This move like the previous ones also failed and the Doctor lapsed into oblivion. Now, on the eve of starting their threatened mass movement,[5] some of the Congress leaders again tried to make use of him for bringing round Muslim League to their side and to give up their demand for Pakistan. Dr. Latif was again disillusioned and has this time burst forth into indiscreet and impolite condemnation of Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah.

The Doctor accuses Quaid-i-Azam of throwing Mr. Gandhi's offer of reconciliation overboard. Every body who has read Mr. Gandhi's

recent articles and statements and has seen the proceedings of the A.I.C.C.[6] meeting held at Allahabad on May 1, cannot draw a different conclusion than what the Congress has made up its mind to not to come to terms with the Muslims. Mr. Gandhi regards the Pakistan idea as a "sin" and believes in an "undivided India" as an "article of faith". The Congress President holds Pakistan as "against the spirit of Islam". Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says[7] that he is not prepared to negotiate with any body on the basis of Pakistan. With whom should the Muslims seek [*sic*] negotiations? What is then the Congress offer?

In fact, the Congress is adamant in refusing [*sic*] to come to terms with the Muslim League. The Congress Resolution of May 1 rules out any approach to the Muslim problem in the right direction. The Muslims have time and again reiterated their creed of self-determination for 100 millions by the establishment of free and sovereign states in the N. Eastern and N. Western parts of India. There is no going back. They will stick to their demand to the last.

Not content with condemning Quaid-i-Azam, Dr. Latif makes a number of false and insulting remarks on the Muslim League and the Working Committee. Over and above that, he tries to provoke and mislead the Muslims of the minority provinces by creating false notions of their insecurity under the "Pakistan Scheme".

The Muslims of the minority provinces are too wiser for him. The experience of Congress *raj*[8] is too [*sic*] recent to be forgotten and the Muslims all over India are determined to resist to the last man any move calculated to place them under the heel of the "irremovable and overwhelming Hindu majority" in a scheme of Federation as suggested by the Congress.

It is now high time that every Muslim of India should free himself of any illusion regarding Dr. Latif. He is a disgrace to Muslim intellect and propriety. His utterance amounts to an act of deliberate treachery and letting down the Muslim cause. He has self-styled himself as an authority on Islamic culture and politics. It is all self-delusion if not fraud. His contribution to the former confines only to a sketchy article on Muslim culture and in the latter field his *Cultural Zones Scheme* unshields [*sic*] his utter lack of understanding any political problem.

It is unfortunate for the Congress to use Dr. Latif[9] in their avowed objective of fighting the Pakistan. Such crooked means to create disruption among the Muslims are highly resentful. This is time for a frank and honest settlement. An attempt to overreaching or deceiving Muslims under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam is bound to fail ignominiously. The entire Muslim India is solidly behind Mr. Jinnah who is its sole representative. The Musalmans cannot remain passive

onlookers to the Congress drama and will guard their national interest with all possible care, zeal and earnestness.

MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI
M.Sc., Ph.D. (Alig) Ph.D. (Cantab)

[1]Not traced.
[2]Not traced but see No. 199, *JP*, XV, 287-95 & No. 55, *JP*, XVI, 63.
[3]Head of the Foreign Committee of AIML in 1940. Two of the nine alternative constitutional schemes submitted to the Committee had been prepared respectively by Dr. Latif and Dr. Qadri. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice* I, 449-50.
[4]Enclosure to No. 394, *JP*, XVI, 479-81.
[5]See Annex to No. 158.
[6]See Annex to No. 95.
[7]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 20, note 1.
[8]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 645, Resolution No. 6.
[9]Dr. Latif later published his correspondence with Jinnah and the Congress leaders under the title *The Pakistan Issue*, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Publishers, Lahore, 1943.

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Hasan Reyaz to M.A. Jinnah[1]

CENTRAL OFFICE, AIML,
DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
8 August 1942

Dear Sir,

It is very gratifying to me that the *Dawn* is being shortly made a daily. As far as I know, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has completed all the arrangements I [had] suggested to him when he called me to discuss the scheme, and he disclosed to me that the paper was going to be published all the seven days with Sunday edition on Sundays. The *Dawn* must be published on Sunday as a weekly instead of the Sunday edition and six days as a daily, like the *Times of India* , the *Hindu* and the *Bombay Chronicle*. My reasons in support of the suggestion are as follows:

i. Our present circulation is about 4,500, out of which 2,000 are permanent subscribers and the rest are through agencies. As the Sunday edition of a daily cannot be subscribed separately it would be difficult to make an adjustment with the permanent subscribers if the *Dawn* stops its publication as a weekly.
ii. The catering area of a daily paper is limited within six hours' run of railway trains, while a weekly newspaper can cover all the distances, and is never stale until its successive issue comes out. For instance, most of the subscribers of the *Dawn*

are in Madras, Bengal, Bombay and other distant parts of the country, and also in South Africa. The daily *Dawn* will be useless in those parts, being much behind the time on reaching there. The weekly *Dawn* along with the daily is a necessity for education of Muslim public opinion in the distant Indian provinces and propaganda in foreign countries.

iii. The weekly *Dawn* is quite self-supporting while the daily will be a new venture. Nobody can be sure about its future. If the two papers are amalgamated and the scheme went wrong, it will be a great national loss. Therefore, I am definitely of opinion that the two papers must be separate and independent. I may concede that they can safely run under one editor and the same management. I hope you would consider the scheme in the light of the above suggestion.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASAN REYAZ

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 89.

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Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 809/513

BOMBAY,
9 August 1942

APPEAL TO HINDUS TO STOP CIVIL WAR

"I deeply regret that the Congress has finally declared war and has launched a most dangerous mass movement[2] in spite of numerous warnings from various individuals, parties and organisations in this country," says Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, in a press statement issued on Sunday, August 9 last.

He adds: "It is impossible to believe that the Congress leaders do not realize that such a movement will result not only in violence but bloodshed and destruction of innocent lives. It is to be deplored all the more that this movement is launched at this critical juncture with the object of forcing their demands at the point of the bayonet, which, if conceded, will mean sacrifice of all other interests, particularly those of Muslims in India.

"As I have said I have summoned the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and it will meet on August 16 in Bombay. Until the decision of the Working Committee[3] I appeal to Muslims to keep completely aloof from this movement and not to surrender to the threats and intimidations of the Congress workers but to continue their normal avocations peacefully. I also warn Congress workers not to molest or harass the Muslims in order to compel them carry out their orders. An attempt to force Muslims will lead to a very grave situation and Congress workers will be held responsible for the consequences that may ensue.

"I still appeal to the Hindu public to stop this internecine civil war before it is too late. Peaceful solution is the only way under the conditions in which we are living. I think that responsible Hindu leaders will come forward and stop this reckless and thoughtless programme."

REPLY TO PANDIT NEHRU

Referring to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech[4] at the meeting of the A.-I.C.C. when he said, without disclosing the source of his information, that he had been informed that Sir Stafford Cripps was told on behalf of the Muslim League that the Viceroy's veto should not be removed or qualified in any way, Mr. Jinnah says: "This is absolutely untrue and without any foundation. The rest of his speech is full of misstatements and I do not wish to repeat what I have already said before. He says that the Muslim masses are not reactionary and they are with the Congress, implying thereby that the Muslim League is a reactionary body which is a libellous accusation against us. But if the masses, as he says, are with the Congress and the resolution of the Working Committee represents the voice of India, why bother about the Muslim League that does not represent the Muslims of India.

"Pt. Nehru says that the Congress is prepared to pay any price, as if India belonged to the Congress, except the price of freedom and their honour. Who suggests that the freedom of the Indian peoples should be bartered away? We are firmly of the opinion that the quickest way to achieve India's freedom is by the acceptance of the Pakistan scheme[5] by agreement. I fail to see how the question of the sacrifice of honour comes in, if Hindu India were to accept the right of 100 millions Muslims of India to self-determination instead of forcing them to remain in an artificial and unnatural union with most disastrous and dangerous consequences that must follow if such a

course was adopted."

[1]The *Dawn*, 16 August 1942.
[2]See Annex for AICC Resolution.
[3]See No. 238.
[4]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. III, 20, note 1.
[5]No. 156, *JP*, XV, 229-30.

Annex
Resolution by All India Congress Committee[1]

BOMBAY,
[*8 August 1942*]

A meeting of the AICC was held in Bombay on August 7 and 8, 1942. The following resolution recommended by the Working Committee was passed by an overwhelming majority, only 13 members dissenting.

QUIT INDIA

The All India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942,[2] and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom, and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on domination of subject and colonial countries and the continuation of the imperialist tradition

and method.

The possession of empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the people of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm. The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure the success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, fascism and imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subjected and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these Nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

The AICC therefore repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a Provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The Provisional Government can only be formed by the cooperation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its Allied Powers, to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere to whom essentially all power and authority must belong.

The Provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This Constitution according to the Congress view should be a federal one, with the

largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their cooperation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign dominations. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran, Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule of control of any other colonial power.

While the AICC must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a World Federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a World Federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a World Federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a World Federal Defence Force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a World Federation and cooperate on an equal basis with other nations in the solution of international problems.

Such a Federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the Federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

The Committee regretfully realises, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards World Federation. The reaction of the British Government and the misguided criticisms of the foreign press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present

peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

The AICC would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committee can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and

which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

Lastly, whilst the AICC has stated its own view of the future government under free India, the AICC wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.

[1]A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. 12, 390-5.
[2]Annex to No. 158.

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Mohamed Ismail Khan to M.A. Jinnah

F.761/94

CENTRAL OFFICE, AIML,
DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
10 August 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In my last report[1] I had promised to send you the information which we are receiving from our provincial branches with regard to the progress of their work. I have received preliminary reports from most of the provinces, extracts from which I am forwarding to you so that you may be kept acquainted with the progress of the work. I have considered it advisable not to trouble you with the detailed reports but to send you only the necessary material.

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman,
AIML Civil Defence Committee

[1]No. 146.

Enclosure

Progress of Civil Defence Work performed by the various Provincial Civil Defence Committees of the Muslim League

F. 761/95-101

UNITED PROVINCES

The Committee has performed its work systematically and with great devotion. Having made necessary preparations, it started its

work from the 5th May. Since then, the Committee has visited almost all the important centres of the Province, appointed District Committees and is making other necessary efforts to impress the masses, the intelligentsia and the aristocracy with the importance of the civil defence work. The Committee has also appointed Divisional Committees to expedite the work as the Province is very extensive. The Committee has, so far, established Defence Committees in fourteen cities and thirty-four districts, and these city and district committees have in their turn started establishing sub-committees in smaller zones.

The Provincial [Civil Defence] Committee had to face certain difficulties in different places but it had succeeded in overcoming them. The chief difficulty is the shortage of necessary funds, and efforts are being made to raise sufficient funds. The Provincial Committee is regularly sending its reports on the progress of work and the Central Defence Committee in its turn is giving it timely and necessary instructions.

The Chairman of the Central Committee has twice made personal enquiries about the progress of work in U.P. and found it satisfactory.

BIHAR

The Provincial Civil Defence Committee started its work soon after its establishment and has since been carrying on and sending periodical reports. It may be observed with satisfaction that the members of Committee are fully alive to the gravity of the impending perils and realize the strategic importance of the different places in their Province. Their tour programme was, therefore, arranged accordingly so that the most strategic points may be organized first.

The Committee has, so far, established District Defence Committees in the following places:

Sahibganj, Santhal Pargana, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea, Katihar, Patna, Arrah, Gaya, Durbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Motihari and Chapra.

It is continuing its work and its members deserve congratulation for having well nigh finished the first round of the entire Province.

The Committee is experiencing certain difficulties in dealing with new problems, and in respect of which the Central Committee is giving it timely and necessary instructions.

The Committee has not yet been able to establish its branch in Chhota Nagpur, and the Secretary of the Provincial Defence Committee has promised to establish its branches there in the near future.

BENGAL

The Secretary of the Provincial CDC [Civil Defence Committee], Bengal, in his first report, dated the 18 June 1942, intimated that the branches of the Civil Defence Committee had been established in most of the districts and in about one-third of the sub-divisions. It will be remembered that the Central Committee had, during its tour of Bengal, established District Committees in no less than six districts.

The Secretary also reported that the District Magistrate of Noakhali was obstructing the work of Civil Defence and had served an order on Mr. Obaidul Haq Choudhri, an advocate of Calcutta High Court and a member of Calcutta Muslim League Civil Defence Committee, and also on Moulvi Serajul Haq, a member of Muslim League Civil Defence Committee, to quit the district within twelve hours and not to re-enter within one year. These gentlemen were organizing the work of civil defence under the directions of the Provincial Defence Committee.

The Secretary was forthwith instructed to place the matter before the Provincial Defence Committee and report as to what steps have been taken by the Provincial Defence Committee, and a reply is awaited.

The Secretary in his second report, dated the 22 July, intimated the progress of work in Bengal and mentioned certain difficulties in the way of travelling and establishing branch Committees in the interior of Bengal; for instance the withdrawal by the Govt. of boats from the coastal districts which has caused much dislocation of communications and created difficulties. The Secretary also reported that the problem of food was getting increasingly acute due to the purchase of rice by the Govt. He also reported that the District Magistrate of Tipperah was taking a hostile attitude towards the League defence work and necessary instructions were given regarding each matter and a further report is awaited.

The Secretary reported having set up four First Aid Centres in Calcutta and opening of food stores in different parts of the City by a limited concern under the name of Muslim League Provision Stores Ltd. The Secretary also reported having established branch Committees at Chittagong, Noakhali, Feni, Comilla, Mymensingh, Jamalpur, Dacca, Narayanganj, Burdwan, Faridpur, Barisal, Khulna, Jessore, Bangaon, Berhampur, Krishnagar [Krishnanagar], Malda, Rajshahi, Pabna, Bogra, and Murshidabad. The exact number of [Muslim] National Guards enlisted in Bengal so far has not been given but the Secretary assured that it is fairly large. The Central Committee is keeping a

constant touch with Bengal and the progress of work, reported so far, is satisfactory.

ASSAM

A Provincial Civil Defence Committee was formed for Assam on the 5th May 1942, and from the very next day the Committee started its work and in spite of geographical difficulties for travelling and the confusion and panic caused by the bombing on Imphal and Darby by the Japanese, the Defence Committee is carrying on its work and has succeeded in establishing its branches at most of the places. The Committee has also enlisted a fairly large number of defence volunteers and it is very satisfactory to note that the Muslim students, whom the Central Committee had an opportunity at Shillong to address exclusively, are rendering meritorious services in the defence work.

The Committee, with a view to overcoming the geographical difficulties, has divided itself into two batches and each batch is touring each of the two valleys which are separated from each other by the high range hills.

The Defence Committee is rendering useful services to the evacuees and other sufferers, and the Muslims of Assam, particularly the League workers, appear to have taken to heart and realized the importance of defence work.

The Central Defence Committee is carefully watching the progress of work and giving timely instructions. The Central Committee is not yet quite satisfied that while the Defence Committees are rendering very useful services for the evacuees and the sufferers, they would also be able to protect the life, honour and property of Muslims against impending dangers from the neighbouring hill tribes.

ORISSA

The non-existence of a provincial branch of the Muslim League in Orissa, the selfishness of the local leaders and their disagreement or rather dispute with each other, were found to be great handicaps in establishing a Provincial Defence Committee. This Committee, therefore, while appointing a Provincial Defence Committee, had also set up an Organizing Committee for reviving the Provincial League and to establish its branches in all districts; information regarding which was sent to the Secretary of the AIML. Reports received from Orissa show that persistent reminders from the Central Committee had [a] salutary effect and they have now started work on a sound footing, established a strong Defence Committee in Cuttack proper with its branches in smaller zones in the town, and

have also enlisted a fairly large number of defence volunteers to whom they are giving useful training. They promised to commence work in other districts too, and the Central Committee is giving them timely and necessary instructions.

MADRAS

The work of this Provincial [Muslim] League is very neat and systematic. The Provincial Defence Committee of Madras with a view to expediting and accelerating the execution of the defence programme decided to convert the existing District Muslim National Guards Councils and the Primary Muslim League National Guards Committees—of which there is a network in the Province—into local Civil Defence Committees. This scheme has the distinct advantage of the work of defence, initiated by the Central Defence Committee, being taken up throughout the Province simultaneously but it also involves the possibility of better and more influential persons, available in different localities, being left out, and the Provincial Defence Committee has been asked to take the earliest opportunity to improve the personnel of the subordinate committees wherever and whenever it may be found necessary. In all other respects the report of the Province regarding the progress of work is very satisfactory and methodical, a copy whereof with enclosures is appended for favour of perusal.[1]

BOMBAY

Provincial Defence Committee was formed at Bombay on the 30th of May 1942. The Chairman, in his letter of 29th July 1942, informed that he had so far completed the tour of the northern and the central divisions and that the southern division was remaining [*sic*]. The letter does not contain any further details of the progress of work as it is more of the nature of a complaint against his Secretary necessitating his resignation than a report of work. A copy of this letter has already been submitted to Quaid-i-Azam and other steps have also been taken to avoid a rupture. Sir Currimbhoy has since written to say that he will wait for the arrival of the Chairman of the Central Committee at Bombay and will not precipitate his resignation. The matter will be dealt with at Bombay.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

The conditions obtaining in C.P. and the party factions prevailing there have already been intimated. The Central Committee has since received the first report of the progress of work from C.P. which shows that the Committee has so far established its branches at Yeotmal, Amraoti, Akola, Buldana and Burhanpur.

The Committee has informed of the many difficulties in its work, mainly the inadequacy of funds. The spread of epidemic is also to a certain extent responsible for the work coming temporarily to a standstill.

It also appears that all the members are not fully co-operating with each other as some very important places, where the Defence Committees should have been established without the least possible delay, have not yet been visited.

The Chairman, Moulvi Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, has been requested to discuss all his difficulties with the Central Committee on the occasion of his visit to Bombay for attending the meeting of the Working Committee, and efforts will be made by the Central Committee to find a solution of the drawbacks, and if found necessary, the President of the AIML will be apprised of the state of affairs with suitable recommendations. Taking into consideration the multifarious handicaps under which the Province is working, the progress of work so far made is not very unsatisfactory—at least the office-bearers are realizing their responsibility and are anxious to acquit themselves honourably.

Necessary instructions on minor problems are being timely sent to the Province by the Central Committee.

DELHI

The Provincial Defence Committee, formed at Delhi, has not so far submitted any report.

Instructions and reminders are being sent in the ordinary course and in case they fail to break the silence, some other measures will have to be adopted.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

As already intimated in the previous report, the general public of the Province is predominantly League-minded but it is a pity that the Provincial and District [Muslim] Leagues exist only on paper. Therefore, the Chairman of the Provincial Defence Committee , who is also the President of the Provincial Muslim League and whose integrity is beyond doubt, was requested by the Central Committee to revive the District Leagues first and enlist National Guards without which there can be no foundation for the scheme of Civil Defence Committee, being worked out.

The Central Committee is in communication with the NWFP Defence Committee which is apparently making no headway with the primary work of establishing Muslim League in all the districts, and certain recommendations regarding the work in this Province will

be made verbally.

PUNJAB

The Provincial Defence Committee of the Punjab has started its work and established its branches in the City of Lahore and it is hoped that the popularity of the scheme of defence work and enlistment and training of Muslim youth as National Guards in Lahore proper along with the ready co-operation of Muslim students will form a strong nucleus for further work in other districts of the Province.

SIND AND BALUCHISTAN

No reports have yet been received. Necessary instructions are being sent by the Central Committee for expediting the progress of work.

SYED ZAKIR ALI
Secretary,
AIML Civil Defence Committee

[1]Syed Zakir Ali had inadvertently left behind the original report of the Madras Civil Defence Committee. See F. 761/102 & 110-4, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to A. A. Hayles

SHC, Non-Muslims I/13

PERSONAL/PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL *10 August 1942*

Dear Mr. Hayles,

I thank you for your letter of the 6th of August[1] and for your good wishes and also for your kind invitation if I come to Madras.

I appreciate your anxiety and suggestion which I would have no hesitation in carrying out, but much to my regret I find that the Congress have not budged an inch from their position and they want to stick to their terms, which can on no account be called a settlement, but will mean a complete surrender and sacrifice of one hundred million of Musalmans. Besides, they are daily carrying on their propaganda which is meant to disrupt the Musalmans.

In my statement, which was published on the 8th of August,[2] you must have observed that I openly suggested in the press that the Congress should send their proposals either to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League or to myself officially instead of flying kites and creating confusion both in this country and abroad by their fantastic suggestions. But no notice was taken of it.

I am glad you think that today the Musalmans are a united community and that even our opponents admit the power and influence of the League in your part of India. Let me assure you that that is the case all over India now.

Thanking you for your kind personal references to me,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A. A. Hayles, Esq.,
Editor,
The Mail,
Madras

[1]No. 196.
[2]No. 203.

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 925/58-61

BANGALORE,
11 August 1942

My dear Jinnah,

So, you are very glad to know that you can become the grand Moghul! Of course, you will be very generous to non-Muslims. Let me know what you mean. Musalmans are 25 per cent of the population as per your admission. Will the non-Musalman representation in Councils and the Cabinet be 75 per cent or, to be generous,[1] 80 per cent. Will you reduce your percentage and show your generosity? Thank God there is Mr. [V. D.] Savarkar who will deal with you as you deserve.

Now, you say that you represent one hundred million Musalmans of India. A greater lie you have never uttered. You cannot step into the North-West Frontier Province. Lately, Mr. [Fazlul] Huq kicked you out of Bengal. You cannot wag your tail in Sind. You cannot poke your nose in Punjab. And yet you say you and your League represent one hundred million Musalmans. Take away that one and add as many ciphers as you like.

Well! you threaten some riots and some Hindus may lose their lives. Your *goondas* will molest Hindu women. Beyond this you are not capable of doing anything. The Britishers, who have bribed you

well, will back you up, and suffering is inevitable. But the day of reckoning will come.

Meanwhile, pass a nasty resolution in your Working Committee[2] and rattle your sword. Hands off the Musalmans, you say to the Congress. Why not go to Sind and threaten Mr. Allah Bakhsh? Why not go to NWFP and talk to Khan Brothers? Why not go to Bengal and meet Mr. Huq? Of course, you dare not. So you see how hollow your pretensions are. Sit on your molehill in Bombay and proclaim yourself as the *padshah* of India. A greater [*personal comment omitted*] than you does not exist in the world. I wish you will answer the points raised in my letter and pour down [*sic*] your venom.

Yours...[3]
[UNSIGNED]

[1]Refers to Jinnah's statement. See No. 203.
[2]No. 238.
[3]Uncomplimentary comment omitted.

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M. Abdul Awal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/117-8

JAGANNATH COLLEGE,
DACCA,
12 August 1942

Sir,

With due respect I like to lay before you the following lines. I am a strong supporter of the All India Muslim League. The British Govt. is at present our friend. All Indian Muslims are ready to obey you. But the present condition of Indian Muslims is miserable. The price of our everyday necessary articles is going up from day to day. The Govt. is trying to fix the price of rice, salt, sugar, oil, etc. But the dishonest businessmen are paying no heed to it. The prices of articles are so high that most of the people are starving and most of the rest are experiencing the most horrible miseries of life. Most of our everyday necessary articles as mentioned above are grown in India and there is no cause for increment of [*sic* for increase in] the price. It is due to the dishonest desire of making too much profit. The rich merchants are buying the goods at low prices and keeping them in stock instead of selling them. The common people cannot

earn much and they are compelled to buy the articles at very high rates. Especially, the Muslims are starving to death. If they die for want of food, who will fight for Pakistan? Will you kindly consult the Govt., or in any way you like, and try to lower and fix the prices of articles and thereby save the Muslims from inevitable death.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours most obediently,
M. ABDUL AWAL
First year student

N.B. Please reply by return of post.

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Mohomed Usman Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/324

BOMBAY,
12 August 1942

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

With the date of Muslim League Working Committee meeting drawing nearer, I feel that I should [make] the following appeal to you:

Nobody will deny that you are fighting for the rights of the Muslims. But yet [*sic*] don't you think that you should also see the fate of the world and our dear motherland. You say that Pakistan should be granted to Muslims. But the Congress has expressly committed itself that it will not oppose if any territorial unit wanted to be separated from the Indian unit. Then what more do you want. If after a plebiscite, any province wishes to be separated from the main Indian unit, then that is guaranteed by the [Indian] National Congress. Surely, our Pakistan must lie within Hindustan. Before getting Hindustan relieved from the British domination, how could we expect to achieve Pakistan? Even if we wait for generations, I am sure, the British Government will neither accede to Pakistan in its entirety nor to the complete Indian independence unless both Hindus and Muslims force them to do so jointly.

Hence, I respectfully beg of you to consider this question seriously and give an ultimatum to the British Government to declare unequivocally the independence of India here and now

without delay, failing which start a mass struggle. If we do so and when we obtain independence, I am sure Hindus will never object to either Pakistan, if the majority wants [it], or to even 50 per cent representation at the Centre as well as [in the] provinces as far as the Cabinet is concerned. But if we remain as mere eye-witnesses, then naturally there will be bitterness against our community all around, who will be guilty of selling their honour and spirit of independence of their country? Let us not consider the present, but let us consider the future. When the Congress is so generous as to openly declare that it will have no objection if power is transferred to Muslim League, then don't you think it will be criminal for us to remain aloof from this struggle. Of course, I can see that the British Government would very much like this, but should we give scope for this eventuality?

Thank God that the Congress is a predominant power today, but consider the position [*sic*] what will happen if the Hindu Mahasabha comes into prominence tomorrow! Then where are we? This will only lead to civil war. Don't you think that it is for you to avoid a civil war and take advantage of this opportunity to regain goodwill of the whole of India and thus achieve our object?

I hope you will give your earnest consideration to this question and will do everything to wrest power from the unwilling British hands.

Yours respectfully,
MOHOMED USMAN KHAN

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M. J. Soofi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/325

MYSORE,
12 August 1942

Dear Sir,

We, the members of the Young Men's Muslim Association, Mysore State, Mysore, beg to get suitable directions from you about the present Congress movement. In Mysore State, particularly the Hindu students have carried out a very successful *satyagraha*. The Muslim students, who are very few, do not know how to deal with the situation. Almost all the teachers, who are Hindus, are Congress-minded, and if the Muslim students attend the colleges and

high schools they are sure to treat them partially at the time of examinations. Some Muslim leaders advise that we should at present follow the Hindus. Therefore, on behalf of the Y.M.M.A., I humbly request you, Sir, to direct us immediately by wire [as to] what steps we must take.

The Muslim League in Mysore is yet sleeping. There is a lot to say about this, but I could not unless your presidentship [*sic*] orders. For God's sake, save us by your valuable advice.

Yours most obediently,
M. J. SOOFI
General Secretary,
Young Men's Muslim Association

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Muhammad Hassan Hakeem to Roger Lumley
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 580/40

MALEGAON,
12 August 1942

May it please Your Excellency,

I most humbly and respectfully beg to submit a copy [each] of the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Malegaon Muslim League, for Your Excellency's kind consideration.

It is prayed that Your Excellency will be pleased to consider the same and oblige.

Your Excellency's most loyal subject,
MUHAMMAD HASSAN
President,
Nasik District Muslim League

Enclosure

F. 580/41-2

10 August 1942

RESOLUTIONS

This meeting of the Malegaon Muslim League draws the attention

of the Government to the fact that the local government officials do not exercise properly the powers vested in them in order to check the lawlessness caused by the local Congressmen, who are offering *satyagraha* and openly taking out processions in Muslim localities shouting anti-Government slogans. Since the authorities do not try to prevent this lawlessness, a breach of peace is feared. The Government may, therefore, take immediate and necessary measures to avoid any untoward incident.

2. This meeting of the Malegaon Muslim League draws the attention of the Government to the recent Government nominations to the Malegaon School Board in which the just rights of the Muslims of Malegaon have been openly trampled down [*sic* for upon or on] by nominating only four Muslims and eight Hindus while according to the population eight Muslims and four Hindus ought to have been nominated. Moreover, most of the members nominated are Congressmen. The Government may, therefore, dissolve the said Board immediately and constitute a fresh Board in which Muslims may have their due share. Disciplinary action [may be taken] against those officers who are responsible for the above nominations.

3. This meeting of the Malegaon Muslim League requests the Government that the forthcoming elections of the Malegaon Borough Municipality, which are to take place on September 16th, should be postponed at least for one year as it is feared that the present attitude of the Congress may cause a breach of peace at the time of elections. Moreover, the present division of wards was made by the late Congress Government in which Muslim interest is not properly represented. According to the population, 36 seats may be allotted, of which 25 seats may be reserved for Muslims.

4. This meeting of the Malegaon Muslim League draws the kind attention of the Government to the fact that an incompetent and unqualified Hindu has been appointed as Chief Officer of the Malegaon Borough Municipality in place of a highly-qualified Muslim. Every possible effort was made to remove the said Muslim Chief Officer by the ex-Congress majority and at last they have succeeded in their efforts.

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Abdul Majid Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 569/1-2

VIRARAJENDRAPET,
COORG,
12 August 1942

Sir,

I have the honour to bring to your kind information that our Provincial League is not yet affiliated with the All India Muslim League. In this connection, several letters were addressed to the [AIML] General Secretary, New Delhi, to place this subject before the Working Committee, and a letter was also addressed to you.

Unless the [Coorg Provincial] League is affiliated and instructions received from the head office from time to time, no regular work can be done here and we will be in complete ignorance, as to the procedure to be pursued in carrying out the programme of the All India Muslim League. Hence, at this critical period, when Provincial Leagues should strictly adhere to the policy and programme of the Working Committee, affiliation is a necessity, without which it is impossible to carry on our work successfully. As such, I request you to kindly place this subject before the Working Committee.

Coorg is a small Province with a Muslim population of fourteen thousand out of one lakh sixty-eight thousand, under the Chief Commissioner, just as Delhi, Ajmer and Marwar. There is an Advisory Legislative Council, with no powers, and Muslims have no representation in the Council as there is no separate electorate, and we could not succeed through joint electorate though we tried several times. We have been agitating for separate electorate for the last twelve years but with no success.

All our difficulties were placed before you, when you visited Mysore, some months back. The detailed information of our Province can very easily be obtained from *Alijanab* Haji Abdul Sattar Essak Sait, MLA, [and] member of the Working Committee.

I earnestly hope that a favourable reply will be given to us at your

earliest convenience for which I will be highly thankful.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
ABDUL MAJID KHAN
General Secretary,
Coorg Provincial Muslim League

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 383/102

CAWNPORE,
13 August 1942

Dear Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

As a matter of fact both Hindus and Musalmans are the dear and innocent children of the great mother India that is in fetters to-day. Beyond all doubt, it is the first and foremost duty of them [*sic*] to join sincerely and whole-heartedly in cutting those fetters now, notwithstanding all their differences of centuries which shall be quite amicably settled later.

Really it is a golden opportunity and should be missed on no account. Let them, therefore, put aside all their past differences at this critical moment and work together with one mind for freedom, their common cause. A slave's life is no life. Even God does not listen to his prayers.

I assure you that if you, by the grace of *Allah*, succeed in liberating your motherland by working in co-operation and harmony with all your countrymen, you shall certainly get the enviable opportunity of being made the first President of this great and matchless country. Please, therefore, expedite to [*sic*] work jointly and co-operatively, otherwise there will be no use crying over spilt milk.

A word to the wise is enough.

Believe me,
Yours ever,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

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Yousaf Hussain Dani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/332-5

MOMINPURA,
NAGPUR,
13 August 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am attached, as a temporary clerk, to the District Superintendent of Police. Here I have come to know a secret which has rudely shocked me. I think it my duty to inform you about it.

You must have read reports from Nagpur. But they are, of course, diluted. The anti-British feeling is extremely strong here, chiefly among Hindus. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the Govt. to control the situation. Firing has become very frequent. More than twenty persons have been already killed. Five to six of them are Muslims. The anti-Govt. feeling is also strong among our men. But our men are trying to remain neutral. We are awaiting your advice. But the brutality of the police and the military is horrible.

And here I want to disclose a confusing conspiracy. At a meeting between the Military Officer, the D.S.P. and the District Magistrate, they have decided to stage a communal riot. Accordingly, some picked *goondas* from both the communities were sent for. The Hindu and the Muslim *goondas* were instructed separately by a C.I.D. man. The *goondas* are thirty in all. What they were told is not known to me. But I would not wonder if some Hindus are stabbed in my *mohalla* or some Muslims are stabbed in Hindu areas. There is every possibility that some of the League leaders will unconsciously play into the hands of the Govt. What should I do in such circumstances?

I wish to make a humble request. The poverty of the followers of the League is horrible. The British are to be mainly blamed for that. Let them go out of India. We shall settle our accounts with the *banias* and Gujaratis through our own strength and [with] the help of Mahars and other poor Hindus. Warn the Govt. against these tricks. Warn our people not to fall prey to Govt. tactics. Make a bid for power.

Eagerly awaiting the decision of our Working Committee,

Your most respectful admirer,
YOUSAF HUSSAIN DANI
B.A.

[PS.] Please keep my name secret as far as possible.

Y. H. DANI

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Muhammad Abdul Haye to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/338

PAKISTAN CHAMBER,
PAKISTAN ROAD, NURPUR,
P.O. REKABI BAZAR,
DACCA,
13 August 1942

Janab,

With thousands of respectful greetings, I beg to state that we, the village students of Vikrampur, wish to establish a Pakistan mission. So we wish to have a blessing from you. We shall be highly pleased, obliged and encouraged if your honour kindly send us a message and pray to God for our success.

We, the village students, are very backward in politics. Naturally we are poor. So our fund is too small. We have a poor library. We have no capacity to buy new books for our library. So we request your honour to send the literature on Pakistan, the different reports of Muslim League and the *Dawn*, the representative [paper] of Muslim League, free of cost.

We shall be highly pleased and obliged if you kindly present us a set of political books.

May it please your honour to bestow upon us the pleasure of intimating your personal well-being at an early date!

Yours devotedly,
MUHAMMAD ABDUL HAYE

217

Syed Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 565/85-6

SADARGALI,
PATNA CITY,
13 August 1942

Sir,

I beg to inform you that since the Congress started agitation against the Government in Patna, pressure is being brought down upon [*sic* for to bear] the Muslim students by the Hindus to boycott educational institutions, and when the Muslim students refuse to do so, the Hindus lie down on the passage, blockade the way and use every method to create every sort of obstacle. In spite of these impediments, the Muslim students have been calm and have followed the instructions[1] issued by you and attended their institutions. The leadership of the movement was entrusted to the Hindu students, and for the first three days the Hindu students led all the movements. They are now dispersing and going into the interior and the institutions are being closed down. The Muslim students are also going to their native homes, and we have instructed them to propagate the Muslim League object[ives] and principles to the Musalmans, and I think that Muslim students will successfully counteract the mischief.

The Muslim shopkeepers were also intimidated and threatened to close down their shops by Hindu mobs, but they carried on their business and did not budge. In certain cases, some Muslim shops were closed but it was done for fear of molestation by the Hindu crowd, who were parading the streets and requesting the Muslim shopkeepers to close their shops and threatening them in return.

Since this morning, the situation in Patna is worse. Telephone wires are cut by the Hindus in almost all the places. All the roads have been barricaded, big boulders have been placed on the thoroughfares, and at most of the places tree branches have also been placed and roads have been dug to make them impassable. All the traffic is standstill. Some small post offices have been looted and plundered.

The Musalmans in general are very calm. They don't, in the least, show any sympathy with the movement and are simply watching the scene. They are indifferent and their morale is very good. To-day, I

inspected all the localities and made tour of Patna of about eight miles on foot.

Yours obediently,
SYED BADRUDDIN AHMAD
Secretary,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

[1]No. 205.

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M. Ziaud Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 472/12-3

8 WARBURTON ROAD,
PESHAWAR,
13 August 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Please allow me to write to you about the reactions of NWFP to the Congress' latest civil disobedience. Since [*sic* for For] three or four weeks the local leaders had been making great efforts to consolidate and organise their followers, and Abdul Ghaffar Khan went about touring the villages for this purpose. He also held a camp, about 15 miles away from Peshawar, and the Hindu press trumpeted his great preparations. On the other hand, we instructed our workers to tell the people to keep aloof from whatever happened.

Early this month, A. G. Khan sent four or five ignorant Red Shirts to the tribal areas for converting those people to the Congress creed. Nothing in the Frontier's history has been a greater joke. Instead of selecting any well-known tribe such as the Mohmands, Afridis, Swat State or Buner, he selected an area, called 'Sam Ranizai', in which the people who live are nondescript and do not belong to any particular tribe. The area in question is on the border of Mardan District, and is a part of the Peshawar plain. It is irrigated by the Swat Canal, and railway and roads run through it. Every village has Government *patwaris* and their lands are assessed for revenue. Agency police is posted in various parts of this area, and, therefore, it is different from the settled districts, in name only. For all purposes it is a British territory, and five years ago its people had even asked for a seat in the Frontier Assembly. A. G. K. [Abdul Ghaffar Khan] knew well that if his emissaries went to any other tribal area, they were not likely to return alive. He knows the hatred in which he is held by the

independent tribes. He, therefore, selected an area where the Pax Britannica runs. But even this proved a miserable failure. The Red Shirts were told to go away the moment they arrived in the first village and they did so after taking off their uniform. This was the beginning and the end of the civil disobedience.

On Sunday morning, news arrived that Gandhi and others had been arrested. In the evening, we also heard your message[1] on the radio that the Muslims should keep aloof. The following morning the Congress wanted to have a *hartal*. But one worker informed all the Muslim shopkeepers to take no notice. The result was that in Peshawar and all other cities and towns of NWFP more than 99 per cent Muslim shops remained open. The *hartal* was a complete fiasco. The Frontier Government knows that the Congress has lost all its prestige in this Province. They have, therefore, not arrested anyone nor have they occupied or searched their offices. Some Congress leaders have run away on account of fear, and the others go about dejected and disappointed. Aurangzeb will tell you all when he comes to Bombay for the [AIML] Working Committee [meeting].

I suggest that you[2] may kindly depute Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and Raja of Mahmudabad to pay a visit to the Punjab and the Frontier as your messengers to the people. This will have a very good effect on the Muslim public. On such psychological occasions your messengers will give a great encouragement to your workers and they will also expose the false martyrdom of the Congress.

With all best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. ZIAUD DIN
Barrister-at-Law

[1]No. 205.
[2]See No. 242 for Jinnah's reply.

219

Ch. Ghulam Abbass to M. A. Jinnah

F. 701/4

ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR MUSLIM CONFERENCE,
JAMMU,
13 August 1942

Quaid-i-Azam,

The fifth column of the All India National Congress is at work in

the Kashmir State and the Kashmir Government is also backing inwardly the national movement. The plight of the three million Muslims of the State has been made miserable by the Government. Even religious liberty is, for practical purposes, being denied to them.

It is my earnest desire to lay before you personally the present political situation as well as the heart-rending tale of helplessness of the Muslims of the State. I would, therefore, request you to kindly make it convenient to grant me time to see you at Delhi during your sojourn there.

Yours faithfully,
GHULAM ABBASS
President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference

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Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to Victor Thompson[1]

F. 809/525

BOMBAY,
13 August 1942

Captain Victor Thompson, war correspondent of the daily *Herald*, had a long interview on Thursday, August 13, with Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. Captain Thompson says:

> Mr. Jinnah is as spick and span as his home. His smart grey suit fits his spare figure perfectly. He speaks with clarity, gained from years at the Bar. And what he told me in response to my questions is faithfully recorded here as an important announcement.

"Indian independence? Yes, but first of all the United Nations must win the war otherwise there will be no freedom for anybody. That is what the predominantly Hindu Congress Party refuses to see. Blind to the big danger, the Congress leaders have made demands that have left no room for negotiation. They delivered an ultimatum backed by a threat of mass civil disobedience.[2] The Government, which has bungled and blundered in the past, had no alternative here. They did the only thing open to them.

NEGOTIATIONS

"Now the Muslim League as well as the Government are being asked to make some concession, some gesture to open some kind of

negotiations. Negotiations with whom? There can be no negotiations until the Congress party leaders change their minds and drop their campaign. The whole policy of the Congress has been that power must be transferred from the British *raj* to the Hindu *raj*. It says it wants a National Government which meant one in which Hindus, because of their preponderance in central and south India, will have an overwhelming majority. Backed by British bayonets they want to rule a hundred million Muslims in the north-west and north-east India. But we will not be ruled by Hindus.

"Since there is no way of coming together we demand Pakistan, which may be interpreted as partition, as the only way to real Indian independence. We want the British Government to declare now that Pakistan will be introduced when war is won.[3] Our aim is that those areas, where the Muslims vastly outnumber Hindus shall become a separate dominion or even dominions. After all India never was under one rule until the British came. There are more divisions in India than there are in Europe, so we want to rule ourselves and let Hindus in central and southern areas rule themselves.

OUR POSITION

"Our position today is much the same as of any body of Englishmen who may differ strongly from the Cabinet but will not allow their dislike to imperil the general war effort. All the same if the Government of India were to get cold feet and accede to the Hindu demands it would be making the greatest blunder of its life. It would be like parents giving in to a child which gives most trouble—and deeply wounding a good child by this unfairness. It would be Muslim's last straw. The British have done much wrong in India but to put blame for everything on them, as the Congress party does, is not honest. The Congress party has now put itself outside the law. There can be no discussion with it until it withdraws from its position."

[1]The *Dawn*, 23 August 1942.
[2]Annex to No. 205.
[3]The opening para of another press report on the interview states:
"In a special interview to the *Daily Herald*, London, given on Thursday night [13 August] Mr. Jinnah emphasizes the Muslim League would join a provisional wartime government if it had an equal voice with the Hindus and the assurance of Pakistan after the war. It would also consider any suggestion for the solution from any authoritative source." See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 38. Also see No. 548, *TP*, II, 699.

221

Hafizur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 667/1

CALCUTTA,
14 August 1942

Dear brother,

I think you have come to know of the arrest of Mahatmaji, Pandit Nehru, Moulana Azad, and other Congress leaders. Perhaps you know the real cause of their arrest. The cause is that these patriots were fighting for their motherland's freedom.

May I ask you, who was once the President of Indian National Congress,[1] that [*sic* for if] it is not the duty of every Indian of all communities to try to achieve India's freedom? You know the White gods better than I do. Everybody knows how they have been treating us.

Not only I but you also know it very well that Pakistan is impossible.

So, is it not better to fight for the right cause at this moment, when we can be free easily?

My earnest request is that please, for *Allah*'s sake, be a worthy son of your motherland.

Sincerely yours,
HAFIZUR RAHMAN

[1]Jinnah was never the President of the Congress.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1209/239-40

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
14 August 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing draft of a comprehensive resolution[1] regarding the freedom of Muslim India, viewed as part of world freedom, and as part of the freedom of Muslim countries.

I think the world changed conditions demand that we should also speak in a changed language.

Moreover, the Congress has begun to speak in terms of world freedom and world federation. As followers of Islam we think we, more than any other people, are entitled to speak on world freedom and world federation because that is our article of faith.

We must answer the new language of the Congress otherwise it will have adverse effect on the Muslim youth.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

PS. Even the imperialist powers and diehards are now speaking in terms of world freedom. The League must show that its case has also a world value and world significance, and that from the point of view of international order and freedom, the League case for Pakistan has got a more reasonable and solid foundation to stand than the Congress case for a fascist totalitarian domination over all peoples of India.

I hope you will explain this further in one of your next statements to foreign correspondents. We have not an iota of doubt that the Congress orgy of violence is the result of an organized [and] well-planned scheme of sabotage. We in Bengal have evidence to show that the fifth column of the enemy and trained saboteurs are working to undermine the communications of the country.

One thing is clear as midday sun. Gandhian non-violence was a mere cloak to cover a very deep-laid conspiracy of violence against the State and the Muslims.

[1]See F. 204/241-5, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Qazi K. A. Zubery to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/342-3

JAMNER,
E[AST] KHANDESH,
14 August 1942

Dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

Before I write a few words to you I admit my inability and weakness

in addressing a man of your honour [*sic*] and fame, and at the same time I beg your pardon for my mistakes. I should have expressed my ideas in Hindustani [Urdu] better than English, but in that case also I should have failed in my duty to satisfy you. Anyway, here are my humble words, of course, in their true colour:

You are fully aware of the Indian situation. A great fight is going on between the Congress, i.e. the Hindus and the British Government. Muslim India is also very anxious to play its part for independence, not only for India but for their own existence. At this critical juncture the best course for the Muslim League would be to wait and see, in other words [observe] complete neutrality. Some of the members of your organisation, who can be openly called the well-wishers of Britain, as only the scarcity of sincere workers has brought them to that position, might decide to help the Government against Hindus. If this is done you will see the Muslim League will lose its reputation, and the Indian Musalmans, the greatest loving nation for independence on the earth, will be disturbed mentally for no good [*sic*]. So as a true Musalman, I request you with all the seriousness at my command not to mislead the Muslim India; on the other hand you must give them every chance to fight against their enemies. At the same time by maintaining complete neutrality you will get great respect in the eyes of great nations of the world.

Thanking you in anticipation of your forgiveness if I erred in writing this letter, and expecting your favourable consideration.

I am,

Yours for ever,

QAZI K. A. ZUBERY

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Abd-el-Majid M. Mastan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/344

29 ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE HOSTEL,
CRUICKSHANK ROAD,
BOMBAY,
14 August 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must have received many complaints of this kind, I presume, and I am writing this one because of the attitude of certain agitators

in the Govt. Law College premises.

These agitators prohibit Muslims and others from attending classes although we wish to attend our classes; indulge in abusive language towards Muslim leaders (not befitting a non-violent *satyagraha*) and even threaten us with violence.

We have been keeping calm and orderly till now but everything has its bounds.

Therefore, we sincerely hope that you will give us suitable advice in this matter.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
ABD-EL-MAJID M. MASTAN

225

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/91-2

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
14 August 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad to inform you that the situation in the University is perfectly calm though there has been some disturbance in the city. Yet no attempt was made to interfere with the working of the University. We are all carrying on as usual and the students are behaving with commendable restraint and steadiness. The Vice-Chancellor, Sir Zia Uddin, addressed the students two days ago. He spoke very candidly and openly professed his adherence to the Muslim League declaring that it was the only body capable of safeguarding Muslim interests and we should all await its lead. The address[1] had a salutary effect on the students. The decision of the League Working Committee, however, is being very anxiously awaited.

It is very desirable that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan should make a speech here after the Bombay meeting just as he did last year after the Defence Council episode. The Nawabzada's speech will clear up many doubts and give much-needed information to students regarding the position and attitude of Muslim India. We have a large number of freshers this year; it is necessary that they should be initiated into the policy and programme of the Muslim League by

means of the speech of one of our foremost leaders. I would, therefore, request you kindly to ask Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to break journey at Aligarh on return from Bombay and address the students. I have also written to him.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]See F. 809/529, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Hameed Nizami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 396/3

8 BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 August 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Punjab Muslim Students Federation has directed me to request you to please accept our invitation to preside over the Third Annual Punjab Muslim Students Conference. I have also requested Nawab Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot to extend this invitation to you on our behalf. Last year we were sure that you would be able to find a day to preside over the conference at Rawalpindi. The rapid political developments in the country demanded your presence at Delhi and it was a matter of huge disappointment for the Muslim students of the Punjab not to find you amongst themselves. I hope you will be kind enough to spare at least two days for us this year.

We have not yet fixed the final dates. We have decided to leave this matter to your discretion. Please give us any two days which will be convenient to you. However, we prefer to have the conference in the month of December. As for the venue, it will be either Multan or Lahore or Jullundur.

The Nawab Sahib will tell you that the Muslim students of the Punjab are doing their bit to further the cause of our *millat*. We have organised our branches in almost all the important towns in the Province within a dozen new branches. You would be glad to learn that our branches in Jammu and Kashmir are most active and doing very useful and substantial work. Our members in the Punjab are organising Primary Muslim Leagues, opening adult education

centres and reading-rooms, and propagating the ideal of Pakistan in rural areas. The Federation gave the correct and timely lead to the Muslim students in connection with the Congress movement. The Muslim students have refused to join this move and they have announced their determination to oppose it under your leadership. I think you must have got a copy of our resolution on this subject. We sent a telegram to H.E. the Viceroy also requesting him to convey to His Majesty's Govt. that any unholy alliance between the British Government and the Hindu Congress, at the back of Musalmans, will be resisted by the Muslim youth of the Punjab by all possible means and at all costs.

I hope you are regularly getting the *Nawa-i-Waqt*. We have converted it into a weekly since the first of June 1942. You would be glad to know that it is making great progress.

Yours sincerely,
HAMEED NIZAMI
President,
Punjab Muslim Students Federation

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/363-4

UJJAIN,
15 August 1942

Dearest Quaid-i-Azam,

From my letters[1] previous to this, I am sure that you must have been in [the] full know of the grave situation the Hindus were trying to create against the Bohras with a view to coercing them into joining the Congress, which they could not do against the constructive behest of the Quaid-i-Azam.

To all intents and purposes, the Bohras are stoutly League-minded in Ujjain. To respect the advice and commands of the President, All India Muslim League, they did not close their shops at the instance of the Hindus. This firm and laudable attitude of the Bohras went a great [*sic* for long] way towards exasperating the feelings of the Hindus against the Muslim Bohras. They bore it patiently for a while. But eventually such a state of affairs reached a culminating point. The Hindus began unbearable mischiefs. Loot and arson

became the menacing order of the day. For the present, it is confined to Ujjain but I fear it may spread throughout the State if no prompt action is immediately taken. This seems to be a premeditated plan.

This makes it more heart-rending when we state that the State officers were only inactive observers of, nay active participants in such dismal and ghastly scenes all around. Atrocities committed on the Bohras are more than words can tell. This establishes more clearly the grave neglect of the officers' duties which the State owes to its subjects through them.

In conclusion, I pray that immediate attention be paid and firm action be taken to remedy these ills [*sic*] at once. I may add that any delay in this connection will make the Hindus calculate [*sic*] the political status of the Muslims very wrongly, and it will also affect the League's political prestige very adversely. Under no circumstances will it be possible for us to suffer any [more] loss. Finally a copy of the petition addressed to the Maharaja is herewith appended[2] for your perusal. It will tell you the shocking and doleful tales of miseries, hardships, loss of life and properties, maliciously caused to the innocent and well-meaning Muslims in the State.

I beg to remain,

Your most obedient *murid* [*disciple*],

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

Secretary,

Ujjain Anjuman-i-Islam

[1]Not traced.

[2]See F. 875/365-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

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S. K. Burhanullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/361-2

BAITUL IRSHAD,
SECUNDERABAD,
15 August 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I would like to inform you that the Hindus of Secunderabad observed *hartal*. They closed their shops and committed violent acts. In the course of their demonstration they shouted *Hindu-Muslim Zindabad* and *Muslim League Zindabad,* to induce the Muslims to

join them. Our President, Mr. M. Hissamuddin Khan Ghori, issued a statement calling upon the Muslims to abstain from participating [in the movement], in the light of instructions issued by Quaid-i-Azam. Thank God, they are aloof till today.

The entire Muslim population is solidly behind you and is awaiting orders. If called upon, we will consider it an honour to sacrifice everything and shed our last drop of blood for the cause of the League.

Waiting for your orders,

Yours sincerely,
S. K. BURHANULLAH

229

K. Shankarnarayana Rao to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/353-6

BASAVANAGUDI,
BANGALORE,
15 August 1942

Dear Sir,

You will doubtless be surprised to receive this communication from quite an unexpected quarter and almost a stranger. I had the privilege of coming into contact with you in the early twenties when you had come to Bangalore. On that occasion you very kindly consented to address the University students of this place, and I had the rare privilege of presiding and introducing you to the audience in the words of *Sri*[*mati*] Sarojini Devi, that you were an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. The inspiring message that you then gave to the students, which is still ringing in my ears, was that they who were to be the citizens of tomorrow were to rise above all distinctions of class, caste or creed and feel that they were Indians first and everything else next. That was the link formed between us then and in the years that have gone by. My reverence to you has always grown with the abiding interest you have continued to take, if I may say so, in the well-being of the teeming millions of our great sub-continent.

I am at present a convalescent, having had an attack of fever for over two weeks; and I would not have thought of giving you this trouble when still in bed, but for the kaleidoscopic changes that are

taking place around us and the great tribulation and suffering that are threatening us from both within and without, I felt obliged to approach you with the following humble suggestion.

I am not for the moment concerned with the details of the present political struggle or the apportionment of the blame between the various parties to it. Our present duty is merely to see how best to find a way out of the present impasse, and in this mighty task that lies ahead of us, I feel convinced that you hold the key as the accredited leader of the Muslim League, as one of the greatest patriots that India has ever produced, and as one who has always toiled for decades for Hindu-Muslim unity. You are, therefore, the fittest person to lead us out of the present political tangle.

The humble suggestion that follows is nothing new, but is what many great statesmen have already said on this subject, and my humble endeavour is merely to make that suggestion a little more practical and pointed. As action has to be taken with the least possible delay in view of the catastrophe that threatens to envelop us, I want to proceed straight to the subject. I, as one of the millions of the children of India, beg of you to lead the nation and with the co-operation of other great patriots like Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. R. Jayakar, C. Rajagopalachari, K. M. Munshi, V. D. Savarkar, [B. R.] Ambedkar, Sikander Hyat Khan, M. A. Mutthiah Chettiar, [G.S.] Arundale and other representative Indians to immediately take steps to call for a round-table conference:

i. with a view to making it possible for this provisional committee to have consultations with the leaders of the Congress Movement, like Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who are now in detention, to seek the permission of the Viceroy to meet them;
ii. to immediately prepare a list of patriotic Indian leaders, representing all provinces forming part of British India, and even Indian India like the major Indian States, important communities, groups and interests like industry, commerce and labour, aggregating not more than 50 individuals, to summon a round-table conference;
iii. and after joint consultations at such a conference to form a provisional central national government, representing all major parties and interests, with the Viceroy and Governor-General as its President; also to form coalition ministries in the various provinces on a similar basis.

It appears to me that during the round-table conference, it would be better to request His Excellency the Viceroy to depute a couple of

members of his Council to be present, to enable them also to make suggestions, if any, and also to keep the Government of India in touch with what is happening at the conference from time to time. When the whole scheme is ready, the accredited representatives of the round table conference will approach the Viceroy with a request to arrange for the transfer of the necessary powers to secure what Bertrand Russel has referred to as "immediate civil independence", with the exception of matters relating to military strategy and defence, which the imperial war cabinet should control through the Commanders-in-Chief of the Indian Forces and of the Allied nations. If necessary, a small Indian war cabinet with these Commanders-in-Chief and an Indian representative of the Viceroy's Executive Council may be formed to carry out instructions of the imperial war cabinet. An arrangement of this kind would be a sufficient guarantee to all the parties, classes and communities in India and also to the British Government that their respective interests, including those relating to the prosecution of the war, will be effectively safeguarded. All outstanding questions, like Pakistan, should be kept in abeyance, in a sort of suspended animation, to be dealt with in due course, immediately after the cessation of the hostilities.

I venture to think that if the Viceroy is informed beforehand of the purpose and the aim of the round table conference, His Excellency will have sufficient time, while the consultations take place at the conference, to secure necessary instructions from the British Cabinet as to the steps that may have to be taken to regularise the proposed constitution. It should not be difficult to secure this object by means of an Order-in-Council to be passed by His Majesty the King Emperor, or by amendments of such of the provisions of the Government of India Act as may be found necessary.

I beg of you, in the name of the whole of India, to give the proper lead and to see that this great outstanding problem is tackled without delay, and thereby to avert the great misfortune that has been threatening us from both within and without.

May I add in all humility that when the history of India comes to be written after the War, your name will go down to prosperity [*sic* for posterity], as the man that saved India when its very existence was imperilled. I hope and trust that you will kindly excuse me for this very scrappy appeal which, on account of my present state of

health, I cannot even revise or put in proper language.

With the humblest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. SHANKARNARAYANA RAO
Retired Judge, Mysore High Court

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B. T. Thakur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 903/44-5

CLIFTON,
KARACHI,
15 August 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I take the liberty of sending you a copy of an article contributed by me to the *Daily Gazette* of Karachi on 13 August 1942.[1] May I invite your perusal thereof? The article will speak for itself.

Permit me, however, to invite your special attention to the present state of frustration in the minds of Indian youth. The incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi and his comrades has no doubt come upon the youth as a bolt from the blue. Nevertheless, they have been fairly accustomed to a policy of repression of this kind. In my opinion, a great deal of harm has been done not so much by the actual imprisonment of these leaders as by the Government communiques, which thought fit to admonish the people of this country and bring into bold relief their utter state of helplessness on political front. Many in Karachi, like me, who are not wedded to the Congress ideology hold that the attack on the representative character of the Congress was wholly indefensible. The Government may hold the opinion that the Congress is only a party. Nevertheless, it appears a strange doctrine in the face of the fact that the Congress had been able to secure a majority of votes in the last general election and was found to be the only party strong enough to form non-coalition governments in seven out of the eleven provinces in British India, and later on in the eighth [province] in coalition with other democratic parties. In the absence of another general election, giving the people an opportunity of either endorsing or repudiating the claim made by the Government of India, it seems unfair to dismiss wholesale the claim of the Congress to represent the majority opinion

in this country, as evidenced by the last general election of 1936 [*sic* for 1937].

It has been suggested that Britain might continue [holding] India in leash for the duration of the war in the interest of the United Nations.[2] The Congress was agreeable to support[ing] the plea but its method was one which did not commend itself to the authorities either here or in Great Britain. As practically every section of Indian opinion is agreeable that Fascism should not be allowed to invade India, it seems to me that the only way of redeeming the promise made by His Majesty's Government or their spokesmen is to hand over the administration of India for the duration of the war to the governing council, composed of one representative from Russia, one from China, one from America, one from Great Britain and two from India (one Hindu and one Muslim).

I have had the opportunity of informally discussing this matter with many friends vitally interested in the creation of peace, which has been commendably termed as an Indo-British Union, in the vital interest of the preservation of the world peace in the post-war era. Almost all of them agree that my present proposals offer a fair basis for discussion. I shall be obliged if you will be good enough to express your views on this matter. Besides writing to any local paper in your area, I shall also be grateful if you will be so good as to send me a copy of your views with permission to publish them.

Begging to be excused for the trouble, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
B. T. THAKUR
District Governor,
Rotary International

[1]See F. 903/46, *QAP*. Not printed.

[2]A coalition of twenty-six nations was formed in January 1942 to resist the military aggression of the Axis Powers in World War II. Twenty-five other nations joined later, raising the original membership of the United Nations to fifty-one. The UN Charter was drafted in September-October 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks and adopted at San Francisco in May-June 1945.

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M. A. Subhan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/127

4 HAINES ROAD,
CLEVELAND TOWN,
BANGALORE,
17 August 1942

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith enclosing a copy [each] of three resolutions that were unanimously passed at the first Bangalore Muslim Students Federation conference, held here from 9 to 12 August 1942, under the presidentship of *Siddiq-e-Millat* Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, MLA (Central), and member, All India Muslim League Council, for your kind perusal.

With best respects to [your]self,

Yours obediently,
M. A. SUBHAN
President,
Bangalore Muslim Students Federation

Enclosure

F. 957/128

BANGALORE,
17 August 1942

RESOLUTIONS

1. This conference of the Muslim Students Federation, Bangalore, expresses its disgust and repugnance at the irresponsible and mischievous statements of Dr. Syed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, which are false and baseless accusations, particularly his allegation that the Muslim youth is restless because of the policy of Quaid-i-Azam. It is misleading and a misrepresentation of the facts. The Muslim youth has full confidence in the accredited leadership of Quaid-i-Azam and is always prepared to offer its services in carrying out the decisions of the Muslim League.

2. This conference of the Muslim Students Federation, Bangalore, declares that the Muslims and Hindus are two different nations and

that Pakistan is the only means for the achievement of India's independence; the only solution of Hindu-Muslim problems; and the only guarantee of real peace.

3. This conference of the Muslim Students Federation, Bangalore, requests the authorities of the Mysore University to appoint a competent teacher, at least in the grade of a lecturer, for Arabic as it is already included in the course of studies and is an optional [subject] for examination.

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Kh. Bashir Bux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/374

AUSTRALIA BUILDINGS,
MCLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 August 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are keeping aloof from the Congress, and the British Government are pleased with us. But do you believe that we will be rewarded for this? I don't. I feel that, as usual, they will fall at the feet of the Congress and we will be treated in the same manner as in the past. Our services in the War might be rewarded by the creation of a few Khan Bahadurs, etc. but will this serve the purpose?

We have absolute faith in you and anxiously await your lead,

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR BUX

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Liaquat Ali Khan to Pothan Joseph

Telegram, F. 773/243

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
18 August 1942

No reply my letter.[1] Kindly wire Bombay when you can definitely

reach Delhi assume duties editor *Dawn* urgent.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Care of Mr. M. A. Jinnah

Pothan Joseph,
Care *Star of India*,
Calcutta

[1]Not traced.

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C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Non-Muslims II/91

48 BAZLULLAH ROAD,
THYAGARAYANAGAR,
MADRAS,
19 August 1942

Hope resolution makes explicit League stands for independence subject only to prosecution present war effort. I am hoping for great things from your present move. Kindly shape resolution[1] so as render it most generous gesture for solution national crisis. You know my objection against restricting plebiscite Muslims only.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]See No. 238.

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Abdul Gaffar Khan & Bashir Uddin Firdousi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/90-1

SHILNATH BUILDING,
DEWAS [JUNIOR BRANCH],
19 August 1942

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The condition of the Muslims in British India and especially in Hindu States, is in danger. At Ujjain, the Muslim and Bohra shops are being looted. This is an ultimatum to the other Muslims. In all

other Hindu States the Muslims are in minority. They are not being employed in internal security forces, especially in the present crisis, by these States. We, therefore, request you to bring this matter to the notice of the Political Department of the Government of India to take necessary steps to safeguard the Muslims of Hindu States.

Yours truly,
ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN
Member, All India States Muslim League Council
BASHIR UDDIN FIRDOUSI
Secretary, Anjuman-i-Tahuffazul Musalmanaan

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H. M. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/92

BOMBAY,
19 August 1942

My respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The Working Committee has authorised you to establish contact with Mr. Gandhi,[1] and the object of such a contact is to ascertain whether the Indian National Congress would be prepared to agree to the Pakistan scheme when the future constitution of India comes to be discussed after the termination of the War, provided a plebiscite of the Muslims in the North-West and North-East Zones, where they preponderate, vote for it.

I think this draft resolution of the Working Committee is stupendously and gregariously [*sic*] a blundering deviation from the original position, which they had taken, that they would not negotiate with the Congress unless the Pakistan demand was conceded. The question of plebiscite was then relegated to the background.

The resolution in question smacks of condescending, stooping low and a sensational climb-down to the Congress high command's will. It is a disgraceful surrender and a humiliating capitulation and [designed] ultimately to weaken and annihilate the Muslim League organisation. Why should we beg the Congress to concede our Pakistan demand when we alone are capable of its consummation and accomplishment?

I would not advise your contacting Mr. Gandhi who has been a hypocrite all through his political career and whose only aim in

life has been to strangulate the Muslims, politically, economically and culturally, and to establish contact with such a man with a black political record of deceit and deception will be the loss of our own prestige.

The word plebiscite should not have been included in the resolution. The Congress is a sinister and mean organisation and capable of doing any mischief even to the extent of absolute denial of the demand after its acceptance. When the time comes for the plebiscite to be held, it may spend lakhs [of rupees] as it spent in the N.W.F. Province to instal a Congress Ministry and bribe Muslims to frustrate our historic Pakistan demand which is our birthright.

To illustrate my contention, may I refer you to the case of Mosul[2] in Arabia [*sic*] and the British treachery. Mosul in the ordinary course would have remained under Turkish rule, but was declared a British Protectorate by plebiscite. Money decided it and not the people of the place. Money was showered by the British on the residents of Mosul as a show of generosity. That money bought them over to the British side. What is that which money cannot buy and do?

I appeal to you, and I think I am voicing the hundred million Muslims in what I say, that the word plebiscite should be omitted, else it may endanger and jeopardize our scheme, and we may be reduced to a non-entity.

Yours brotherly,
H. M. A. KHAN
A Muslim Leaguer

[1]Refers to an apocryphal press report which was denied by the Muslim League. See No. 583, *TP*, II, 749, note 2 & No. 625, ibid., 810-1, para 7.
[2]The second largest city of Iraq on the Tigris River.

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K. R. R. Sastry to M. A. Jinnah

F. 925/66-7

13 LOWTHER ROAD,
ALLAHABAD,
20 August 1942

Respected Sir,

The only occasion for a University Professor to trouble you is the extremely critical nature of the present Indian situation.

As a discriminating student of Indian politics since 1919, and as an author of *International Law* and some authoritative work on Indian States, I am deeply affected by mob-violence on the one hand and ruthless repression on the other. I have openly supported my great friend, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in his views on Hindu-Muslim rapprochement.

A careful and full reading of the latest utterances of Congress leaders should convince you that as between CR's views and theirs, the difference is that betwixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The former is explicit and the latter is a case of necessary implication.

You, as a great nationalist, Sir, have a duty to India. Even if you want your Pakistan, full and entire, I refuse to believe why in the independent India, friendly to Britain, the Muslim States should not be friendly to their neighbours.

The history of India has not shown a political unity except under British rule. There was fundamental cultural unity and aspiration. Once there were 56 kingdoms and at [an]other period 10 kingdoms in India. History is not against Pakistan if that alone will satisfy Muslims.

I request you to play your great role of saving India for the Indians, Muslims and Hindus, and then prosecuting the War whole-heartedly against the greedy powers of the West and the East, the latter being more diabolical. I request you once again to put your weight on the scale of Indian freedom.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. R. R. SASTRY
M. A., M. L.
Reader, Law Department,
Allahabad University

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Resolution Adopted by All India Muslim League Working Committee

F. 1119/76-9

BOMBAY,
20 August 1942

RESOLUTION [NO. 2]

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, having

given their deep and anxious consideration to the present political development in the country, deplore the decision arrived at by the All India Congress Committee on August 8, 1942,[1] to launch an "open rebellion" by resorting to the mass civil disobedience movement in pursuance of their objective of establishing Congress Hindu domination in India which has resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.

It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that this movement is directed not only to coerce the British Government into handing over power to a Hindu oligarchy and thus disabling them from carrying out their moral obligations and pledges given to the Musalmans and other sections of the peoples of India from time to time but also to force the Musalmans to submit and surrender to Congress terms and dictation. Ever since the beginning of the war and even prior to that the sole objective of Congress policy has been either to cajole or to coerce the British Government into surrendering power to the Congress—a Hindu body with a microscopic following of other communities—in utter suppression of one hundred millions of Musalmans, besides millions of other peoples of this vast sub-continent of India. While claiming the right of self-determination for "India", which is a mere Congress euphemism for a Hindu majority, it has persistently opposed the right of self-determination for the Muslim nation to decide and determine their own destiny.

On May 1, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee by their resolution[2] emphatically repudiated the Muslim League demand for the right of self-determination for Muslims and thus closed the door for the settlement of the communal problem, which is a condition precedent to the attainment of the freedom and independence of India. The Congress had also recognized this as an indispensable condition and had therefore made it a prominent plank in the Congress programme for over 20 years, but by their recent decisions have suddenly thrown it overboard and substituted the fantastic theory that the solution of the Hindu Muslim problem can only follow the withdrawal of British power from India.

The negotiations of Sir Stafford Cripps with the Congress broke down not on the issue of independence but because of the refusal of the British Government to hand over the Muslims and the minorities to the tender mercies of the Congress. Any acquiescence in this on the part of the British would have been strenuously resisted by the minorities and particularly by the Muslim nation, with memories of tyranny in the Congress governed provinces still fresh and vivid in their minds.

Baulked in their effort to cajole Sir Stafford Cripps to agree to the transfer of power to the Congress caucus, they decided upon a slogan "Quit India"—accompanied by the threat of mass civil disobedience. This slogan is mere camouflage and what is really aimed at is supreme control of the government of the country by the Congress.

The Muslims are not a whit less insistent on freedom for the country and the achievement of independence of the peoples of India, which is the creed of the All India Muslim League. They are, however, firmly convinced that the present Congress movement is not directed for securing the independence of all the constituent elements in the life of the country but for the establishment of a Hindu *raj* and to deal a death blow to the Muslim goal of Pakistan.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League note with dissatisfaction the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the national aspirations of 100 millions of Muslims of India. While the Congress aims at ignoring and suppressing the Muslim demand, the Working Committee regret that the British Government have been unresponsive to the Muslim League offer of co-operation. The appeasement of the Congress has been the central pivot of the Government's policy with barren and sterile results and has now culminated in open defiance of law and order.

Since the commencement of hostilities the Muslim League has been ready and willing, either singly or in co-operation with other parties, to shoulder the responsibility for running the administration and mobilizing the resources of the country for the war effort and for the defence of India if a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the provinces is conceded within the framework of the present constitution, and in pursuance of this policy the Muslim League accepted the underlying principles of the August offer of 1940[3] of the British Government.

But the Government, in implementing the offer, nullified the essential principles of it and so made it impossible for the Muslim League to co-operate with the Government on honourable terms. In spite of the fact that the British Government had spurned the offer of co-operation of the Muslim League, under the imminent shadow of the Japanese menace the Muslim League once again reiterated their offer by their resolution [No. 2] of December 27, 1941, in the following words:

[*See Annex for the full text of the Resolution*]

The British Government completely ignored the offer of the Muslim League. While the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps virtually conceded

the Congress demands of the right of secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and forming of a Constituent Assembly with a preponderantly Hindu majority for the framing of the post war constitution, they merely recognized the possibility of establishing Pakistan supposed to be implicit in the non-accession scheme.

The Working Committee are definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort with all the sacrifices that are involved it is only possible provided they are assured that it would lead to the realization of the goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League therefore calls upon the British Government to come forward without further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they will abide by the verdict of a plebiscite of Musalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All India Muslim League passed in March, 1940.[4]

Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the freedom and independence of the smaller nations of the world, the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of 100 millions of Muslims of India to establish sovereign States in the zones which are their homelands and where they are in a majority.

The Working Committee are fully convinced that Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem and is in complete consonance with justice and fair play to the two great nations—Muslims and Hindus—inhabiting this vast sub-continent; whereas if the Congress demand is accepted it would bring the 100 millions of Muslims under the yoke of a Hindu *raj* which must inevitably result either in anarchy and chaos or complete strangulation and annihilation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for. The Muslim League, as it has been repeatedly made clear, stands not only for Pakistan and the freedom of Muslims but also for the freedom and independence of Hindustan and Hindus.

The Muslim League, has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and successful prosecution of the war provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally.

In these circumstances the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, after anxious and careful consideration, call upon the Muslims to abstain from any participation in the movement

initiated by the Congress and to continue to pursue their normal peaceful life. The Working Committee hope that no attempt shall be made from any quarter to intimidate, coerce, molest or interfere in any manner with the normal life of the Muslims, otherwise the Muslims will be compelled to offer resistance and adopt all such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their life, honour and property.

[1]Annex to No. 205.
[2]Annex to No. 95.
[3]Enclosure to No. 506, *JP*, XV, 687-9.
[4]No. 156, ibid., 229-30.

Annex
Resolution Adopted by All India Muslim League Working Committee

AFM 136/93-6

NAGPUR,
27 December 1941

RESOLUTION NO. 2

In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the war on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed their willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country as is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All India Muslim League as far back as November 1939 when he accepted the offer of the Viceroy that the Congress and the League should come to an adjustment in the provincial field to ensure harmonious working of the provincial government consequent on which the representatives of the Congress and the League will be willing to participate in the central government as members of the Executive Council. This proposal of the Viceroy was summarily rejected by the Congress on the ground that their demand embodied in the resolution of the All India Congress Committee dated the 10th of October 1939 for a declaration of India's independence and the right of Indians to frame their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise was not met by the British Government.

Further the Muslim League on the 17th of June 1940 passed the following resolution which clearly indicates that the League has all

along adhered to the policy declared by its President in November 1939:

[*Not printed. See No. 323, JP, XV, 442-3, Resolution No. 1*]

The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in cooperation with other parties on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the government at the centre and the provinces within the framework of the present constitution but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution.

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Sahibzada Abdul Wadud Sarhadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 670/1-2

JAMIAT-UL-ULAMA-E-SARHAD,
SIRKI GATE,
PESHAWAR,
21 August 1942

Quaid-i-Azam,

It is the strong desire of the Jamiatul Ulama of North-West Frontier Province that realising your responsibilities you should put an end to the existing [constitutional] disorder.

ABDUL WADUD SARHADI

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
22 August 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I do not know whether you received my last three letters.[2] Muslims in Bengal think that the League has given the right lead. The suggestion to open negotiations with Gandhi, who only on August 8 was claiming on behalf of the Congress to represent the whole of India, was causing concern in Bengal, which has been rightly

removed by the Bombay resolution.

Personally, I believe the Congress will never come to terms because Gandhi is a defeatist, and deliberately seeks to destroy all chances of settlement either with the Muslims or the British.

I do not know what the British will do. But in order to produce a favourable frame of mind in all parties, I humbly suggest that you should forthwith launch the following programme of action for Pakistan. The question is, what the Muslims have done for Pakistan? Nothing. What price have they paid for Pakistan? Nothing. It is simply impossible to hope for winning Pakistan if the nation has neither the power nor the character to wrest it from unwilling hands and to maintain and use it for the glory of Islam.

In brief outline, my plan is that you should kindly demand the following from the nation and fix a definite date for its fulfilment:

i. One crore Pakistan *Ansars* (helpers) to pledge to work for and support Pakistan.
ii. One crore [rupees] Pakistan Fund for Pakistan *Baital Mal*.
iii. 25 lakh volunteers—Pakistan *lashkar*.
iv. One lakh Pakistan *fidakars* (pledge to work and even die for Pakistan).
v. Strong Pakistan press in English and vernacular dailies from Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Bombay and Madras (in English), and a news agency.
vi. Pakistan Houses and clubs in all big towns. Every Provincial League to be enjoined to build at least one Pakistan House of its own to house its office and open a network of Pakistan clubs in all towns, cities and important villages to serve as nerve centres of propaganda and reading-rooms for Pakistan papers and literature.
vii. To declare a holy war on illiteracy, caste distinction in Muslim society, and the evils of drinking, gambling and extravagant customs etc. which are eating into the vitals of the nation.
viii. To resolve to liquidate illiteracy within a fixed time and to teach at least 50 per cent of the adult Muslims the *Kalima* and *Namaz* with meanings and holy Prophet's [PBUH] teachings that a Musalman is he who fears God and none else.
ix. To eradicate class distinction of rich and poor and make the rich to serve the poor and the poor to treat the rich as his brother.
x. To institute a permanent Pakistan Civil Service with [following] graded cadres of:
    a. Provincial directors

b. Divisional organizers
c. District *muballighs* (preachers)
d. Permanent inspectors to regularly visit, supervise and guide the branches
e. A permanent brain trust composed of thinkers, writers, publicists and journalists

Unless you [make a] demand for such sacrifices, and the nation is ready to do it [*sic* for render them], we can never get Pakistan as a gift.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 93-6.
[2]See ibid., 91-2 & No. 222. Other letter not traced.

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Abbas Tyobjee to Roger Lumley
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 875/380

31/33 MIRZA STREET,
BOMBAY 3,
22 August 1942

Sir,

I beg leave to inform Your Excellency that recently there have been very unscrupulous and unruly [*sic*] statements in the so-called nationalist paper *Janam Bhoomi,* edited by Mr. Amritlal. One can easily understand from its editorials that the paper is neither fulfilling national nor public demand but is full of statements of *goondaism,* which only result in exciting public opinion.

I hereby beg leave to invite Your Excellency's kind attention towards the editorial of the paper of yesterday wherein the editor has blackmailed the Muslim League and its great leader Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, representing the Muslims of India, and my humble query is why the Government is observing silence.

The paper is adapted to [*sic*] attack the policy of the Government in one way or the other or finds faults and indulges in very strong and revengeful criticism against antagonist political parties. It had a very unscrupulous attitude during the last riot; and it was more or less due to the fiery statements published in this paper at that time

that the communal riot at Ahmedabad spread to Bombay, which resulted in a heavy toll of valuable lives. It will be remembered that some years back it had adopted a similar attitude against the Nawab Sahibs and Rajas of Sorath Kathiawar State.

I trust Your Excellency's Government must be taking due notice of the movement [*sic*] of this paper and it is now high time that the needful must be done to put a check on the attitude of the editor for his unscrupulous statements.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most humble servant,
[ABBAS TYOBJEE]

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M. A. Jinnah to M. Ziaud Din

F. 472/14

23 August 1942

Dear Ziaud Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th of August.[1] Many thanks for your views and suggestions. I could not write to you earlier, as you know I was very much pressed with other matters in connection with the Working Committee.

All I can say is that this is the opportunity for you all to organise the Musalmans under the banner of the Muslim League. Some of you should take off your coats now and organise, harness and consolidate the Musalmans of your Province.

You must have read the resolution[2] of the Working Committee, and Aurangzeb Khan will tell you more when you meet him.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 218.
[2]No. 238.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

CALCUTTA,
24 August 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you received my letter of 22 August 1942,[2] submitting to you a programme for the organization of forces for Pakistan. I find that everywhere thinking Musalmans are asking the same question: barring political manoeuvrings and propaganda what the Muslims have done—any constructive programme for nation-building, national character-building and securing and maintaining Pakistan or a sovereign Muslim State. I again request you to kindly ponder over my submissions for a constructive programme of action for securing Pakistan. I propose to write on this subject under the title *'The Price of Pakistan'*.

The League Parliamentary Party of the Bengal Legislature and the Working Committee of the Bengal [Muslim] League, in their meetings on 22 and 23 August 1942, supported the Bombay resolutions of the Working Committee. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in a vehement and very incoherent speech condemned the Bombay decision.[3] Khwaja Nooruddin, MLA (League) also supported him but without any speech. Mr. Hamidul Huq Chaudhury, MLC, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial League Defence Committee, in a very nice and well-balanced speech, refuted Mr. Siddiqi's argument. Sir Nazimuddin smashed Mr. Siddiqi's rigmarole to pieces. Moulana Akrum Khan strongly defended the League resolution. The resolution, supporting Bombay decision, was passed without division. The *Morning News*, as predicted by me, has done more harm to the League in three weeks than all the Congress press put together. The *Azad* and the *'Asre-Jadid* have now opened hostilities against this paper. The students will also take action. It is a pity that simple Khwaja Nooruddin has been made a tool in the hands of Mr. Siddiqi.

In the beginning, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, a man of weak mind, also showed some doubt about the Bombay decision. But soon he was fully convinced of his correctness of the Bombay stand and then he defended the League resolution. Please issue a statement fully explaining the League's Bombay stand. Mr. Siddiqi is aspiring for the Speakership of the Bengal Assembly. He also expressed his anger [as to] why nothing was passed regarding the freedom and integrity of

Islamic peoples and lands.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 97-8.
[2]No. 240.
[3]See No. 238.

244

Abdul Waheed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/93-4

9 LATOUCHE ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
25 August 1942

Dear Sir,

I hope you will excuse me for my frankly conveying to you the general trend of thoughts of the Musalmans of India, after studying for the last six days the minds of Muslim intelligentsia and the criticism of the Muslim vernacular press. It will be quite unjust for the cause of the Muslim League to conceal from you that this is the first time when the Muslim India, which was eagerly expecting any practical lead from you, was disappointed. At this critical juncture, to take an inactive attitude and merely express an oft-repeated opinion in the form of a mild resolution was never expected of Mr. Jinnah at least. This was the best opportunity provided by Providence, when the League could be the master of the situation and play its part as announced by you several times. This was—and is still—the only time when both Britain and the Congress could be put to test. In view of the last statement[1] of Mahatma Gandhi and his letter[2] to a Muslim coupled with the press report[3] that the Working Committee of the Congress was formally going to write to you, it was your moral duty to take the initiative and get in touch with Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy to make the final effort to settle the communal question. It was possible that you might not succeed. But then the prestige of the League would have been enhanced more than at any time in the past. If, however, in your opinion any approach to Gandhi was calculated to lower the prestige of the Muslims then you have even now the only positive course to adopt, that is to make struggle for gaining the object of Pakistan. What is the use of making

appeals to Britain, of which they hardly take any notice? If they give no satisfactory reply even now, will you remain silent as uptill now? The resolution is silent on this important issue.

Even now the time is at your disposal. If you only intend, you can relieve the country from chaos and disaster. If Mr. Gandhi starts his fast unto death the situation will be changed. I hope you will kindly give your careful consideration to this matter. You are fully authorised to take the step without every time consulting the Working Committee. Please do interfere.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL WAHEED KHAN
Member, AIML Council

[1]Not traced, but see No. 409, *TP*, II, 560, note 2.
[2&3]Not traced.

245

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/55-6

SECRET/PERSONAL

NEW DELHI,
25 August 1942

My dear Jinnah,

Certain people here are moving that some sort of Indian Government ought to be brought into existence in the provinces. One suggestion is that there ought to be Executive Councils, consisting of the Indians entirely. Another suggestion is that Interim Ministries should be brought into existence. And the third suggestion is that non-official Indian Advisers should be appointed. I do not know which view will prevail or prevail at all. I am personally of the opinion that non-official Indian Advisers are the best.[1]

2. A question will arise whether any Muslim Leaguers should be appointed as non-official Advisers in the provinces. My own impression is that your prohibition was only against the Defence Council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General. I hope that impression is correct and that there will be no objection to Muslim Leaguers being appointed as non-official Advisers in the Congress provinces. If you prohibit their selection, I am afraid, that if any such Advisers are appointed, the Muslims will not be such as to command the Muslim confidence, and that will be such a pity. I shall

be grateful if you will kindly let me have your views[2] on this subject so that I may act accordingly. Are you coming on the 14th of September for the session?

3. I am sending you separately a copy of my speech[3] at Aligarh.

With kind regards to you both,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON
Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council

[1]See Annex for a note on Constitutional Position.
[2]See No. 255.
[3]Annex to ibid.

Annex

F. 399/57-9

CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

25 August 1942

I should like to begin with the provinces. Out of the three alternatives, Executive Council, Interim Ministry and non-official Indian Advisers, I prefer the last.[1] The Interim Ministries are no use, because they will not have any permanent feature in them. They could be turned out immediately if the Congress members decided to attend the Legislature; and as the whole of this scheme is meant only for the duration of the War, I do not want to have a situation created in the provinces where Governments come in and go out every few months. Although the Executive Councillors will be more permanent, but that will be taking things back to the 1920 position, and we shall be blamed for having taken away from the people what they have enjoyed for so long. Moreover, if the existence of the Executive Councils contemplates the existence and working of the Legislature, I am afraid the position of Executive Councillors will be unenviable because the whole attack of all the Legislature will be concentrated on them, and they will have no support from among the members of the Legislature. I am not mentioning the difficultly of having to amend the Government of India Act if an Executive Council is to be created. However, there are other vital objections to the creation of an Executive Council, and therefore, we are driven back to the creation of Indian non-official Advisers in the provinces; but here I should like to suggest that, wherever possible, these Advisers should be selected from among the members of the

Legislature, if there are any available, who have administrative experience and who are likely to carry some public support behind their work, but while these non-official Advisers exist, I feel that no attempt should be made to call the Legislatures into session.

2. The provincial problem has to be tackled in a special manner, e.g. in Bombay, I would suggest that an attempt should be made to form a ministry. So far as my information goes, the Congress Ministry had only a majority of 2, and if 2 or 3 Congress MLAs happen to be in jail, the other parties combined together should be able to form a ministry and this may have a certain amount of stabilizing effect in the Bombay Presidency. In the North-West Frontier Province, I would strongly advocate the holding of new elections and, as is probable, if a Muslim majority comes in, they will form a ministry. I do not see any force in the argument that the Government will be blamed for having held an election in one province in order to help the Muslim League. That has been the whole weakness of our administration, that we have been paying too much deference to the views of people who are out to wreck the Government and we have always been afraid to help those who have been inclined to be of assistance to the Government. I was glad to hear on the radio this morning that a Ministry has been formed in Assam already. In the rest of the Congress provinces there will have to be Advisers.

3. The Central Government: Here I do not wish any further changes to be brought about, for the Muslim community will resent any such changes. Their position is already a very weak one, namely three out of 16. In the first expanded Council, they were three out of 11, and the second expansion has left the percentage weaker than ever. There was once a suggestion made that the authority of the Secretary of State should be removed and the Viceroy made a sort of dictator. I strongly object to this suggestion from the minorities' point of view because we have our experience of the provincial Governors in Congress provinces. No Governor could afford to quarrel with the majority of his Cabinet and, consequently, the minorities suffer. Similarly, it will be too much to expect that any Viceroy will want to continue quarrelling with the majority of his Cabinet and creating political crises in India. So far as the duration of the War is concerned, I am not in favour of any further expansion without the consent of the two major communities, or at least without creating sufficient safeguards for the Muslim minority.[2] We must not forget that the Executive Councillors under the present Constitution are in an extremely strong position, and they have no check of a popular vote and, therefore, the rights of the minorities in the hands of a Cabinet like ours need special protection. In

the absence of any understanding between the two major communities, I am against any further changes in the Cabinet.

[FIROZ KHAN NOON]
Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council

[1]The Viceroy had let members of his Executive Council air their views on the subject making it clear that a decision in the matter would also necessitate consultation with the Governors. See No. 627, *TP*, II, 820-1.

[2]Firoz Khan Noon communicated these views to the Viceroy on 26 August 1942. See Nos. 634 & 672, *TP*, II, 828 & 870-1, para 7. Also see Annex to No. 255.

246

Mohammad Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/384-5
[Original in Urdu]

M. A. O. INSTITUTE,
NIZAM SHAHI ROAD,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
25 August 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I fail to understand when there would be reconciliation between the Congress and the Muslim League and that who would get it done. My assessment is that they would never reconcile and India would remain a slave country till both the parties disappear. Independence for India will remain a dream as the political parties are rather strengthening the bond of slavery. Your claim of joining hands with the Congress is untrue as you have no intention of doing it.

The Muslim League Working Committee should have supported the Congress efforts for the freedom of the country or might have agreed to the solution suggested by C. Rajagopalachari. The AIML Working Committee, as apprehended by me, took a wrong decision[1] of not co-operating with the Congress Party. It should have supported the line of action adopted by the Congress.

Assessing the existing critical situation, you should not have raised the demand for Pakistan. Being the second largest party, the responsibility to give a lead to the countrymen lies with the Muslim League as well. It should have made efforts to strike a deal with the Congress leading to an agreement between the two political parties on the one side and the British Govt. on the other. Efforts should

have also been made to remove the mutual differences which you failed to do.

May I know if the Muslim League is making as much sincere efforts as the Congress for the freedom of India? The honourable course for the Muslim League is to remove its differences with the Congress and only then the fight for freedom would succeed.

MOHAMMAD ALI
An aspirant for India's freedom

[1]See No. 238.

247

Pothan Joseph to M. A. Hassan Ispahani
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 773/246-7

26 CHOWRINGHEE,
CALCUTTA,
26 August 1942

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter dated August 23, 1942,[1] from Bombay. The first paragraph, where you say that you had informed me about arrangements for the conversion of the *Dawn* into a daily from the 1st September 1942, is not correct; as far as I can remember you once mentioned Vasu as a Delhi recruit when I expressed surprise, but there is no reason to have any controversy about it.

It is true that Mr. Jinnah had sent for me to discuss the idea of a first-class daily in New Delhi, but the suggestion that it was 'under my desire' is not correct. At that time I learnt from Mr. Jinnah that the primary proposition was about a *Star of India* edition from New Delhi. But there was no final decision.

Now when you say that "we shall release you so that you may continue your excellent work in a better field," I have to tell you that I am a working man and I must know what my business is, who my colleagues are, and who my master is. In this case, I must be left to choose my staff in my own sphere according to a business understanding with the firm that engages me, if conditions are secure and satisfactory after termination of my services at your hands. I have had a number of letters from prospective members of the daily *Dawn* staff, of whom I know nothing. It would be most unwise

to start with the wretched business of having novices and apprentices when experienced men are required; the start is more than half the race. When my services were engaged in Calcutta, there was a stipulation in Mr. Ahmad Ispahani's letter[2] that after one month there would be a long-term contract, but for some reason I have not been able to know how it did not take place. Nor have I received an increment. Now I have to deal with a new authority and when you speak about a guarantee of Rs. 2,000 per month for one year, it would be better to make your arrangements direct with the Delhi Company so that I can remain on the right footing with them on the spot, provided I am clear about my position.

As regards salary and privileges, I shall have to say a little more than you take for granted when the Company writes to me. Without being pedantic, let me give you the economic fact that the index figure of wholesale prices has risen from 100 to 182 in the last two years, and that in New Delhi the editor of a first-class paper would be an outsider today if [he] has not at least the emoluments and privileges of the special correspondent of the *Statesman* who, besides his salary, has the use of a motor-car, free flat, telephone, etc.

On all these matters I want freedom to deal with any new employer, who wants my services.

I am afraid you, in your enthusiasm, are hustling matters because it would take some time to collect the staff and have the preliminary exercises and rehearsals to produce a first-class paper. And I would require a fair interval to straighten out my affairs. Mr. Jinnah knows that when the *Bombay Chronicle* was launched, a period of three months had been allowed to the editor for the choice of competent colleagues from the profession and the taking of the plunge in sparkling style.

Lastly, I have to consider my own present staff, but here you may think that I am more concerned about their future than you when you intend relieving me. Such sudden partings are not in right form. Here, there is a lot of sentiment like the feeling of a nurse required to part with the infant in her charge although it is the mother that counts. Allow me to deal with the '*Dawn* Limited' after being duly relieved of my present office, and a definite direction to whom I should hand over. I take the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

Yours sincerely,
POTHAN JOSEPH
Editor, Dawn

[1]See F. 773/244-5, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Not traced.

248

Ahsan Ellahi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/387-8
[Original in Urdu]

CALCUTTA,
26 August 1942

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

India, particularly the Muslims, as you know, is currently passing through a critical time. It is a pity (maybe, I am wrong) that the Muslim League Working Committee meeting did not prove useful for the people in general and the Muslims in particular. The resolution[1] which was passed at the meeting is not practicable. No sane person will disagree with you that the Congress did nothing useful for the Muslims. But you did not guide the Muslims as to what they should do. At the time when the Congress (though this turned out to be a verbal hoax) had suggested to the British Government that if the responsibility for running the Indian Govt. were handed over to the Muslim League, you should accept the offer and take control of Government, if necessary, with the help of other political parties. We cannot achieve our goal merely by passing resolutions. You should realize that you are Quaid-i-Azam, and have to follow the traditions of *Khulafa-i-Raashideen* [the Righteous Caliphs], who were also *Quaideen* [the Leaders] of their time. They had responded satisfactorily to the queries of the common people and admitted their mistakes when pointed out even by ordinary people. Generally, your attitude is harsh and attracts criticism. Gandhi's behaviour is closer to the teachings of *Qur'an*. You should recall that our Prophet (PBUH) had borne the severest inconveniences and difficulties but had never uttered a word of complaint. You disgraced the correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*[2] and some others on 11 August. They were not as bad as Abu Lahab and Abu Jahal.[3] Your shouting at them to get out was highly objectionable. We have to increase the membership of the Muslim League. I hope you will take care in future.

Needless to say that Rajagopalachari's proposal[4] was closer to the demand for Pakistan.

I hope to be favoured with a satisfactory reply,

Yours obediently,
AHSAN ELLAHI

[1]No. 238.
[2]For an earlier instance of misreporting by the *Hindustan Times* see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 451-2.
[3]Prominent tribal leaders of pagan Arabia in the 6th-7th centuries.
[4]Annex II to No. 24.

249

Kale Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/95

NAGPUR,
27 August 1942

Sir,

I beg to inform you that the following resolution was passed last night by the Khapa Muslim League, which I am herewith forwarding to you with a request to consider it favourably and sympathetically:

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Muslim League, Khapa, invites the attention of the local Government to the resolution[1] which was passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and the statement[2] issued by Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, to the effect that the Muslim Leaguers in particular and the Musalmans of India in general should not participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement and the subversive activities of the Congress. In view of this order the Musalmans of Khapa remained neutral and abstained from taking any part in the said activities. But in spite of their neutrality, their houses, mosques and *madaris* [seminaries] were searched and 14 Musalmans arrested. This meeting requests the local Government to respect the neutrality of the Musalmans and release the arrested persons and treat them fairly in future.

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
KALE KHAN
President,
Khapa Muslim League

[1]No. 238.
[2]No. 205.

250

Kathleen M. Whitby to M. A. Jinnah

F. 903/80

BOMBAY,
27 August 1942

Dear Sir,

I write as an individual member of the Society of Friends [also known as Quakers], a body who, as you probably know, eschew the use of armed force among men. This demands a far more active concern in all other means of overcoming strife, so I humbly write [to] you to ask if you could see your way clear now to help[ing] this sad breach in India. As you are a free leader of a great section of the people it seems a real opportunity for such a statesman to approach both the Congress Party and the British Government towards thinking out a compromise now and a free and happy India in the future.

From my own observation among the European folks I mix with, I find a more and more sincere desire that this shall be so, though they cannot see their way clear to arrange it now. I feel sure that they would stand by these proposals in the future when the war is over.

Sir, I beg you to help with thought and action in this land of yours and to help in the establishment of peace of the right progressive kind in the whole world.

Yours faithfully,
KATHLEEN M. WHITBY

251

Abdul Hameed & Abdul Zaher to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/390-1

[*Original in Urdu*]

20 DISPENSARY ROAD,
BANGALORE,
28 August 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

The All India Muslim League has been demanding Pakistan for

the last three years. The purpose of this demand is not clear to us. In order to remove our doubts we request for satisfactory replies to the following points:

i. How Islam will be benefited by achieving Pakistan?
ii. Will the Muslims become firm believers in Islam after Pakistan is created?
iii. Will there be any political interaction between Pakistan and Islam?
iv. Will the Muslims, who are acting against *Shariat*—indulging in drinking, gambling and interest-dealing be reformed? Will drinking be prohibited in Pakistan?

You are aware that drinking is strictly prohibited in Islam. Although there is no prohibition on drinking in Hindu religion yet a number of them hate it. The Congress had its Governments in eight provinces while the Muslim League ruled in three or four provinces. The Congress Governments had successfully banned drinking in Bombay, Madras, etc., despite many difficulties and hurdles.

The Muslim League Governments of the Punjab and Bengal did not condemn drinking. Were they not aware of Islam's injunction in this behalf? Why the Provincial Muslim Leagues, particularly the Central League, did not take any step in this behalf? While a Hindu Minister, C. Rajagopalachari, despite there being no restrictions in his religion, banned drinking but Muslim Ministries and Muslim League could not do so. It is a pity! How could we hope for the betterment of Muslims in Pakistan?

We do not hate the demand for Pakistan; rather we are sympathetic to it. However, our intention is to bring to your notice the present attitude of the Muslim League, and to be benefited from your point of view with reference to the future conduct of the Muslim League in such matters.

Wassalaam

Your brothers-in-Islam,
ABDUL HAMEED
ABDUL ZAHER

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S. N. A. Jafri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/54

FATMA ESTATE, PRAYAG,
ALLAHABAD,
29 August 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had been to Bombay in the first week of August to see my daughter who is there, and I thought I will avail myself of seeing you then. Unfortunately, you could not make it convenient for yourself to allow me an interview with you.

I want your advice in one matter.[1] Seeing the journalists' impertinence towards our Quaid-i-Azam due to Kirpanadi's affair, I thought of starting an All-India Muslim Journalists Association. Over a month ago, I gave a statement[2] about that to the press and had a very good response. I now propose to go ahead with it provided you approve of the idea. The Muslim journalists have a number of grievances off and on, specially with the Government. Individual requests and protests have no effect. This will be our forum to get grievances redressed in whatever quarter they may arise. This is also likely to stop the Hindu journalists rais[ing] a storm in the tea cup as they did in the aforesaid case.

By my asking you to give your advice, it would not mean that you are identifying yourself with the movement. Your advice, if so desired, will remain confidential. Of course, my idea is that the first conference may be inaugurated by you.

Yours sincerely,
S. N. A. JAFRI
Editor, Onward

[1]See No. 263 for Jinnah's reply.
[2]See F. 809/510, *QAP*. Not printed.

253

Syed Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/10-11

SADARGALI, PATNA CITY,
30 August 1942

Sir,

I sent you bare details of what happened in Patna on the 12th and 13th of August 1942,[1] when vandalism and lawlessness had started with the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement. Since then Bihar has suffered very badly, and along with acts of violence and sabotage, public properties have been looted and burnt and communications cut off. For more than a week, Patna was cut off from rest of the world[2] except for the movement of the military and a few adventurous people who could dare to go out of Patna and were prepared to undergo hardships. The detailed report of how Bihar has suffered is difficult to give because it will take the form of a voluminous report and then again definite facts have not come to us from *mofussil*.[3] Some communications have been restored but still very many places in the Province are un-approachable from Patna. We are sending workers to collect information. So far reports received by us from various Muslim League branches, tell us that the Musalmans everywhere completely kept aloof from the movement and stood by your instructions.[4] It was indeed a purely Hindu movement and as such the Hindus felt it and inwardly resented it. The Government also knows that the Musalmans as [a] body and singly did not side with the movement.

The commotion in Bihar is not over and still some parts of the Province are affected. Situation in towns is settling down and normal life is being restored but the rural areas are still disturbed.

The civil police has arrested some Musalmans in Patna and also elsewhere, and though protests have been made that these Musalmans are innocent and had nothing to do with the movement, yet the police, which is 99 per cent Hindu, did not pay any heed. There is a move by the police, apparently for this reason, that it wants to show that Musalmans also took part in the movement and thus brand the Muslim League. There were one or two cases where one or two Musalmans foolishly participated in the movement as Congressmen but the way in which some other Musalmans have been arrested is

lamentable. Even the Government knows all this but still depends a great deal upon Hindu officers and Hindu police.

The chief difficulty for the Musalmans is to get grain. The grain business is entirely in the hands of the Hindus. The price of grain has gone to such an height that people have now begun to feel the pangs of starvation in most cases. Moreover, a great number of grain-dealers refuse to sell grain in modest quantities, saying bluntly that they cannot sell for more than a rupee or so. Some commodities are not available.

The most important thing to which I want to draw your attention is the imposition of collective fine in Patna Town and other areas in the Province. The Government of Bihar knows full well that the Musalmans had no hand in the lawlessness and the hooliganism and kept aloof from the Congress Movement. This sure knowledge by the Government should have been a guarantee for the Musalmans as they were expected to have been exempted from such a fine but the Bihar Government has not made any such declaration as yet and is keeping quiet. We are going to move[5] the local Government to this effect but I would earnestly request you that you also take up this matter,[6] and we shall feel assured.

I shall forward to you a detailed report when it is available to us from all the places.

With best regards,

Obediently yours,
SYED BADRUDDIN AHMAD
Secretary, Bihar Provincial Muslim League

[1]No. 217.
[2]See No. 577, *TP*, II, 740-1, para 2.
[3]Also see No. 612, ibid., 787-91.
[4]No. 205.
[5]See No. 254.
[6]See No. 266.

254

S. M. Ismail to R. E. Russell[1]
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Bihar I/14

ISMAIL MANZIL, PATNA CITY,
31 August 1942

Dear Mr. Russell,

In all earnestness and in absolute sincerity, I have the honour to draw the kind and the most sympathetic attention of the Government of Bihar and request them to take a humane and compassionate view while imposing the collective fines, they have notified to be imposed in Bihar areas where damages have been done by destructive and ruthlessly lawless forces wantonly outraged and perpetuated [*sic* for perpetrated] by Hindu mob violence, organised and instigated by the Congress Movement and encouraged by their leaders who are inside the prison or are still at large.

For the commission of offences by law-breakers, the society and the citizens are apprehensive that by the imposition of collective fines the entire population of the affected areas is going to be penalised and fined. Reading the ordinance and its provisions one finds relief that the Government in its wisdom has been pleased to reserve the power to make exemptions and exceptions. It reads as follows:

> The Provincial Government may exempt any person or class or section of such inhabitants from liability to pay any portion of such fine.

This is indeed as it should be. The ordinance has been published and explained but yesterday, the 30th August, a report has been published in the *Indian Nation* that a collective fine of rupees two lakh is going to be imposed on the Town of Patna alone. This news has caused sufficient distress and alarm in the Muslim population, not only in the Patna Town but all over Bihar, both in the rural and the urban areas. Facts cannot be denied, and it is incontrovertible that the Muslims as a class and as a community have scrupulously not only kept aloof from these rebellious movements but [also] have actually condemned all such lawless activities. They are, therefore, in no way responsible for the damages done to public properties and for any act of lawlessness.

From the very commencement of this rebellious movement I have assured the Government, and when I met His Excellency on the 9th

August 1942, I gave him a definite assurance that the Muslim League policy is not only to keep aloof but also discourage all illegal and rebellious activities of the Congress and the Hindus. I am convinced that Muslims as a class are in no way responsible for this subversive and coercive movement. They are, therefore, fully justified in making a rightful claim on the Government that they as a class and as a community should receive bare justice at the hands of the Government by getting necessary exemption from the operation of the punitive fines described under the ordinance as collective fines.

I hope by now the Government has already perused the proceedings[2] of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, held at Bombay, and further that they have also read several helpful statements made by Mr. Jinnah recently, more particularly a most encouraging statement, which he made to a representative of the daily *Herald*, London, and which is published in his own organ, the *Dawn*, dated the 24th August 1942.[3] What further evidence and proof could there be necessary to convince the Government than that the poor Muslims are in no way connected with this rebellious movement. They have condemned, discouraged and kept aloof. Under the circumstances, is it not fair and just that they should be completely exempted from the operation of the collective fines? It is high time that the Government of Bihar should make an early announcement and realize to differentiate between a friend and an enemy of humanity. I am further encouraged in making my appeal in finding in the news today, that H. E. the Governor [William Lewis] of Orissa has been pleased to exempt the Muslims from the operation of the collective fines. The case in Bihar deserves most sympathetic consideration. It was for these reasons that I had written to you a letter[4] and posted it on the 25th August 1942; not having received any reply, I have sent another letter today.[5] It was and is necessary that those who are friends should be given an opportunity by mutual contact. I hope I may be given an opportunity to fully explain, and I hope further that my overtures of co-operation shall be strengthened and appreciated by giving me an opportunity to satisfy and remove the panic in my community. Whatever may be your police report, I assert that my Muslim community position is unassailable. The Government[6] shall be best advised in gaining [*sic* for to gain] their sympathies. I have no desire to be unnecessarily vindictive on others. What I do desire is that full justice should be done, and an early order of

exemption published to remove suspense and suspicion.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ISMAIL
President,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

[1]Advisor to the Governor of Bihar.
[2]See No. 238.
[3]No. 220.
[4&5]Not traced.
[6]See Nos. 699 & 705, *TP*, II, 908-9 & 916 for Government reaction.

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M. A. Jinnah to Firoz Khan Noon

F. 399/60-1

31 August 1942

My dear Firoz,

I am in receipt of your letter of 26th [25th] of August 1942,[1] and I also received a copy of your speech[2] which you recently delivered at Aligarh, and I must say that it came upon me as a surprise. I think that individual views such as yours when broadcast in the manner it was done, without reference to the League for its examination, are very harmful to the Muslim League. The question of constitutional problem and its solution should be left to the Muslim League which alone can authoritatively deal with it. Of course, I have told you before that any suggestion or proposal that any Musalman wishes to make for the consideration and guidance of the All India Muslim League, should be done privately and I am sure that any such suggestion or proposal will receive very careful consideration of the Muslim League.[3]

You must have read the resolution[4] of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and I, therefore, cannot discuss the various suggestions of yours which are purely hypothetical and some of them are even difficult to follow. According to the resolution of the All India Muslim League we have declared that we are willing to consider any proposal coming from any party, and the Government is one of the most important parties, and so any proposal or suggestion they wish to make, therefore, should really come authoritatively from the Government.

From your letter I have gathered that you have not appreciated and considered the fundamental principles underlying the policy

and programme of the Muslim League. I, therefore, request you to read our last resolution carefully in the light of the previous resolutions since March 1940. I hope you will not misunderstand me in anyway, and I once more impress upon you that you must leave the constitutional problem and the question of any solution and settlement to the Muslim League and should not commit yourself in anyway individually.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Firoz Khan Noon,[5]
20 Akbar Road,
New Delhi

[1]No. 245.
[2]Annex.
[3]See No. 165, note 1.
[4]No. 238.
[5]Acknowledged on 5 September 1942. See F. 399/62, *QAP*. Not printed.

Annex
Speech by Firoz Khan Noon

F. 399/79-91
[*Extract*]

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
24 August 1942

POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

It is not surprising that the Indian people give prominence in their thoughts to the constitutional progress of their motherland.

Today I want to be frank with you and take you behind the official screen to let you see the problem as I see it; and finally perhaps you will permit me to place before you one or two suggestions regarding the solution of our political deadlock.

[*Five paras omitted*]

The Congress broke down the negotiations [with Sir Stafford Cripps] and among other reasons it was said that the Congress leaders wanted an assurance from His Majesty's Government that if the former were to take office, their decisions in the Executive Council would be accepted like the decisions of a responsible ministry and it is said

that it is one of the reasons on which the negotiations broke down. They wanted to remove the power of veto vested in the Crown and the Viceroy....

The Congress having refused to take office, some suggested that leaders of other political parties, e.g., the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Sikhs and the Depressed Classes should be called upon to take office, but even this on fuller examination was found to be unworkable particularly when we consider that such a scheme would not have had the support of the majority—the Congress Party.

It has been suggested that now that the Congress have agreed to allow the Muslim League to take office, why don't the British Government accept that proposition? Well, Mr. Jinnah has answered that in the papers in a full statement.[1] The Congress offer is: "Hand over Government to Jinnah and let him win over the cooperation of other Indian political parties including the Congress. ..."

Let us suppose for a moment that the Government of India were handed over to the Muslim League today. Could the Muslim League accept office and responsibility for the running of this Government unless Mr. Jinnah were given a majority of seats on the Executive Council, i.e., at least 8 out of 15? If he were given this majority would that appease the Congress Party and would the Congress leaders come out of jail and cooperate? The Congress will go on shifting ground, objecting and non-cooperating until the Government is eventually handed over to their party. The object of the Congress Party leaders is not that the Government should pass into Indian hands, for it is practically in Indian hands already, but their aim is that by hook or by crook, the Government should pass into their hands and this without their troubling to come to an understanding with the Muslim minority.

Let us for a moment consider what objection there can be to the Congress Party being allowed to take over this Government on their own terms. First of all, the Muslims of India will object and if the Congress Party succeeded in coercing His Majesty's Government through the lawlessness to which they have resorted, that would be an excellent example for the Muslims and other minorities to follow. And if this country is to move from one lawlessness and civil commotion into another, what is to happen to the law-abiding citizens, to the economic life of this country?

[*One para omitted*]

The followers of the Congress Party had worked out plans carefully when you realize that everywhere the Congress followers have done

exactly the same thing. They have attacked railways and other communications, railway stations and post offices, destroyed post boxes and municipal buildings and lamps. They have murdered Government servants. They poured oil over two policemen and set fire to them in Wardha District, within a few miles of Mr. Gandhi's *ashram*. No Government can allow this incendiarism and killing of human beings, and if the forces of law and order come into clash with rioters, the loss of mob life, if any, is entirely on the heads of those who let loose this demon of civil war. The whole policy is senseless.... No one can believe that Mahatma Gandhi has no influence over the mobs. We only hope that what the mobs do has his sanction.

One might easily say to Congressmen: Have you for a moment stopped to think if by the methods you are using now, by rioting and hooliganism, you will achieve your purpose? Do you really believe that by attacking and molesting innocent people, by looting their property, by the destruction of public commodities and by the burning of buildings you can justify your claims to Home Rule? I am certain that this is not the way. We want freedom, but with honour and in peace. No party that has its following an irresponsible mob can ask for any sympathy or respect. By these base and wicked actions the Congress followers have put India in the wrong, and given the world a chance to frown at you, to dislike you and to despise you.

[*Two paras omitted*]

I should like British India to be divided into five dominions:

(1) Bengal and Assam,
(2) C.P., U.P. and Bihar,
(3) Madras (Dravidian),
(4) Bombay (Maharatta) and
(5) Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind and North West Frontier.

These five dominions could be completely independent like New Zealand with her million and a half men and Australia and South Africa with their seven or eight million men each. But there are certain matters for which a central authority and a united effort on the part of all dominions is essential. These are, in my opinion, defence, customs, foreign relations and currency. For the administration of these four subjects only I would recommend the creation of a central authority which will consist of delegates nominated by the five dominion Governments, delegates who will hold office so long as the appointing authority held office in their respective dominions, but with this great reservation that if at any time any dominion were dissatisfied with the working of the central authority that dominion

shall have the power to secede, but that there shall also be a provision for such a seceding dominion to come back to the centre when the point of difference were removed. If you tell a state that once you come into federation you will never be able to get out of it, the authorities of that state will do their utmost to keep out of the federation, but if you give this freedom of secession, you may induce them to come in and have a trial.

[*One para omitted*]

I am glad to notice that even the Congress have now agreed to the Provinces having residuary powers. Even though meaningless, it is a good gesture. It is meaningless in the sense that the present lists of provincial and central subjects are so exhaustive under the Government of India that no cases of residuary powers are likely to arise. However, it is a concession of a principle in the right direction and as such should be welcomed as a happy gesture. It certainly shows a spirit of compromise and raises the hopes of all those who believe in peace.

I have no doubt that there are hundreds of other people who have similar schemes for the solution of our political ills, but this is no time for the consideration of these schemes. We have to win this war first and make sure that the freedom of India will be worth at least the paper it will be written on.

One thing is clear that during the continuation of this war no constitutional scheme whatsoever its merits can be made to work at the point of the bayonet. In India there has to be a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League, or else, there can never be freedom or peace in this country.

[1]See No. 203.

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/219-22

GUL-I-RA'ANA,
HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
31 August 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter,[1] received today. I am herewith enclosing a copy of the letter which Pothan Joseph has

written to Hassan Ispahani[2] in reply to his[3] which he had sent to him from Bombay. This was sent to me by Pothan Joseph. Hassan is still in Delhi. I got hold of him this afternoon and discussed the matter with him. I think Pothan Joseph is trying to get more pay from us as I had suspected. Hassan hopes to return to Calcutta by the 5th of September. In the meantime, I have today sent a letter to Joseph, a copy of which I am enclosing for your information. I had sent the formal offer to Joseph on the 24th instant to which I have not had a reply yet. Of course, sufficient time has not elapsed yet for a reply from him since I made the offer as it takes about four days for a letter to reach Calcutta from here. I have put in an advertisement in the *Statesman* for staff for the *Dawn,* and I am determined that even if I can get some second-rate man to take charge of the paper and if Joseph tries to be funny I shall take the plunge, of course, with your permission and approval. We must start the daily, come what may. As a matter of fact the arrangements have gone now so far that we cannot withdraw. We must go ahead. I never believe that any man in this world is indispensable. If we cannot get Joseph we must do the best we can. But an English daily must be started from Delhi. People are anxiously looking forward to it and I shall never accept defeat. This is just the time for a daily from every point of view.

I wrote to the General Manager of the Reuters on my return here asking him if any reduction in the rates of subscription can be made, say for the first year. Srikrishna told me that the *Hindustan Times* were paying the same rates as were quoted by Mr. Jones. However, let us see what he says in reply to my letter.

When are you coming to Delhi? Why not come early if you have nothing important to do in Bombay? I went to Aligarh yesterday and addressed[4] a meeting of the Union. The boys are in full agreement with our last resolution[5] and they are alright. They are very keen to have a visit from you.

We shall go over to your house and have a look [a]round. [Raja of] Mahmudabad is still here and is staying at your house. He has his lunch with us. With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from children,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]Not traced.
[2]See No. 247.
[3]See F. 773/244-5, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]See Annex.
[5]No. 238.

Annex
Speech by Liaquat Ali Khan[1]
F. 809/554-5

ALIGARH,
30 August 1942

"A Muslim would rather die fighting for his cause than commit suicide." So declared Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League, summing up the present political situation in the country, at a meeting of the Muslim University Union at Aligarh.

The Nawabzada said:

"It is not only the Muslims but the whole of India who are faced with a most critical situation. There is the danger of an attack by an enemy inside who was already struck. Both enemies are inspired by the same passion of greed and grab. Before discussing the present situation, let me give you a little past history. The past, present and future are so closely inter-connected that it is difficult to study them separately. You know when the war broke out in Europe in 1939, the Congress was in power in seven or eight provinces. The steamroller of Congress tyranny was moving faster and faster to crush the newly-awakened spirit of the Musalmans. The Governors who in taking the oath of office had pledged themselves to protect the interests of the minorities were lavishing praises on the Congress ministries. In November 1939 the Viceroy invited Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah to meet him jointly. He presented to them a proposal[2] that if the Muslim League and the Congress could reach some agreement within the provincial field their representatives would be invited to participate in the Central Government. I can tell you from personal knowledge that Mr. Jinnah spent hours in trying to persuade Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to come to a settlement, but they were adamant in refusing even to consider the proposals for an understanding unless their demands were conceded beforehand. I am telling you these facts because we have no press of our own and our case is always misrepresented in the Hindu press.

MUSLIM DAILY

But I have some good news for you. We hope to start next month an English daily of our own. You can justly take pride in it because you contributed a generous sum to our press fund. I was saying that in spite of Mr. Jinnah's best efforts Congress leaders would not even look at any proposal for a settlement with the Muslim League. On the contrary, they said that settlement with Muslims was a subsidiary

matter. The Congress demand[3] was for a declaration of independence and the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected, on the basis of adult franchise to frame the constitution of India, which in reality meant the domination of the Hindus over the Musalmans and others. They were prepared to negotiate a settlement with the British Government for the interim period, but not with the Musalmans. With a foreign power they were prepared to enter into a settlement but with those whom they called their brethren they were not prepared to have any settlement.

When this declaration was not forthcoming the Congress Ministries were ordered by their High Command[4] to vacate their offices. I may tell you that though they obeyed the mandate many a heart was broken and many Congress leaders were quite confident that they would soon be returning to office because the British Government dared not court a fight with them. But the situation was now different. Even if the British Government had been willing to transfer power into the hands of the Congress, hundred millions of Musalmans would have made it impossible for any such Government to function. The Congress did nothing whatever to prepare the country for defence or to bring about harmony among the different peoples of India. This attempt to cajole the British Government into conceding their demands failed. Their next step was to start symbolic Civil Disobedience to force the hands of the British Government. But all the time they kept on repeating *ad nauseum* that their object was not to embarrass the British Government in any way. Why this profession of non-embarrassment? Because upto that time they did not want to displease or antagonise the British Government.[5] They were trying different methods to make the British enter into an unholy alliance with the Congress. But this movement did not cut much ice and this method of coercion too failed. At the meeting of the Congress Working Committee Mr. Gandhi after having led the movement for nearly two years and having made hundreds of people undergo suffering declared that he had not understood the resolution[6] authorising him to launch the movement. As a matter of fact, he was present and had even made a speech explaining the implications of the resolution when it was passed. In any other country a leader would have had to pay dearly for such blunders but in India Mr. Gandhi can still retain his leadership and count on the ignorance and superstition of the masses of his community.

PAKISTAN

In the meantime, Muslims had also made some progress. In 1940, after giving their most careful consideration they adopted Pakistan

as their goal,[7] and reached the conclusion that Pakistan was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. This was the only way by which India could attain independence and remain peaceful. Since then the idea of Pakistan has spread like wild fire.

Even villagers who do not understand politics know what Pakistan means. It means that Muslims must have the right to rule where they are in a majority. The Musalmans must have their homelands and freedom to develope themselves in accordance with their own ideals and their own culture.

The Congress passed another resolution demanding a national government[8] responsible to a legislature which consists of 70 per cent Hindus and 30 per cent others. All this was done in the name of freedom of India. Their aim all the time was to wrest power for themselves in order to dominate and annihilate others.

In 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with certain proposals[9] from the British Cabinet. The Congress press was very jubilant at the event. Some Muslims felt very anxious because the proposals were brought by a person who was known to be a friend of the Congress and who had once made a statement which was very damaging to the Muslim League. But even a hundred Cripps could not make us nervous because we were sure of our inherent strength and the justice of our cause. No power can coerce us into subjection. The Cripps' proposals contained the declaration of India's independence and the right of framing the future constitution through a Constituent Assembly. There was also a clause permitting any province or provinces which refused to accede to the Indian Union to stand by themselves and form a separate Union. The Cripps' proposals conceded the Congress demands in toto. Why then did the Congress reject the proposals? They rejected them because there was a remote possibility of the realisation of Pakistan. If today the British were unwise enough to make a declaration leaving Pakistan in the air, the Congress would accept even lesser concessions. When the negotiations between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Congress leaders broke down they started calling each other liars. However when the proposals were with-drawn the Congress came out with another slogan of 'Quit India'. The Congress leaders are past masters in the art of inventing slogans. Sometimes it is independence, sometimes national Government. The sheet anchor of the Congress policy, namely, there could be no *Swaraj* without communal unity, was now abandoned. The position was reversed. They now began to say that there could be no communal unity unless the British left India. But let me tell you that there can be no freedom and peace in this country unless the two major nations,

the Hindus and the Muslims, get equal opportunities of ruling in this land. The responsibility for the slavery of India lies on those who want to usurp what does not belong to them and whose policy is to establish Hindu domination over the whole country. The Muslim League has always made it clear that it stands for the fullest independence which should include the independence of Muslims. If the object of the Congress is independence then why object to Muslims being independent in certain areas. But their real object is to establish their own domination. Their latest resolution contains the demand of 'Quit India'. When it was passed there came an explanation from one leader that 'Quit India' did not mean physical withdrawal of the Britishers from India. Another explanation was that it did not mean the withdrawal of British and Allied troops from India. A third explanation was that there was no objection to the Allies utilising the resources of India to fight the aggressor. Does this mean independence? Can any country be free without control over the army? As a matter of fact they want nothing but the transference of civil power from British hands to the Congress. In their desperation they have resorted to acts of incendiarism and sabotage, such as burning the railway stations and post offices, cutting telephone wires and damaging railway trains and so on. Can this chaos bring independence? Whom are they harming by these acts? Certainly not the British. They are quite safe and stand to lose nothing. It is the Indian public which is being made to suffer. They are only destroying themselves by these wanton acts of destruction. If they think they can by these methods win power and coerce the British Government to let down the Musalmans they are sadly mistaken. Muslims can do worse if necessary. Freedom can only come if Hindus and Muslims are united and present a united demand a demand based on justice and fair play for all.

DISAPPOINTMENT

I read in the press certain comments that the Muslim League had failed to give a correct lead to India at this critical moment. What lead did our Hindu friends want from us? They perhaps wanted the Muslim League to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. We are willing to help them provided there is a change in their mentality and outlook. I am sure I am voicing the feelings of Muslims all over India when I say that we will not agree to anything which does not ensure the establishment of Muslim sovereign States in areas of Muslim majority. We have said clearly that we are prepared to negotiate with any once to set up a provisional Government if the right of self-determination for Muslims is recognised. The Congress leaders have

been saying that they have no objection if the Government of the whole country is handed over to the Muslim League. If they are honest in making the proposal why should they object to Muslims being given power only in certain areas of the country?

ONLY CONDITION

The Muslim League has gone to the farthest limit in search of a settlement. The only condition is the recognition of the right of Muslims to establish independent states in regions of their majority if they choose to do so. Once this condition is accepted we can join together in demanding any amount of power from the British Government. The Congress leaders pretend that they do not understand Pakistan, though they know very well what it means. However, the definition of Pakistan as given by the Muslim League in its latest resolution leaves no room for doubt. It is the right of self determination for the Muslims to establish their own States in their own homelands. The constitution of these states will be framed by the people of those areas, just as it will be right of the people in other parts to frame their own constitution. Could there be anything fairer than that?

You might have read in the papers that the Congress leaders were anxious for a settlement and letters were exchanged between one Dr. S. A. Latif and the Congress President[10] and between Mr. Gandhi and a Bombay citizen. If they really wanted a settlement what prevented them from writing direct to the Muslim League itself? They have practised the art deceiving and the technique of confusing through their control of the press. They can never have a settlement on their own terms. Settlement is possible only on the basis of justice and fair play. As I said the Muslim League has gone to the utmost limit to find a solution in the interests not only of Muslims but also of Hindus. The Muslim League has stated that it stands for the complete independence of all India. We are prepared to join any party in demanding independence. We believe and many others have begun to believe that freedom is possible only on the basis of separate independent States for both Hindus and Muslims. India is a land of many nationalities and no simple democratic majority rule is possible here. I ask you if there is anyone in this Hall who wants the Muslim League to come to a settlement by giving up Pakistan? Well then the Muslim League cannot commit political *hara-kiri*. A Muslim would

rather die fighting for his cause than commit suicide.

[1]The *Dawn*, 13 September 1942.
[2]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. K. Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad & M. A. Jinnah, 2 November 1939. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 407-9.
[3]Congress Working Committee Resolutions on War Crisis & Political Situation, 8-15 September 1939. See A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. 12, 193-8.
[4]Parliamentary Sub-Committee Instructions to Ministries and Legislative Parties, ibid., 203-4.
[5]See Annex to No. 158.
[6]See Annex to No. 205.
[7]No. 156, *JP*, XV, Resolution No. 1, 229-30.
[8]Minutes of Congress Working Committee Meeting, 3-7 July 1940. A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, op.cit., Vol. 12, 429.
[9]Appendix II. 1, *JP*, I, Part II, 21-2.
[10]Not traced, but see No. 203, note 6.

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Saieduddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc. I/38

KOTHI BENGALI,
ALIGARH,
1 September 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sure you have seen the full text of Sir Firoz Khan Noon's speech[1] at the Muslim University Union, as fully reported in the *Dawn* and other leading papers. As regards his scheme of splitting India into five dominions is concerned [*sic*], I think it agrees perfectly well with the Pakistan concept. What we want is that our homelands, where we are in a majority, i.e. the eastern and the north-western zones of India, should be completely autonomous, independent and sovereign states. We should have no objection if Hindustan is further sub-divided into Dravidstan and Maharashtra. So far as the question of a central body is concerned, I think that it is our own sweet will whether we should join this body. If any good can accrue from it, I shall say let us join it, but if we don't find it a feasible proposition, we may give it up. I think that Sir Firoz Khan's scheme is very sound indeed.

I think of it all personally. I shall wait to have your opinion[2] on it also so that when I propagate my views, they may not, in the least, be different from what you hold. It is needless for me to assure you that if anyone can change my views, it is you and you alone.

Hoping you are enjoying very good health,

Yours sincerely,
SAIEDUDDIN AHMAD

[1]Annex to No. 255.

[2]In his reply Jinnah drew attention to an article in the *Eastern Times* of 3 September 1942, and stated that, in his considered opinion, it would be fatal to the Lahore Resolution to talk of any Centre at all. See *SHC*, Misc. I/39. Not printed.

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Kh. Bashir Bux to Sikander Hyat Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F.27/75

PERSONAL

AUSTRALIA BUILDINGS,
MCLEOD ROAD, LAHORE,
2 September 1942

Dear Sardar Sahib,

The Musalmans of the Punjab in particular are shedding their blood and contributing whatever little they have, more freely than the other communities, to war fund for the success of the British.

This they are doing definitely for some object and that is perhaps for some material reward.

On the other hand, the Hindus and Gandhi are also doing something for the British, which I need not discuss.

And yet I find that the Hindus alone are making money in this war.

You will perhaps say, whose fault? I have a feeling that the British are going to fall at the feet of the Congress, and as usual the position of the Musalmans would be the same as it was. If the British present in Lahore convey us such feelings, how long do you think we are going to believe in what you say?

I hope you as our chief man will take a note of it.

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR BUX

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Ismail Ahmed Essack to M. A. Jinnah

F. 952/3

152 A QUEEN STREET,
DURBAN, NATAL,
3 September 1942

Dear Sir,

Please find herewith a copy of money-order sent to you today for Pounds four (Rs. 53).

Kindly pay to the Manager of the *Dawn* two years' subscription, viz. Rs. 28. The balance of Rs. 25 [may] please be retained for the All India Muslim League Fund.

I understand that the *Dawn* is in English. Also find enclosed two British postal orders for Rs. 15 and Re. 1 as two years' subscription for *Watan* in Gujarati.

Kindly inform the Managers of the respective newspapers to dispatch the papers to the address as mentioned above.

Furthermore, dear Quaid-i-Azam, we, the Muslims in this country, follow with great interest your Pakistan Movement in India. We wish you every success in your movement, and may the Almighty grant you long life to see Pakistan achieved in your lifetime. This is our humble prayer.

Collections are being made in this country for the League Fund.

Kindest regards,

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

I. A. ESSACK

General merchant and importer

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Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/42

HYDERABAD,
DECCAN,
3 September 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

While at Bombay, I had introduced to you Dr. Abdul Hamid Qazi who was until recently a staunch Congressite and had subsequently joined the League. I know him since long as a very sincere and honest person. His connection with the Congress was based on his own wrong convictions, unlike certain others who are there for personal gains or with treacherous intentions. Dr. Abdul Hamid Qazi has done his Doctorate in Philosophy at the Berlin University, studied law for two years at London, and is an accredited writer in Urdu and English. He has been awarded a prize of 300 dollars for an essay, in an all-world competition, by the New Historic Society of America. He is an expert in Islamic literature and at the All-World Congress of

Faiths in London, his speeches on Islamic culture and philosophy were highly appreciated.

I am very happy to learn that you intend to convert the *Manshoor* into a daily paper. I am sure that Dr. Abdul Hamid Qazi would prove to be a very suitable editor for it; and thus we could also keep engaged a useful person in a good cause so that his attraction for the League may develop into a strong faith.

Hoping that you are very well, and with *salaam* to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

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Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/33-4

AMBALA CITY,
3 September 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The next session of the [Indian] Legislative Assembly starts on the 14th instant and the main item of business appears to be a debate on the present political situation in India. Needless to say, your presence at Delhi is indispensable not only during the debate in the House but a few days before the session starts. One can never know what our people may say in the course of such a debate, especially when one finds men like Mr. Mohammad Hossain of the Council of State playing to the gallery in his recent press statement[1] on the resolution[2] of the Working Committee. The Secretary of our party has issued a notice for a party meeting on the 13th September, but I think we may informally meet even earlier and settle the line to be followed.

I shall feel obliged if you will kindly tell me when you propose to reach Delhi.[3]

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG

[1]Not traced.
[2]No. 238.
[3]Jinnah replied that he hoped to reach Delhi a couple of days before the Assembly session was due to commence. See F.67/32, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/38-9

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
3 September 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a cheque for Rs. 25, representing further collection from members of the staff.

Recently, we have had good demonstrations in favour of the League on two occasions. Sir Firoz Khan Noon made a good speech[1] and his remarks that he followed the same policy inside the Cabinet as Mr. Jinnah did outside were particularly welcomed by the students. On the 30th Aug[ust], we had a visit from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan who gave a very lucid exposition[2] of the implications of the League decision. We are arranging to get the speech published, and I will send you copies when it is published.

I learn from the papers that you are coming to Delhi shortly. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know the probable date of your arrival in Delhi.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

PS. The news that the *Dawn* is about to become a daily is very heartening. I can assure you that it will have a very wide circulation in Aligarh.

[1]Annex to No. 255.
[2]Annex to No. 256.

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M. A. Jinnah to S. N. A. Jafri

SHC, P & P III/55

4 September 1942

Dear Mr. Jafri,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th of August 1942.[1] I regret I was not able to reply to it earlier as I was pressed with other work.

I see no reason why you should not make an effort to start an All-India Muslim Journalists' Association. There is a lot of talent amongst the Musalmans and the only thing they require is opportunity, training and experience. This they can only have when Muslim newspapers are started and established all over India. It is by trying their hand that the real talent will come up. I am glad to note that efforts are being made in this direction of starting more newspapers, particularly in English language all over India. I may inform you that we have been trying to turn the weekly *Dawn* into an English daily at Delhi and I hope that we shall be able to achieve this object very soon. Similar efforts are being made in other provinces and the reading public is growing in number and now anxious to follow what is happening in the Muslim world.

Apart from all this, the Muslim journalists as a body have to look after their own interests in the journalistic world and hold their own in the great competition that is facing them, and this can only be achieved by their getting together in an organized manner, otherwise it is very difficult for them in these days to fight the battle individually.

I have given my opinion to you and it is now for you to consider how best you should organize the Muslim journalists. But my opinion and advice do not mean that I can identify myself with the move, as you yourself suggest in your letter that that is not required of me.

I sincerely wish your move all success.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. S. N. A. Jafri,
Bar-at-Law,
Allahabad

[1]No. 252.

264

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/12

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
4 Spetember 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am to enclose herewith[1] a representation which I have made to the Government of Bihar on behalf of Bihar Muslims for your information.

I may add that yesterday at a private interview with H.E. [Governor Thomas Stewart] in the presence of his Advisor in charge of Political Department [R. E. Russel] and his Chief Secretary [Yashwant Godbole], I very fully discussed the position and the attitude of Bihar Muslims and pressed their claim for exemption from collective fines on the ground of justice and equity. I have also met many of the Government objections and tried to convince them that they will be losing the sympathies of those who are friends and innocent if they were not to exempt those who not only kept aloof but have disapproved of all lawless and rebellious activities of those who were encouraged by Congress resolve to launch what is called a big move. Although the Governor is sympathetic, yet as a matter of policy, he says he will refer the matter to the Government of India before he could give me any definite reply or make any decision. It is high time, may I suggest, that you should move in the matter and ask the Government of India to exempt Muslims as a class and as a community from the operation of collective fines.[2]

This Ordinance is made by the Government of India Civil Defence Department. I feel that as a matter of policy the Local Governments shall only act on the decision of the Central Government or any instructions which they may receive from them. I shall do what I can to secure the necessary relief but much depends on your intervention with the Central authorities. The Muslims will be ruined if collective fines are imposed and realized. Bihar has suffered the most considerable damages, difficult to repair. The railway communication on the main line between Moghal Sarai and Asansol is yet unrestored, unspeakable miseries [have been] caused, [and] over and above we

are suffering from acute economic depression and floods.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL

[1]See *SHC*, Bihar I/13. Not printed.
[2]See No. 266.

265

Mohammad Khalilur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 27/93

3 WELLESLY, FIRST LANE,
CALCUTTA,
5 September 1942

Esteemed Quaid-i-Azam,

We are holding our annual conference on the 12th and 13th of this month. We would have been much encouraged if we could get you in our midst at this critical moment of our national life. But we do not expect that you will be able to come on these days of insecure communications.

However, a message[1] from you will increase our determination to face the menace which hangs over the Eastern Pakistan.

With greetings,

Yours truly,
M. KHALILUR RAHMAN
General Secretary,
Calcutta Muslim Students Association

[1]See No. 270.

266

Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 809/554

[BOMBAY]
6 September 1942

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me and to those who are

working for the great Muslim organization that Musalmans have shown such remarkable discipline, solidarity and unity in complying with and carrying out my advice which was later confirmed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League on August 20 by completely keeping themselves as a body aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress, says Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement to the press.

I am thankful to all those who have helped us in giving effect to our resolution, and particularly the Muslim League organization all over the country. I once more wish to ask Muslims to carry out the Muslim League's instructions and pursue their normal life peacefully and completely dissociate themselves from the Congress move for the reasons I have already given and which are more concisely and fully embodied in the resolution of the Working Committee of the League passed on August 20, 1942.[2]

"I also see from press reports and information given to me from private sources that the Government of various provinces are imposing collective fines in certain districts and areas. I wish to bring to the notice of the Governors of the provinces and to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General that there is serious apprehension felt on the part of Musalmans that if these fines are based on a territorial principle innocent Muslims will also suffer although they have kept completely aloof. The Provincial and Central Governments must make it clear that Muslims will be excluded from any such collective fines that may have been imposed or may hereafter be imposed on such districts and areas. It is absolutely necessary that an early announcement should be made in order to remove any misunderstanding that may be exploited and further to allay fear and apprehension of the Musalmans.

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]The *Dawn*, 13 September 1942.
[2]No. 238.

267

Firoz Khan Noon to M.A. Jinnah

F. 399/63-4

NEW DELHI,
7 September 1942

My dear Jinnah,

I was very pleased to see in the paper this morning that you have appealed[1] for the exemption of Muslims from collective fines. I have already had a talk with the Home Member [Reginald Maxwell] this morning, and he informs me that he has already written to the various Provincial Governments asking for their views on the subject. There is also a resolution coming up before the Assembly on this subject. However, I have in the following words supported your demand with the Home Member. I have also asked Sir Sultan [Ahmed, Law Member] to support it too as most of the people, who will be concerned, will be Muslims in his Province of Bihar:

> I am strongly in favour of this suggestion of the President, All India Muslim League. It is a positive wrong to make the Muslims pay these collective fines when the Muslims throughout India, as a nation, have remained peaceful under published resolutions of the Muslim League. If these fines are realized, not only will the Muslims bear Hindu taunts but will be made to feel that the British authorities have paid them well for not joining the open rebellion.

With kind regards,

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

[1]See No. 266.

268

M. A. Valiulla to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/2

KHAS BAZAR,
AHMEDABAD,
7 September 1942

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution passed at the meeting of the Municipal Muslim League Party, Ahmedabad, on 6th September 1942, under the presidentship of K. B. Sir M. I. Kadri, O.B.E.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M.A. VALLIULLA
Honorary Secretary,
Ahmedabad Municipal Muslim League Party

Enclosure

SHC, Bombay I/3

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Municipal Muslim League Party, Ahmedabad, views with resentment and displeasure the action of the Local Government in depriving the Muslim rate-payers of Ahmedabad of their constitutional right of representation in the Ahmedabad Municipality by its supersession, and emphatically protests against the treatment meted out to the Muslim Councillors of this Municipality who have been placed on the same footing as members of the Municipal Congress Party. The Government knows that following the dictates of the All India Muslim League, the local Muslim Councillors have not only remained aloof from the Congress movement but have vehemently opposed all the unlawful activities of the Municipal Congress Party which have been instrumental in bringing about its supersession.

It is the confirmed opinion of this Party that, before passing orders superseding the Municipality, it was the duty of the Government to have taken this Party into confidence and made arrangements for safeguarding the interests of Muslim rate-payers in accordance with

the wishes of their duly elected representatives.

It is a known fact that the Municipal staff is composed mostly of Hindus with strong leanings towards the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, and there being now no representation left of Muslims in the Municipality, and the Administrator not being thoroughly conversant with Municipal affairs and the internal civic politics, the result of the Government action is that the Municipal administration has been practically handed over to the Hindu staff of the Municipality at the sacrifice of the interests of the Muslims.

It is, therefore, strongly urged that the Government, in consultation with the Municipal Muslim League Party, should immediately make such arrangements as would remove the injustice done to the Muslim Councillors and safeguard the interests of the Muslim rate-payers.

This meeting further urges upon the Government that, if they ever think of appointing any Muslim or Muslims to any committee or committees for the administration of the affairs of this Municipality, they should not do so without consulting, and behind the back of the Municipal Muslim League Party, Ahmedabad, which is the duly elected representative body of the Muslim rate-payers of Ahmedabad.

269

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/15

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
8 September 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my d.o. [letter] and enclosure dated the 4th instant,[1] I am sending you again for your information and advice another letter,[2] which I have addressed to local Government for redress of our most legitimate grievances, and to get necessary relief for poor Muslims, who are unjustly implicated and involved to pay collective fines in some areas of Bihar. I have tried to convince and prove that Muslims as a class kept aloof [from], and as a community condemned, all rebellious and subversive activities of the Congress and others, who were doing these acts of lawlessness as encouraged by the Congress. As yet the local Government have not sent me any reply, nor have they as yet, like the Governments of Bombay and Orissa, excluded Muslims of some areas from the operation of

penal measures. I am not aware what the U. P. Government have done. I very much appreciate your very helpful statement issued on the 6th;[3] it will pave the way and produce the desired effect. I have referred to your statements and to your Working Committee's resolution,[4] and proved that there can be nothing more straight-forward and fair than what you have done, and that ought to make the Government believe that we were not in it; therefore, it is most desirable that Government should, once for all, remove all doubts and suspicions by showing a generous gesture by excluding Bihar Muslims as a class from the harassment and operation of these penal measures. They have issued notifications imposing fines in different areas but have not yet taken steps to exclude Muslims as provided under section 3 (2) of Ordinance XX of 1942. They are still hesitating and I cannot explain why. However, let us hope for the best.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL

[1]No. 264.
[2]*SHC*, Bihar I/16. Not printed.
[3]No. 266.
[4]No. 238.

270

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Khalilur Rahman

F. 27/92

9 September 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th of September.[1] You want a message from me on the occasion of your Annual Conference to be held on the 12th and 13th inst[ant].

My message to you is: "Maintain Unity, Faith and Discipline. Stand solid by our goal of Pakistan."

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Khalilur Rahman, Esq.,
General Secretary, Reception Committee,
Calcutta Muslim Students Association,
3, Wellesly 1st Lane,
Calcutta

[1]No. 265.

271

Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 761/115

CENTRAL OFFICE,
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
12 September 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I herewith forward a draft of a letter which it was decided to issue under your signature to the various [Civil] Defence Committees, for your approval.

I am also sending you a balance sheet,[1] countersigned by me, of the amount expended till the termination of the tour, of which the detailed accounts have already been submitted to you from time to time.

I believe you would be shortly coming to Delhi for the meeting of the Central Legislature and if, during your stay in Delhi, you wish to acquaint yourself with the progress of the work of civil defence, you may kindly send for Syed Zakir Ali Sahib, our Secretary, who will be in Delhi all the time.

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN

PS. A statement of accounts for the period [from] 9 July to 31 August is also enclosed.[2]

[1&2]See F. 761/118-9, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure
Draft for Approval[1]

F. 761/116-7

I am very glad to know from the reports received from the various Provincial Defence Committees by the Chairman of the Central Civil Defence Committee, who has forwarded them on to me, that they have taken up their duties in right earnest and are touring in their provinces for setting up Defence Committees in their districts.

In some provinces I am glad to note that this work of organisation has nearly been completed while in others it is being pushed on with

vigour. I am writing them to emphasize the urgency of this work as we are passing through dangerous times. It behoves us to make incessant efforts to organise ourselves in such a way that the perils and dangers, which we have to face, may not disintegrate and demoralize our masses. I, therefore, appeal to you in all earnestness to accelerate the work of civil defence by which alone our people can ward off the calamities that hang over their heads and be prepared to face all eventualities.

I feel confident that if these Civil Defence Committees are organised in both urban and rural areas in the country, we shall not only escape the dangers of the present situation but will also be enabled to make a concerted and disciplined effort to achieve our goal of Pakistan.

There is another matter to which I wish to draw your immediate attention. You are aware that I have made an appeal[2] for collecting a National Fund of rupees ten lakh. I am glad to say that the contributions are coming in, though not as rapidly as I had expected. I, therefore, request you to make every effort to induce Musalmans to send their contributions to me direct so that by the fall of the year this Fund may be completed.

I remain,
Yours fraternally,

[1]The draft does not appear to have been issued by Jinnah.
[2]Appendix I.1.

272

Report of a Press Conference by M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW DELHI,
13 September 1942

A very clear enunciation of the Muslim position *vis-à-vis* the Congress demand for provisional government was made by Mr. Jinnah, at a press conference. Nearly all the British, American, Chinese and Indian press correspondents attended the conference, which was held at his New Delhi residence [No. 10 Aurangzeb Road] Mr. Jinnah was in excellent form and gave a lucid exposition of the Muslim case.

He declared:

"Subject to agreements and adjustments which are satisfactory to

us, I put no limit to the degree of power being transferred, but this is subject to the proviso, which is *sine qua non*, that all parties must agree to and guarantee the right of the Musalmans to self-determination, and they must pledge themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite and carry out the partition of India accordingly. If this proviso was not complied with and if the provisional government was formed outside the framework of the existing constitution and on lines which are urged in important quarters, then it will mean our walking like a fly into the spider's parlour: because if the provisional government is to be formed outside the framework of the present constitution, it will involve radical and fundamental constitutional changes and once these changes are made, it will be difficult to wipe them off, nay impossible after the war, if we were left without the guarantee and the proviso upon which we are insisting so much.

"My fundamental point is that we do not want under the stress of the war emergency to be stampeded into forming a provisional government[2] of such a character and composition as would prejudice or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

CIVIL WAR

Invited to say what he thought of Mr. Churchill's Speech,[3] Mr. Jinnah said that Mr. Churchill was right in stating that the Congress does not represent India and ninety millions of Musalmans are fundamentally opposed to the Congress. He added: "I have already expressed my views about the Congress movement.[4] It is not possible to defend the indefensible. I particularly want to emphasize that this is not merely a declaration of war against the British and the Government, but it is a war against the Muslim League, which means Muslim India, and the non-Congress organizations, who were neither consulted nor referred to, but in spite of whose disapproval and in utter disregard of whom, the civil disobedience movement has been launched in order to force their demands, which are most strenuously opposed by the Muslim League and no less by other minorities and interests in the country. Under the façade of nationalism the Congress demand, in short, from the British is to hand over to it power to establish Hindudom in this country. Its demand from the British is to apply sanctions against the Muslim League in particular and other non-Congress interests; because we have refused to surrender our demand for self-determination for the Muslim nation. It is axiomatic to say that the Congress movement is unlawful and un constitutional, because its avowed object is to subvert the Government established by law, but the greater objection is that this is a declaration of internecine civil war."

FALSE CLAIM

Mr. Jinnah disputed a correspondent's interpretation of Mr. Churchill's speech as declaring that Congress was not important. He said:

"The correct reading of the speech, as I understand it, is that the Congress has put forward an entirely false claim that it is the spokesman of, and it alone represents, the whole of India. I think that no man who has got any sense of fairness can possibly say that this is a claim which has got any foundation whatever for it. But that was the claim made in the speech of Mr. Gandhi[5] at the conclusion of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay and also in the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Gandhi most emphatically maintained in his last speech that the Congress alone represented India. So did Mr. Nehru and he went further and said that the All India Muslim League was a reactionary body and that the Muslim masses were with the Congress and the Congress alone represented the whole of India.[6]

"That not only is broadcast here; it is broadcast all over the world, which, people abroad, naturally not knowing the realities of Indian conditions, believe. This sinister and systematic propaganda is carried on to mislead people and if you correctly read Mr. Churchill's speech he rightly repudiates this claim."

A correspondent tried to point out the Congress claim was not that it represented the whole of India. Mr. Jinnah, however, overruled him and said "he did not wish to enter into an argument."

NO CHANCE

"I really think," he proceeded, "so long as the camouflage is maintained by the Congress and other Hindu leaders who directly or indirectly subscribe to that untenable proposition, believe me, there cannot be any chance of an honorable settlement."

An American correspondent: "Do you anticipate the possibility of a dishonorable settlement being imposed on India?"

Mr. Jinnah: "So far as the Musalmans are concerned that has been my fear. We know in history many instances of dishonourable action on the part of the most civilized nation in the world."

Questioned about the Hindu Mahasabha, he said:

"If I may say so, it is the same as the Congress. In fact, I think the Hindu Mahasabha is much stronger in its hostility, so far as the Musalmans are concerned. They make no secret of it, be it said to their credit. They do not resort the camouflage or finesse of the Congress. Bluntly and point-blank they say that they want to establish Hindu *raj* in this sub-continent and the Musalmans must submit to it

and if the Musalmans do not behave themselves they will be treated as the Jews are treated in Germany!"

When a correspondent asked whether he could infer from this statement that Jinnah-Mookerji talks[7] yesterday had not been very successful, Mr. Jinnah said:

"I cannot disclose the conversation but that even fire-eaters and people with unlimited ambitions become reasonable when the force of circumstances compels them to do so."

MUSLIM DEMAND

Asked if there was any change or the modification of the Muslim demands, Mr. Jinnah declared:

"If you start asking for sixteen *annas* in a rupee there is room for bargaining. The Muslim League has never put forward any demand which can, by any reasonable man, be characterized as unreasonable. The Muslim League stands for independence both of the Hindus and of the Musalmans. Hindu India had got three-fourths of India in its pocket according to our proposals, and it is the Hindu India which is bargaining to see if it can get the remaining one-fourth also for itself and rid us out of it.

"There can be no compromise on the question of the right to self-determination of a nation. It is their inherent birth-right and to deny that is to deny their very existence."

BRITAIN UNWILLING

Reverting to Mr. Churchill's speech, Mr. Jinnah said that the speech supported the Muslim League point of view that the British Government did not want Muslim co-operation and did not attach sufficient value to it. Mr. Churchill referred to the ninety millions of Muslims fundamentally opposed to the Congress. He then went on to say that they had their right of self-expression. "This is the only gracious reference by the British Prime Minister to the resolution[8] of the Muslim League passed in Bombay on August 20 last. Is this an indication that there is any desire to seek our co-operation? Is this the only value you attach to the Musalmans and the Muslim League that they are opposed to the Congress which is a fact, and that they have the right of self-expression, which is a self-evident truth? Is that all he has to say?"

An American correspondent asked:

"Would you be willing to form a national government with those who are willing to join one?"

He answered by a counter question: "Does it not assume that is in my power to shift from [my house at] 10 Aurangzeb Road to the

Viceregal Lodge whenever I choose and say I am going to form a national government? How is it to be formed and by whom?"

Pressed for an elucidation, Mr. Jinnah went on to point out that the British Government had completely ignored every other party except the Congress. "*The Times*, for instance, stated recently, that no settlement could be made which ignored the Congress. I entirely disagree with that statement. By reading these things, the impression left on my mind is that the British policy still continues to be this that while protesting and emphasizing that the Congress attitude is an impossible one, nevertheless, nothing can be done unless you bring the Congress along with you. I very strongly object to it. It comes to this that you are dictated to by one party whose demand is admittedly considered impossible."

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Asked to elaborate his conception of provisional composite government, he said: "It means a government formed for a specific purpose during the period of the war. I do not exclude anybody," he went on, "unless that body excludes itself. I do not proceed on the hypothesis that this party or that party is to be excluded. If we have to undertake the responsibility, I think it is obvious that those who want to undertake the responsibility would naturally do their utmost to get all the help, assistance and cooperation from every section of the people, unless that body, person or organization makes itself or himself impossible.

"The Muslim League is not supporting the war effort." Mr. Jinnah declared in answer to questions put by an American correspondent. "It is not that the Muslim League is recalcitrant or inimical, it is unable to give whole-hearted and enthusiastic co-operation in the prosecution of the war, unless people feel they have their real voice and share in the government of the country.

GUTS

"But, however much we may deplore and condemn the policy of the British Government during the last three years, nevertheless, our position is that of a melon. Whether the melon falls on the knife or the knife falls on the melon, it is the melon that gets cut. Suppose out of bitterness and anger at British policy, I was to say tomorrow: 'Embarrass, non-cooperate with the British Government, believe me it will create at least 500 times more trouble than was being experienced to-day."

"It is not a question of guts. The Musalmans have five hundred times more guts, "the Quaid-i-Azam said in reply to further

questions. "Any intelligent man in India will tell you. I do not want to cast any reflection on the Hindus. It is temperament and the way in which the Musalman is brought up."

After Mr. Jinnah's description of the power of the Muslim League to hamper war effort, if they chose to do so, a British correspondent inquired whether it will effect the army and the Muslims in the Middle East.

He said that as this specific question was put to him he must answer it and proceeded that he did not wish to give any blood-curdling account and that he was not in touch with the army but he felt that as sixty-five per cent of the Indian army was composed of the Musalmans, the League campaign, if launched, will affect a large body of the army and besides the entire Frontier would be ablaze, and that from the newspapers of the various Muslim countries (such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt) he gathered that the people there were in full sympathy with the demand of Muslim India and that the newspapers in those countries were strongly supporting the Pakistan demand, and therefore he thought they were bound to be influenced if there was a conflict between the Muslims and the British Government.

WHAT RESULT?

Reverting to the point Mr. Jinnah said: "But I say to myself: True, we can give five hundred times more trouble, but with what result? I can only see two results to follow. The foreign aggressor will seize this country, may be from the east, west, south or north. If that happens, what have I achieved with all my sacrifice?—a change of masters! And if the other parties are not with us it means internecine civil war. The other result is that if this revolution is set on foot by the Musalmans, I feel that even if it is successful in paralyzing British power, resulting in its sudden destruction, the consequences of so doing will be that India will be broken to bits. And when I contemplate these results, however much I condemn British policy and however strongly I feel, I say I am in the position of the melon.

VOLTE FACE

"On the other hand," Mr. Jinnah proceeded, "the Congress has made a solemn decision and demand of 'Quit India' from the British adding that the question of settlement of Hindu-Muslim problem cannot be even considered until the British have withdrawn. This is the latest position taken up by the Congress which completely reverses the proclaimed and fundamental policy of the Congress for the last twenty-two years, that there can be no freedom and independence

for the people of India without the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and unity.

"So long as this basis is maintained", said Mr. Jinnah where is the room for any negotiation regarding a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims? And yet, day in and day out, it is urged, specially by the Hindus, that the Muslim League should make a move for a settlement with the Congress and torrents of appeals are made to find the solution of the deadlock in co-operation with the Congress".

[1]Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, 1607-14.
[2]Proceedings of Congress Working Committee Meeting, 3-7 July 1940. A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *Encyclopedia of the Indian National Conference*, Vol. 12, 429.
[3]Statement by Prime Minister Churchill in the House of Commons, 10 September 1942, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 50-2, note 1.
[4]See No. 205.
[5]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 53, note 1.
[6]Ibid., 35, note 2.
[7]Ibid., 54, note 1.
[8]No. 238.

273

Hassan Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 457/41-3

THE ATHENAEUM,
PALL MALL,
LONDON, S. W. 1,
14 September 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hesitated so long to write to you as I was aware how your time was fully occupied with valuable work. I said goodbye to you at Delhi on Wednesday the 4th March, on the eve of my leaving India *en route* to England. There were many reasons which would have justified my not returning to duty, but I could not tell you then that I came back to England in view of the wires and letters which I had received from Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State, which convinced me that, in my humble way, I would be able to serve the cause for which you are so ungrudgingly devoting your tireless energies and talents. It is a matter of great satisfaction to see that the position which you envisaged is now being gradually understood and realised to be the only correct way of solving the Indian tangle.

I have uptil now confined myself to work[ing] through confidential channels and inspiring friends to speak or work on our behalf. I hope very much that I shall now be able to take part in discussions on the Pakistan movement in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, of which Sir Frederick Whyte is the Convener of discussions and meetings. I would very much like to know that I am not working at cross purposes, and that I have understood clearly the position explained to me by you in those illuminating discussions I had with you at Delhi, at the beginning of the last cold weather. As I have not so far told you, I would like to make it clear that I do not want any position or kudos, but I am inspired by your glorious example of service without self; the joy of it is enough for me, and your approval and goodwill are at all times most valuable to me. I am grateful to God that I am physically fit and mentally alert, and my wants are very few, and I could resign my position here and return to India whenever circumstances may render it necessary.

The following are the broad lines on which I have so far been working, and propose to speak at the forthcoming Pakistan Discussion at the Royal Institute of International Affairs:

Muslims seriously apprehend the suppression and destruction of their economic life, culture, freedom of religious observances, and political self-expression.

The Muslim League, under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, is undoubtedly the only exponent of Indian Muslim opinion, and has achieved mass support as well as the following of the intelligentsia.

The Azad Party and other parties formed by some prominent individuals do not command Muslim confidence.

Fazlul Huq and others, because of their official position as Ministers, may have support inside the Legislative Assembly, but this is almost entirely due to the fact that these followers are anxious to get what they can from the Party in power; in the country outside the Assembly, however, Fazlul Huq and others who are against the Muslim League cannot get the support either of the intelligentsia or of the masses. The labour and working classes in the factories and mills are with the Muslim League. Government will be seriously misled if they think that the Muslims in the weaving industry (*Momins*) and the operatives in munition factories are in any way against the League.

The Hindus are the bankers, money-lenders, mill-owners, industrialists and land-owners. They also occupy predominantly influential positions in Government machinery and offices. The sympathies of the entire working classes, be they in Great Britain, Russia, the United

States, or China, should not be with the capitalists, and naturally should be with those who belong to the category in which the majority of the Indian Muslims fall. By proper presentation of these facts, the sympathies of the United Nations and of Sir Stafford Cripps' [Labour] Party in England, are bound to be with the Muslim League. Apart from bad leadership in the past, our present backward position is largely the result of the policy of the British Government, which replaced a Muslim Government.

Further, it is not Congress, but it is the Muslim League which is the largest organised political party in India, and the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, enjoys the fullest confidence of his followers. Mr. Jinnah's claim for independent Muslim States is based on the broad basis of tolerance, freedom, justice, and the right to live one's own life without interference—a picture entirely different to the selfish and narrow power-grabbing policy of the Congress oligarchy.

In the fighting forces, the Muslim community have contributed over 60 per cent to the land Army, 85 per cent to the Mercantile Marine and Royal Indian Navy, and they represent a population of nearly one hundred million in India, all of whom have got the same language for inter-change of ideas, unity of culture, and no caste restrictions, no untouchability, no ban against feeding together, or against inter-marriage.

The Muslims of India feel that the British Government's policy of appeasement looks after its destructive critics, and neglects its own friends. In the enlarged Executive Council of the Governor-General, there are only three Muslim Members [Mahomed Usman, Sultan Ahmed & Firoz Khan Noon] out of fifteen, a proportion equal to that of the British Members, who represent a population of only 135,000 people. Is this in any way a fair deal towards a community which has the largest organised political party behind it, which has not only at all times supported law and order and [has] been against subversive movements directed against Government established by law in the country but which possesses a broad international outlook and more than once its leader Mr. Jinnah has offered every material and moral support to Britain's war efforts, and has only made a very modest demand, namely the recognition of the principle of the so-called Pakistan, which means the grant of dominion status to Muslim States formed by the grouping together, of their own free will, of autonomous provinces into a North-Eastern and North-Western bloc. This envisages working within the orbit of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a free and equal partner within the elastic provisions of the Government of India Act for the duration of the

War. Mr. Jinnah also recognizes the over-riding necessity for the unity of direction of the war effort as part of the British and United Nations strategy.

It is now refreshing to know that even the Government of India has made a clear statement that Congress Party is not India's mouthpiece. Indeed, Congress does not even represent Hindu India—the Mahasabha, the Liberals, and the 50 millions of the Scheduled Castes are all out of it. The attitude of Congress leaders, at a time when the enemy is at the land and sea bastions of India, has shown the sterility of their policy, and the disastrous consequences which would result if these narrow-minded people ever came into power.

Much has been said in the newspapers about Mr. Jinnah trying to divide India up into pieces. The Congress and Mahasabha cry is for an *Akhand* (undivided) India. The British Government recognises that provincial autonomy is now a real thing, and that the 11 provinces into which British India now stands divided are, therefore, as many entities. Where is the logic against any two, three or more of these autonomous provinces uniting of their own free will into bigger blocs? Has not India, since the time of the East India Company,[1] been grouped and regrouped, divided and sub-divided into provinces for administrative convenience only, having no regard to geographical borders or to linguistic or cultural considerations? The position of the Sikhs in the Pakistan movement is the only serious matter for consideration. If they cannot see the advantages of joining a Muslim State, they could easily come out of it, and have an independent existence with other Sikh and Hindu States. Jullundur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts provide a very suitable geographical landmark for division; for instance, the river Sutlej up to its junction with the Beas and from there north-eastwards along the Ravi.

Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly spoken about giving statutory safeguards to the minorities in the Pakistan movement as reciprocal measure for similar safeguards to be given to Muslim minorities in the Hindu-majority provinces. We have often been told that China, which has nearly the same population as India, has united and we should, therefore, unite as one country, but it is forgotten that China has not got over 200 different languages, and that the Chinese are a homogeneous nationality. Even the Muslims there are not recognizable from the other Chinese, excepting by the fact that they do not eat pig, and that they believe in the fundamental principles of Islam, the unity of God, and the message of the Prophet Muhammad [PBUH]. Otherwise, the manners and customs of all the Chinese are the same.

Union of the sub-continent of India is impossible if it is to be

based upon democratic principles of social co-operation and equal economic prosperity. It is also impossible not only because of its enormous size and its population of nearly 400,000,000 people, but mainly due to its diversity of social structure and cultural levels and medieval enthusiasm in religious matters. The Atlantic Charter guarantees separate independence to the peoples.[2] When it is not expedient to unite, say, the much more progressive and homogeneous Nordic people of Denmark, Sweden and Norway into one kingdom, nor the more or less Slav and orthodox Christian population of the Balkan Peninsula into one kingdom, how can we press for the whole of India to unite, as a condition precedent to the grant of dominion status?

I must now close with my prayers for your long life and your health, and my kind regards and respects to you and to your sister.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN SUHRAWARDY

PS. I think that the time has now come when a spokesman on behalf of the League should present its cause in America by arranging lectures at university centres and other suitable places. You know my wife's brother, Syud Hossain; I can convince him of our case. The same should be done in India. I shall be quite prepared to serve in this capacity wherever I could be best utilized but I must have your backing. I would be willing to pay the expenses myself, but a nominal subvention towards passage money would be necessary to secure passage in these war conditions. My health, education and humanitarian work in India may also be a reason for your summoning me back.

[1]A mercantile company formed in 1600 to develop trade with the East Indies (now called the Malay Archipelago). Having formed its own army and political service, administered British India from mid-eighteenth century till 1858 when, through the Queen's Proclamation, the British Government took over direct control of Indian affairs.

[2]According to Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had agreed to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live;" and they wished to "see sovereign rights and self-government restored" to those who had been forcibly deprived of them. See *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, 1940-1943, 4739 A.

274

M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Dravidian Committee, Conjeeveram

F. 27/94

NEW DELHI,
15 September 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your covering letter of the 31st of August,[1] enclosing a copy of the resolution passed at a meeting of the Dravidian Committee, Conjeeveram, on the 31st of August 1942, and thank you for it.

While I have every sympathy with the aspirations of non-Brahmins, and while the Muslim League, as you know, and myself have always stood by smaller minorities, and in particular by the Scheduled-Castes and non-Brahmins, and our hand of friendship and support has always been extended to the Justice Party, I regret to say that it will not be possible for me to accept the honour of becoming one of the patrons of the Committee as proposed by your resolution, because I have tremendous pressure on me and my energies are already overtaxed by the work that I am doing and have to do as President of the All India Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Secretary,
Dravidian Committee,
Conjeeveram

[1]F. 27/95-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

275

M. H. Saiyid to Joseph Boyd Irwin[1]

SHC, Bombay I/7

15 September 1942

Dear Sir,

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has asked me to request you to place the accompanying letter of the 8th of September 1942,[2] that he has received from the Honorary Secretary, Municipal Muslim League Party, Ahmadabad, and also the copy of the resolution[3] of the

Municipal Councillors attached to it, before His Excellency the Governor, and he hopes that His Excellency will take immediate action in the matter.

Yours faithfully,
M. H. SAIYID
[*Secretary to M. A. Jinnah*]

[1]Private Secretary to Governor of Bombay.
[2]Enclosure 1.
[3]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1
M. A. Valiulla to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/4

KALUPUR, PANCHPATTY,
AHMADABAD,
8 September 1942

Sir,

It must have come to your notice that Ahmadabad Municipality has been superseded. As a consequence of supersession, the Congress flag flying [atop the Municipality building] was taken down. After this, certain persons, under the influence of Congress and in furtherance of the Congress programme, re-hoisted the Congress flag on parts of the Municipal building, and as a result of that certain Municipal officers and some members of the superseded Ahmadabad Municipality were arrested. Thereupon the Municipal staff decided not to work unless the Congress flag was allowed to be re-hoisted and that arrested members were released. The Collector of Ahmadabad yielded to these demands and the Congress flag was [re-]hoisted with great enthusiasm and the arrested members and officers were garlanded and congratulated. From the outset there is a demand by Municipal Councillors to hoist the Muslim [League] national flag; as a matter of fact, previously the League Party in the Ahmadabad Municipality [had] tabled a resolution to hoist one flag, but by weight of the majority, our resolution was thrown out.

Now the circumstances are changed, and especially when the local authorities have permitted the Congress flag to be [re-]hoisted, there is a strong opinion amongst the League Party members, and the Muslims in general, of the superseded Ahmadabad Municipality to demand that the authorities order hoist[ing] the Muslim League flag,

and are of opinion that the time is opportune to push forward our demand at this juncture.

That the League Party has sent in the proposition as will be seen from the annexed resolution. The Party firmly believes that this question has an all-India importance and relates to the prestige and dignity of ten [*sic* for hundred] million Muslims of India and thereupon the Party seeks decision and guidance[1] in the event of the refusal of our said demand.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. A. VALIULLA
Honorary Secretary, Municipal Muslim League Party

[1]M. H. Saiyid informed the Honorary Secretary, Municipal Muslim League Party, Ahmadabad, that his letter and the resolution were receiving attention. See *SHC*, Bombay I/6. Not printed.

Enclosure 2

SHC, Bombay I/5

RESOLUTION

The Muslim Councillors of the Ahmadabad Municipality have from the very outset been strongly opposed to the hoisting of the so-called national flag [of Congress] on the Municipality building. It is well-known that the Muslims do not recognise the Congress flag as national flag but consider it as a party flag of the Congress. In spite of vehement opposition of the Muslim Councillors, the Hindus on account of their overwhelming majority hoisted the Congress flag on the Municipal building.

Now that the Congress has been declared an unlawful association,[1] the Municipality has been superseded, and the management of the Municipality has been taken over by the Government, the Congress flag should not remain flying on the Municipal building.

The Government is fully aware that Muslims have always resented the hoisting of Congress flag on public buildings. It is a matter of great regret that the said flag has been allowed to be re-hoisted and [has] remained flying over the Municipal building under the Government administration. It is sheer injustice to the Muslim rate-payers of Ahmadabad, and as their duly elected representatives, we, the members of the Ahmadabad Municipal Muslim League Party, are duty-bound to demand that the Muslim [League] national flag should also be hoisted on the Municipal building.

We are confident that the Government shall immediately order the Muslim national flag to be hoisted and redress the wrong done to the Muslim rate-payers of Ahmadabad.

[1]As a sequal to the Congress's Quit India resolution, the Congress Working Committee, the All India Congress Committee and the Provincial Congress Committees had been declared unlawful by the Government of India. See Nos. 393 and 466, *TP*, II, 534-5 and 620 respectively.

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Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/179-80

PESHAWAR,
16 September 1942

My dear Sir,

I have got your masterly statement at the press conference at Delhi[1] before me. I have read it ten times and yet I am reading it again and again. It is excellent and A-1 and my respectful congratulations.

Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad came to us and saw something of N.W.F.P. He has kindly promised to visit us again after *Ramadan*. Let us hope that he finds time to visit us. I wish him success.

He is an enthusiastic worker and may God Almighty grant him strength to help us in our stupendous task. The Congress blitz in men and material begins in N.W.F.P. This time they had to contribute two lakh rupees in cash through Messrs. Saxena and Shastri and we have to (and we must if we are true to our God and Islam) depend on our paltry individual and indigenous resources. So far, *Insha 'Allah* [*sic* for *Masha 'Allah*], we have met them successfully. If Government can raise thousands of recruits for German bullets for Rs. 30 each, so can Congress, but I assure you, Sir, there is no popular sentiment behind the Congress big move[2] in N.W.F.P. Money may sustain it for some time, but it can never be like the old *Hijrat*[3] or like the old 1930 show.[4]

You will be delighted to learn that our Governor has supported our Working Committee's demand and has said so to Government of India. Now it is for the Government of India to say yes to it. If reason is to be honoured, your last statement is the essence of sweet reasonableness and persuasiveness. There is no bluff in it. Direct action by Muslims may be 500 times stronger than Hindus but it involves suicide externally and internally. May Almighty God grant

you strength and health to carry this campaign to a successful result!

With obedient regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1]No. 272.
[2]Refers to the Quit India Movement launched by Congress in August 1942. See Annex to No. 205.
[3]Mass migration of Muslims from India to Afghanistan in 1920.
[4]Gandhi started and led a popular march on 12 March 1930 from his *ashram* in Ahmadabad to Dandi on the sea, where he, symbolically, made salt in violation of the British salt monopoly. The march ended on 5 April, followed by a nation-wide *satyagraha*. Gandhi was arrested on 5 May and lodged at Poona's Yeravda Jail.

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Abdul Alim A. Dareshani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/135-8

KARACHI,
18 September 1942

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will kindly pardon me if it be presumptuous thus to approach you without an introduction and to encroach upon your time.

Probably you might have come to know, through the columns of the *Moslem Voice*, of the Sind Provincial Muslim Students Federation. I have the honour to be one of its humble organizers. The fallen [*sic*] condition of Muslims is well-known to you; it will not be out of place to say that here in Sind, ours is the lot of miserable wretches. It is a tragedy of the first magnitude that Muslims *Jin ki tadbir-i-jahanbani se darta tha zawal* (whose wise and statesmanlike rule was dreaded by decline) should have had the misfortune to be reduced to their present pitiable plight. It may not be far from the truth if I assert that the tale of our woes does not excite pity, but rather terror. I admit that the Muslim League under your distinguished leadership has done much to arouse us from our stupor and to make us conscious of the perils that surround [us.] But still more remains to be done. There is need for immense and intensive constructive work for the regeneration and renaissance of our half-dead nation. It was with a determination to do this, to cast the coming generations into a truly Islamic mould, that we started the Federation. The wrong of unseemly

things is a wrong too great to be told. I assure you, Sir, that the Muslim youth is burning impatiently to recast everything nearer to our hearts' desire and shape the future like a casket of gold. Muslim youth can safely be entrusted with any constructive work; and in the face of formidable odds, your inspiring personality is sufficient to lead us to our goal.

You will be glad to know that from 1st October, we are bringing out a monthly magazine, *The Moslem Students*. Its task will be awakening the Muslims, specially arousing the Muslim student community to gravity of the present times, and enabling them to play a noble part in the attainment and establishment of Pakistan.

On behalf of the Sind Provincial Muslim Students Federation, I humbly request you to kindly send us a message[1] for the Muslim students, which we shall publish in our first issue. A message of courage and fortitude, patience and sacrifice, hope and a great future will sustain our spirits in implementing the task we have set before us. As we want the issue to be out on the 1st of October, it will be gracious if you dispatch the message at your earliest convenience.

I have another request to make. It is our ardent wish that our Quaid-i-Azam should be our first patron. Karachi has the honour to be your birthplace and [I hope] you will kindly consent to bestow this favour on the Muslim youth of your Province.

I sincerely apologize for taking so much of your precious time. Kindly pardon me for all my digressions. I may humbly say that we shall be very anxiously awaiting your reply.

With *salaam*,

I beg to remain, Sir,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL ALIM A. DARESHANI
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim Students Federation

PS. As we can't afford to have an office, you will kindly write at my private address.
6 Ramchand Gangabishan Building,
Near Burns Garden,
Karachi

A. A. DARESHANI

[1]See No. 292.

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M. A. Jinnah to Ch. Ghulam Abbass

F. 701/2

NEW DELHI,
18 September 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th [August][1] and beg to inform you that I shall stay in Delhi at least till the end of this month and shall be glad to see you when you come to Delhi provided you ring me up and fix up a time beforehand.

Yours faithfully,
[M. A. JINNAH]

Ghulam Abbass, Esq.,
President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference,
Jammu

[1]No. 219.

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Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/44

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
19 September 1942

Quaid-i-Azam,

I am extremely sorry for troubling you at a time when you are engaged in preconceiving [*sic*] a future for India and in composing [*sic*] the most important chapter in Indian history, but I see no other way. As advised[1] by you, I wrote to His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior [Sir Jayaji Rao Scindia], a letter on the 11th July and reminded him on 24th August, desiring in appropriate words and a befitting manner that I may be granted an interview so that I may be able, through representation and negotiation, to appease the unrest prevailing among his Muslim subjects. In reply to both of my letters I received a letter, a copy of which I enclose.[2] Now I may kindly be

advised regarding the next step that should be taken. Should I submit a memorandum comprising an outline of the essential grievances: one such has already been prepared on the lines directed by you. Should I again seek an interview, or should I give such impetus to the agitation in the State that His Highness might be influenced?

Another important thing to be brought to your notice is: the Government of Hyderabad have conceived the position of Hyderabad in the future constitutional evolution in India and drawn up a memorandum, a copy of which was given to me by Nawab [Ahmad Said Khan] Chhatari to be gone through. His Exalted Highness discussed it with me during the last interview. My suggestion was much appreciated by His Exalted Highness as well as his Government that your legal advice be sought about this document. It might soon be sent to you, probably through Syed Abdul Aziz. Although His Exalted Highness has desired me to accompany Syed Abdul Aziz to you in this connection; yet if this opportunity is not afforded to me I request that you may kindly allow me to see you in this connection before you pronounce your opinion on it. I shall await your reply.

I pray that you may live long to steer safely the boat of the Musalmans out of this great turmoil.

Yours sincerely,
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

[1&2]Not traced.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

CALCUTTA,
19 September 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have at last got Mr. Pothan Joseph to agree to go to Delhi. He will be leaving Calcutta at the end of next week. Of course, I have not been able to find a substitute for the *Star* [*of India*] so far.

The newsprint position in India is becoming very acute and the problem that will face the newspaper business within the next six months appears to be insurmountable unless the Government of India right away move in the direction of importing sufficient newsprint to cover what they allot periodically to the many

newspapers in this country. Our newsprint is still lying in Karachi due to lack of transport facilities. My stock in the meantime is fast running out. My efforts so far have enabled me to secure a paltry quantity of 50 reams and there are just 200 reams available from another seller at the absurd price of Rs. 12-10-0 per ream.

The Provincial Legislature, as you know, is in session. The Opposition is putting up its usual fight. We are 48 to 50 strong in the Lower House, all Muslim Leaguers, of course.

I am glad to find that Amir has returned to Lucknow.

I shall be on the air on Wednesday, the 23rd instant, at 7 p.m. The talk will, of course, be non-political.

I trust you are enjoying good health.

With my regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 296-7.

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Proceedings of the Meeting of Working Committee of All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference

F. 103/14-6

SRINAGAR,
19/20 September 1942

RESOLUTION NO. 1

The Working Committee of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference have taken careful stock of the latest move made by the Congress and considered the repercussions of such a move upon the Muslim nation. The Working Committee affirm that the Indian Muslims are wedded to the ideal of freedom and independence and are ever ready to take full part in the efforts to deliver from slavery all those nations that reside in this land. But a struggle that has entered without the co-operation or the consultation of the great Muslim nation of India and that does not recognize their right to self-determination but aims at setting up a Hindu *raj* with force of numbers, can neither be named a struggle for freedom nor can it claim any sympathy from the Muslim nation. It is on that account that the only body representing British Indian Muslims, the All India

Muslim League, has directed Muslims to steer clear of the present struggle of the Congress and has at the same time deplored the policy pursued by Britain regarding India.

The Working Committee have very keenly felt that whereas the Congress have always taken lively interest in the affairs of those of the Indian states that have a Hindu population and have lent [their] full weight to support[ing] their claim for constitutional power, it has maintained criminal indifference about states like Kashmir, Kapurthala and Alwar, where the people are predominantly Muslims but the rulers are Hindus. In the same way, whereas prominent Congressites never hesitated to lead a purely communal agitation against the sovereignty of the Nizam of Hyderabad, they opposed by every overt and public action the political struggle to liberate the masses of Kashmir. With this record the Hindu Congress can no longer hope to deceive Kashmiri Muslims with its hoax of nationalism, particularly under the present condition when the 32 lakhs of Muslims in the state labour under the tyranny of a Hindu Government that denies them elementary human rights; that has ceased to protect them against armed raids upon religious independence; that permits confiscation of property in the case of converts to Islam; that deprives them even of their wives and children as a penalty for this offence; that sends dozens of Muslims to prison for ten years for slaughtering one decrepit cow or a cow dried of milk; and that has at the top of everything promulgated a new Arms Act by which the entire Muslim population has been denied the use of arms whereas one and a half lakhs of Hindu Rajputs have been allowed to be armed with lethal weapons and fire-arms. The efforts of the Muslims of Kashmir have perforce to be directed against conditions enumerated above and having such a bitter experience of Hindu *raj* they can hardly be expected to assist in establishing a similar *raj* over their brethren in British India. The Working Committee believe that the safety of Kashmiri Muslims is linked with that of the Muslims in the rest of India and, therefore, exhort all Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir State that for the safeguard of their vital interests they should carry out the decisions of the All India Muslim League with respect to the recent political developments and refrain from doing anything directly or indirectly that weakens the hands of British Indian Muslims or that prejudices their demand for Pakistan. They should vehemently oppose all statements intended to strengthen the case of the Congress or weaken that of the Muslim India.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

The mentality revealed by the Kashmir Government in permitting the open defiance of law and order with respect to the incident connected with Sakina Bibi, a convert to Islam, has made it abundantly clear that the Muslims do not have freedom of religion and conscience nor is the Government capable of treating different sects or religions on the same footing. The Muslims have also painfully realized that the freedom allowed to Hindu Rajputs to use fire-arms forms a standing menance to their lives, property and honour. In spite of their being publicly and grossly wronged and in spite of their resorting to every constitutional means, the Muslims have failed to get justice. This has caused such a great disaffection and indignation among the people that they may burst at any moment. The Working Committee condemn the gross negligence and neglect of duty on the part of the Government and appeal to the Muslims to control themselves and give an opportunity to the Committee to explore further constitutional means in this direction. They should desist from precipitating matters in to a crisis, for the present. The Working Committee, however, cannot ignore the fact that although five weeks have passed since the abduction by force of arms of the convert Muslim lady, the Government has not so far made [any] determined and sincere effort to recover her. If the pressure of circumstances and the meaningful inactivity of the Government were to stagger her in her constancy or to force her to renounce her free faith in despair, this would be such a blot on the Government as would be incapable of being washed off.

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Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah[1]

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
20 September 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am writing this letter to convey to you what some of us are thinking about the present situation. We feel that the Muslim India is at present passing through a state of frustration. It is mainly in consequence of the attitude taken up by the Hindus and the British

Govt. But we must do something in our own way and for our own benefit. We are living under the shadow of a storm which may break out any moment and may vitally affect our destiny for years to come. We need to achieve two things immediately. First, we must secure the right of establishing our independent states in free India and secondly, we must organise our defence in a manner so as to meet any aggression on us. For the first, none better than you can devise ways and means to achieve it. We only suggest that a nationwide demonstration must be arranged in order to show our keeness for an immediate declaration of Pakistan. We must also make it plain to the British Govt. that the Muslim homelands, more than the rest of India, are in immediate danger of foreign aggression. It is, therefore, vitally necessary that the Governments of Bengal and NWF Province must be truly representative of the Musalmans, and that the Muslims in their homelands must be fully armed to defend them[selves] from [*sic* for against] foreign aggression.

The problem of defence is of still greater importance. It is indeed heartening that you realized it more acutely than others and set up an organisation for it. I have also been serving in that organisation for four months. But I feel I must inform you that the organisation is not yet set to work adequately and needs central supervision and guidance. I feel it necessary that a central department of defence should start working under you in order to supervise and speed up the work. You must receive weekly reports of the provinces and must see that people in that organisation are working satisfactorily. It is regrettable that the Muslims did not contribute adequately to their national fund. But we have to work as much as possible.

I suggest that the last week of *Ramazan*, including the *'Id* day, must be declared as a National Week and the Muslims in that week must demonstrate for Pakistan and work for their defence.

I think you will be pleased to know that apart from my academic work I am solely devoting myself to the defence of this University which is our important national asset. I wish I could do more. In this connection I may inform you that one of my dearest friends and comrades, Mr. Amir-uddin Kidwai, a *vakil* of Bara Banki, is willing to place his services at your disposal for several months. He has unparalleled capacities and talent for organising, and he will prove worthy of every trust and confidence. He will bear his own expenses. We have spoken to Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang, MLA, about this matter and you can refer this thing to him.

I hope I have adequately expressed my above-mentioned ideas. I am eager to convey them fully and shall welcome any call from you

in this connection. I can see you in Delhi on any Friday without any interference in the University work.

I trust this letter will find you in excellent health,

I have the honour to be,

Yours devotedly,

MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI
Ph.D. (Alig.), Ph.D. (Cantab.)

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 99-100.

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M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani[1]

F. 307/197

NEW DELHI,
21 September 1942

My dear Hassan,

I received a wire from Mr. Pothan Joseph yesterday in reply to my wire requesting him to accept the offer made to him by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the *Dawn* for its editorship. You will see from his telegram that you have already offered him Rs. 1250, and if that is so I stand by it. Please arrange that he should reach Delhi immediately.

I am specially staying in Delhi to see that this matter is put through and all arrangements are already made. I was waiting for his reply.

I am enclosing herewith copies of his telegram and my reply to him.

Please wire[2] whether you can arrange to send Mr. Pothan Joseph without delay, or else we must make other arrangements. I do not quite understand what he means by saying that I should ask you to terminate his services whereupon [he] can start for Delhi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
Calcutta

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 297-8.
[2]See Annex to No. 290.

Enclosure 1
Pothan Joseph to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telgeram

CALCUTTA,
20 September 1942

Ispahani already offered me twelve [hundred and] fifty *Dawn* editorship. Kindly confirm by wire [and] also ask him terminate my services whereupon can start Delhi.

[POTHAN] JOSEPH

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah Ispahani Correspondence*, 298.

Enclosure 2
M. A. Jinnah to Pothan Joseph[1]

Telegram

NEW DELHI,
20 September 1942

If Ispahani offered you twelve fifty already *Dawn* editorship I stand by it. Start immediately. I want complete arrangements without further delay before leaving Delhi. Please show this wire Ispahani.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Ibid., 299.

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Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/30

LUCKNOW,
22 September 1942

My dearest uncle,

I reached here with 103° temperature and today is the second day that I was relieved. I feel much better. Yesterday I went to see Raja [Syed Mehdi] Sahib of Pirpur and conveyed your message about the contribution to the N[ational] Fund. He promised that he will take the

earliest opportunity of writing to you and sending you his share. The others (Muslim *Taaluqdars*) are not here; therefore, I will have to write to them.

Sri Krishna has sent those papers by post. He has not done what should have been done. It is evident that he did not take pains over it. I am enclosing it in the hope that you will be pleased to order Matlub [H. Saiyid] to take down a few more points which were left in all copies of your published statement. I would like to get this back as soon as possible as I am printing a pamphlet which will contain the resolution of the League, your statement, Nawabzada's Aligarh and Assembly speeches, other Muslim League leaders' statements, and all pro-League reviews of our present policy. This pamphlet must be broadcast as soon as it is ready. People are anxious to know our real viewpoint. Let them have it—but soon.

I wired to Hassan about Pothan Joseph, but have received no reply as yet.

Today Khaliquzzaman Sahib came to see me and I suggested whether he would like to go to America. He agrees. This may interest Nawabzada Sahib as he was very keen to find somebody who would consent to go and attend the forthcoming International Conference.

Sir, [from] the little that I saw of our office I feel that it is thoroughly incomplete, but nothing can be done overnight. Whatever we have built up is also a miracle, taking into account what we spent. But one thing is absolutely essential, and that is a stock of all books concerning Pakistan and the Muslim political movement. Delhi is now an international town with representatives from every country. When they want some sort of Muslim political literature, we can only offer them old resolutions and other out-of-date publications. This will not do. Therefore, Sir, I will suggest that there should be a stock of the following books (at least):

a. Your speeches and writings, compiled by Prof. Jamilud Din Ahmad of Aligarh
b. *Pakistan*[: *A Nation*] by Al-Hamza
c. *The Indian Constitutional Tangle*, etc., etc.

Phuphi's siwayyan (vermicelli) are being made. They will be dispatched when ready. With respects to *Phuphi* and [your]self from:

Your ever loving,
AMIR

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Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 274/267

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
22 September 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you herewith a letter in original received from S. M. Ahmed of New York,[1] which speaks for itself. I am also sending you a copy of his statement,[2] which he has desired to be published in the Indian press. I have issued his statement to all the Muslim newspapers from this office.

As the correspondence with abroad [*sic*] falls within the purview of Foreign Office, I write this to seek your permission[3] in this respect as to whether I can continue the correspondence with people outside India. I have already replied and sent cuttings of papers and other booklets to those people who asked this office. Prior to this, father [the late Haji Abdoola Haroon] was doing this work.

I am sending you a parcel of a small box of *halwa*.

I hope this will find you in the best of health, and with kind regards and respects,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON

[1&2]Not traced.
[3]See F. 274/270, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Mohammad Mukhtar Azad to M. A. Jinnah[1]

AFTAB HOSTEL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
23 September 1942

Our revered Quaid-i-Azam,

May I remind you that in the month of May, I, as leader of the Duty Society Deputation of the Aligarh Muslim University, along

with other members of the deputation, approached you to seek your valuable guidance. You had kindly condescended to give us certain instructions and asked us to propagate the ideal of Pakistan to explain the aim[s] and objects for which the Muslim League stands, and to try to generate in the Muslim masses a feeling to assert their right to live nobly and freely. We completed our tour towards the end of July. You will, I am sure, be glad to learn that it was a tremendous success. We succeeded in raising a large sum for the *alma mater* and did our utmost to further the cause of our truly representative organization, the Muslim League. We emphasised the need to join the League, explained its aims and objects, spoke of the valuable services that it had done within so short a period, told our audience all about the League Defence Committee, which was then going round the country, and laid great stress on the fact that the salvation of Musalmans lies only in unitary solidity and becoming members of our single organization. We carried with us the torch of League ideals everywhere we went, and with its blaze the fire of enthusiasm spread from breast to breast. I do not say this to signify the zeal with which we worked; I only speak of it to impress upon you the eager response of our co-religionists to the League's call. We witnessed in the Muslim masses signs of life and awakening; they take active interest in politics; they are concerned about their future; they are impatient with the present state of affairs; they are anxious to serve the League.

The deputation, which I had the honour to lead, went to Pataudi, Loharu, Tonk, Bhopal, Kurwai, Bombay, Jangeera, Sachin, Mangrol, Manavadar, Junagadh and Jaora, respectively. Wherever branches of the States Muslim League existed, they proved to be of great help to us, and we in our turn did our best to carry out your instructions and further the Muslim League cause.

We spent our summer vacations working for the University and the League. Now we want to utilize our autumn vacations, which will commence from the first of October, 1942, doing something of a constructive nature for our community. Now, as before, we look to you for guidance. I and my friends are eager to do some real service. I hope you will kindly let us know the lines on which we should work.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD MUKHTAR AZAD

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 101-3.

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Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/67-8

24 September 1942

My dear Jinnah,

Would you like to give publicity to the figures given in this statement[1] not only in the *Dawn* but in all papers and to American newspaper correspondents?

I am going to the Frontier in October. Would you like me to press the Governor for new elections in case there is hope of Muslim League coming in? I have already talked to H.E. on this subject.

Let us have a talk when you have time.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ
[*Member for Defence, Viceroy's Executive Council*]

[1]Not traced.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
25 September 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to submit the following suggestions for your kind consideration:

I think that on Friday, 9th October 1942 (corresponding to the 27th of *Ramazan*), the *Jum'atul-Wida'* (the last Friday before *'Id*) you should send, on behalf of the Muslim nation in India and the League, special *'Id* greetings to all the Muslim Kings, Presidents and leaders in the Islamic countries, including China, wishing them a happy *'Id* and the safety and integrity of the Muslim nation.

For instance, the *'Id* greetings may be sent to Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan [since renamed Jordan], Iraq, [Saudi]Arabia, Yemen, Iran, Afghanistan, Russia and China.

[*Name of rulers and other personalities omitted*]

2. My second submission is that besides sending special *'Id* greetings to the leaders of Islamdom wishing a happy *'Id* and the safety, freedom, integrity and prosperity of Muslim nations on the *Jum'atul wida'* day, i.e. Friday, the 9th October 1942, you should give a general *'Id al-Fitr* message[2] to the Muslim peoples of the Near East and the world through a press conference with foreign correspondents. If you give it on 9th October, it may reach Egypt and Turkey, *Reuters*, and through the Consuls of Egypt and Turkey by the 12th October, the *'Id* day.

The following, among others, may be the points of the message:

i. Thanks for the interest they have taken in the freedom of Pakistan.

ii. Significance and message of *Ramazan* and *'Id al-Fitr*—the anarchy of atheism and group egotism resulting in the international chaos and world conflagration of the war which has taken humanity in its grip and is threatening civilization with total annihilation.

iii. *Ramazan*'s fasting means the divine disciplining of the individual and collective lives of men and the establishment of the sovereignty of *Allah*, the *Rabbul-Aalameen*, the All-Just and All-Wise, Creator, Sustainer and Evolver of all the worlds and the establishment of the equality and brotherhood of all men, rich and poor, white and coloured, all owing allegiance to a supreme law and the code of life, founded on divine revelation. There is no escape for man from the present inferno but through the submission of man to the supreme sovereignty of the All-Just God and His Supreme Law [*Qur'an*]. I wish *'Id Mubarak* to all.

iv. *'Id al Fitr* is the symbol of unity, divine economy and brotherhood of the faithful. Let us all on this day of *'Id* take the solemn vow of taking our rightful place in the present and future new order of the world according to the light of our Islamic heritage.

v. The world today is passing through the greatest crisis of civilization known to history. Islam and Musalmans are playing no less a decisive part in this world war. Let us all solemnly resolve to-day to play unitedly an equal part in the world peace. The Muslim world stands for the complete freedom and equality of all Eastern nations and peoples. Musalmans are destined to act as a determinant factor of the war and peace of the world. The war is being fought mostly on Muslim

lands. Millions of Musalmans in Europe, Asia, Africa, and [across] the seven seas have made supreme sacrifices for the cause of freedom. They hold most of the strategic points of the old world in their lands. In the whole world they stand united with a united attitude. Their first and foremost concern is their own freedom and integrity and the freedom of other peoples. *Ramazan* and *'Id al Fitr* are universal festivals of Islam which have made the faithful in all the continents and climes of the globe one in spirit, one in mind, and one in body. Islam with its centre at Mecca making peoples of every clime, colour and continent face it five times a day in solemn concentration of divine service or *Salat*, represents in the world the greatest league of nations and unity of races yet realized by man on this planet.

vi. The hundred million Muslamans of India represent the largest compact mass of Muslim population in any single part of the world. They came to India as conquerors, traders, preachers, teachers and civilizers, and founded great empires and civilizations. They liberated millions from the darkest slavery and superstitions. They reformed and remoulded the whole of India. They are now organised and united under the All India Muslim League as they had never been in their history. They are determined to attain their national freedom and independence in the form of their own independent states in the North-West and East parts [zones] of the sub-continent of India where Muslims are in majority. They must stand united and solid by our goal of Pakistan and achieve it or perish.

vii. The Muslims of India from the 10th century A.D. have been the main military force, martial power, and the maritime people of India. Even in this war, they hold key positions in the armed forces and *lascars* (seamen) of India. Their contribution to the cause of freedom is the most permanent in the whole of India. They have made the greatest sacrifice for the cause of the freedom of India, the freedom of the Muslim world, and the freedom of other peoples.

viii. But they are not mercenaries. They are brave soldiers and gallant builders of a new world order and new freedom for the peoples of the East and the West. They are firmly resolved that they must get their place in the sun.

ix. The abiding interest of Muslim India in the freedom and prosperity of the Muslim nations of Turkey, Arabia, Egypt,

Africa, Iran, Turkestan [Russian and Chinese], and other lands is well-known. The hundred million Muslims of India are still prepared to render all possible help and make the greatest sacrifices for the defence and freedom of the Muslim states and peoples, which they regard as part of their own body and soul.

x. Of all religions and civilizations, Islam alone is capable of building a new and better world of humanity, brotherhood, social equality, and economic justice. It is a polity harmonizing the best fruits of individualism with the benefits of collectivism. It is a synthesis of the demands of matter and spirit and the natural *via media* between the civilizations of the East and the West. The salvation of Muslim peoples and powers lies in their unity around the ideal of Islam for the regeneration of humanity and re-ordering the world.

xi. On this day of *Jum'atul-Wida'* of *Ramazan,* I call upon all sincere Musalmans in the world to stand erect on the rock-bed of faith and give their heart and soul to the divine commission of building a happier, free[r] and better world for humanity, a world free from anarchy of atheism, anarchy of lawlessness of nations and peoples, and rancour, war and hatred—and full of the blessings of faith, divine discipline, justice and brotherhood so beautifully inculcated by *Ramazan* and *'Id al Fitr.*

3. My third suggestion is that you, as the leader of Muslim India, should invite all the representatives and Consuls of the Muslim peoples and states residing in India to a special *'Id* party. You should preside over the function and formally congratulate [*sic* for greet] them on the *'Id*.

Hope you have received my earlier letters.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Member, All India Muslim League Council

[PS.] You may declare 9th October 1942, (*Jum'atul Wida*) as All-India Day for prayer for the safety, integrity and freedom of Muslim India and the Islamic countries. It is bound to have a tremendous effect on the Muslim mind all over Islamdom—[from] China to Morocco.

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, II, 104-9.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 63-4.

289

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan

F. 329/181

NEW DELHI,
26 September 1942

Dear Mr. Aurangzeb Khan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th[1] and for giving me all the information of the present situation of the Frontier Province.

I am glad that you approve of my recent statement at the press conference on the 13th of September 1942.[2] Its correct summary appeared in the *Dawn* which is a fuller account than what has appeared so far in other papers, whose representatives naturally took down what seemed to them most important.

I am getting really very much encouraged by the reports that I am receiving about the progress of the [Muslim] League in the North-West Frontier Province.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan,
Advocate, Peshawar

[1]No. 276.
[2]No. 272.

290

M. A. Jinnah to M. A . Hassan Ispahani

F. 307/201

NEW DELHI,
26 September 1942

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of the 19th of September[1] informing me that Mr. Pothan Joseph will be arriving here by the end of this week.

With regard to the other matter, about the newsprint, I have handed over your letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to get in touch with you. I have already written[2] to you enclosing the copies of the

telegrams that passed between Mr. Pothan Joseph and me, and I am sure you must have received them by now.

I have also received your [undated] telegram[3] informing me that Mr. Joseph will arrive here by the end of this week.

Please make arrangements and see that he starts at once without any further delay.

Hoping you are well [and] with kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 280.
[2]No. 283.
[3]Annex.

Annex
M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram

CALCUTTA,
Undated [*September 1942*]

Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Joseph leaving for Delhi this week.

HASSAN

[1]See Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 299.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/200

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 September 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 21st instant.[1]

[Pothan] Joseph has been playing a trying game with me. I have

had to utilise every ounce of my patience to get him to agree. I told you that I know him well. He is a first-class journalist but when it comes to money matters, he enjoys an extraordinary reputation. Wherever he goes he gets into a mess and he gives noble principles a rest when it comes to his knocking cash out of a person who, he thinks, has the capacity to pay. He is a charming fellow but in money matters he is a heart-breaker.

However, he has promised to leave today. I had to give him Rs. 500 in cash out of our pocket. Liaquat's instructions to pay him Rs. 500 on account of *Dawn* were received this morning. Just as I was on the point of sending him this money, I received a note from him asking me to pay him his salary for October 1942, as well. This is too much and I cannot tolerate it. I have written to him as per copy enclosed, and if he does not come to his senses and thinks that his services are indispensable to us and that he can make us dance to any tune that he chooses to play, I shall not allow him to do so. If he does not leave for Delhi tonight, I shall, as sure as I am alive, give him notice on Monday morning terminating his service. My mind is made up. He will not be allowed to play the giddy goat any more.

Joseph, by his behaviour, has put me to shame. I do hope you appreciate my predicament and will realise that the delay in getting the *Dawn* started as a daily is not due to me.

Yes, I promised Joseph Rs. 1,250 because Liaquat told me that I could, if necessary, go that distance. He got Rs. 1,000 from us and Rs. 100 from the weekly *Dawn*. So, it was hardly fair to expect him to accept a lower remuneration than that received by him at present.

If Joseph leaves tonight, and I hope and pray that he does, please make it clear to him that he shall not contribute, under his own name, articles to Indian dailies or weeklies except to the *Star of India*. We did not lay down this stipulation in our contract and he, contrary to the fundamentals that govern the conduct of editors of first-class newspapers, has been contributing articles under his signature to the *Hindu, Orient,* etc. This should not be permitted as it discredits the newspaper that employs him.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 283.

Enclosure
M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Pothan Joseph

F. 307/198-9

PRIVATE

26 CHOWRINGHEE,
CALCUTTA,
26 September 1942

My dear Pothan Joseph,

Thanks for your note just received.

You shall receive Rs. 1,500; Rs. 1,000 as salary and Rs. 500 from my pocket as a gift less the arrears, and this sum includes your salary that falls due, as usual, on the 1st of the month of October 1942. You are not entitled to receive salary for October. That will be paid to you by the *Dawn*. Surely, you do not suggest that you should be given double salary, plus travelling expenses, plus some money to square up your commitments! If this is what you mean, let me know clearly and I shall then know where I stand and what I should do.

I propose telegraphing Mr. Jinnah on hearing from you.

I have just now received a telegram from Delhi asking me to advance you Rs. 500. If we disagree on the principle, then so far as I am concerned the need for making the advance of Rs. 500 will not arise.

Please do not jockey me into an intolerable position because I shall not allow anyone to ride me off the track.

You cannot say that I have in any way been unreasonable to you. I have met you every time as far as it was possible for me to do. I cannot, however, do the impossible. *Dawn* or no *Dawn,* promise or no promise even to my beloved leader, Mr. Jinnah. I am confident that I shall be able to explain away the hitch, if it does present itself. He will be satisfied.

I appeal to you not to be unreasonable. Give Mirza Ali the receipts, as asked, and take from him Rs. 1,500 less the amounts due by you to the *Star* in full settlement of your accounts with the paper. Of course, your letter of yesterday will be placed before the Board—but that is another matter. If you do as asked, Mirza Ali has been directed to advance you Rs. 500 on the account of *Dawn*. Let me know your decision, please, as I must inform Mr. Jinnah right away and also make my arrangements.

I sincerely trust no further elucidation is necessary and hope that you will decide one way or the other because the contents of this letter cannot be modified—Cripps proposals!

I appeal to you not to make things impossible or distasteful for me because I have been your friend and colleague during the months we have worked together to bring the *Star* to the forefront.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

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M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Alim A. Dareshani

F. 957/139

NEW DELHI,
26 September 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th of September,[1] and I am glad that the Sind Provincial Muslim Students Federation has been started and that you are going to bring out from the 1st of October a monthly magazine, called *The Moslem Students*.

I am enclosing herewith my message.

With regard to your request that I should be the first patron of your Federation, I beg to inform you that although it will be a great honour to me to do so, I am sorry I cannot comply with your request for various reasons, but I wish the Sind Provincial Muslim Students Federation every success and I shall be very pleased to receive your constitution and rules. My services, however, will always be at your disposal in whatever way I can help in the progress of your Federation.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

A. A. Dareshani, Esq.,
6 Ramchand Gangabishan Building,
Thaoonal Khushaldas Road,
Near Burns Garden,
Karachi

[1]No. 277.

Enclosure
Message from M. A. Jinnah
F. 957/140

NEW DELHI,
26 September 1942

I am glad to learn that the Sind Provincial Muslim Students Federation has been started and that they are going to bring out a monthly magazine, *The Moslem Students*, from the 1st of October 1942.

I cannot do better than to repeat, as message to the Sind Muslim students, what I have been saying for a considerable time now:

> Remember that the work that is being done today by the All India Muslim League is to fall on your shoulders tomorrow. Have you, therefore, equipped yourselves, trained yourselves and disciplined yourselves enough to prove worthy of the responsibility? If not, go ahead. This is the proper time.

I wish the Sind Provincial Muslim Students Federation godspeed.

M. A. JINNAH

293

A. R. Gulzar-e-Karimi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/3-4

HAFEEZ MANZIL,
MARRIS ROAD,
ALIGARH,
27 September 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have come to know today that a letter[1] has been sent to you requesting sanction for organising an association, Muslim Janbaz Pakistan. It is possible that this rumour may be incorrect. I would like to bring to your notice that certain interested persons are trying their best to hamper the efforts and the work of the Aligarh City Muslim National Guard by creating this rival association. This association is nothing but an attempt to interfere with the work of the League and the M[uslim] N[ational] Guard. They have adopted the name Pakistan because they know that it could attract people to their association.

We, the members of the City M. N. Guard, strongly hope that our Quaid-i-Azam will always give his blessings and patronage to the

M. N. Guard who are prepared to make every sacrifice at his command. We further request you to send us a letter[2] containing your orders about the illegality and inadvisability of founding such rival institutions so that we might show it to simple-minded Muslims and prevent them from falling into this trap laid down [*sic*] by a few mischief-mongers.

I have written this letter to you at the request of the workers of the City M. N. Guard.

Yours respectfully,
A. R. GULZAR-E-KARIMI
Officer in charge, M. N. Guard,
Aligarh, Bulandshahar & Etah Districts

[1]Not traced.
[2]See *SHC*, UP I/5-6. Not printed.

294

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 307/202

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
28 September 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a letter, received by me yesterday, from Joseph which speaks for itself. Kindly return it to me when done with.

I was surprised to hear in the Assembly this morning that Joseph had missed the train again last night and that he was leaving by tonight's mail. He must have lunched too well but not too wisely.

The portion relating to the appointment of another Editor of the *Star of India* need not be considered by you because I have not made up my mind in the matter. Truly, Joseph has been more of a worry to me than a pleasure, particularly during the last six weeks. I do hope that you will be able to handle him once he gets there. Please, however, remember that he will not hesitate in making any and every demand, and the more you yield the greater will be his needs. I know Joseph very well and I am giving you the benefit of my experience.

I hope you have been able to assure the regular supply of

newsprint for our new venture. This will be a very severe and serious problem in the future unless, of course, steps are taken right away to avoid the difficulties that must arise.

The newsprint loaned by the *Star of India* to Delhi is on the explicit understanding that it will be returned to us at Calcutta by January 1943. Kindly ask Liaquat[2] to drop me a line confirming this arrangement as the *Star of India* must have such a confirmation on its file.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 302.
[2]Jinnah forwarded Ispahani's letter regarding newsprint to Liaquat Ali Khan on 3 October. See F. 307/203-4, QAP. Not printed.

Enclosure

Pothan Joseph to M. A. Hassan Ispahani[1]

STAR OF INDIA,
CALCUTTA,
26 September 1942

My dear Hassan,

The train was overcrowded today and with difficulty I have managed to get a first-class top-berth for tomorrow. In reality they have started the rationing of tickets on some priority basis.

Again I must ask you to believe that I did not attempt a money-squeeze on you, but your green-inked letter to me gave me the impression of an *ex gratia* allowance of Rs. 1,500. I should despise myself if I meant anything else. Your language there was a little ambiguous. That is all. Let us forget it. I got quite hot round the ears at your vehemence until it reached the reference to the Cripps Offer which displayed your good-willed humour! All that is 'off the record' as [United States President] Roosevelt would say at press interviews. We have yet a long way to go together in the same cause and let us hold together.

About Thomas, there is no unseemly fuss at all. As an editor who leaves you, I have a right of recommending to you a proper selection which would work well in the chain-scheme of publicity you have in view. I have taken liberty; I have, after a talk, told him to split halves and advised the acceptance of Rs. 650 per mensem. You gave me latitude of Rs. 625. The *Star* is now publicly associated with your

name. I request you not to put the editorship in commission with miscellaneous writers; hold one man responsible and put heart into him. Since he already has a job, the stipulation of a three months' notice would be only an express compliance with what is fair. You don't want any blotches or ungrammatical rubbish in the paper; any contrary speculation would swiftly undo the service you have rendered to the *Star*. Thomas would give you steady stuff. With cartoon-blocks from Delhi and my own contributions you wanted, we can be sure of the shape of things to come. I recommend that you offer him a salary of Rs. 650 with three months' proviso.

I feel that the Delhi venture, which is also your own, is going to be a success. Do send Mr. Jinnah, as a last favour, a telegram that 'Joseph starts Sunday' [27 September 1942]. I can't bear the thought of wrath on the part of the good old man for delay. My *salaam* to your brother who should excuse me for not personally wishing goodbye.

Yours affectionately,
POTHAN JOSEPH

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 303-4.

295

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/3

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
30 September 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry that I did not have the opportunity to meet you in Delhi. You were busy in the first week. I went twice to your house, but you were engaged and I myself fell ill during the last four days of my stay so much so that I had to deliver my speech on the Khaksar question with a temperature of 102°. There were several points I wanted to discuss with you.

I sent you a letter on the 23rd April 1942,[1] a copy of which is enclosed herein for ready reference, and I spoke to you personally. I will have to lay your reply before the next meeting of the Executive Council. We want some notice for holding the special convocation. You

may please let me know[2] the time that may be most convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

[1]No. 23.

[2]In his reply dated 4 October 1942, Jinnah appreciated the decision of the Court of Muslim University, Aligarh, to confer an honorary doctrate on him, but expressed a desire to remain "a plain Mr. Jinnah". See *SHC*, UP V/5. Not printed.

APPENDIX I

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE FUND

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, had made an appeal to the Indian Muslims on 21 March, 1942,[1] to donate funds to the Muslim League as it was "no longer possible [for the Party] to carry on the administration at home and propaganda abroad" with its meagre means.

The Muslims responded enthusiastically from across India as well as from abroad. Since the number of donors ran into several thousand, letters only of children, ladies, students, the poor and invalid, Indian Muslims living abroad, and of those who had contributed Rs. 1,000 or more, have been included. Other letters could not be accommodated due to limitation of space. The response also reflected the determination of Muslim India to strive for and achieve Pakistan as well as the implicit faith in, and unswerving allegiance to, Quaid-i-Azam.

[1]Appendix I. 1.

I. 1

Appeal for Funds by M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW DELHI,
21 March 1942

"You know the world is in a great turmoil. The conflagration of the war, which started in Europe, has enveloped the two hemispheres and its flames have now reached the gates and borders of India. The face of the world is being changed rapidly and like every nation we must be prepared to meet the grave dangers threatening our very existence. We must, therefore, be fully prepared to deal with all exigencies and critical situations that may arise or develop from time to time, with courage, calmness, self-reliance and fortitude.

"The renaissance of Indian Muslims began about five years ago under the banner of the All India Muslim League; and Muslim India, thank God, is no longer in a paralytic state and has, at last, roused itself from the deadly slumber and shaken off the lethargy of decades. In this short period we have, I am glad to say, made big

strides, but you must realize that we are still far away from being efficiently and fully organized to be able to reach our destination. We have yet to achieve and accomplish our goal of Pakistan.

"So far we have not raised any general funds and have managed somehow or other with the meagre means at our disposal. This is the first time that I am making an appeal seriously and solemnly for funds as I feel that the time has come when it is no longer possible to carry on the administration at home and propaganda abroad of this growing and powerful organization that we have built up with hardly any money.

"I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to every Musalman, rich or poor, to contribute his or her mite to the fund of the All India Muslim League so that we may all the more effectively carry out the aims and objects and policy and programme of the Muslim League which may enable us to fulfil our sacred mission of safeguarding the interests of Muslim India and establishing Pakistan in our homelands in the north-western and eastern zones of India.

"I have thought very carefully over the different ways of collecting funds and after due consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the best course for those who wish to help us is to send their contributions direct to me for the purposes mentioned above.

"I cannot impress too strongly upon the Musalmans of India that the present is the most critical time in our history and if we are not well-equipped, vigilant or active, there might be a setback for us from which we may never recover. I am confident that my appeal will not fail. Islam expects every Musalman to do his duty by his people and by his nation."

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements,* III, 1539-41.

I. 2

M. Suleman Jan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/49

MUZAFFARNAGAR,
23 March 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It was a great pleasure to read the appeal made by our most

respected Quaid-i-Azam, published in the *Dawn* dated 23.3.1942. At long last, someone has struck the right chord in the proper way and at the most opportune time. The music has been started in right earnest. God save Muslim India and its Quaid-i-Azam.

I am sending by cheque Rs. 100 from the City Muslim League Fund as the first instalment of its contribution.

I am personally sending per bearer Rs. 1,000 as a token of regard that I have for the cause, which you so ardently espouse. Please acknowledge the two sums separately.

I will be going to Allahabad via Delhi on the 30th instant, and shall be very thankful to you if it will be possible for me to see you in Delhi at your place any time between 3 and 5 p.m. Reply[1] per bearer will oblige.

With best wishes for your long and healthy life, and for success in the Muslim League cause,

Yours sincerely,
M. SULEMAN JAN
President, City and District Muslim League

[1]Jinnah invited him to meet him on 30th of March 1942. See F. 150/46, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 3

Mehr Bano Begum to M. A. Jinnah

F. 371/1-2

1 MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
23 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was delighted to read your appeal in the paper about the collection of funds for the furtherance of the Muslim community through the Muslim League, which is flourishing under your wise and able guidance. I feel great pleasure in enclosing a cheque for Rs. 1,000 which I hope will be accepted.

If you happen to be visiting Lahore, you may please let me know.

Trusting this finds you in good health,

Yours sincerely,
MEHR BANO BEGUM
ex-Begum of Mamdot

I. 4

Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/95

ALMANZAR,
23 LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
25 March 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In response to your appeal to the Muslims, I contribute my humble share to the Fund of the All India Muslim League and enclose herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,000.

Kindly ask your Secretary to acknowledge receipt and oblige.

May God bless you for the wonderful work you are doing for the Muslims of India.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD

I. 5

Syed Jawad Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/80

IMAMBARA ESTATE,
MIAN BAZAR, GORAKHPUR, (U.P.),
25 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Here is a paltry sum of Rs. 1,000 only in response to your appeal for funds. I hope to send more after I have consulted the manager of my sugar mills.

Your sincere and obedient follower,
SYED JAWAD ALI SHAH

I. 6

Mohammad Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/24
[Original in Urdu]

3 BEGUM ROAD,
MOZANG, LAHORE,
26 March 1942

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In response to your appeal, I send you Rs. 4-0-0. I could not send more as I am a very poor person. I shall, however, continue to send you rupees two per month till the time Pakistan is established or I die. I will even sacrifice my life, if you so order for the sake of the good cause.

I hope you will accept this small amount and oblige,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM
Advocate, High Court

I. 7

S. Irshad Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/21

NAWAB MANZIL,
FRAZER ROAD,
PATNA,
26 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your appeal to the Musalmans of India regarding contribution towards the Pakistan Fund I read in the *Indian Nation*, our provincial newspaper. I, being a member of the Muslim League, am bound by heart and soul to follow precisely the path laid down by you to lead us to the light of glory. I thought repeatedly as to what should be the basis of my contribution, as I am a man of poor means; and ultimately came to the conclusion that I should fast for one day in the name of *Allah*, and send my one day's food expenses towards the

Muslim League Fund.

It is my humble suggestion that if all my brethren in Islam be prepared to fast and thus contribute according to their means towards the Muslim League Fund, sufficient money may be collected without any strain on the part of the contributors—and they will be blessed doubly.

I wish my letter may be sent for publication so that my brethren may read and follow this principle if they so choose.

Today, I am sending you Rs. 0-10-0 only on the same footing by money order.

With my best regards,

Yours obediently,
S. IRSHAD HUSSAIN

I. 8

Ghulam Ahmed Moledina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/122

128 1ST ROAD,
BOMBAY,
27 March 1942

My leader,

I have read your appeal for funds in the *Dawn* and send you herewith my humble contribution of rupee one. Please accept it.

Allah willing, I hope to send you the same [amount] every month. I am a student of St. Xavier's High School, Bombay. I saved it out of my pocket expenses.

I remain,

Your brother-in-faith,
GHULAM AHMED MOLEDINA

I. 9

Saeeda Khatoon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/135
[Original in Urdu]

GONDA,
28 March 1942

Dear brother,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I present to you a humble amount of Rs. 130, which has been contributed by my children out of their pocket money. My youngest son, Amir Sajjad, aged six, has very enthusiastically contributed rupees five.

SAEEDA KHATOON

I. 10

Sher Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/55-6

SIALKOT,
28 March 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I herewith send a cheque for rupees one hundred for the Muslim League Fund as my first instalment. I will send my second instalment in the first week of May to complete the sum of rupees two hundred. Had I been rich, as some of the Muslims are, I would have given much more. My heart and soul are always with the Muslim League. Probably you know that I am the first Indian selected to command a battalion with the rank of Lt. Colonel. It is a purely Indian Battalion. So far all the officers are Indians and we hope to make it a good show. I have great confidence in you and all the true Muslims are with you. My faith is that the Muslims who are not with the Muslim League are not true Muslims. Had I not been a soldier in service, I would have gone from village to village in my *ilaqa* and preached [for] Pakistan. I have openly declared to all the officers whom I came across that Musalmans of India cannot live without Pakistan. As a soldier, at present, I am not supposed to discuss politics. Wish you

every success. God may protect our undisputed and most sincere leader.

My *salaam* to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
SHER MOHAMMAD KHAN
Lt. Colonel

I. 11

M. H. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/113

MOHALLA KHARADIAN,
LAHORE,
28 March 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Most respectfully I beg to say that I have read an appeal from you for the All India Muslim League Fund. As regards I concerned [*sic*], I am nine years old and getting my education in the Sacred Heart School. I think that you will be astonished to know that I am only getting *annas* two per month as my pocket money. I had also put this thing before my school friends and was glad that two of my friends paid me *annas* six each. Here I am sending you *annas* five *pies* three out of which *annas* four as a fund and *anna* one and *pies* three for the letter which you should drop me in reply, indicating particularly how I can make the Pakistan scheme popular. Please, I think that you would not mind the trouble of answering my letter.

Yours obediently,
M. H. QURESHI

I. 12

S. M. Ibrahim Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/141-2

CAWNPORE,
28 March 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Will you kindly accept the enclosed draft for Rs. 1,032 only paid

by the following gentlemen towards their contribution in respect of your recent demand [appeal]. Will you please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

[*List of 43 contributors omitted*]

Thanking you for all the trouble you are taking in the cause of your Muslim brethren and praying for your long life and the success of your endeavours,

I am,
My Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most obedient servant,
S. M. IBRAHIM HASSAN

I. 13

Qazi Izhar Memon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/123
[*Original in Urdu*]

MUZZAFARNAGAR,
29 March 1942

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

My sister and myself are studying in a school. I am a student of class six while my sister studies in class four. The day we read the appeal of our Quaid in the daily *Manshoor*, we decided to deposit in the Quaid's Fund whatever amount our parents would give us as daily pocket money. Please accept our humble contribution of stamps worth *annas* eight.

Long live Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours obediently,
QAZI IZHAR MEMON

I. 14

Resolution Passed by the students of Islamia H. E. School, Sheikhupura

F. 150/130

30 March 1942

A meeting of the Muslim students of Islamia H. E. School, Sheikhupura (Monghyr), was held in the school premises and

the following resolution [was] unanimously passed:

Resolved that in response to the appeal made by Quaid-i-Azam, President, All India Muslim League, a sum of rupees sixty only, out of the amount raised for the distribution of sweets and other expenses on the occasion of *Mehfil-i-Milaad* to be held in the school premises to-day, be sent to him for the national work.

ABDUR RAHIM

I. 15

Shamim Aara to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/11
[*Original in Urdu*]

MOKARRAM MANZIL,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
30 March 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I did not spend my pocket money on purchase of sweets. I am, therefore, sending rupees five for the national defence fund. I, being a student, could not send more money. I hope that you will accept the small contribution of my pocket money. I happened to meet you at Rockland Guest House, Hyderabad, on 10 August and had a small [*sic* for brief] talk with you on Pakistan and development of Muslims.

SHAMIM AARA

I. 16

Ghous Bakhsh Khan Mazari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/27
[*Original in Urdu*]

ROJHAN,
DIST. DERA GHAZI KHAN,
30 March 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

As per your appeal,[1] I have remitted today rupees one thousand

as contribution to the Muslim League Fund. My personal contribution is rupees three hundred while rupees seven hundred have been contributed by the tenants working for me.

Please acknowledge receipt.

GHOUS BAKHSH KHAN MAZARI
Sardar

[1]Appendix I. 1.

I. 17

Abdul Qadir Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/21

SHEIKHUPURA,
4 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Herewith is a letter on the reverse from my son, Javed Ahmad Khan, aged six, studying in the second class. He is very very fond of freedom for Islam in India. He has devoted [*sic*] (all he had deposited during the past two years) to you at the address of Malabar Hill, Bombay, vide money order, on 1st April 1942, amounting to Rs. 13-8-0, though a very humble sum.

ABDUL QADIR KHAN
Medical Officer

Enclosure
Javed Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah
[*Original in Urdu*]

F. 857/22

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have sent you all the money which had been given to me by my father. I have come to know that you would get us freedom. I will come to meet you when I grow up.

JAVED AHMAD KHAN
Class II

I. 18

Mohammad Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1134/46

NEW ELGIN VILLA,
ISLAMIA SCHOOL,
SIMLA,
5 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I, a student of 8th class of a local school, came to know of your appeal for funds two weeks ago, but as I had spent my pocket-money I could not send you anything. Now, I have got three rupees as my pocket-money and am enclosing stamps worth one and a half rupees. I will go on paying [*sic*] the amount as long as I get my pocket-money, to you, as I think it to be a sacred duty of every Indian Muslim.

Wishing that we will get Pakistan soon,
Zindabad Quaid-i-Azam, *Paindabad* Pakistan

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD IQBAL

I. 19

A. K. Mayan Hajee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/177

TELLICHERRY,
7 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Please accept my humble contribution of Rs. 1,000 remitted to you yesterday towards the Muslim National Fund in response to your appeal dated 21st March 1942 for funds. The following telegram was addressed to you at Allahabad.

> Moplahs determined any sacrifice you order for Pakistan. Remitted thousand rupees Delhi address. Personal contribution national fund. I pray to God Almighty that your efforts to save the Muslim nation be

crowned with success and I assure you of our hearty co-operation in your efforts.

Yours respectfully,
A. K. MAYAN HAJEE

I. 20

S. Sadiq Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/182

LOHGARH GATE,
AMRITSAR,
8 April 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you a cheque for Rs. 1,000 on behalf of our firm, Messrs. K. B. Shaikh Gulam Hussun & Co. This is in response to your appeal for funds for All India Muslim League. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,
S. SADIQ HASAN
President,
K. B. Shaikh Gulam Hussun & Co

I. 21

Syed Nasrullah & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/188-93

SALIMULLAH MUSLIM HALL,
RAMNA, DACCA,
9 April 1942

Dear Sir,

We have collected Rs. 555-9-0 from the members of the Salimullah Muslim Hall, University of Dacca, in response to your appeal for subscriptions to the All India Muslim League Fund. We had hoped to be able to collect a larger sum of money but as the University was closed for the summer vacation from the 29th of March, the students had left for their homes. And, as such, we could not collect subscriptions from a number of students. We hope,

however, that we shall be able to collect another sum of money when the University will re-open in June.

We beg to request you, therefore, to kindly accept this small amount as the first instalment of our subscriptions.

A cheque for Rs. 552-13-0 and postage stamps worth Rs. 1-10-6 enclosed herewith, along with a list of donors.[1]

We beg to remain, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
SYED NASRULLAH & THREE OTHERS

[1]List of 136 contributors omitted.

I. 22

A. Said Ghori to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/33-4

LYALLPUR,
11 April 1942

Dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We, [the] Muslim students of Punjab Agriculture College, send you this little sum of Rs. 100 only to express our deep love [for] and full confidence in you. We look to you as the only and true leader of all the Muslims of India.

We hope you will kindly accept this little sum and give us an opportunity to serve our Muslim brethren.

In the end, we all pray for the achievement of our object and wish you a long and healthy life.

We are, Sir,
Your young friends,
A. SAID GHORI
Joint Secretary,
Muslim Students Association

I. 23

S. M. Kidwai & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/35

MUSHIR MUNZIL,
JOPLING ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
12 April 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are sending you a sum of rupees ten, which we have collected by making small Muslim League flags.

We hope that you will accept this as a small token from us. The money includes our pocket money also.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. KIDWAI
R. M. KIDWAI
N. A. JAFAREY

I. 24

S. Abdul Shakoor to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/278

FARRASHKHANA,
CAWNPORE,
13 April 1942

Dear Sir,

We beg to draw your kind attention to the fact that, in response to your appeal for funds, we, the hide merchants of Farrashkhana, Cawnpore, [have] remitted to your address a demand draft for Rs. 2,000 by registered letter.

As we are anxious to know whether the money has been received by you or not, please oblige me by acknowledegment receipt thereof.

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL SHAKOOR

I. 25

Hafez Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/36

P.O. BATTALI,
CHITTAGONG,
15 April 1942

Sir,

I am an inhabitant of Gahira, P. S. Anwara, Chittagong. I am a B. Sc. candidate [student] of the Chittagong College. When I came to know [of] your appeal for funds, from that time I am trying my level best to collect subscriptions as far as possible from my villagers. 98 per cent of my villagers are uneducated; so they do not know what is the Muslim League and the Congress. I have tried to give them the idea of the Muslim League and the Congress. However, I have collected Rs. 11 from them and out of Rs. 11, I have sent to you Rs. 10 by T.M.O. today. The remaining rupee one has been deducted as cost.

Next, my appeal to you, Sir, is: will your honour kindly take some trouble to give advice to my poor villagers for the unity of the Muslim community and how [they should] protect themselves from others and also to encourage them for higher education of their children. I hope your advice produces very good effect.

Lastly, I and my poor villagers wish to [let you] know that we wholeheartedly support the Muslim League and your leadership. We also pray to *Allah* the Almighty for your long life.

Yours affectionately,
HAFEZ AHMAD

I. 26

Abdul Karim & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/206
[*Original in Urdu*]

JUBBULPORE, C.P.,
15 April 1942

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We, the twenty-nine poor labourers, have sent you Rs. 4-2-0 by

money order which you might have received. Due to poverty we cannot send you more. We hardly earn six to eight *annas* a day, out of which we also spend on our families. You may kindly accept this small amount.

[*Names of 28 contributors omitted*]

ABDUL KARIM
AND OTHERS

I. 27

Hanifa Adam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/39

313 MAIN STREET,
CAMP POONA,
16 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am a student of the seventh standard. I get rupees five from my father for my pocket expenses, out of which I shall send you rupee one every month for the League Fund. I am enclosing rupee one in stamps for this month. I am sure you will accept this meagre amount and oblige.

Your sister-in-Islam,
(MISS) HANIFA ADAM

I. 28

Razia Rasheed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/250

[*Original in Urdu*]

BAHAWALNAGAR,
18 April 1942

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

Salaam

I have sent you a small amount of Rs. 10 by money order as per the enclosed receipt.

We are five sisters without a brother. I am 15 years old and the rest of my sisters are younger to me. We, along with our mother and a gentleman Ghulam Ali Siddiqui Quershi, request you to enrol us in the Muslim League.

Soon, we shall send you some more contribution. We are fully conscious of the fact that presently our nation is passing through critical times. We are, however, thankful to God for providing us a kind and intelligent leader like you.

Praying for your long life and success,

RAZIA RASHEED

I. 29

Mamnoon Hasan & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/5-6
[*Original in Urdu*]

PAREL,
BOMBAY,
22 April 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Yesterday we had sent you Rs. 810-4-0 as contribution of Muslim labourers of the Parel Workshop, G.I.P. Railway. The list of donors is being sent today.[1]

Although we are very poor, yet we realize, rather feel ashamed, that our contribution is very small. We want to assure our Quaid-i-Azam that, at his behest, we are ready to sacrifice everything including our lives anytime. The labour class will prove, when required, that it can provide strong protection to Islam and the Muslim nation.

Yours obediently,
MAMNOON HASAN
& OTHERS

[1]See F. 52/7-13, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 30

Mohamed Sagho Pali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/264

SHADI PALI,
THARPARKAR, SIND,
22 April 1942

I quite appreciate the way of your appeal to Muslim community for giving a lift to the political circle [*sic*] of India. Herewith I am sending you Rs. 2,000 only which I hope you will gladly accept as my personal donation to the League. I am sure that a leader like you will carry on the work successfully and will prove [that] one hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name.

I am,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED SAGHO PALI
Zamindar

I. 31

Mohammad Mahfooz Alam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/81

RAMNA,
PATNA,
22 April 1942

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Please accept my humble contribution to the Muslim National Fund. I am a student of extremely scanty means. But I shall not allow my limited means to come between my duty that I owe the Muslims and [my] obedience to you. I have decided to go without breakfast for seven days every month and send the amount thus saved to you. Kindly pray [to] God to give me strength to stand the trial.

Quaid-i-Azam! I seek your blessings,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD MAHFOOZ ALAM
Class XI

I. 32

Kh. Bashir Bux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 582/17-8

REGISTERED

AUSTRALIA BUILDINGS,
McLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 April 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have not been favoured with a reply to my letter of the 25th ultimo, a copy of which I enclose herewith[1] for your ready reference.

I have pleasure in enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,000 only, being the first contribution from the undersigned.

Kindly acknowledge receipt early together with a reply to my letter to enable me to proceed further with my programme.

Yours truly,
BASHIR BUX

[1]Not traced.

I. 33

T. M. Gholamul Haque to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/123

HAZARIBAGH,
23 April 1942

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to your appeal for funds, we, the Muslim boarders of the St. Columbia's College, Hazaribagh (Bihar), numbering ten, beg to send a sum of rupees ten only as our humble contribution to the said fund. Though the amount is small, microscopically small, Sir, it nevertheless expresses our loyalty to our national organisation, the Muslim League.

We request that our amount be accepted.

With regards,

Ever at your behest,
T. M. GHOLAMUL HAQUE
& OTHER MUSLIM STUDENTS

I. 34

Amirsaheb M. Rais to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/116-7

RAIS MANZIL,
MANOR,
DIST. THANA,
23 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I take this opportunity of introducing myself to you as a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly from Thana District. Although I stood as an independent candidate from this District, yet by the grace of *Allah* I was successful. No sooner I took my seat in the legislature [than] I thought it my bounden duty, as a Musalman, to join the Muslim League Party in the Assembly. Since then, I have devoted myself to the cause which you have so kindly undertaken for the Musalmans of India.

It is not possible for me to express in words how very grateful the Musalmans of India are to you. I do realise the troubles and the critical moments through which you have so ably and successfully led the Muslims, and today the League, by your sincere efforts, has become one of the most powerful organizations under the Indian sun.

Yet it is a most critical time in the history of Muslim India, and the most earnest and considerate appeal you have issued reflects the statesmanlike realization on your part of the events that would go to shape the destiny of Muslim India. The momentous days that lie ahead require [the] utmost exertion—intellectual, physical and, last but not the least, financial—on the part of the Musalmans of India and your appeal represents a clarion call to the children of Islam to rise to the occasion and do their duty.

Herewith is enclosed a cheque for Rs. 2,000 which is my humble subscription in response to your appeal. Kindly accept and oblige. Individual and collective subscriptions from the Muslims of this District will follow.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, as the representative of the Musalmans of this District, I assure you that every son of Islam on the soil of this District, which has the singular honour of the first Muslim stepping in India, has full confidence in your leadership.

May *Allah,* the most merciful, bestow upon you sound health to lead us through the difficult days that lie ahead and grant you long life to see the fruit of your efforts—I mean Pakistan. *Aameen*

Your sincere brother-in-Islam,
AMIRSAHEB M. RAIS
MLA (Bombay)

I. 35

Mohamed Burhanulhaq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/118

JUBBULPORE,
24 April 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Impelled by the impression which I brought in my mind regarding the Jinnah Fund, on return from the All India Muslim League Conference, Allahabad, whatever amount I have collected, after making a little effort, from the poor Muslims of Jubbulpore, i.e. Rs. 1,000 plus postal stamps worth Rs. 12-9-0, are sent herewith along with the list of donors.[1]

I have, for their encouragement, made the donors understand that their names shall either be published in the *Manshoor* or Quaid-i-Azam might send separate receipts to each person individually.

My efforts to collect further donations are going on. I hope you will accept this trifling amount of donations as a mark of respect from the poor Muslims of Jubbulpore, C.P.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED BURHANULHAQ
President, District and Town Muslim League

[1]Not traced.

I. 36

M. A. Jinnah to Kh. Bashir Bux

F. 150/310-11

NEW DELHI,
24 April 1942

Dear Bashir Bux,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 22nd of April[1] and of the 25th of March.[2]

With regard to the latter, I beg to inform you that I am unable to authorise anybody to collect contributions or start any fund on my behalf although I appreciate very much indeed your sincere sympathy and desire to support me and the Muslim League whole-heartedly. I considered various methods of collecting and realising the funds, which I am glad to say, are pouring in with great enthusiasm, and I came to the conclusion that they must be sent to me direct.

Yes, I know you started to send me rupees two less money order commission every month. That was even before my appeal was issued.

I thank you for your compliments for what I have been doing for the Musalmans. I am glad to tell you that Punjab is waking up. You will very soon [see] an enormous change and, therefore, let us be patient and not be disheartened. [The] League is going to live. I know that there are many difficulties in our way and I fully realise the shortcomings of the organisation, not only in the Punjab but [also] in other parts of India. God willing, we will make this organisation, not only in the Punjab but all over India, a real, solid, healthy and sound organisation.

As regards your letter of the 22nd April, enclosing a cheque for Rs. 1,000, let me acknowledge it with many thanks.

It is the support of public-spirited men like you that gives a great encouragement to me to carry on the work undauntedly and vigorously.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Bashir Bux,
Australia Buildings,
McLeod Road,
Lahore

[1]Appendix I. 32.
[2]Not traced.

I. 37

Ahmad Yar Khan Jinnahi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/33
[Original in Urdu]

BAHAWALNAGAR,
BAHAWALPUR STATE,
27 April 1942

Quaid-i-Azam,

I humbly present to you rupees five, given to me by my parents on my success in the examination. I hope you will accept it and oblige. I pray that God may bless you with success in your mission and grant you long life and sound health to guide us. *Aameen*

AHMAD YAR KHAN JINNAHI
Class V

I. 38

D. M. Docrat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 483/9

65 VICTORIA STREET,
DURBAN,
27 April 1942

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

May, by the peace and the blessings of Almighty *Allah*, you be in sound health together with happiness, and may the fruits of your labour be reaped at the very earliest.

The Muslims of Natal extend to you their full support [for] your policy of Pakistan for the betterment of the Muslims of India. May it be achieved in the near future.

Today, we have forwarded to you a sum of rupees one thousand, two hundred and twenty-one, being [*sic* for having been] subscribed as follows:

i. Rupees one thousand, one hundred and forty-three, collected by the local Muslim women during February/March as a token of our solidarity to [*sic* for with] you, during your birthday celebrations. The anxiety that they realise the position

in which the Muslims of India are, adds much to this little purse.

ii. Rupees sixty-five is the donation from the Dominion Shirt Manufacturers towards your League Fund. The management had read your appeal in the columns of the weekly, the *Muslim Gujarat*.

iii. Rupees thirteen is the subscription from the Dominion Shirt Manufacturers for your weekly journal, the *Dawn*. Please acknowledge. Hoping [*sic*] you every success.

With best greetings from,

DAWOOD M. DOCRAT
Director,
The Dominion Shirt Manufacturers (Pty.) Ltd.

I. 39

Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/171-2

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
28 April 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Although I tried that the Muslims of Hyderabad should send their contributions for the Muslim League Fund direct to you, yet many Muslims from the districts and towns, who acknowledge me as their *quaid* [leader] and your true servant, have sent me their contributions to be submitted to you. A bank draft for rupees two thousand, so far received, is enclosed herewith. The names of the contributors have already been announced in the local papers and as a further mark of appreciation they may kindly be announced through the *Manshoor* also, according to the list attached.[1] Most of them have paid in Hyderabad currency and these amounts have been marked as O. S. [Osman Shahi]. This sum includes a further contribution of Rs. 500 from Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan, who had sent you direct Rs. 500, previously. Thus his contribution comes to Rs. 1,000 in all. The Muslims of Raichur have sent you direct their contributions, amounting to more than a thousand rupees, and they will be sending you further contributions soon. I am sure that the Muslims of Hyderabad will not lag behind any other province in their response

to the appeal of their Quaid-i-Azam.

Please accept my heartfelt congratulations on the fulfilment, by the grace of *Allah*, of your most sincere efforts. Not only has the British Government accepted in principle our claim for Pakistan through the Cripps Proposals, but also an important Congress Province has begun to see, after all, the justification for the same. All this is solely due to your able guidance [and] the grace of *Allah*. May God grant you very long life and may He enlighten the Muslims to be fully benefited by your perfect guidance.

The work of organising the Muslims in Hyderabad continues according to your instructions and, God be praised, it goes on successfully. I shall feel obliged if you will kindly inform me about your welfare.

My sincerest *salaam* to Miss Jinnah,

Yours very sincerely,
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

[1]Not traced.

I. 40

S. M. Anis to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/163

BANSMANDI,
CAWNPORE,
28 April 1942

Sir,

In response to your appeal dated 26th April [21 March] 1942,[1] as published in the press, we, the timber merchants of Bansmandi, Cawnpore, beg to send herewith a humble sum of Rs. 1,000 as the contribution of our Association.

Please acknowledge and oblige,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ANIS
Honorary Secretary,
Timber Merchants Association

[1]Appendix I. 1.

I. 41

Aziz-ur-Rehman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/174
[Original in Urdu]

CHISHTIA HIGH SCHOOL,
AMRITSAR,
29 April 1942

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

It is respectfully stated that about 20 days back my uncle told his friends that Mr. Jinnah had appealed for funds for the cause of Muslims.

Dear Sir, you better need not worry about it as I have collected some money, i.e. Rs. 0-8-0, which I am sending in the form of stamps. I hope you will receive it. I shall be sending you more money when I grow up.

Praying for your long life,

Yours obediently,
AZIZ-UR-REHMAN
Class V

I. 42

Farkhandah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/256
[Original in Urdu]

[Undated] April 1942

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In response to your appeal, I send my humble contribution which hopefully you will accept. I earnestly wish to serve Islam but due to poverty and death of my mother, I cannot fulfil my desire. If possible, I shall send you more money during the next month.

At the service of nation,

FARKHANDAH

I. 43

S. Iftikhar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1134/40

ZAFER MANZIL,
GAYA,
1 May 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am a beginner, studying in the sixth class of a local school. I get rupees two from my father for my pocket expenses out of which I shall send you rupee one every month. I am enclosing rupee one in stamps for this month. I am quite sure you will gladly accept this meagre amount and oblige.

In the last paragraph of my letter, please allow me to request you to get this humble letter of mine published in the *Dawn* in order that the students of my tender age may be greatly encouraged to save some amount from their monthly pocket expenses and contribute it towards the Muslim League National Fund.

Obediently yours,
S. IFTIKHAR HUSSAIN

I. 44

Ghulam Ahmed Moledina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/175

128 1ST ROAD,
KHAR, BOMBAY 21,
1 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have received a formal receipt from you for my first monthly contribution of rupee one towards the Muslim National Fund.

I beg to send you herewith one rupee currency note, as my second monthly contribution towards the above Fund.

I hereby renew my promise that, *Allah* willing, I will continue to contribute every month my humble contribution of rupee one, which I would save from my pocket expenses.

I may remind you that I am a student of St. Xavier's High School, Bombay.

In the service of Islam,
I remain,
Your humble servant,
G. A. MOLEDINA

I. 45

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/333

BEGUMPETT,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
4 May 1942

My dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your kind letter dated the 29th April 1942.[1]

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for B.G. Rs.1,000 contributed by me, B.G. [British Govt.] Rs.110 and O.S. Rs.1,306-12-0, totalling B.G. Rs.2,331 contributed by my friends and relations as per list attached.[2]

I submit my apology for the delay in remitting the amount as certain contributions had not been received and I had been trying to collect them and send in one lot. I trust the amount will reach you safely.

I beg to remain,
Yours truly,
MIR LAIK ALI

[1]Not traced.
[2]See F. 150/334, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 46

Mohammad Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1134/104

[*Original in Urdu*]

BOMBAY 3,
12 May 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is stated that the moment I read your appeal in the newspapers I was anxious to send you my contribution. Although there is no limit to the contribution yet I could manage only a small amount.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, I am an extremely poor student of Matric and shall appear for the H.S.L.C. Examination next year. God willing, I shall pass the examination. My father was once a successful trader but due to bad luck he failed in business. We are four brothers and my educational expenses are borne by a local trader. I am enclosing stamps worth *annas* two as my contribution which you may kindly accept and oblige.

Due to poverty my father compels me to discontinue my studies but I want to get educated and serve Islam. I am a broad-minded and liberal person, and pray to God to grant me success in my aspirations.

Most of my Hindu friends criticize me for being pro-Pakistan but I do not let them win in discussions. May God establish Pakistan soon and may the Muslims of India, nay of the whole world, enjoy freedom for ever. The Muslims have come to this world to rule and not to be ruled.

Praying for your long life and good health,

MOHAMMAD ALI

I. 47

S. A. Mohamed Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/46

TANJORE DISTRICT,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY,
12 May 1942

Dear Jinnah,

We are extremely pleased to receive your kind letter of the 24th ultimo[1] in acknowledgement of Rs. 3,000 which we contributed to the Muslim League Fund.

We started collecting the funds as soon as we observed your appeal in the newspapers, and the collection amounted to Rs. 3,257-0-8. Deducting the amount already forwarded to you, i.e. Rs. 3,000, we enclose herewith a cheque for Rs. 230 in settlement of the balance of collected amount.

A list of the donors is also attached herewith[2] for your kind perusal; from which you will find that a sum of Rs. 27-0-8 has been deducted as collection expenses.

While we earnestly request you to receive the above sum as our humble mite towards the cause of the Muslims, we wish you every success in all your efforts for the uplift of Muslim India, economically, politically and spiritually. We pray to the Almighty to bestow you with a long, happy and successful life, to lead Musalmans on the right path.

Yours sincerely,
S. A. MOHAMED ALI
President,
Koothanallur Primary Muslim League

[1]Not traced.
[2]See F. 52/47-53, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 48

J. H. Vally to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/54

MANGALDAS ROAD,
BOMBAY 2,
15 May 1942

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Please accept the enclosed draft for Rs.1,000 in response to the appeal made by you, and send the receipt for the same to the address as referred to on my above letterhead.

Also please find herewith rupees eleven only in cash from Mir Subhanali Sahib of Barsi Town and send the receipt for the same.

Yours fraternally,
J. H. VALLY

I. 49

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

F. 150/332

NEW DELHI,
15 May 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th of May[1] and thank you for sending me a cheque for B.G. Rs. 2,231.

There seems to be some mistake when you say, "This amount consists of B.G. Rs. 1,000 contributed by me and B.G. Rs. 100 and O.S. Rs. 1,306-12-0, totalling B.G. Rs. 2,331", whereas the cheque sent to me is for Rs. 2,231; perhaps that is by mistake.

However, I am very grateful to you for this contribution to the Muslim League Fund.

I may also draw your attention [to the fact] that the amount announced by you for the sword auctioned at the session of the All India Muslim League was Rs. 1,625, as taken down by the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali

Khan. Please do not think that I am forcing you to pay anything more than you really intended or wished to pay but I thought that I must draw your attention to what was announced in the open session, and to the discrepancy in total in your letter, as explained above.

I need hardly say that I am extremely thankful to you and appreciate very much your generous support and contribution to the All India Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 45.

I. 50

M. Kutti Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/82-3

PONANI,
MALABAR,
18 May 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am a poor student of Class V of the Govt. Muslim High School, which was established at Malapparam in 1936, by the Government as a result of great efforts made by the Muslim leaders of Malabar, [in order] to bring up their brethren who are backward in the field of education.

It will be the greatest crime if I do not contribute anything towards the Muslim League Fund, regardless of the appeal made by you recently. So I humbly request you to accept *anna* two stamps as my humble contribution; for I am a man of poor means.

I request you to enrol me as a soldier when the time come[s] for Muslims to fight under your command for the noble cause of Pakistan.

I pray to *Allah* that you may be granted life long enough to see a free Muslim India, and also to help this Fund to carry out its high aims. *Aameen*

Yours obediently,
M. KUTTI HASSAN

I. 51

Zahid Hydary to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/342

[Original in Urdu]

BAZAR NUR-UL-UMRA,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
19 May 1942

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The Hyderabad & Berar Students Association [of Muslim University, Aligarh,]held an emergency meeting, and in accordance with your appeal, collected Rs. 70 out of which Rs. 69 are being sent by money order after deducting the expenses on money order. Stamps worth rest of the amount are also being sent to you. We hope that you will accept this small contribution from the Association.

ZAHID HYDARY
Vice-President,
Hyderabad & Berar Students Association
of Muslim University Aligarh

I. 52

Ibrahim Abdul Gani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52/70

KURLA,
BOMBAY,
20 May 1942

Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the labourers of Kurla Car-Shed, in response to your appeal for national fund, humbly contribute our quota to it.

We trust that you will accept our contribution of Rs. 15. We pray to Almighty that the required sum of Rs. 1,000,000 will be subscribed very soon.

I remain,
Your brother-in-Islam,
IBRAHIM ABDUL GANI

I. 53

M. H. Hakeem to M. A. Jinnah
F. 150/343

GOVERNMENT INTERMEDIATE COLLEGE,
JHANG,
20 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith [is] a draft on a Bombay bank for Rs.1,000 as my contribution to the Muslim National Fund. I wish to remain anonymous in your books and in the list (if any) appearing in the press. In these places you can put me down as a Punjabi Muslim.

I shall, however, very much appreciate a line from you, acknowledging this contribution.

At your service,
M. H. HAKEEM

I. 54

Monawar Ali to M. A. Jinnah
F. 150/345

LAHORE,
20 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I, on behalf of the Muslim students of the Punjab College of Engineering and Technology, beg to contribute a humble sum of Rs.181 to the Muslim National Fund. We assure you that we will be among those who will design the way to our goal and bridge over [*sic*] all the difficulties that confront us.

A faithful follower of yours,
MONAWAR ALI

I. 55

Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/347

AMBALA CITY,
22 May 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A highly esteemed friend, who wishes his name to be kept secret, has sent me Rs. 2,000 for payment into the Muslim National Fund for which you have appealed. I enclose the first half of the two currency notes, each of Rs. 1,000.

On hearing from you that you have received the first half, I shall send you the second half, and will then let you know how the receipt for the amount should be made out and issued.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRAING

I. 56

A. Waheed to M.A. Jinnah

F. 588/389

365 CIRCULAR ROAD,
LAHORE,
26 May 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have pleasure in forwarding a cheque for Rs.1,000 only, with a covering letter [dated 23.5.1942],[1] from my father, Khan Sahib Moulvi Feroz-ud-Din, founder-proprietor of the firm Ferozsons, Printers and Publishers, Lahore, and former proprietor of the *Eastern Times*, and have to request the favour of an acknowledgement.

Yours sincerely,
A. WAHEED

[1]See No. 58.

I. 57

Aesha Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/339

P.O. DUMKA,
SANTAL PARGANAS,
BIHAR,
28 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a crossed cheque for Rs.100 drawn in your favour towards the Fund. I have acted according to the instructions given by you in your address at the Allahabad session, which I was fortunate enough to attend. I have thought over it and I am sending you whatever saving I could effect from my household expenses. This may please be accepted and a receipt be issued in my name.

Long live Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
MRS. AESHA AHSAN

I. 58

Ashrafunnisa Mohammad Ibrahim Takamlay & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/391

77 NEW KAZI STREET,
BOMBAY 3,
28 May 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the Muslim ladies of New Kazi Street, Bombay, are sending herewith a cheque for Rs. 106-4-0, as our contribution to your fund, collected from the lady friends of the street and outside. We earnestly hope that your honour will kindly accept this humble sum. We further assure you that we are solidly behind the Muslim League and we won't be failing in making all the required sacrifices for our cherished goal, namely Pakistan.

In the end we earnestly pray to Almighty for the long life of the

undisputed leader of the hundred million Musalmans of India. *Aameen*. Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad*

We beg to remain,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most obedient followers,
ASHRAFUNNISA MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM TAKAMLAY
& INHABITANTS OF NEW KAZI STREET

I. 59

Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

F. 389/11

AMBALA CITY,
29 May 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter dated the 25th instant,[1] acknowledging receipt of the first half of two currency notes for Rs. 1,000 each, sent by me.

I am sending now the second half thereof. On safe receipt of the second half, kindly issue the official receipt in the name of a friend through Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, and send it to me. Incidentally, I am extremely sorry to say that this generous donor is now dead—he breathed his last on the 24th instant. He was a noble soul and had given you a great reception when you toured Kathiawar in January 1940 (was it 1939?).[2] I shall tell you his name when we meet. For the present I must respect his wish to keep it secret.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG

[1]Jinnah had acknowledged receipt of the first half of the donation of Rs. 2,000 and asked him to send the second half, along with the instructions regarding the issue of official receipt for the total amount. See F. 150/360, *QAP*. Not printed.

[2]Jinnah visited Kathiawar in January 1940. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 444.

I. 60

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 219/1

BEGUMPETT,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
2 June 1942

My dear Sir,

It has been a pleasure and honour to receive your letter dated 15th May 1942.[1]

The equivalent of O.S. Rs. 1,306-12-0 is B.G. Rs. 1,121 at the current rate and added to that the sum of B.G. Rs.1,110 the correct amount is B.G. Rs. 2,231. I much regret that due to a typing error the amount was expressed as B.G. Rs.2,331 although the cheque had been drawn for the correct figure.

I had accidentally met a few friends of mine on their way to the All India Muslim League session at Allahabad, and I had told them that I expected to receive from my relatives and friends a sum of O.S. Rs. 2,000 or say about B.G. Rs. 1,625. As I had hardly any time then to remit any amount through them, so I asked them to pay B.G. Rs. 1,625, if they had any cash balance with them and that I would pay them back on their return. In fact, I had asked them not to mention any name. I was surprised when I learnt later that what they did [*sic* for had done] was to announce the sum in my name. For the first time, I learnt from your letter dated 29th April 1942[2] that the auction of some sword was involved in the matter. Anyway, that does not matter. I have written you at some length to explain the situation.

Nevertheless, I regard the cause sacred and respect for your wishes supreme. I am accordingly enclosing a cheque for a further sum of B.G. Rs. 1,000 and shall be grateful if you will kindly accept this humble contribution from me.

Lastly, allow me to submit that I feel greatly honoured by receiving a direct communication from you and am extremely grateful to you for the same. I know how busy and pressed for time you are, so please do not bother to acknowledge this letter. Someone in your office may drop a line to say that the cheque has

reached your hands safely.

Kindly believe me always to be at your command

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours truly,
MIR LAIK ALI

[1]Appendix I. 49.
[2]Not traced.

I. 61

M. A. Jinnah to Aesha Ahsan

F. 150/451

4 June 1942

Dear Mrs. Ahsan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of May 1942[1] and I am very grateful to you for your contribution of Rs. 100 towards the All India Muslim League Fund for which I have received a cheque. It is very gratifying indeed that you have shown your sympathy and given your support by means of saving from your household expenses. The spirit which has prompted you in sending me the contribution I appreciate more than the money; but I do not want people to be unduly burdened and you can well understand my feelings that I do not wish to put any strain on those who cannot bear. I expect the rich and the well–to–do people to make their contributions and give us the[ir] support in a generous way.

I shall however send the official receipt to you in your name without the address mentioned by you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mrs. Aesha Ahsan,
Dumka

[1]Appendix I. 57.

I. 62

M. A. Jinnah to F. A. Kashmirwala

F. 150/474

12 June 1942

Dear Mr. Kashmirwala,

In reply to your post-card dated the 9th of June[1] I beg to acknowledge receipt of your sword which you presented at the annual session of the All India Muslim League in April last at Allahabad.

As you know, it brought, when it was auctioned, a sum of Rs. 32,014 which was announced by the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, during the session.

I have already received a large portion of the amount and the balance I am trying to recover, which will, I have no doubt, come in soon.

As you know, the sword finally went to the son of the late Sir Abdoola Haroon, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, who [had] bid the sum of Rs. 10,000 for it.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

F. A. Kashmirwala, Esq.,
Bungash Bridge,
Delhi

[1]No. 83.

I. 63

Currimbhoy Ebrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 585/15

UNITED INDIA BUILDING,
SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA ROAD,
BOMBAY,
16 June 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 2,000 as per the

appeal which you have made for the aims and objects, policy and programme of the Muslim League, thereby safeguarding the interests of Muslim India, and establishing Pakistan in our homeland in the north-western and eastern zones of India.

I hope you will accept it, which I am sending herewith with the best spirit as a worker, and I would also expect that in case you have made a practice of sending a receipt, kindly send it not in my name but in the name of a humble worker of the All India Muslim League.

Hoping this finds you in the best of health,

Yours very sincerely,
CURRIMBHOY EBRAHIM

I. 64

Surraya Noor Ahmad to M.A. Jinnah

F. 857/62

[*Original in Urdu*]

DARUL NOOR,
ABBOTTABAD,
17 June 1942

Respected uncle,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have saved some amount from my pocket-money for the League Fund. I am not aware of your correct address. Kindly send me your address so that I may send you the money. It is a small amount but, *Insha Allah*, I shall send you more money in future. I like the Pakistan scheme very much and pray Almighty God to grant us success in our endeavours. *Aameen*

With regards,

SURRAYA NOOR AHMAD

I. 65

Saeed Akhtar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/60

[*Original in Urdu*]

MULTAN,
17 June 1942

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

At your behest, I am sending you a postal order of *annas* eight for the Muslim National Fund, which I have saved from my pocket-money. I hope you will accept this small amount.

Yours obediently,
SAEED AKHTAR
Class IX

I. 66

Akhtar Hussain Awan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/61

AWAN MANZIL,
MOCHI GATE,
LAHORE,
17 June 1942

My President,

I am sending you the last instalment of Rs.122 of the funds collected by the students of the [King Edward] Medical College, Lahore. We have already sent you two instalments amounting to Rs. 397. This is the last instalment, which will make the total amount sent by our College as Rs. 519.

We offer you our heartiest support and co-operation and thank you for the great services you have rendered and achievements you have made.

Pakistan is our homeland and our goal. We rather feel that we already have Pakistan, only we have to free it. That is our ideal.

I offer myself and my wife, Mrs. Asgari Awan (both 5th year

students of this College), as Muslim National Guards. We beg we may be made use of in the cause of Islam.

Respectfully,
Your brother-in-Islam,
AKHTAR HUSSAIN AWAN
MBBS Student

I. 67

S. M. Irfanullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/64

10 BISHESHWARNATH ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
19 June 1942

Honoured Sir,

I have the pleasure of enclosing a cheque for rupees one thousand, the price of sword, promised by me at Allahabad.

I regret the delay in sending the amount and hope it will be accepted.

May the Almighty grant you health and long life.

Yours faithfully,
S. M. IRFANUALLAH
Engineer

I. 68

Ebrahim Motiwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/197-8

AL-HAJ COTTAGE,
DHORAJI,
KATHIAWAR,
20 June 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Asslaamo 'Alaikum

[*Paras 1 & 2 omitted*]

3. The real purpose of my writing this letter is to offer a

humble suggestion to you, and that is in regard to your appeal for the League Fund.

4. I would respectfully like to point out to you that the Muslim community has not awakened to such an extent as to subscribe towards the fund in response to a mere paper appeal.

I would humbly suggest to you to undertake an all-India tour when circumstances permit. Besides being able to collect the much-needed funds in larger amounts, you will by the tour create much awakening among the Muslims, particularly the villagers. Personal contact with the masses is very much needed at this juncture. In my humble opinion, the present is the most opportune time for an all-India tour by you. The tour will, I think, help much towards the achievement of unity among the Muslims and also in consolidating the position of the Muslim League.

5. This is only a humble suggestion respectfully placed before you by me. However, let me assure you that I have no doubt that you are the best judge of the situation and that you will do the thing which is in the best interests of Muslim India.

6. Here in Dhoraji I am doing my share, for the League Fund, by way of persuading people to send money. I would humbly request you to suggest[1] any method by which I can serve the Muslim League and yourself while I am at Dhoraji.

Looking forward with pleasure to hear[ing] from you,
and with best regards,

yours sincerely,
EBRAHIM MOTIWALA

[1]Jinnah replied that his suggestions had been noted for consideration. See F. 875/196, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 69

Khawaja Masood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/37

[*Original in Urdu*]

DELHI,
22 June 1942

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

As per your appeal of 21 March, a donation of rupees five is

sent to you for the success of Pakistan scheme. I earnestly hope that you will accept this humble donation and oblige.

KHAWAJA MASOOD
President,
Society of the Migrants from Turkistan

I. 70

Murad Bibi Sherwania to the Editor, Shehbaz

F. 903/14

[*Original in Urdu*]

CUDDAPAH,
MADRAS,
23 June 1942

Dear Sir,

A philanthropist of Punjab, residing at Kampala [Uganda], had arranged a sewing machine for me to earn my livelihood. I earn five to six *annas* a day. Today, perchance, I saw an old issue of *Shehbaz* which contained an article regarding the appeal of Quaid-i-Azam for funds. I wish to donate my one day's earning to Quaid-i-Azam Fund. As I do not know his address, I am sending my contribution of *annas* five to you in the form of stamps which may kindly be sent [on] to Quaid-i-Azam, and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
MURAD BIBI
Seamstress

I. 71

Niaz Ahmad Tirmizi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/93

FEROZEPORE CANTT.,
24 June 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In response to your appeal for the Muslim League Fund, I, on

behalf of the students and staff of the Islamia High School, Ferozepore Cantt. (Punjab), beg to remit by money order a humble sum of Rs.100 to your New Delhi address as a token of the love and fervour the teachers and the taughts of this School have for yourself, and the cause you stand for. You would be glad, Quaid-i- Azam, to learn that this sum was promptly raised as a result of a 20 minutes' speech made by me on the topic. This shows the spirit of awakening found in the modern Muslim youth of India and the respect they possess [*sic*] for the Muslim League and its revered leader. The students of this School expect a message in writing from their Quaid-i-Azam, which you would [*sic* for may] kindly condescend to give.

We all hail you as the saviour of Muslims of India.

Yours very obediently,
NIAZ AHMAD TIRMIZI
Head Master,
Islamia High School

I. 72

Piroze D. Karai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/430

REGISTERED

FORT WILLIAM,
CALCUTTA,
29 June 1942

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a draft and cheques amounting to Rs. 6,902 for Muslim League Fund, the receipt of which may please be acknowledged.

The details of subscribers will be forwarded to you by Sir Syed Maratib Ali Shah of Lahore.

Yours faithfully,
P. D. KARAI
Treasurer,
All India Army Contractors Association

I. 73

Abdul Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/443

M. S. HOSTEL,
BORDI, THANA,
29 June 1942

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith I am forwarding to you a letter written to you by my students. I am much pleased to say that all my students are taking keen interest in the affairs of Muslim League, the only representative [body] of Indian Muslims. They are all solidly behind you. We all wish you a long and prosperous life and [pray] for the League's remarkable success. Kindly accept the humble donation and acknowledge.

With best wishes and *salaam*,

Your brother in Islam,
ABDUL HAMID
A teacher

Enclosure
M. A. Hawn to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/442-3

M. S. HOSTEL,
BORDI, THANA,
29 June 1942

My dear *Janab* Quaid-i-Azam,

On behalf of the students of Muslim Hostel, I am sending to you, this day, an amount of rupees seventy-five only, for the Muslim National Fund.

This amount was partly collected from the students and partly saved by economizing [on] the mess expenses for a week. During the last week, as decided by the students, we took only vegetable food and avoided all luxuries in food, especially mutton.

This is the least we have done for the League. We sincerely wish to do all we can for the betterment of our community and country. I promise you, on behalf of the students, that none will

stay back when your[1] honour will demand us to do the duty.

We sincerely wish and pray to God to give you a long long life, *Aameen*. Under your able command, we have every reason to believe that the community will achieve its goal of Pakistan and enjoy freedom.

Yours brother-in-Islam,
[M. A. HAWN]

[1]Appendix I. 77.

I. 74

M. A. Jinnah to Salar Yar Jung Bahadur

F. 27/110

30 June 1942

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I am grateful to you for having sent to me a cheque for Rs.5,000 as your contribution towards the All India Muslim League Fund, in response to my appeal. But I was more pleased to notice in [y]our interview the spirit behind. Your expression of sympathy and the deep interest that you evinced was indeed a source of great encouragement to me in the struggle that we are carrying on.

I am sure that you will request other friends of yours whom God has given enough and persuade them to send their contributions and support us in organizing the Muslim India and in carrying on our work which is now increasing by leaps and bounds.

Thanking you and hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Salar Yar Jung Bahadur,
Hyderabad, Deccan

I. 75

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/90

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
1 July 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you herewith another cheque for Rs. 47 which has been realized from the salaries of some members of the staff for the month of May. This amount may be counted towards the sum of Rs. 1,000 which was promised on behalf of members of the Muslim University staff at the Allahabad session. Another cheque for the month of June will be sent early next month.

The University is reopening on the 15th. We hope to induce more members of the staff to contribute. I am sure the total amount of contributions from the staff will exceed Rs. 1,000 by next month. Please send the formal acknowledgement as soon as it may be convenient.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

I. 76

S. Mohiyuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/438

ANJANGAON SURJI,
(BERAR), C. P.,
2 July 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This year I had appeared in the matriculation examination of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, and by the grace of God I passed it. On hearing the result, my friends demanded sweets. I agreed but suggested that instead of sweets, I should remit that amount to the Jinnah Fund of the All India Muslim League and all

of them willingly accepted my suggestion. Hence, I am enclosing herewith a postal order for Rs. 5.

I most humbly request you to accept[1] my humble contribution towards the Fund of the Muslim League.

Thanking you in anticipation and hoping to be excused for the trouble,

I remain,
Yours obediently,
S. MOHIYUDDIN

[1]Appendix I. 84.

I. 77

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hawn

F. 588/441

2 July 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th June[1] along with Rs.75 on behalf of the students of M.S. Hostel, Bordi, Thana. I am most grateful to you and those who have contributed to this sum in response to my appeal for the All India Muslim League Fund.

I sincerely thank you for the great sacrifice you have made and the sentiments you have expressed. Undoubtedly, it is very great encouragement to me in carrying on the struggle in which we are now engaged.

I also appreciate very much the note of your Superintendent [Teacher], Mr. Abdul Hamid, showing warm sympathy.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hawn, Esq.,
M. S. Hostel,
Bordi (Thana)

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 73.

I. 78

Mohammad Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/70

NEW ELGIN VILLA,
ISLAMIA SCHOOL,
SIMLA,
3 July 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith half of my pocket-money (Rs.1-8-0) for the Muslim National Fund [for the] third time. I think you will accept this humble sum presented by a humble boy. I consider you to be the saviour of Muslim India and think that you alone are rightly representing the Muslims of India. I am very much interested in politics and I go to the reading-room and spend about one and a half hour there daily for the last four years. I am a student of matric of a local school and stood second in the examination of 9th class. I have many pictures of yours in my house but I want to have an autographed photo of yours. Will you be so kind as to hear [*sic* for accept] my humble request and send me your photo.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD IQBAL

I. 79

Munadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/445

BHAGA TALAB ROAD,
SURAT,
6 July 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith two more subscribers to our League National Fund, from the overseas members of *Muslim Gujrat* fraternity. They have sent me one pound each, the joint equivalent being Rs. 26-8-0, for which my cheque is attached. Kindly send me separate receipts for both in the following names:

Pound one: T. N. Muhammad, Limbe (Nyasaland)
Pound one: O. I. O. Adam, Limbe (Nyasaland)

Yours faithfully,
MUNADI
Editor,
The Muslim Gujrat *Weekly*

I. 80

Maratib Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 68/6

ASHIANA,
LAHORE,
10 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On 21st June last, a few of the army contractors met at Delhi. Advantage was taken of this opportunity by drawing their attention to your appeal for funds for the All India Muslim League. They readily came forward and Rs. 10,002 representing their humble contribution were promised on the spot. The amount so far collected, as per details attached,[1] has been forwarded to you direct by the Treasurer of the All India Army Contractors Association.[2] The remaining sum of Rs. 3,100 will also be forwarded to you when received. The anonymous contribution in the list is from a member of the minority community. Efforts are also being made to approach those contractors who were not present in Delhi.

The Army Contractors [Association] are an humble body of businessmen and as such their response to your appeal, if measured in rupees, *annas* and *pies*, may be insignificant when compared to that of the big landlords, great industrialists and merchant princes, but as your sincere supporters they will be found second to none in the country. In sending you this humble sum of a few thousand rupees, the contractors convey their gratitude for the great services you are rendering to the community and country, and they pray that the Almighty may keep you in good health so that you may be able to fulfil your mission of seeing the Indian

Muslims a free and flourishing nation.
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MARATIB ALI

[1]Not traced.
[2]Appendix I. 72.

I. 81

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 150/476-7

IQBAL HIGH SCHOOL,
MAYO ROAD,
LAHORE,
10 July 1942

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I am directed by the President of this School, Mian Akbar Husain, to send you Rs.100 in response to your appeal for funds. This School has already sent to you Rs.50 by money order, contributed by the boys. The School is a small one having only 300 boys on its roll. But still we are trying to collect another sum to be submitted to you. Please acknowledge receipt of the cheque to Mian Akbar Husain. The Muslims of India are fortunate in having a great leader like you to steer their ship through the muddle of Indian politics which is beset with so many perilous rocks at the time when their future hangs in the balance and their destiny is in the melting pot. Great Quaid-i-Azam! Believe me that each and every soul of this School is devoted to the cause of Pakistan, and the Muslim League is gaining strength and influence in this land of the five rivers day by day. May God grant you long life and good health to guide us.[1] *Aameen*

Yours obediently,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Head Master

[1]Jinnah gratefully acknowledged the contribution and appreciated the support and encouragement extended to him for the national cause. See F. 150/475 and F. 67/74, *QAP*. Not printed.

I. 82

Mohammad Zakaullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 68/2-3

SIMLA,
11 July 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With due respect I beg to send herewith a humble sum of Rs. 1,000 contributed so far by my Muslim brethren in Simla, in response to your appeal for funds. A list embodying the names of subscribers is also appended,[1] and it is respectfully requested that arrangements may kindly be made for the issuance of individual receipts in the name of every donor mentioned in that list, so that I may be able to deliver them [*sic* for these] to the concerned individuals, as soon as these are received from you.

2. The sum now being sent is in addition to that remitted to you direct from time to time by certain Muslim brethren of Simla, either through our humble persuasion or of their own volition. We have not relaxed our efforts in this direction but are continuing them further and hope that by the grace of God, some more contributions will be collected and remitted to you as and when they [*sic* for these] are received.

3. In March last, when I saw your appeal in the papers, I, as one of your humble followers, felt it my duty to make every possible endeavour to rouse public sentiments of generosity in this behalf. But as at that particular time of the year the population of Simla was, as usual, at its low ebb, I deferred making any serious gesture till the expected migrators to Simla in May had settled down, lending Simla thereby its normal splendour of life. As a leverage, I first got the text of your appeal reprinted and distributed the same among the Simla Muslim public, with a view to educating public opinion. I then followed this up by approaching personally each and every Muslim brother here and delivered your message to every nook and corner of Simla. In the accomplishment of this task, I was greatly assisted by the members of the Working Committee of the Simla District Muslim League, to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude. As a result of our combined efforts, we have thus been able to collect a paltry sum of Rs.1,000 which is being sent to you by a demand draft which may kindly be accepted. I beg leave to say

that, though not a tidy sum, it is nonetheless symbolic of the sympathetic feelings of the Muslims here towards the sacred aims and objects of the League and their recognition of the unity of purpose as also their earnest desire to carry out your esteemed command.

In the end, I need scarcely assure you, Sir, that we, the Muslims of Simla regard it as an immense pride and privilege in owning ourselves as your humble followers and reaffirm our previously oft-repeated sincere faithfulness to your leadership and, as such, we are quite prepared at all times to carry out your each and every behest and offer our humble services in any form you may deem fit.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ZAKAULLAH
President, Simla District Muslim League

[1]Not traced.

I. 83

Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/77

DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
14 July 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a cheque for Rs.1,200 which was given to us at Amritsar as a contribution to your Fund. Of this amount, Rs. 1,100 were given by the Muslim Hide Merchants of Amritsar through Mian Mohammad Amin Sahib, Municipal Commissioner, Amritsar, and Rs.100 by Sheikh Enayat Ullah, B.A., LL.B., Katra Parja, Amritsar.

My report is under preparation and will be posted today or tomorrow.

I trust you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman,
AIML Civil Defence Committee

I. 84

M. A. Jinnah to S. Mohiyuddin

F. 588/439

14 July 1942

Dear Mr. Mohiyuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd of July[1] enclosing a postal order for Rs. 5 in response to my appeal for the All India Muslim League Fund. I appreciate very much indeed the self-denying spirit shown by you and other students in sending me the small amount of money as your mite in deference to my appeal, instead of having sweets which you would have enjoyed thoroughly, I am sure.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Mohiyuddin, Esq.,
Anjangaon Surji (Berar)

[1]Appendix I. 76.

I. 85

M. A. Jinnah to Maratib Ali

F. 68/4-5

15 July 1942

Dear Sir Syed Maratib Ali,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 10th of July.[1]

You do not know how much I appreciate the readiness on the part of those army contractors who readily came forward with Rs.10,002 on the spot in response to my appeal for the funds of the All India Muslim League.

Yes, I have already received Rs. 6,902 and the official receipts have been sent to the donors. I shall receive with thanks the balance of Rs.3,100 which you say will be forwarded to me. I feel very much encouraged indeed by the support for our struggle at the present juncture, and I am very glad to inform you that I have

received very enthusiastic and cordial support from all classes and all quarters, and I am sure, with the help of our Muslim brethren, it will not be long before the collection reaches the figure of Rs. 10 lakh, which sum is immediately and urgently required.

Of course, the method adopted by me for this collection is such that only the most vigilant and enthusiastic are able to send me money; otherwise, I think, we could have reached the limit of ten lakh long ago. But I have adopted this method at the risk of getting money slowly and with a certain amount of delay because, I think, it is the safest. Having regard to our past experience of collection of funds, I would rather receive less than run the risk of reputation and prestige of the All India Muslim League suffering in any way. Nevertheless, you will be glad to know that the people have understood this method and procedure and I am receiving contributions from the poorest and the richest from *anna* 1 to Rs.10,000 by means of money orders, postal orders, drafts, cheques and cash directly from them.

I am extremely thankful for the expression of opinion which the contractors asked you to convey to me. Their appreciation of my services to community and country and all their good wishes are a source of great encouragement to me. *Insha Allah,* with the help of our Muslim brethren, we shall be able to fulfill our mission, as you say, "of seeing the Indian Muslims a free and flourishing nation".

Thanking you all, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Syed Maratib Ali,
Ashiana, Lahore

[1]Appendix I. 80.

I. 86

Abdul Ghaffar to M.A. Jinnah

F. 857/81

[*Original in Urdu*]

SRINAGAR,
KASHMIR,
16 July 1942

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am a blind man and having come to know about your appeal for funds in the newspapers became highly disturbed. Were I not deprived of eye-sight, I would have even sacrificed my life at your appeal. Nevertheless, despite my extreme poverty, I am sending you rupees three out of my hard-earned money, which you may kindly accept and oblige.

Yours obediently,
ABDUL GHAFFAR
Dyer

I. 87

Maratib Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/10

CAMP AHMEDANAGAR,
23 July 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please find enclosed two cheques for the total amount of Rs. 1,350 being the second instalment of contributions received for the Fund of the All India Muslim League.

Out of a total sum of Rs. 10,002 promised by the army contractors, I have already got remitted to you Rs. 6,902. The balance of Rs. 1,750

will be sent as soon as received from the donors.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MARATIB ALI

PS. Cheque No. 780759 represents the contribution as under:

i. K. S. Rashid Ahmed Khan, Meerut Rs. 1,000-0-0
ii. Sheikh Said Ahmed Sahib, Meerut Rs. 250-0-0
Cheque No. 986,983
iii. K. S. Fazal Ilahi, Drigh Road, Karachi Rs. 100-0-0

I. 88

Muslim Orphans of Cuddapah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/89-90

[*Original in Urdu*]

CUDDAPAH,
MADRAS,
25 July 1942

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We, the orphans, pray that you may live long. We have come to know through newspapers that you have appealed to the Muslims of India for funds. We also thought to present you some contribution. As you know, we are orphans and the arrangements for our food and clothes are made by the orphanage. We do not have parents to give us daily pocket-money. But we have decided to send you some contribution, anyway. Therefore, we started saving whatever little amount we could and have thus collected Rs. 3-2-0 which we are sending to you. Kindly do accept it. We promise that we will serve the Muslim League well if we remained alive and got properly educated. When we grow up and start earning, we shall make greater contribution to your Fund. Please pray for us.

We are,

Your well-wishers,
ORPHANS OF CUDDAPAH

I. 89

S. V. Hossain Chowdhry to M. A. Jinnah

F. 656/2-3

P.O. KALIAKAR,
DACCA,
26 July 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am not a member of the Muslim League, nor have I ever been able to render any service to it. But, as everybody has his political views, I never had the hesitation to say that I owe my allegiance to it quite whole-heartedly.

The account you are rendering of yourself in the discharge of your mighty responsibility, and the way you are steering the vessel clear of all difficulties, is truly beautiful and marvellous. The world sees it and wonders at it. Your able and well-balanced leadership has not only given the Muslim League its present position and prestige but has evoked in you a confidence that is without doubt unique. Your appeal, therefore, for a Muslim National Fund has, as it should , met with a wide and spontaneous response.

Since the issue of appeal, I have been thinking of making some very little contribution, not at all worth mentioning, to the same Fund. And hence it is that I am remitting a sum of Rs. 1,000 which will go to the Muslim National Fund, for which I am sending it and for which you have made the appeal.

I send it, half on my own account and the other half on account of my wife. Please receive and acknowledge accordingly.[1]

This is our personal contribution. I shall try, however, to send you some collections from some of my acquaintances for the same cause as soon as possible.

I am,

Yours fraternally,
S. V. HOSSAIN CHOWDHRY
President, Bengal-Assam Muslim Mission

[1]Appendix I. 93.

I. 90

A. H. Maniar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/13

LOURENCE MARQUES,
28 July 1942

Respected Sir,

Upon your appeal, the local Indian Muslim community organised an organisation and have commenced collection of funds. As a first instalement to the Fund, we have the pleasure to remit Rs.1,500. We shall be obliged if you will please acknowledge receipt of the amount as soon as it is received. We shall, of course, be effecting further remittances from time to time as we are still active with our collection for the Fund.

Enclosed herewith, we beg to hand you the circular[1] of the Muslim League Defence Fund, and shall be obliged if you will please get the same published in the *Dawn*.[2]

In order to make the Muslim League stronger and to realise our objective, may Almighty give you further strength and courage with sound health; and with the prayer we are,

Respected Sir,
Yours very obediently,
A. H. MANIAR
for Treasurer, Muslim League Defence Community

[1]Not traced.
[2]See Appendix I. 103 for Jinnah's reply.

I. 91

Abdullah Khan to M.A. Jinnah

F. 582/75

MURREE,
30 July 1942

Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have great pleasure in enclosing herewith a draft in your name

for Rs. 870, a cheque for Rs. 100 and another cheque for Rs. 50, totalling Rs. 1,020.

This is the first instalment for the Fund in response to your appeal. The list of donors will be submitted to you under a separate cover.

Yours obediently,
ADBULLAH KHAN
President, Murree Muslim League

I. 92

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Badiuzzaman

F. 68/12

4 August 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 31st of July 1942.[1] The statement of collection is sent periodically to the *Dawn* which is the only correct and authorized report and it seems to be that the Moradabad paper has made a mistake by adding one zero to the correct figure of Rs.17,500 which amount was presented to me in the shape of a purse from the Memon Chamber of Commerce and Memon Merchants Association, and this figure has appeared in all the papers correctly. I cannot go on correcting some newspapers who may be making a mistake of this kind.

The statement made by me regarding the total collection was quite correct. Up to the day the purse was presented to me, a collection of rupees three lakh was made. I cannot say anything more. This was also correctly reported in all the newspapers which I have come across. As I have said, periodical statements are sent to the *Dawn* which is the only authentic source upon which the public should rely.

As regards your second letter,[2] your suggestions will receive my very careful consideration.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See F. 68/17-8, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]No. 178.

I. 93

M. A. Jinnah to S. V. Hossain Chowdhry

F. 656/1

4 August 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your registered letter of the 26th of July[1] and the following letter of the 28th of July[2] and beg to acknowledge with gratitude the receipt of the contribution of Rs. 1,000 in response to my appeal for the All India Muslim League Fund, from you and your wife, each contributing Rs. 500. The postal receipt has been duly signed and you will receive it in due course of time.

I appreciate the amount all the more because you say you are not a member of the Muslim League but your heart is with us. May I request you to join the League and help the organisation in every way you can.

I appreciate very much indeed and thank you for the kind references that you have made in appreciating the services that I have been able to render to our people. But what can a leader do unless all the people are behind him solidly united and everyone is prepared to do his bit and make all the sacrifices that he can. But I am happy to realise that there is a great awakening among the Musalmans and they are really acting as one solid nation from one end of India to the other and according to our maxim, as I have always said—Islam expects every man to do his duty by his people. It is then that we will be able to achieve what we desire.

Thanking you and Begum Sahiba,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 89.
[2]Not traced.

I. 94

M. A. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 585/18-9

KUCHA KAKKEZAYYAN,
KATRA BEGAAN,
AMRITSAR,
7 August 1942

Dear Sir,

I have been thinking many times [*sic*] how the Fund could be collected satisfactorily. You know better than anyone [else] that uptil now the sum [collected] is rupees three lakh only while the required sum, which you announced, is about rupees ten lakh.

Permit me to draw your attention to how Mr. Gandhi was able to collect rupees five lakh in less than a week. Further, the sum was not a national one but for the respect [*sic*] of a foreigner, namely Mr. [C. F.] Andrews. I know that Andrews was a Congressman, [and] that is why Mr. Gandhi collected the fund. He went to the rich people of Bombay and actually begged them personally to give the greatest possible sum. And thus, my dear Sir, was Mahatma crowned with success.

Cannot you, Sir, arrange a tour of big cities of India so that you may ask, rather I should say beg, people to give you the greatest possible sum, and this should be done personally?

I have firm belief that they would not refuse you on the face. Rupees ten lakh is nothing; the sum will be more than required.

May I humbly request you not to consider this as an advice, for I do not know as much as you do. But the idea is there. Take it or cast it away.

I am,

Yours most obediently,
M. A. QURESHI

I. 95

Ahmad Abdul Masih to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/114

108 BAKER HOSTEL,
CALCUTTA,
8 August 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am a poor student of the 4th year B.A. class. I have sent Rs.3 yesterday by money order as my humble contribution to the Muslim National Fund. In sending the contribution I had to curtail my necessary expenses.

Please pray to *Allah* so that we, the young men, could fight for the cause of Islam and freedom of our country, under your generalship, Quaid-i-Azam. We pray to *Allah* for your long and prosperous life. Let the Muslims of India be guided by you in the best possible manner at this critical moment in particular. We demand, without a moment's delay, Pakistan which is not only our political creed but also an article of faith.

Wishing you good health,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD ABDUL MASIH

I. 96

Omar A. Kalla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/99

[PIETERSBURG,] TRANSVAAL,
SOUTH AFRICA,
11 August 1942

Dear Quaid,

It has been a pleasure and an honour to participate in collecting funds for so noble a cause as yours. Your appeal has been well responded [to] in our district, and we have to-day telegraphed you a draft for 200 pounds (Rs. 2,625-10-0).

We are proud to say that we have been the first in the Transvaal

to take to your appeal. Every Muslim whole-heartedly supports you and looks forward to the day your labours are crowned with success and Pakistan is attained.

It is our humble prayer that the Almighty may guide you in this great cause [which] you have undertaken for the uplift of the Muslim nation, and that you be spared to reap the harvest of seeds which you have sown.

We shall be grateful if you issue individual receipts, but if you do not, an acknowledgement will do. You will note from the enclosed list of donors[1] that there is a balance outstanding. This, together with further funds we are expecting, will be forwarded to you in due course.

I remain, Dear Quaid,
Yours obediently,
A servant of Islam,
O. A. KALLA
Honorary Secretary,
Pietersburg Muslim Debating Society

[1]Not traced.

I. 97

Gulmohamed Dada & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/139

MADRESSA-I-ISLAMIA,
BANTVA, KATHIAWAR,
20 August 1942

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the students of standard IV, beg to remit by money order a sum of Rs. 33-5-0 as our humble contribution to the Muslim National Fund. Please accept this sum and oblige us.[1]

The students of standard V of this Madressa had sent you their donation one week ago, and we have emulated their noble example. Rest assured that this donation of ours is the outcome of our love for you, the Muslim League, and your ambition to achieve the goal of Pakistan, that has prompted us to send this sum. We have nothing more to say; for what more can you expect, dear Quaid-i-Azam, from

those who are still in their teens? We have so far learnt only one simple lesson from our primer of politics, and it is that 'P' stands for Pakistan, and we sincerely, pray to Allah that He may enable you and all your [colleagues] in the Muslim League to achieve the goal of Pakistan.

We are,
Your sincere followers,
GULMOHAMED DADA
SIDIQ DADA
YUNUS DADA
J. S. DEWAN

[1]Appendix I. 99.

I. 98

Sayed Hassanbux Shah Pir Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/22

FRERE ROAD, KARACHI,
24 August 1942

Dear Sir,

Enclosed herewith, I send a cheque for Rs.1,000 which may please be accepted as my donation to your Fund. Please acknowledge receipt and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
SAYED HASSANBUX SHAH PIR SHAH
Zamindar

I. 99

M. A. Jinnah to Gulmohamed Dada & Others

F. 957/134

26 August 1942

Dear children,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th of August,[1] informing me that you have remitted to me by money order a sum of Rs. 33-5-0 as your contribution in response to my appeal [for contributions] towards the All India Muslim League Fund. You must have by

now received the postal acknowledgment for the same.

I am very grateful to you and appreciate very much that you, young students in the fourth standard, should have made this generous contribution to the Fund. But I appreciate still more the sentiments and the spirit that you have expressed in your letter. I was very much moved by your personal regards and affection for me for whatever services I may have rendered to the Muslims.

You ask me what more can I expect from those who are yet in their teens. May I humbly advise you that you should work hard. Don't neglect your studies. Qualify yourselves fully and in the best manner possible during your youthful years and then I will expect a great deal from you for the cause for which we are struggling.

Wishing you all success,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Gulmohamed Dada, Sidiq Yunus Dada, J. S. Diwan, and other students for Standard IV Madressa-e-Islamia, Bantva (Kathiawar)

[1]Appendix I. 97.

I. 100

Note by M. H. Saiyid

F. 857/105

BOMBAY,
26 August 1942

The total amount received by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in response to his appeal for the All India Muslim League Fund up to 26th of August 1942, was Rs. 3,48,611-9-8.

SAIYID
Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

I. 101

Piroze D. Karai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/8

THE RIDGE,
JUBBULPORE,
1 September 1942

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a draft for Rs.1,000 only, which is towards the Muslim League Fund, from Mr. A. Abdulla, the receipt of which [may] kindly be acknowledged.

Yours faithfully,
P. D. KARAI
Treasurer,
All India Army Contractors Association

I. 102

M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem

F. 67/27

2 September 1942

Dear Mr. Haleem,

Many thanks for your sending me three cheques amounting to Rs. 728-2-0 as a contribution from the Muslim University Union towards the All India Muslim League Fund, in response to my appeal.

I am very grateful to all those who have contributed this sum for their support. Please convey my cordial thanks to all the students of the University who have contributed this amount. An official receipt for the amount of each cheque has already been sent to you.

I hope to be in Delhi about the middle of September and I shall be very glad to see the Vice-President on behalf of the members of the Union.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Professor A. B. A. Haleem,
Pro-Vice Chancellor,
Muslim University
Aligarh

I. 103

M. A. Jinnah to A. H. Maniar

F. 67/29

2 September 1942

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of July[1] together with the sum of Rs. 1,500 as the first instalment towards the All India Muslim League Fund.

I am grateful to you and all those who have made their contributions towards this amount and the wonderful spirit behind it, that even at such a far-off place as Lourence Marques, the Musalmans are alive to the situation and to the struggle that we are carrying on.

I will try and see that the list of the subscribers is published in the *Dawn*.

Thanking you for your encouragement and support,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

A. H. Maniar, Esq.,
Box 478, Lourence Marquies,
P. E. A [Portuguese East Africa]

[1]Appendix I. 90

I. 104

M. Anwar Harris to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/42-3

ISMAIL YUSUF COLLEGE,
JOGESHWARI, (B.S.D.),
3 October 1942

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am a student of Ismail Yusuf College, Jogeshwari. Yesterday, when I had been to my village, Nalla Sopara, I got about collecting contributions for our national Fund. Though there the Muslims are not economically very sound, yet they contributed

ungrudgingly for the Fund. I have forwarded this by money order to your Bombay address.

[*Names of contributors omitted*]

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

Yours obediently,
M. ANWAR HARRIS

I. 105

Ahmed Haji Ismail Shaikh to M. A Jinnah

F. 67/53

20 October 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Enclosed herewith find a small sum of pounds 12-17-3 for the League Fund contributed by a few commercial employers of Villa Fentes, near Beira, Portuguese East Africa. Please acknowledge receipt.

Locally, from Lourence Marques, two instalments, totalling Rs.3,000, have been forwarded to you by the Muslim community through Messrs Abdool Sattar Allymohamed Vakil, Bombay, and more instalments will be coming forth, *Insha Allah*. We are trying our level best to increase our contributions towards the Fund, believing that we are rendering our service, small though on our part, towards strengthening our cause for the fulfilment of our cherished goal through the able leadership of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

The undersigned, Ahmed Haji Ismail Shaikh, is a staunch Muslim Leaguer. He had the honour to preside over several public meetings including the last Pakistan celebration organized by the Primary Muslim League at Bulsar. He takes this opportunity to pay his best respects to his great leader, [and] prays for his long and healthy life to [enable him to] lead Muslims of India successfully towards the achievement of Pakistan.

Long live our Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours obediently,
AHMED HAJI ISMAIL SHAIKH
for Hassam Adam & Co.

I. 106

Shah Manzoor Alam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 875/416-7

GORAKHPORE,
23 October 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith attaching postage stamps worth rupee one for the Muslim National Fund.

Quaid-i-Azam! In my letter of April 7, 1942,[1] addressed to you, I remember I had promised to subscribe every month a sum of rupee one to the Muslim National Fund. But I regretfully note that I could not carry out my promise. Permit me to clarify my position in plain and clear words.

The fact is that, unfortunately, my father did not give me my pocket expenses in the months of July, August and September, as a result of which I could not send you the promised sum in the aforesaid months. After waiting patiently for three months, I wrote to him and requested him to remit my pocket expenses. He yielded to my request and remitted my pocket expenses in this month by money order. Out of rupees two, I remitted rupee one to the Manager of the *Dawn* and the remaining one I am sending you in the shape of postage stamps.

I have frankly and clearly placed my case before you. Now I would request you to deliver the judgement and suggest a suitable punishment. I am prepared, by all heart [*sic*] to undergo any kind of punishment. It matters little if it may be the severest one. Let me remind you respectfully that you cannot remain silent on the subject; you will have to say something; either punish or excuse me.

Lastly, I would request you to believe my sincerity. I assure you that I truly and sincerely repent. I dare not say more. God knows everything very well.

Yours obediently,
SHAH MANZOOR ALAM
First Year (Arts),
St. Andrews College

[1]Not traced.

I. 107

Shamima to M. A. Jinnah

F. 857/425

[*Original in Urdu*]

HAQ MANZIL,
BARH, DISTRICT PATNA,
1 November 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

May God bless you with long life and happiness to enable you to lead the Muslims to prosperity. I am a small girl and present you with a gift of stamps worth *annas* eight. Please send the receipt which I will keep with me. I shall send you more money for the Fund when I have saved more.

SHAMIMA

I. 108

Raheel Sherwania to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/66

[*Original in Urdu*]

ALIGARH,
4 November 1942

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I present you a humble amount of Rs.50 for the Jinnah Fund which you may kindly accept and oblige. I am sending my two sons to call on you personally. Presently, they are students and when they finish their studies they will become soldiers of Pakistan Army, *Insha Allah*. God may bless us all.

Yours obediently,
RAHEEL SHERWANIA

I. 109

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 67/67

A. SACOOR, A. LATIF & CO.,
CASA COIMBRA,
LOURENCE MARQUES,
6 November 1942

Honourable Sir,

Further to ours of September 11th last.[1] As promised therein, we have the pleasure to remit the third instalment of our aid [*sic*] towards the Muslim League Defence Fund, to be handed over to your goodself by our Bombay representatives, Messrs Abdool Sattar Allymohamed Vakil, the sum of Rs.1,500, which amount please receive on behalf of the Muslim community of this colony, and kindly acknowledge. We expect to be able to make further remittances towards the same fund very shortly.

By the way, we are pleased to say that the local Muslim community is very enthusiastic and pleased with your work, being eager to see our common goal achieved through your able leadership, and so are willing to stand upon [*sic*] your command, yet in order that we may be enabled to backup their enthusiasm, we shall be obliged if you will please address us a message in your own hand-writing for us to reproduce and circulate.

Also, we need your latest photo—may be of small size—for local papers etc. and shall be very thankful to your goodself.

With all the best wishes for speedy achievement of our common goal, we beg to remain, respected Sir,

Yours very faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

[1]Not traced.

I. 110

Aziz Gafoor Kazi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 827/114

SHAHRU CASTLE,
MOHAMEDALI ROAD, BOMBAY,
6 November 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith I am enclosing a cheque for rupees one thousand. The amount has been received by me from a friend in Ratnagiri, who has asked me to forward it on to you as his contribution to the Muslim National Fund, started by you.

I should request you to accept it and send me a receipt in the name of 'A Muslim of Ratnagiri'. As he does not want to disclose his identity, I am sorry I cannot send you the name of the contributor.

Yours-in-Islam,
AZIZ GAFOOR KAZI
Honorary General Secretary,
Bombay Provincial Muslim League

I. 111

Begum Nusrat Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 274/277

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
5 December 1942

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In compliance with the promise made by my husband Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, I enclose herewith my cheque for Rs.. 10,000 being his contribution towards the All India Muslim League by way of purchasing the sword in the open session of the Allahabad Conference, and shall be pleased if you will own [*sic*] receipt at your earliest convenience.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. A. HAROON

I. 112

S. Abdul Shakoor to M.A. Jinnah

F. 150/218-22

[*Undated*] *1942*

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

In response to the appeal of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah for funds, Rs. 2,000 are presented on behalf of the hide merchants of Cawnpore.

[*Names of contributors omitted*]

S. ABDUL SHAKOOR

I. 113

Nannhay Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1134/50-51

[*Original in Urdu*]

JUBBULPORE,
[*Undated*] *1942*

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is respectfully stated that we, the 26 poor labourers, sent you by money order rupees five, which we hope might have been received by you. Due to our poverty, we could not send you more. We earn *annas* six to eight per day which we spend on our families.

[*Names of contributors omitted*]

Yours obediently,
NANNHAY SHAH

I. 114

Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to M. A. Jinnah[1]

3 WESTERN COURT,
NEW DELHI,
12 March 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Will you be so kind as to accept ten squares of land situated in the Muzaffargarh District, as a donation from me to the Muslim League Fund? I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 50 towards the publication expenses of the League.

The information about Mr. Ali is enclosed.[2]

With best wishes and many thanks,

Yours sincerely,
JAHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ

PS. I am leaving for Kapurthala and Lahore to-day and I hope to return on the 20th instant.

J. S. N.

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 162-3.
[2]Not traced.

I. 115

M. A. Jinnah to Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz[1]

NEW DELHI,
19 March 1943

Dear Begum Shah Nawaz,

Many thanks for your letter of the 12th of March.[2] I have received your cheque for Rs. 50 towards the publication expenses of the Home Study Circle for which I am grateful to you.

With regard to your other offer which you have asked me to accept regarding the ten squares of land situated in Muzaffargarh District as a donation from you to Muslim League Fund, I really do not know how this can be given effect to. Of course I appreciate very

much indeed your contribution in this form. Please let me know how this matter is to be carried out as the land will have to be transferred in accordance with the requirements of law.

I hope you will let me know what you propose to do in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Begum J. A. Shah Nawaz
3 Western Court,
New Delhi

[1]Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, I, 51.
[2]Appendix I. 114.

I. 116

Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/174

3 WESTERN COURT,
NEW DELHI,
30 March 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your kind letters.[1] I have sent the following cable to Haji Ashad Ali:

Mr. Jinnah accepts your kind offer with warm appreciation of your public spirit. Asks for remittance of money telegraphically to him at New Delhi.[2]

I am asking my lawyer to draw up a deed of gift on my behalf for the ten squares of land in the Muzaffargarh District in favour of the All India Muslim League.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
JAHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ

[1]Appendix I. 115.
[2]See F. 1092/172 & F. 1101/34, *QAP*. Not printed.

Glossary

'Aadaab	Salutation; greeting
Aali Janaab	Respected Sir
Aameen	So be it, concluding part of a prayer
Achchut	Untouchable, Hindu Scheduled Caste
Ahimsa	Non-violence
Akhand	Undivided
Allah	God
Anna	One sixteenth of rupee (no longer in circulation)
Ashram	Hermitage
Assalaamo 'Alaikum	Peace be upon you
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, mercy and blessings of *Allah* be upon you
Bait al Mal	Treasury; repository for charitable purposes
Bania	Hindu shopkeeper; money-lender
Bani Israil	Jewish people
Chaprassi	Peon
Congress wallas	Followers of Congress party
Dal	Pulse
Darul Islam	Abode of Islam
Dhobi	Washerman
Fajir	Unchaste person
Fasiq	Wilful transgressor; sinner
Fidakar	Devoted to sacrifice
Ghat	Wharf
Goonda	Hooligan; a hired thug
Goondaism	Hooliganism
Haj	Pilgrimage to Makkah
Halwa	A kind of sweetmeat made of flour, ghee and sugar
Hartal	Organized stoppage of work as a protest
Hazrat	Honorific title; Excellency
Hurs	Followers of Pir Pagaro (in Sind)

Ibadat	Worship; prayer
'Id	Muslim festival
'Id al Fitr	Muslim festival at the end of *Ramazan*
'Id Mubarak	Wishing a happy *'Id*
Ilaqa	Estate, area or region
Insha Allah	If God wills it
'Isha	Last prayer of the day offered by Muslims
Jagirdar	Landlord
Jami'a Masjid	A mosque where prayers are offered collectively
Jowar	Indian millet
Jum 'a	Friday
Kalima	Affirmation of Muslim faith
Khaddar	Handloom woven raw cotton cloth
Khansama	Butler
Khas Khas	Fragrant grass
Khilafatist	Followers of *Khilafat* Movement
Lashkar	An army; an encampment
Madha Sahaba	Praising companions of Holy Prophet
Masha Allah	By the grace of *Allah*
Mehfil-i-Milaad	Meeting to celebrate the birth anniversary of the Holy Prophet
Millat	Nation
Mofussil	Countryside
Mohajir	Migrant
Mohalla	Ward
Mujahid	Muslim fighter for a righteous cause
Namaz	Muslim prayer
Padshah	King
Paindabad	May live for ever
Patwari	Revenue official dealing with land matters
Phuphi	Father's sister
Pie	One twelfth of an anna (no longer in circulation)

Pindal	Canopy; marquee
Purdah	Veil
Qur'an	Holy book of Muslims based on revelations of *Allah* to His last Prophet
Rabbul Aalameen	God of all creation
Raj	Government; rule
Ramazan	Ninth month of Islamic calender; the month of fasting
Salaam	Muslim salutation
Salar	Commander
Sarangiwalla	Fiddler
Satyagraha	Passive non-violent resistence
Shahi Mehman Khana	Royal guest house
Shastra	Code of laws; Hindu holy writ
Srimati	Lady
Swaraj	Self rule; self-governed independence
Swarajists	Protagonists of self-rule or self-government
Ta'aluqa/taluka	Estate; revenue administrative unit smaller than a *Zamindari*
Tabalchi	Tambourine player
Tahrik	Movement
Taluqadar	Landlord
Tonga	Horse-drawn two-wheeled carriage
Tongawalla	Tonga driver
'Ulama	Muslim religious scholars
Vakil	Pleader; attorney
Victoriawalla	Driver of horse-drawn four wheeled carriage
Wassalaam	And peace be upon you
Zamindar	Landlord
Zindabad	Long live

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