

# *'Dear Mr Jinnah'*

Selected Correspondence and Speeches  
of Liaquat Ali Khan, 1937-1947



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Selected Correspondence and Speeches  
of Liaquat Ali Khan, 1937-1947

Edited by  
ROGER D. LONG

Foreword by  
STANLEY WOLPERT

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*To*  
*Liza*



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## Foreword

**P**rofessor Roger D. Long is to be universally congratulated for the painstaking work he has done in editing and introducing so many of Liaquat's most important letters to and from Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, during the last historic decade of Jinnah's life, leading to the birth of Pakistan.

Dr Long has not only culled Liaquat's most interesting letters from a wide range of archival sources, but has given us illuminating insights into the vital relationship between Pakistan's 'Great Leader' and his most faithful lieutenant in the Muslim League and in young Pakistan's first Cabinet, little of which has hitherto been properly appreciated.

This book, of course, is only a prelude to Roger Long's comprehensive 'Life of Liaquat Ali Khan,' on which he has been hard at work for over a decade, and which, when published, will add more historic flesh to this skeletal outline of but one decade of Liaquat's daily labours in organizing and supporting the Muslim League, helping his Quaid-i-Azam to strengthen it, so that together they could finally bring their premier 'platform' of Pakistan from its 'dream' status to its State of reality as an independent Nation.

I most warmly recommend this book to all, who are interested in the history of Pakistan's genesis.

Professor Stanley Wolpert



## Acknowledgements

**M**y special interest in the history of the founding of Pakistan goes back to September 1967, when I began teaching at Aitchison College in Lahore, Pakistan but it was Professor Stanley Wolpert who suggested that I write my doctoral dissertation on Liaquat Ali Khan. It was completed at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1986. His exceedingly successful volume on Mohammad Ali Jinnah led several people to suggest he follow that up with a book on Liaquat. Instead, he very generously suggested that I do so and he lent me some of his research materials to assist me in my research. I am extremely grateful to him for this suggestion, for his continued advice, for his support over the past two decades, and for his contribution of the Foreword to this volume.

In the United States, I would like to thank Charlotte Spence of the University Research Library, UCLA, the late Om Sharma of the University of Michigan, and the late Sam Iftikhar of the Library of Congress. Other librarians at the Library of Congress, as well as at the Harry Truman Library and the National Archives have all offered exemplary professional service at various times. I am grateful to them all.

I would like to thank Z.H. Zaidi for his assistance. The *Jinnah Papers* are an indispensable source and he has greatly assisted me on my visits to the National Archives in Islamabad. I am grateful to him for his discussions about Jinnah and the Pakistan Movement.

Atique Zafar Sheikh, Director-General of the Pakistan National Archives, has been a steadfast source of support and encouragement and he has given permission for copies of the Jinnah-Liaquat correspondence to be made for me. Without his support this volume would not have been possible. I am very grateful to him for his many acts of generosity over many years.

I am very grateful to Nazir Ahmad, Joint Secretary, Cabinet Division, of the National Documentation Centre in Islamabad, for his guidance to the materials at the Centre. It is due to him and to such members of his staff as Saleem Ullah Khan that the Centre has become

such a superb research centre. His broad-minded approach to accessibility of documents is a major contribution to Pakistan studies.

Dr M. Aslam Syed, of the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research in Islamabad, along with his colleagues, has made NIHCR a fine research centre in Islamabad, and I am grateful to him for his help and for the assistance of his staff during my period of research at the Institute's library.

I would also like to thank the late Professor Syed Razi Wasti whom I first met in Lahore in 1968. I greatly benefited from speaking to the graduate class in Pakistan history at Government College, Lahore, in December 1995 and for the discussions I had with him about Pakistan's history over the next few days. I appreciated both his initial invitation to speak to the class, for the memory of friendly conversations in coffee houses in Lahore in 1968 and 1969, and for his encouragement.

Sharif al Mujahid is another scholar who has made a major contribution to Pakistan studies through his directorship of the Quaid-i-Azam Academy in the mid-1980s and a decade later, of the Archives of Freedom Movement at the University of Karachi. He has been generous with his time and I am always grateful to him for his assistance and his willingness to discuss Pakistani history. He rightfully has a place in *Muslim India (1857-1947): A Biographical Dictionary* (Lahore: Institute of Pakistan Historical Research, 1997), pp. 307-308 for his own role in spreading the popularity of the idea of Pakistan in his native Madras in the mid-1940s.

I owe a very special debt of gratitude indeed to Ashraf and Patricia Liaquat Ali Khan and to Akbar and Dore Liaquat Ali Khan. During my visits to Karachi they have been very helpful, wonderful company, and exceedingly hospitable. Ashraf and Akbar have shared their memories of their father Liaquat Ali Khan with me, as well as their equally remarkable mother, Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, and they have gone out of their way to introduce me to a number of people in Karachi. Ashraf's and Patricia's daughter, Ra'ana, her husband Babar, and her father-in-law, Mr Yazdani Khan, have been very hospitable and helpful in Lahore, and I am exceedingly grateful to them all.

In India, in September 1996, Professor I.H. Siddiqui, Chairman and Coordinator of the Centre of Advanced Study, the Department of History at Aligarh Muslim University, kindly invited me to give a talk on Liaquat Ali Khan and the partition of India to the Centre's staff and associates during my research visit to Aligarh Muslim University. I greatly benefited from the discussions that ensued both after the talk



and over the following days at Liaquat Ali Khan's *alma mater*. I am grateful for his help and support, for his arranging for my accommodation at the University, and for the time I spent at the Centre and in the University's library.

Mushirul Hasan, Pro Vice-Chancellor of Jamia Millia University, Delhi, has, over the years, shared his ideas and, on one occasion, his materials with me. He has given me references and he has been willing to talk about the Pakistan movement even though he specializes in studies of Nationalist Muslims such as M.A. Ansari and Abul Kalam Azad. I am grateful to him for his help.

In the summer of 1997, I was appointed a Fellow of the Hartley Institute at the University of Southampton, in England. I am grateful to Chris Woolgar for the fellowship and for the fruitful time I spent at the Institute. I also greatly benefited from the discussion prompted by my talk on the creation of Pakistan, which was the first seminar in the Institute's series to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Indian independence.

At the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London, I have always received valuable assistance from a number of librarians over a number of years. Their advice and guidance is always exceedingly helpful and it is much appreciated.

I am grateful to the Division of Academic Affairs at Eastern Michigan University for Faculty Research Fellowships in winter semester 2000 and fall semester 2002 during which this volume was begun and completed. I am also grateful for a travel grant during the earlier period. I am also grateful to the Eastern Michigan University World College for small travel grants which have assisted me in my last few trips to South Asia.

My successful applications for support from Eastern Michigan University would not have been successful without the support of the Chair of my department, the Department of History and Philosophy at Eastern Michigan University, Professor Gersham Nelson. He is an unusual department head in that he is a highly able and efficient administrator who possesses an enquiring mind and wide intellectual interests. His support for all his faculty, whatever the costs to himself in terms of the difficult and time-consuming tasks of finding temporary replacements for faculty on leave that ensue, as well as for other inconveniences faculty leaves engender, is unstinting and exemplary. I am very grateful to him.

Likewise, Professor Robert Holkeboer, Dean of the Graduate School at Eastern Michigan University, is a fine and dedicated administrator who has always acted in a highly commendable manner in myriad ways on behalf of students and faculty. His support of research activities for both graduate students and for faculty is selfless and unstinting. I am exceedingly thankful to him for his support of my research fellowships and gratefully acknowledge his help.

My most important, debt of gratitude is to my wife Liza for her encouragement and support and assistance. This volume is dedicated to her. She has endured the separations caused by my numerous visits to South Asia and England, as well as by trips in the United States to such locations as the University of California, Berkeley; the Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, Missouri; the University of Minnesota, and the Library of Congress and the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and Maryland. As a Professor of Anthropology, she has also offered greatly appreciated scholarly advice and my gratitude to her knows no bounds.

Finally, I am extremely grateful to Oxford University Press in Karachi for publishing this volume. In particular, I am very grateful to Ameena Saiyid, and to the anonymous readers who provided numerous pieces of advice and information.

I have incurred many debts to the people named above, and to many others, but the responsibility for the opinions and errors in this volume rests with the author alone.

## Introduction

**M**uhammad Liaquat Ali Khan was born into the landed gentry in the Punjab on 1 October 1895. He was the second son of the Nawab of Karnal by his second wife.<sup>1</sup> He had an elder stepbrother, Sajjad, who inherited the title of Nawab, and with whom he retained a close relationship all his life. He had one younger brother, and a younger stepbrother. The family, the Mandal clan, traced its descent to the Persian ruler Nausherwan the Just, migrated to India in the fifteenth century and were later appointed *panchhazaris*<sup>2</sup> by the Mughal emperor. By 1806 the Mandal clan found themselves with lands on both sides of the River Jumna in the area of Karnal in the Punjab and in the United Provinces around Muzaffarnagar, Shoran, and Chitral with the lands divided between various members of the family.<sup>3</sup> While Liaquat grew up in Karnal in the Punjab, he entered politics as a representative of the United Provinces and his name is associated with that province rather than the Punjab, although he was 'very much a Punjabi'.<sup>4</sup>

Liaquat received his early education at home under the care of private tutors, receiving lessons in the *Quran* and the *Hadith*.<sup>5</sup> He took music lessons, learning to play the harmonium and the flute and he was fond of singing, dancing, and theatrics. He was amiable and warm-hearted with an enormous capacity for mimicking and imitating voices. He enjoyed his food and liked to dress as well. In 1910, at the age of 15, he was the first member of the family to attend a public institution of education when he persuaded his father to be allowed to attend the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the premier institute in India for the education of Muslims.<sup>6</sup> He became the quintessential 'Aligarh man'. He was made a monitor of his hostel and became a cricket captain. After matriculation he entered the college, graduating in 1918. He returned to Karnal to be married to his cousin Jehangira Begum and the following year his eldest son Wilayat was born on 20 August 1919 before Liaquat sailed for England and Oxford University.

He entered Oxford University in January 1920 as a member of the student body known as 'Non-Collegiate Students' (students not affiliated with a particular college) but entered Exeter College the following January to study jurisprudence.<sup>7</sup> He had a well-appointed apartment in the High Street where he entertained his fellow Indian students and spent many hours discussing the political situation in India.<sup>8</sup> He attended the Oxford Union and the Indian *majlis*. He received his Bachelor of Arts in the Shortened School of Jurisprudence in June 1921 and the degree was conferred in August. From Oxford, Liaquat went to London to the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar in January the following year. Liaquat then toured several countries on the European continent.

When he returned to India at the end of 1922, his mother found him to be passionately fond of three things: to sing (mostly English songs), to entertain, and to discuss politics. Although he was a qualified barrister and enrolled as an advocate of the Punjab High Court he did not practice law but devoted his life to politics, joining the Muslim League in 1923.<sup>9</sup>

In 1923 he stood, unsuccessfully, for election to the Legislative Assembly of India. He ran for the Muhammadan constituency of East Punjab. He lost the election by 725 votes to Mian Abdul Haye, Vakil, High Court and President of the Municipal Committee, Ludhiana, who polled 1,785 votes.<sup>10</sup> Had Liaquat been elected to the Legislative Assembly in Delhi his whole life story would have been different and perhaps the history of the sub-continent would have been changed. Abdul Haye later became one of the pillars of the Unionist Party in the Punjab and an inveterate opponent of the All-India Muslim League. As a result of this experience Liaquat shifted his political interests to the United Provinces where he had lands and where his father-in-law was the Nawab of Muzaffarnagar.

In 1926, Liaquat stood for a three-year term to the Legislative Council of the United Provinces as an independent from Muzaffarnagar District, a Muslim rural constituency.<sup>11</sup> There were one hundred elected members of the Council with power controlled by the British (there were twenty-three nominated members). Ninety seats were divided along communal lines with sixty 'Non-Muslim', twenty-nine 'Muslim', one 'European', and ten 'Special' seats.

While Liaquat had stood as an independent, he was a member of the ruling agricultural class and he was to become the leading figure of the United Provinces Zamindars' Association (UPZA), the smallest

of several organizations devoted to representing landlords in the province. UPZA had been founded in 1896 with its headquarter in Liaquat's constituency of Muzaffarnagar. Once in the Council, he founded his own political party, the Democratic Party.

Over the next decade, Liaquat Ali Khan had a very successful career in the Legislative Council. He was a good parliamentarian, as he was rarely absent and his vote is recorded on most issues. He was very active in debates and in committee meetings, soon noticed by the British as an up-and-coming politician and he was able to get along well with his colleagues whether Hindu or Muslim. This was demonstrated in 1931 when he was elected the Deputy Speaker of the Council. In social matters he was liberal, speaking, for example, on behalf of education for women, but economically he was conservative. From the first speech he gave in the Council on 9 March 1927, to his budget in 1947 as the first Indian Finance Member of British India, and to the budgets he created as Prime Minister of Pakistan, his concern was for fiscal conservatism and a balanced budget.

As a landholder, he obviously had a special interest in agricultural issues and there was almost no debate on the subject in which he did not intervene at length. As a Muslim he also had special interests in Muslim interests, none more so than in the lack of educational opportunities for Muslims.

A subject which occupied the legislature, and all of political India, was the constitutional development of India. The major issues which came up were India's reaction to the Government of India Act of 1919, the Statutory Commission (the Simon Commission) of 1928, the Round Table Conferences from 1930 to 1932, and the Government of India Act of 1935. His position was that cooperation would be given to the British in return for constitutional development along the lines of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand and he believed that this cooperation should be given on equal terms between the British and the Indians: 'we are willing to cooperate with you, but only as equals and not as slaves'.<sup>12</sup>

In his early political career, Liaquat did not consider himself to be a spokesman for the Muslim community alone. This was first publicly indicated in a speech in the spring session of the Council in 1929 when the subject of separate electorates came up in a debate on an innocuous topic, the United Provinces Town Areas (Amendment Bill). The leading Muslims of the province, most notably the Nawab of Chhatari, spoke in favor of separate electorates while Liaquat, being

heckled several times for his pains, spoke against it saying that Muslims had derived no real advantage from the system and only made people think in terms of community. Further, he argued, it made the majority community 'irresponsible'. This was ironic in view of the fact that he had been elected to the Council by a separate electorate, something which was sharply pointed out to him, but this accurately reflected his views at the time. He believed that the best way to govern India was through disregarding religious differences. While he saw himself as a spokesman for the Muslims of the province and actively defended their interests in debate, he believed it was a mistake to bring religion into political considerations. He was to slowly modify his position, so that by 1933 he was calling for constitutional safeguards for minorities in India. His change of heart was complete in the years after 1937, as it was for many other Muslims, and he was to become one of the leading proponents of the demand for a separate state for the Muslims of India: Pakistan. By 1939, he came to believe that the British democratic system was unsuitable for India.<sup>13</sup>

On 12 February 1931, Liaquat was elected to the position of Deputy President of the Legislative Council by a vote of 53 to 49.<sup>14</sup> The period from 1931 to 1936 in the Council, therefore, brought him greater activity in the House with lengthier speeches and more frequent interventions in debates. The period was also significant in that he was chosen to serve on official committees in the province, and he gave testimony on behalf of Agra landholders in London. Most importantly, it saw his second marriage to the dynamic and remarkable educationist and social reformer who became known as Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan.<sup>15</sup>

One of the most important issues which the Council had to deal with during this period was with agricultural prices.<sup>16</sup> In the United Provinces after the Great Crash on 'Black Thursday', 24 October 1929, prices of agricultural products plummeted to the 1901 and 1905 levels with disastrous results for all. This brought demands for a reduction in the taxes the government levied on landowners and a concern for tenants who often could not meet the demands of the landowners. Landowners came in for a great deal of criticism from all sides. Liaquat's arguments were that the landlords played an important role in the life of the province and it was essential to ensure that any laws enacted did not cause more harm than good; that the majority of landlords depended upon the viability of their tenants and so to blame landholders *carte blanche* for rural problems was unjust; and that they

were the backbone of rural society. These were not popular opinions. Although the British depended on the landlords, as the only unified political group in the Council to assist them in governing the United Provinces, they were also very critical of them. The landlords were also lambasted by the Congress and became easy targets for Congress propaganda.

The second issue, which obsessed the Council in the years after 1931, and all of political India, was the coming constitutional development of India. Every province entered into the debate: what shape should the new constitution take? Liaquat's position was that the British had always done too little too late. It was clear that the minimum that would come out of the next constitution, would be provincial autonomy. Liaquat believed that responsible government should be introduced at once as he believed that the Council had shown a great sense of responsibility in helping to govern the province and therefore, the transfer of power should take place immediately. He maintained that the position of the landlords should be preserved and spoke to that effect both in the Council and in London in June 1933, when he gave testimony before the Joint Statutory Commission which came out of the Round Table discussions. Out of the resulting Government of India Act of 1935, a lower house, the Legislative Assembly, was added to the Council in the United Provinces. With the introduction of responsible government and the extension of the franchise, landlords lost their hold on the political process in the province which was assumed by Congress. This was to be a turning point in Indian history and led to the demand for and the creation of Pakistan.

Liaquat's connection with Mohammad Ali Jinnah<sup>17</sup> first began, it was said, with Liaquat hosting a dinner party for Jinnah's wife Ruttanbai at Simla in 1924.<sup>18</sup> In 1928, he visited Calcutta to attend the annual meeting of the All-India Muslim League. The League had decided to attend and take part in the All-Parties Convention which would consider the *Nehru Report*. The League wanted to amend the *Report*, so that it would reflect Muslim interests as interpreted by the League. Liaquat was chosen as one of the twenty-four League delegates with Jinnah as the League spokesman at the Convention. The Convention was unsuccessful. As a result of his dissatisfaction with the *Nehru Report*, Jinnah issued his own version of a draft constitution, the 'Fourteen Points'. After testifying at the Round Table Conference in London, however, Jinnah settled there and seemed to have retired

from Indian politics. Liaquat, and his new wife, Ra'ana, visited London in 1933 to give testimony before the Joint Statutory Commission. The couple met Jinnah at a reception and they urged him to return to India to lead the Muslims of the sub-continent. In 1935, he did so, selling his house in Hampstead in north London and returning to Bombay.

In April 1936, Jinnah as President, asked Liaquat to become the General-Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. Liaquat agreed, although not without some hesitation, and thus began one of the most significant relationships in political history. Liaquat was to become Jinnah's most trusted lieutenant and adviser. Liaquat was totally loyal to Jinnah who came to respect him and his judgment and to depend heavily upon him. All of the work involving the All-India Muslim League and its committees, conferences, and publications revolved around Liaquat. In 1939, Jinnah signed his last will and testament appointing Liaquat one of the joint executors and trustees of his very considerable estate.<sup>20</sup> Before Jinnah built his own house in New Delhi he would often stay with Liaquat in his magnificent home on Hardinge Avenue. In 1941, Liaquat was elected to the Legislative Assembly of India joining Jinnah on the Muslim League benches and serving as his deputy leader of the League parliamentary party. In Jinnah's many absences Liaquat became the League's spokesman. In 1946, Jinnah nominated Liaquat to be the first Indian Finance Member in the history of British India. In 1947, when Pakistan was created, Jinnah appointed Liaquat the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

This volume of Liaquat's selected correspondence and speeches highlights Liaquat's concerns during his career and the great relationship between these two remarkable men and their incredible campaign for a sovereign state for the Muslims of South Asia.

## NOTES

1. Karnal is now in the state of Haryana, India.
2. Literally five thousand. On the provision of troops for the imperial Mughal service see Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1972, orig. 1945).
3. Lepel H. Griffin and Charles Francis Massey, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Revised Edition, Vol. 1 (Lahore: Punjab Government Press), pp. 29-30.
4. As Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah described him in an interview to the author in Karachi in December 1996.
5. These accounts of his early life are taken from G. Allana, *Our Freedom Fighters: Twenty-One Great Lives* (Karachi: Paradise Subscription Agency, 1965),



- pp. 281-283; 'Liaquat the Child—Mother's Reminiscences,' *Dawn*, 21 October 1951; and 'Liaquat...A Commoner' (in) K. Miles (ed.) *Liaquat-the Man of Destiny* (Karachi: All-Pakistan Women's Association, c. 1953), p. 99. Until her death in 1982 Kay Miles was a friend and companion to Liaquat's wife Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan. She helped her raise her two sons, and accompanied her to Europe when she became ambassador to the Netherlands and to Italy. Originally British, she became a citizen of Pakistan.
6. The renowned school, later college, and in 1920, university was founded by Saiyid Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) as an elementary school in 1875. Aligarh later became the most important centre of modern education for India's Muslims. Saiyid Ahmed Khan, and Aligarh, represented an attempt to integrate Western science and learning and Muslim culture. The typical products of Aligarh, such as Liaquat, were well versed in both Western and Muslim learning. See Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980). See also Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 67ff.
  7. E.A. Barber, 'The College was Increasingly Proud,' in Miles, p. 83.
  8. A.M. Mustafa, 'My Happy Recollections,' in Miles, p. 83; and K.P.S. Menon, 'A College Friend's Tribute,' in *ibid.*, p. 78; reprinted as 'Days at Oxford,' in Ziauddin Ahmed (ed.) *Quaid-i-Azam Millat Liaquat Ali Khan: Leader and Statesman* (Karachi: The Oriental Academy, 1970), p. 140.
  9. Miles, pp. 99-100. The Muslim League was founded in 1906. On its founding and history see Hardy, pp. 153-167; S.R. Wasti, *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement 1905-1910* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Mary Becker, *The All-India Muslim League, 1906-1947: A Study of Leadership in the Evolution of a Nation* (Ph.D. Thesis, Radcliffe College, 1957); Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Agra: Agra Book Store, 1954); and A.B. Rajput, *Muslim League: Yesterday and Today* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1948).
  10. *East India (Constitutional Reforms-Elections): Return Showing the Results of Elections in India 1923* Cmd. 2154 (London: HMSO, 1924), p. 66. A third candidate who came in last, Niaz Rasul Ahmad Khan, Dhogri, District Jullundur, also ran for the seat. There were three non-Muhammadan seats, six Muhammadan seats, two Sikh seats, and one Landholder seats in the Punjab for the Legislative Assembly for India.
  11. P.D. Reeves, B.D. Graham, and J.M. Goodman, *A Handbook to Elections in Uttar Pradesh 1920-1951* (Delhi: Manohar, 1975), p. 142.
  12. *United Provinces Legislative Council Proceedings* Vol. 37, 1928, p. 331.
  13. As he stated quite plainly to Stafford Cripps during his visit to India. See Peter Clarke, *The Cripps Version: The Life of Sir Stafford Cripps 1889-1952* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), p. 134.
  14. *Ibid.*, Vol. 49, 1930-1931, p. 56.
  15. See Mehr Nigar Masroor, *Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan—A Biography* (Karachi: All Pakistan Women's Association, n.d.), and F.D. Douglas (ed.) *Challenge and Change: Speeches by Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan* (Karachi: All Pakistan Women's Association, n.d.).

16. The most important work on the landlords of the United Provinces is Peter Reeves' *Landlords and Governments in Uttar Pradesh: A Study of their Relations until Zamindari Abolition* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1991).
17. Known as the Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader), Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1848) became the leader of the All-India Muslim League in 1936 and retained that position until 1947. Jinnah saw that the interests and the way of life of the Muslims of South Asia, under a democratic system along the Westminster model, would only be harmed as Muslims would be a permanent minority. He understood the only real solution was the creation of a sovereign homeland for the Muslims of India: Pakistan. Jinnah was the son of a merchant family of Karachi that originally hailed from Gujarat; Gujarati was his first language. He was called to the Bar in London and returned to India to practice law in Bombay where he eventually became exceedingly successful and wealthy. By the early 1920s, he had become alienated from the Congress party; by the 1940s he was calling for a separate state for the Muslims of India. The best 'life' of Jinnah is Stanley Wolpert's, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984). There is no 'complete works' of Jinnah, as the great man deserves, but a number of scholars have published collections of his correspondence, speeches, and writings beginning with such dates as 1935 or 1947. The most renowned of these are the multi-volume works of Waheed Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1991), and Z.H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers* (Islamabad: National Archives of Pakistan, 1993). For an annotated list of the most significant studies dealing with Jinnah's life and career see Roger D. Long's chapter 'Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948)' in his *The Founding of Pakistan: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998), pp. 209-241.
18. A.M. Mustafa, in Miles, p. 39.
19. Nripendra Nath Mitra, *The Indian Quarterly Register* 2, 3-4 (July-December 1928), p. 397.
20. The other executors were Jinnah's sister, Fatima, and his Bombay solicitor, Mahomed Ali Chaiwalla. See Wolpert, pp. 170-171.

# Summary of Documents

<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Document: Subject</b>
<b>— 1937 —</b>	
14 May 1937	<i>Letter (pp. 3-4):</i> Liaquat to Jinnah in which Liaquat asks him which of the Joint Secretaries of the League should act as secretary of the League while Liaquat is in England, and when Jinnah wishes to have the annual meeting of the League.
<b>— 1938 —</b>	
22 March 1938	<i>Speech (pp. 8-12):</i> Motion of Adjournment to Discuss the Communal Situation in the Province.
28 March 1938	<i>Speech (pp. 12-17):</i> Liaquat criticizes the United Provinces government for not looking after the interests of Muslims in the province.
21 April 1938	<i>Speech (pp. 17-19):</i> Speaking on the United Provinces Legislative Assembly (Members' Emoluments) Bill, Liaquat opposes the Congress plan for salaries and their plan to penalize absentees.
10 August 1938	<i>Speech (pp. 19-22):</i> In the debate on the United Provinces Stay of Proceedings (Revenue Courts) (Amendment Act) Liaquat asks the Congress government for a clear agricultural policy.
28 November 1938	<i>Speech (pp. 22-23):</i> Liaquat pays tribute to the memory of Maulana Shaukat Ali who had died two days earlier on 26 November.
15 December 1938	<i>Speech (pp. 23-26):</i> Speaking on the adjournment motion regarding the release of Makhan Singh, Liaquat criticizes the Congress government for overturning the judgment of the High Court.

## — 1939 —

- 24 February 1939      *Speech (pp. 31-32)*: Liaquat criticized the premier of the United Provinces and his Congress government for the worsening communal situation in the province.
- 25 March 1939      *Speech (pp. 33-37)*: Liaquat gave the presidential speech to the United Provinces Divisional Muslim League Conference, Meerut. He spoke of the Congress governments in the provinces denying Muslims their rights. Any future federal constitution would similarly harm Muslims. The solution was to divide the country into Hindu and Muslim sections. Muslims must be vigilant.
- 22 July 1939      *Letter (p. 38)*: Liaquat to Jinnah from Mussoorie in which he informs Jinnah that he has been on the move since he left Bombay; the United Provinces conference went well, and Liaquat would like Jinnah to send him any copies of alternative schemes to the Government of India Act so he could send them to the various provincial Leagues for their comment.
- 7 August 1939      *Letter (pp. 38-39)*: Jinnah's secretary to Liaquat, on behalf of Jinnah, enclosing copies of six schemes or letters for changes in the present constitution, with Jinnah's comments on some of them.
- 28 October 1939      *Speech (pp. 40-45)*: Liaquat intervened in the debate on India's participation in the war.
- 16 November 1939      *Letter (pp. 45-46)*: Liaquat congratulated Jinnah on his Id broadcast. He enclosed a letter from Khaliquzzaman about matters regarding the war. He informed Jinnah he was leaving for Darbhanga on 21 November and would preside at the League conference from 23-25 November.
- 29 November 1939      *Letter (pp. 46-48)*: Liaquat thanked Jinnah for his letter of 1 November and said he agreed, as did others, that a 'Day of Deliverance' of individual prayers should take place all over India. Informed him the Darbhanga conference went well and he had reports of other successful conferences as well.

- 11 December 1939      *Letter (pp. 48-50):* Liaquat informed Jinnah the planned Day of Deliverance had caused a stir and he enclosed a cutting of a statement by Liaquat published in the *Statesman* that day (11 December). He informed Jinnah that he had issued instructions to the Provincial Leagues about it. Told Jinnah Sir Stafford Cripps had visited him and he informed Cripps that the Muslims would never accept majority rule as practiced since 1937. Informed Jinnah the League should have a meeting of the Working Committee and they should start their own newspaper.

— 1940 —

- 26 April 1940      *Letter (pp. 56-57):* Liaquat informed Jinnah the film made for the League Annual Session held at Lahore was available. He wanted to know if he should send it to him in Bombay. He also wanted to know if Jinnah was willing to make a broadcast on the political situation in India.
- 14 May 1940      *Letter (p. 58):* Liaquat to various people regarding the All-India Muslim Educational Conference's committee formed to propose a scheme of education for the Muslims.
- 29 May 1940      *Letter (p. 59):* Liaquat's copy to Jinnah of a letter, with an agenda, sent to the members of the Working Committee informing them of a meeting to be held at Jinnah's house in Bombay on 15 June.
- 29 May 1940      *Letter (p. 60):* Liaquat wrote to Jinnah informing him he had sent a circular letter to members of the Working Committee. He complimented Jinnah on his statement about the political situation, and commented that the war situation was a grave one.
- 3 June 1940      *Letter (pp. 60-61):* Liaquat thanked Jinnah for his letter of 31 May and informed him of his activities.
- 17 July 1940      *Letter (pp. 61-62):* Liaquat wrote to Jinnah that he had received a request from the Punjab Muslim League Council that a meeting be held. Liaquat had replied and he enclosed a copy of the letter. He asked Jinnah for instructions.

- 18 July 1940      *Letter (pp. 62-63):* Liaquat wrote to Jinnah that he had sent a statement (copy enclosed) to the press regarding Jinnah's reply to Abul Kalam Azad. Liaquat informed Jinnah he had had long talks with the Raja of Mahmudabad who was keen to work for the League.
- 19 July 1940      *Letter (p. 63):* Jinnah's letter to Liaquat said Liaquat's reply to the Punjab Muslim League Council had been correct. He informed Liaquat that he had been ill but was now better. Nonetheless, he would not be able to travel to Balochistan but he felt confident that under Liaquat's presidentship the Balochistan provincial conference would be a great success.
- n.d. 1940      *Letter (p. 64):* Jinnah wrote to Liaquat stating that he had not received Liaquat's letter of 18 July. He complimented Liaquat on his statement with regard to Abul Kalam Azad, and he was glad he had met Mahmudabad.
- 2 August 1940      *Letter (pp. 64-67):* Liaquat informed Jinnah of the success of the Balochistan Provincial Muslim League Conference although no other members of the Working Committee had attended. He complained about government officials which were wary of the League's organizing work in the province. He spoke about the Punjab's attitude to the war effort and the Punjab's request for a special meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council. He informed Jinnah that his speech in Balochistan would be published in *Manshoor* and he would like Jinnah's secretary to read it to him.
- 3 August 1940      *Letter (pp. 67-68):* Liaquat informed Jinnah about developments with regard to the Punjab's request to hold a special meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, and asked for his instructions.
- 7 August 1940      *Letter (pp. 68-70):* Liaquat informs Jinnah that members of the League from the Punjab had been campaigning in various parts of the Punjab to call a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council. He also complained to him about the British

- government which stated that the League had not helped in the war effort, while Liaquat argued it had.
- 8 August 1940      *Letter (p. 70):* Copy of letter from Liaquat to members of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee sent to Jinnah informing them of an emergency meeting to be held on 17 August at Jinnah's home in Bombay to discuss political developments in the country.
- 8 August 1940      *Letter (p. 71):* Liaquat informed Jinnah that notices of an emergency meeting of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee had been sent to members of the Committee. Khurshid Ali Khan had written to Liaquat about the meeting and Mahmudabad had been organizing opposition to the Punjab's move.
- 9 August 1940      *Letter (pp. 71-73):* Jinnah to Liaquat where he examined the Punjab resolutions which they would propose at a special meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, and stated that he did not think they warranted calling such a meeting.
- 9 August 1940      *Letter (pp. 73-74):* Jinnah congratulated Liaquat on his success in Balochistan and informed him of developments with regard to the Punjab.
- 13 August 1940      *Letter (pp. 74-75):* Jinnah informed Liaquat of the current situation with regard to the Punjab, and agreed with Liaquat's analysis of the Government's attitude toward Muslims. He confirmed that he had cancelled the scheduled meeting of the Working Committee.
- 13 August 1940      *Letter (pp. 75-76):* Liaquat informed Jinnah that he had told the members of the Working Committee that the Committee meeting had been cancelled.
- 18 August 1940      *Letter (p. 76):* Liaquat sent a copy of the letter he had sent to the members of the Working Committee which informed them the Committee would meet on 31 August at Jinnah's house in Bombay.

- 18 August 1940      *Letter (pp. 76-77):* Liaquat informed Jinnah of various pieces of business with regard to League activities and enclosed a copy of the telegram he had sent to members of the Working Committee.
- 8 September 1940      *Letter (p. 78):* Liaquat informed Jinnah that Aligarh Muslim University students would not be at the university when the League had scheduled a Working Committee on 28 and 29 September, so he suggested moving the meeting to Delhi.
- 14 September 1940      *Letter (p. 79):* Jinnah told Liaquat the Viceroy had asked to see him and he asked Liaquat if he would accompany him to the meeting.
- 15 September 1940      *Letter (pp. 79-80):* Liaquat informed Jinnah he had scheduled the meeting of the Working Committee and the AIML Council for 28 and 29 September in Delhi instead of Aligarh. He invited Jinnah and his sister to stay with Liaquat and his wife in Delhi.
- 17 September 1940      *Letter (pp. 80-81):* Liaquat agreed to accompany Jinnah to Simla to meet the Viceroy.
- 20 September 1940      *Letter (p. 81):* Jinnah told Liaquat he was glad he would accompany him to meet the Viceroy and he thanked him for his invitation to dine at his house which he gladly accepted.
- 5 October 1940      *Letter (p. 82):* Jinnah thanked Liaquat for his hospitality and asked him for the names and addresses of all the presidents and secretaries of the provincial Muslim Leagues. He asked Liaquat for his opinion about showing sympathy with Middle Eastern countries against foreign aggression.
- 5 October 1940      *Letter (pp. 82-83):* Liaquat sent Jinnah copies of the resolutions passed by the All-India Muslim League Council on 29 September, and asked Jinnah if he approved of the wording of the resolutions. Liaquat suggested 1 November as a day to celebrate Muslim solidarity.



- 11 October 1940 *Letter (pp. 83-84):* Jinnah wanted resolution no. 7 changed as per the enclosed and added a copy of the letter he had sent to provincial League officers. He wanted to know what Liaquat felt should be done to organize a branch of the Red Crescent.
- 12 October 1940 *Letter (pp. 84-85):* Liaquat told Jinnah he had sent him the names and addresses of League officers. He asked Jinnah for a copy of the letter he had sent to League officers informing them of the day they should observe sympathy for Muslim countries. He told Jinnah he had received correspondence from the Nagpur Muslim League which he was sharing with Jinnah.
- 18 October 1940 *Letter (pp. 85-86):* Jinnah acknowledged that he had received news about the Central Provinces' treatment of Muslims and asked Liaquat to inform the Central Provinces' Governor and get his response.
- 19 October 1940 *Letter (pp. 86-87):* Liaquat asked Jinnah to assist Abdus Sattar Kheiri of Aligarh. He also suggested that each province send suitably trained medical volunteers to Muslim countries if they are attacked.
- 22 October 1940 *Letter (pp. 87-88):* Jinnah wanted to receive Liaquat's suggestions for dates of the All-India Muslim League Annual Meeting if it was going to be held in Madras.
- 12 December 1940 *Letter (p. 88):* Jinnah thanked Liaquat for his letter of 10 December and the enclosed letter from Zakir Ali on Burhanpur. He also commented on Fazlul Haq and suggested that the League organize.

## — 1941 —

- 4 January 1941 *Letter (p. 96):* Jinnah sent Liaquat greetings and thanks for his telegram on his birthday.
- 8 January 1941 *Letter (p. 96):* Jinnah informed Liaquat he had five hundred copies of 'India's Problem of her Future Constitution' for despatch to England and wanted to know if Liaquat had made the arrangements. Jinnah

was still waiting for a cheque for 270 rupees for the booklets Jinnah delivered in Delhi.

14 January 1941

*Letter (p. 97):* Liaquat suggested either the 16 or 23 February as dates for a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council. He wanted to know if Jinnah was coming to Delhi for the session of the Legislative Assembly of India, and of events in Sindh. He informed Jinnah about Tej Bahadur Sapru's suggestion that minority parties should meet.

16 January 1941

*Letter (p. 98):* Jinnah agreed 23 February would be a good day to hold a meeting of the AIML Council. With regard to the Pakistan demand in Sindh they were making progress, and he would like to hear about Liaquat's talks with Tej Bahadur Singh.

4 February 1941

*Letter (p. 99):* Liaquat had fixed the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council and asked Jinnah when he would be coming to Delhi.

9 February 1941

*Letter (p. 99):* Jinnah asked Liaquat for the agenda of the Working Committee and Council meeting.

10 February 1941

*Letter (p. 100):* Jinnah wanted hundred copies of the booklets containing all the resolutions of the All-India Muslim League. He believed that the Central Office had eight hundred copies and he had not yet received a cheque for them. He suggested 23 March every year be observed as Pakistan Day, and a Muslim League Week should be observed every one to three months, and more members should be enrolled in the League.

13 February 1941

*Letter (p. 101):* Liaquat said the one hundred copies of the booklets would be sent that day and he would give Jinnah a cheque for payment of all the copies in person when Jinnah came to Delhi.

1 March 1941

*Letter (pp. 101-103):* Liaquat informed Jinnah of the date of upcoming meetings of League committees and told him that Fazlul Haq wanted a *rapprochement* with the League.

- 2 April 1941      *Letter (p. 103):* Jinnah thought Liaquat would be comfortable staying with Sir Currimbhoy in Madras for the Annual Meeting. He was working on arranging a special train to Madras.
- 5 May 1941      *Letter (pp. 103-104):* Jinnah asked Liaquat for a copy of all the resolutions passed at the Annual Meeting at Madras and for a complete list of the members of the All-India Muslim League Council. He also asked him for suggestions for changes in personnel of the Working Committee and for his reactions to the Sapru Conference.
- 10 May 1941      *Letter (pp. 104-106):* Liaquat suggested to Jinnah that he consult prominent members of the League for their suggestions regarding appointments to the Working Committee and then gave his own recommendations. He hinted to Jinnah that he should draw the attention of the Viceroy to the situation in Iraq where Indian troops had been used against a Muslim nation.
- 15 May 1941      *Letter (p. 107):* Jinnah asked Liaquat exactly what he, and other Leaguers, wanted him to do with regard to the situation in Iraq.
- 15 July 1941      *Letter (p. 108):* Jinnah responded to Liaquat's letter of 1 July agreeing with him that a meeting of the Working Committee was not necessary. He castigated the Hindus for preaching 'Akhand Bharat' but for criticizing the Muslims for Pakistan. He asked Liaquat for more work and more tours around India to encourage League workers. He asked him what progress he had made with regard to producing a League newspaper.
- 24 July 1941      *Letter (pp. 109-110):* Jinnah acknowledged Liaquat's letter of 19 July and asked him to get in touch with Hasan Ahmad with regard to the creation of a League newspaper. He wished Liaquat well in his attempts to bring about harmony among the factions at Aligarh Muslim University. He asked him for his advice regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

- 30 July 1941      *Letter (pp. 110-112):* Jinnah stated that he had that day received Liaquat's telegram and wondered whether he had received his letter of 24 July. He discussed what disciplinary action to take against the six League members who had accepted membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
- 18 August 1941      *Letter (p. 113):* Jinnah's secretary wrote to Liaquat saying that Jinnah had telegraphed him to say that Liaquat would stay with Jinnah during his stay in Bombay.
- 25 August 1941      *Telegram (p. 113):* Liaquat's telegram to Fazlul Haq saying that Fazlul Haq wanted time to consider his position regarding his membership on the National Defence Council.
- 26 August 1941      *Telegram (p. 114):* Liaquat's telegram to Nawab Chhatari saying that if he resigned from the National Defence Council before taking up his premiership of Hyderabad, there would be no disciplinary action against him.
- 31 August 1941      *Speech (pp. 114-122):* Liaquat gave a speech to Muslim League supporters at Aligarh Muslim University when he informed them of recent events regarding the formation of the National Defence Council. He also appealed to them for their support in the future.
- 8 September 1941      *Letter (p. 122):* Jinnah told Liaquat he had received his letter of 1 September and he enclosed a cheque for 3,000 rupees as an advance for the publication of the League's weekly newspaper, *Dawn*.
- 15 September 1941      *Letter (pp. 122-123):* Liaquat acknowledged Jinnah's cheque for 3,000 rupees and informed him that he had received Fazlul Haq's letter of resignation from the All-India Muslim League Working Committee and that he had made a statement which was reported in the press.
- 18 September 1941      *Letter (p. 123):* Jinnah thanked Liaquat for the press clipping of his statement and told him he thought

the statement was very good. Jinnah felt Fazlul Haq had lost his balance completely.

- 22 September 1941      *Letter (p. 123):* Jinnah drew Liaquat's attention to the need to call a meeting, and to draw up the agenda, for the All-India Muslim League Working Committee planned for 26 October.
- 24 September 1941      *Letter (p. 124):* Liaquat wrote to the members of the Working Committee informing them of the meeting on 26 October and asking them for their input. He also announced that he would hold a meeting of the presidents and secretaries of the provincial Leagues.
- 7 October 1941          *Letter (p. 124):* Jinnah responded to Liaquat's letter of 3 October saying that Fazlul Haq should be sent notices of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee and the All-India Muslim League Council.
- 9 October 1941          *Letter (p. 125):* Liaquat asked Jinnah again whether he should send notices of upcoming League meetings to Fazlul Haq.
- 11 October 1941          *Letter (p. 126):* Liaquat sent Jinnah a copy of the agenda for the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee and suggested that he ask Ziauddin Ahmad to call a meeting of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly. He also reminded Jinnah that his message for *Dawn* had not yet been received.
- 13 October 1941          *Letter (pp. 126-128):* Liaquat asked Jinnah to let him know when he would be arriving in Delhi. He told Jinnah that he had talked with Fazlul Haq's secretary. Liaquat suggested that Jinnah write to Fazlul Haq and gave him the suggested text of the letter. He sent Jinnah a copy of Fazlul Haq's letter to Liaquat.
- 15 October 1941          *Letter (p. 129):* Jinnah confessed to Liaquat that he did not know what to make of Fazlul Haq's contradictory behaviour and he let Liaquat know he would be leaving Bombay for Delhi on 20 October.

- 16 October 1941      *Letter (p. 130):* Liaquat informed Jinnah he had received three long-distance telephone calls from Fazlul Haq's secretary asking Liaquat when Jinnah would be arriving in Delhi. Liaquat was sending Jinnah a copy of Fazlul Haq's letter to him. Liaquat said that for the prestige and authority of the League he would like a *rapprochement* with Fazlul Haq.

— 1942 —

- 7 January 1942      *Letter (p. 138):* Liaquat told Jinnah he had received Abbas Ali Khan's cheque of 100 rupees Jinnah had received for *Dawn* and he sent him Sikander Hayat Khan's letter. He also commented that the Congress Working Committee's resolution was difficult to understand.
- 11 January 1942      *Letter (pp. 138-139):* Jinnah informed Liaquat that he was expecting to hear from Allahabad and Lucknow about All-India Muslim League sessions and that he had accepted Bengal's request to preside over the Bengal Provincial Muslim League conference. He asked Liaquat to consider the desirability of holding a meeting of the Council at the time of the conference.
- 24 January 1942      *Letter (p. 139):* Jinnah asked Liaquat to take care of his car which he had sent to Delhi and to use the petrol coupons for the car which he was sending in the mail.
- 29 January 1942      *Letter (p. 140):* Jinnah gave Liaquat his itinerary for his trip to Bengal which included a stop in Delhi.
- 30 January 1942      *Letter (pp. 140-141):* Jinnah updated Liaquat on his trip to Bengal which would not now include a stop in Delhi. He authorized Liaquat to table an amendment to the proposed Congress resolution that a national government responsible to the Indian Legislative Assembly be established. Jinnah reiterated the League position that only partition could be accepted as the long-term solution to the political situation in India.

- 30 January 1942      *Letter (pp. 141-142):* Liaquat told Jinnah he had fixed 21 February for a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council Working Committee and 23 February for a meeting of the presidents and secretaries of the provincial Leagues. He had also taken care of Jinnah's car which had arrived in Delhi and sent him fifty copies of *Dawn* in which Jinnah's speech at Nagpur had been printed.
- 3 February 1942      *Letter (pp. 142-143):* Liaquat sent Jinnah a draft of his proposed amendment to the Congress resolution to be moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly. He told Jinnah that he was planning on going to Bihar to preside over the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Conference later on in the month.
- 4 February 1942      *Letter (pp. 143-145):* Jinnah authorized Liaquat to table an amendment to the proposed resolutions to be moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly, along the lines Jinnah suggested, should Liaquat think it necessary.
- 5 February 1942      *Letter (pp. 145-147):* Jinnah reiterated to Liaquat his views of the proposed resolutions in the Indian Legislative Assembly and sent him his version of an amendment that Liaquat should move if he thinks the League should move one. Jinnah was glad to hear that Liaquat was going to Bihar and wished he could go with him.
- 11 May 1942      *Letter (pp. 148-149):* Liaquat updated Jinnah on the situation regarding the availability of paper for *Dawn* and responded to Jinnah's request regarding personnel for the Working Committee.
- 7 June 1942      *Letter (pp. 149-150):* Jinnah enclosed in his letter to Liaquat, a copy of a letter he had received from Ahmed Ispahani regarding newsprint for a daily newspaper. He was also willing to pay Pothan Joseph's expenses for a year to edit the newspaper. Jinnah wanted to know if Liaquat could set up a daily newspaper in the near future.

- 11 June 1942      *Letter (pp. 150-151):* Liaquat responded to Jinnah by saying that he believed *Dawn* should be turned into a daily newspaper rather than that a new newspaper should be started. He also informed him that he was holding a meeting of the parliamentary sub-committee to select a candidate for the Legislative Assembly of India and that Yusuf Haroon was the obvious choice.
- 22 June 1942      *Letter (pp. 151-152):* Liaquat told Jinnah he had received permission from the government to start a daily newspaper from Delhi and that he was busy with the preparations. He mentioned to Jinnah that he had made a statement to the press regarding Fazlul Haq's letter to the press.
- 25 June 1942      *Letter (pp. 152-153):* Jinnah acknowledged to Liaquat that he had read his press statement regarding Fazlul Haq and agreed with him that they needed to start a daily English-language newspaper as soon as possible. He asked Liaquat for his suggestions regarding personnel for the Working Committee.
- 3 July 1942      *Letter (pp. 153-155):* Liaquat recommended Mamdot and K.B. Khuro for the Working Committee and stated that they were looking into the position of Sikander Hyat Khan in the Punjab. Liaquat and other League members were setting up a committee to select people for offices at Aligarh Muslim University. He was also making arrangements for the daily newspaper.
- 10 July 1942      *Letter (p. 155):* Jinnah updated Liaquat on the situation in the Punjab and was waiting for Liaquat's report with regard to the League daily newspaper.
- 25 July 1942      *Letter (pp. 156-158):* Liaquat reported he had discussed the scheme for the daily newspaper with Ispahani and gave Jinnah the details. He asked Jinnah if he had decided on the venue for the meeting of the Working Committee and suggested Delhi.
- 31 July 1942      *Letter (pp. 158-159):* Jinnah told Liaquat he had announced the personnel of the Working Committee



- and suggested a meeting of the Working Committee in Bombay when Liaquat could, if he thought it necessary, call a meeting of the Council as well. He approved of Liaquat's plan for the daily newspaper.
- 5 August 1942      *Letter (p. 159):* Liaquat informed Jinnah that he had fixed 16 August for the Working Committee meeting and would be arriving in Bombay on 15 August. He had started making arrangements for the publication of a League newspaper.
- 10 August 1942      *Letter (p. 160):* Jinnah sent Liaquat a cheque for 10,000 rupees for *Dawn* and stated that he was glad Liaquat would be coming to Bombay on 15 August when he would stay with Jinnah.
- 25 August 1942      *Letter (pp. 160-161):* Liaquat thanked Jinnah for his hospitality in Bombay and gave him the text of a telegram he had sent Ispahani regarding *Dawn* and hoped the newspaper could be started before the session of the Legislative Assembly. He asked Jinnah if he could do anything for him in regard to his house in Delhi.
- 29 October 1942      *Letter (pp. 161-162):* Liaquat informed Jinnah he was sending his mail to Agra as he had requested in his letter of 26 October and asked him for his itinerary.
- 7 December 1942      *Letter (p. 162):* Liaquat reported to Jinnah that the demand for *Dawn* was increasing and wished that they had their own press.

— 1943 —

- 12 January 1943      *Letter (pp. 168-169):* Liaquat to Jinnah in which he enclosed a list of the names of the Planning Committee and informed him that they would be having the first meeting of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board.
- 22 January 1943      *Letter (pp. 170-171):* Liaquat told Jinnah he was trying to obtain a printing press for *Dawn*. He also suggested to Jinnah that he should meet the Turkish mission that was touring India and reported on his

meeting with William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Personal Representative.

- 28 January 1943      *Letter (pp. 171-172):* Liaquat asked Jinnah when he would be coming to Delhi as he informed him they had to have a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council and suggested dates for the meeting.
- 6 February 1943      *Letter (pp. 172-173):* Liaquat commented on Pothan Joseph's letter to Jinnah about *Dawn* which he thought was intemperate and unwarranted. He asked Jinnah for 20,000 rupees for the purchase of paper and informed him that a meeting of the Council had been fixed for 7 March.
- 10 February 1943      *Letter (p. 174):* Jinnah sent Liaquat a copy of the letter he had sent to Pothan Joseph and informed him he would consider Liaquat's request for 20,000 rupees.
- 12 May 1943      *Letter (p. 174-175):* Liaquat requested 12,000 rupees immediately from Jinnah for the paper received for *Dawn*.
- 14 May 1943      *Letter (p. 175):* Jinnah reported to Liaquat that he was sending him a cheque for 12,000 rupees.
- 20 May 1943      *Letter (p. 176):* Jinnah informed Liaquat he was sending him a cheque for 17,000 rupees but that he wanted some definite arrangement made beforehand for any further funds.
- 25 May 1943      *Letter (pp. 176-177):* Liaquat wrote to Jinnah that he had arrived in Delhi from Mussoorie, that he was enclosing a letter he had received from Ismail Khan, and he would be in Bombay for about three days. He congratulated Jinnah on the formation of a League ministry in the NWFP. League ministries were now in all the Pakistan provinces.
- 29 June 1943      *Letter (pp. 177-178):* Liaquat was happy to hear that Jinnah was well again and urged him to rest while he was in Quetta. He enquired if he would be going

to Delhi directly for the Assembly session or returning to Bombay first.

- 11 August 1943      *Letter (p. 178-179):* Liaquat had cancelled the meeting of the League Assembly party as Jinnah could not come to Delhi for the meeting. He congratulated Jinnah for the four electoral victories in the NWFP and hoped he would soon recover from his illness.
- 2 September 1943      *Letter (pp. 179-180):* Liaquat recommended that Jinnah accede to Pothan Joseph's request for a regular monthly allowance. He informed Jinnah that advertisement revenue for *Dawn* was doing well.
- n.d. 1943      *Letter (pp. 180-181):* Jinnah agreed with Liaquat's recommendation to pay Pothan Joseph a regular monthly allowance and was glad that advertisement revenue for *Dawn* was up. He agreed with Liaquat that their major problem was with Latifi Press.
- 27 September 1943      *Letter (pp. 181-182):* Liaquat suggested to Jinnah that they hold a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee and Council when he arrives in Delhi and asked Jinnah for a message to publish on the first anniversary of *Dawn*. He reported to Jinnah on his trip to Lucknow and suggested that League officials should travel to Bengal.
- 4 October 1943      *Letter (pp. 182-183):* Jinnah agreed to the dates of the All-India Muslim League meetings and informed him he would be sending a message for *Dawn*. He thought it would be a good idea for Liaquat to visit Bengal.
- 10 October 1943      *Letter (pp. 183-184):* Liaquat informed Jinnah he was having the accounts of *Dawn* audited with regard to paying the staff a bonus.

— 1944 —

- 3 January 1944      *Letter (pp. 190-191):* Jinnah told Liaquat he would be leaving Karachi for Bombay on 6 January and asked him for suggestions for the proposed Planning Committee.

- 5 January 1944      *Letter (p. 191):* Jinnah had looked through the text of his speech for publication and authorized Liaquat to edit it.
- 9 January 1944      *Letter (pp. 191-192):* Z.H. Lari to Liaquat in which he recommended candidates for the proposed Planning Committee.
- 18 January 1944      *Letter (pp. 192-193):* Jinnah was pleased with Liaquat's work as Convener of the Committee of Action and as member of the Parliamentary Board and told him to rent a new building for *Dawn* if he was satisfied with it.
- 20 May 1944      *Letter (pp. 193-194):* Jinnah sent Liaquat a copy of a letter regarding the purchase of printing equipment for *Dawn*.
- 6 July 1944      *Letter (p. 194):* Jinnah sent Liaquat a cheque for 22,500 rupees for the purchase of printing equipment for *Dawn*.
- 2 August 1944      *Letter (pp. 194-196):* Jinnah thanked Liaquat for his work with *Dawn* and *Manshoor* and asked Liaquat to inform everyone concerned that Jinnah was the sole proprietor *Dawn* and *Manshoor* and asked him to continue as he had done running the two newspapers with a monthly remuneration of 2,000 rupees, the designation as 'Director', and with special power of attorney.
- 2 August 1944      *Letter (p. 196):* Liaquat thanked Jinnah for the sentiments about his work with *Dawn* and *Manshoor* and accepted the terms of his appointment and promised to continue his service.
- 26 August 1944      *Letter (p. 197):* Liaquat informed Jinnah that the government had denied permission to turn *Manshoor* into a daily newspaper.
- 30 September 1944      *Letter (pp. 198-199):* Liaquat congratulated Jinnah on the outcome of his negotiations with Gandhi and gave his opinion of the Hindu position. He informed

Jinnah he was having his correspondence with Gandhi and his talks at Lahore and Madras printed.

20 October 1944

*Letter (pp. 199-200):* Liaquat acknowledged that he had received the Power of Attorney and the copies of the correspondence between him and Gandhi but informed him he had decided not to publish his speeches with the correspondence. He told him he had received the registration certificate for Jinnah's car.

27 October 1944

*Letter (p. 200):* Liaquat to Imperial Bank of India enclosing signature cards.

— 1945 —

31 January 1945

*Letter (pp. 208-209):* Liaquat reported to Jinnah on his seventeen-day trip to the south of India.

3 February 1945

*Letter (pp. 209-210):* Jinnah congratulated Liaquat on his trip to the south of India and asked him to take care of the political situation in Sindh through the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board.

7 February 1945

*Letter (p. 211):* Liaquat told Jinnah that he had begun the process of convening a meeting of the Committee of Action.

19 February 1945

*Letter (pp. 211-212):* Liaquat notified Jinnah on the outcome of the joint meeting of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board and that he had postponed the meetings of the Working Committee and the All-India Muslim League Council.

28 April 1945

*Letter (pp. 212-213):* Jinnah kept Liaquat abreast of the offer made to Altaf Husain to edit *Dawn*.

6 May 1945

*Letter (pp. 213-214):* Liaquat mentioned to Jinnah the name of S.A. Rafique as the possible editor of *Dawn* and gave him his schedule for his trip to Bengal and Assam.

- 1 June 1945      *Letter (pp. 214-215):* Jinnah asked Liaquat if he had heard anything further from Altaf Husain and notified him that he wanted him to focus on the Punjab, the NWFP, and Sindh, concentrating especially on Syed's activities in the Sindh.
- 5 June 1945      *Letter (pp. 215-217):* Liaquat reported to Jinnah on his tour of Assam and a visit to Bengal. He also spoke about the appointment of Altaf Husain to the editorship of *Dawn* and the arrangements Liaquat had made at the newspaper.
- 9 June 1945      *Letter (p. 218):* Jinnah copied Liaquat with the correspondence between him and Altaf Husain.
- 31 July 1945      *Letter (p. 219):* Liaquat asked for confirmation of the press reports that Jinnah was going to Quetta.
- 20 August 1945      *Letter (pp. 219-220):* Liaquat described the government's response to the League's plan to send a League delegation to England and updated Jinnah on plans for the general elections.
- n.d. 1945      *Letter (p. 220-221):* Liaquat gave Jinnah names for League representatives, including his own, for the Committee of Action.
- 22 September 1945      *Speech (pp. 221-227):* Liaquat, in a speech to the students of Aligarh Muslim University, told them that as they were the arsenal of Muslim India he not only asked them to suspend their studies to work for the Muslim League in the forthcoming elections but he demanded that they do so. He reported on the Simla Conference, analyzed the Congress position and expressed his opinion about Congress-supported Muslim organizations, and said that those who believed that the League demand for Pakistan was a bargaining position were gravely mistaken.
- 27 December 1945      *Speech (pp. 228-249):* Liaquat, in his presidential speech to the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, addressed the students on the history of Muslim education in India describing it as a political, a social, and a cultural problem. He discussed

Congress educational proposals, the Sargent Scheme, and the future of Urdu. He also spoke about the dearth of Muslims in the nation's commercial, medical, and scientific arenas.

— 1946 —

- 17 March 1946      *Letter (p. 262):* Liaquat to members of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee informing them that the Cabinet Mission was arriving on 24 March and they should be ready to attend a meeting of the Working Committee at short notice.
- 17 April 1946      *Press statement (pp. 262-264):* Liaquat defiantly countered Abul Kalam Azad's statement to the press saying that less than full sovereignty would satisfy the League.
- 2 June 1946      *Letter (p. 264):* Liaquat had arranged an appointment for Jinnah with Wavell at 10 a.m. on 3 June.
- 18 August 1946      *Letter (pp. 265):* Liaquat's secretary, Shafaat Ahmed, confirmed Liaquat's telegram to Jinnah suggesting names for the Interim Government.
- 24 August 1946      *Letter (p. 265):* Liaquat's secretary confirmed Liaquat's telegram asking Jinnah if he had his permission to direct all League members of the Central Legislature to boycott all committee meetings.
- 26 August 1946      *Telegram (p. 266):* Jinnah agreed with Liaquat's decision that League members should not attend Central Legislature committee meetings.
- 3 September 1946      *Letter (p. 266-267):* Liaquat suggested to Jinnah that the League send *Dawn's* editor, Altaf Hussain, to England to press the League point of view.
- 26 October 1946      *Press statement (pp. 267-273):* Liaquat explained the League's aims in entering the Interim Government.
- 31 October 1946      *Letter (p. 273):* Liaquat asked Jinnah for a cheque for 50,000 rupees in order to pay for the printing press ordered for *Dawn*.

10 December 1946      *Letter (pp. 273-274):* Liaquat sent Jinnah a copy of Syed Zahir Ali's report on affairs in Burhanpur and expressed his surprise at Fazlul Haq's statement to the press. He informed Jinnah that he had been to Aligarh the previous weekend.

31 December 1946      *Letter (pp. 274-276):* Liaquat sent Jinnah copies of materials dealing with a rotary press that he suggested *Dawn* purchase instead of the one already ordered as it was available immediately.

— 1947 —

16 February 1947      *Speech (p. 290):* Liaquat gave the Convocation address to Aligarh Muslim University. He praised Syed Ahmed Khan and those Muslims who had created his *alma mater* but said it was now time to specialize in science and technology and the professions. The solution for the plight of Muslims was the creation of Pakistan where Islamic education would be combined with scientific training.

28 February 1947      *Speech (pp. 296-304):* Liaquat, as Finance Member, gave the Budget speech for the 1947-48 fiscal year. Dubbed the 'Poor Man's Budget' it taxed excess profits while at the same time he abolished the salt tax, one of Congress' most cherished ideals.

13 March 1947      *Letter (pp. 305-306):* Liaquat apologized to Jinnah for the delay in writing to him and told him about the struggles he was having with his Congress colleagues in the Interim Government cabinet. He advised Jinnah to come to Delhi as soon as the new viceroy, Mountbatten, arrives in India.

24 May 1947      *Letter (p. 306):* Liaquat sent on to Jinnah two letters he had received from Suhrawardy and informed him that he was leaving for Lahore that afternoon.



## 1937: The Muslim Spokesman

**1** 937 proved to be a watershed not only for Liaquat but for the future of the sub-continent, as Congress came to dominate the electoral process as a result of the system introduced by the Government of India Act of 1935. While Liaquat was the General-Secretary of the All-India Muslim League he stood for election as an Independent for the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces for Muzaffarnagar District (West), a Muslim rural constituency. At the same time he was a member of the United Provinces National Agriculturist Party and was, in fact, the treasurer of the party. It was still a time, although the days for that were numbered, when politicians could, without losing credibility, be members of more than one political party. However, most Muslim politicians who were once members of both the All-India Muslim League and the All-India National Congress, such as Mohammad Ali Jinnah, had long since decided on one party or the other. As Congress adopted the Gandhi creed, with its non-violence, prayer meetings, vegetarianism, celibacy, and spinning, among other Gandhian concerns, many Muslims saw this as becoming part and parcel of the Congress dogma.<sup>1</sup> The more successful Gandhi became in his aim of indigenizing the Congress along Hindu lines, the more he alienated Muslims.

Liaquat had resigned from the League Parliamentary Board in the United Provinces over personal differences with members of the party<sup>2</sup> and, on 11 November 1936, in a letter to Jinnah, he also resigned from the Central Parliamentary Board as well, although Jinnah did not want him to do so. Jinnah had informed him of his view which he deemed unnecessary, when they had met in Simla the previous June. He told him that as far as he, Jinnah, was concerned Liaquat was still a member of the Central Parliamentary Board. Liaquat, however, resigned from the Central Parliamentary Board as well because he had, after 'careful consideration', decided to stand as an Independent for the forthcoming

elections to the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces. Accordingly, he did not want to place Jinnah in 'any embarrassing situation'; further, he believed that it was 'only fair' to Jinnah that he resigned.<sup>3</sup>

Polling was held in his district on 7 February 1937 and Liaquat was elected with 99.93 per cent of the votes cast.<sup>4</sup> He defeated another Independent candidate and one standing on the Muslim League ticket. The National Agriculturist Party won thirteen seats in Agra, five of them uncontested, while the Oudh branch won twelve seats with a third of those uncontested. The election result demonstrated that the landlord party was finished as a political force in the United Provinces.<sup>5</sup> Of more importance was the communal breakdown of votes which clearly showed, for all to see, that Muslims had voted for Muslims and Hindus had voted for Hindus.

On 22 May 1937, Liaquat left from Bombay (where he visited Jinnah) for England to serve on the Indo-British Trade Commission which aimed to draw up an agreement that would replace the Ottawa trade agreement of 1932. He had been appointed to a non-official advisory committee in India the previous year which reported on 10 October 1936. After lengthy deliberations in London lasting from May until September 1937, a trade agreement was eventually and contentiously, agreed upon and published eighteen months later on 20 March 1939.<sup>6</sup> Liaquat rushed back to India to greet his wife and his new-born son, Ashraf Liaquat, who was born on 3 October 1937 at Simla, and to attend the All-India Muslim League session in Lucknow and to resume his activities as General-Secretary of the All-India Muslim League.

The elections of 1937 and the working of the Congress ministry, especially in the United Provinces, marked the end of one era and the beginning of another. It marked the close of non-communal politics for a large number of Muslims and the beginnings of an exclusive political identification with Muslim political parties. This was clearly the case with Liaquat, who became identified with the Muslim League in the legislative politics of the United Provinces for the first time and sat on the Muslim League benches. He did so under the ascendancy of the Congress as the constitution which had come into effect on 1 April 1937, saw Congress assuming office in eight of the provinces of India in July, including the United Provinces.

The year was the first year that Liaquat's life became intimately intertwined with that of the Muslim League, with party work taking

up more and more of his time until eventually almost his whole life revolved around the party and, after 1940, the campaign for Pakistan. His life also became inextricably intertwined with that of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's. Over the next ten years, he would become his closest associate. No man came to know him better. Liaquat had the highest regard and respect for Jinnah. Jinnah, for his part, relied upon Liaquat for a great deal of work and placed his complete trust in him. Jinnah was not someone who praised people or often expressed his gratitude, but it is clear that he held Liaquat in high regard. They entered into a relationship of historical proportions. Together they worked ceaselessly for the birth of Pakistan. Their partnership led to the birth of Pakistan in 1947.

1937 was the first year of a ten-year period which saw the dramatic transformation of the All-India Muslim League from a gentleman's debating society into a well-organized political party reaching out into the rural districts of India as well as into city blocks. His partnership with Jinnah and the transformation of the League into a well-organized machine is Liaquat's greatest contributions to the creation of Pakistan.

\* \* \* \*

— 14 May 1937 —

Cecil Hotel<sup>7</sup>  
Simla  
14.5.37

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sailing for England on the 22nd of this month and shall be out of India for about three months. I hope to be back some time in August. Which one of the two Joint Secretaries of the League would you like me to authorize to act for me in my absence? Khan Bahadur S.M. Abdullah<sup>8</sup> has been joint Secretary for some time and H.S. Malik<sup>9</sup> was appointed last year. I should very much like to get your opinion before I leave Simla for Bombay on the 20th instant. I was sorry I could not come to Lucknow while you were there. I very much wanted to have a chat with you on the present political situation in the country. However, I hope to see you when I return from England. Have you any idea as to when you propose to have the annual session

of the League? It was rather unfortunate we could not have it last month. If Khaliquzzaman<sup>10</sup> had informed me earlier we might have had it in Meerut. It could have been arranged.

I hope you are keeping very well.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

## NOTES

1. For an analysis of Gandhi's interests see Bhikhu Parekh, *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse* (Delhi: Sage, 1989); and Richard G. Fox, *Gandhian Utopia: Experiments with Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989). Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) was called to the Bar in 1891 in London. In 1893, he sailed for South Africa to practice law and while there developed his technique of opposition to the government based on non-violence and non-cooperation. He called it *satyagraha* (holding fast to the truth). He returned to India in January 1915 and in the early 1920s he began a series of non-cooperation movements that mobilized millions of Indians for political action. Gandhi was also a Hindu reformer who could not, or would not, see that his 'pronounced Hinduism' alienated the minorities of India, especially the Muslims. He has been called 'one of the founding fathers of Pakistan,' by Percival Spear, 'Mahatma Gandhi', *Modern Asian Studies* 3, 4 (1969): 299. See also Judith Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Gandhi wrote an autobiography, M.A. Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), and his writings are available in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vols. 1-90 (Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India, 1958-84).
2. Liaquat represented the rural interests in the party whereas Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan represented the urban factions. Over the next year the groups would unite in the face of what they saw as Hindu communalism.
3. Quaid-i-Azam Papers, National Archives, Islamabad (hereafter QAP) F. 355. Jinnah acknowledged the letter on 18 November and told him he would put it before the Central Parliamentary Board at its next meeting.
4. P.D. Reeves, B.D. Graham, and J.M. Goodman, *A Handbook to Elections in Uttar Pradesh 1920-1951* (Delhi: Manohar, 1975), p. 294.
5. The finest study of agriculturist politics in the United Provinces is found in Peter Reeves, *Landlords and Governments in Uttar Pradesh: A Study of their Relations until Zamindari Abolition* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1991). On Muslim politics of an earlier period, Francis Robinson's *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) is considered a classic.

6. As Command Paper 5966.
7. QAP, F. 335.
8. 1888-1951. He served as Joint-Secretary of the All-India Muslim League in 1926, from 1933 until 1934, and in 1938.
9. Nothing is known about Malik. His name does not appear, for example, in Ahmad Saeed's *Muslim India (1857-1947): A Biographical Dictionary* (Lahore: Institute of Pakistan Historical Research, 1997), a very useful listing of Muslims involved in the freedom movement.
10. Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman (1889-1973) was the leader of the Muslim League party in the United Provinces. Educated at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College from 1907 until 1912, he was a member of a medical mission to Turkey in 1912, and took part in the Khilafat movement in the years after the First World War. Throughout his life he maintained his belief in pan-Islamicist ideas. In 1938, he was a delegate to the Palestine Conference, in 1939 he was the convener of the All-India Muslim League's Palestine Fund Committee, and in 1954 he was appointed as Pakistan's ambassador to Indonesia where he often invoked Muslim brotherhood. He entered politics in 1916 and he was active in both the Congress and the Muslim League, serving as the Joint Secretary of the All-India Muslim League from 1916 until 1927. Through the 1930s he was also a believer in cooperation with political rivals and sought a *via media* with Congress even after he was denied a cabinet seat in the United Provinces after the 1937 elections. In the 1940s, he increasingly associated himself with the All-India Muslim League. He is one of the unsung heroes of the Pakistan movement. On his life through 1947, see his autobiography *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore: Longmans, 1961).

## 2

### 1938: Into the United Provinces Muslim League

**T**he ushering in of the new year in 1938 was the beginning of a full year, in a seventeen-month period, in which Muslims experienced for the first time in modern history life under a government dominated by Hindus. By the end of the following year, they would feel that the resignation of Congress governments from provincial offices would be a 'Day of Deliverance.' It was this experience of 'Congress Raj' that convinced many Muslims that their cultural and educational institutions would not be safe in an independent India dominated by Hindus. Any slight, whether actual or imagined, and there were innumerable, were seized on by Muslims as evidence of the Hindu desire to run India for the benefit of caste Hindus. It was during this period that Liaquat, for the first time, like many other Muslims, became a committed spokesman for the Muslim community in South Asia.

The Winter Session of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces met in Lucknow from 17 January until 17 February but Liaquat only attended a few days. In the Budget Session from 1 March until 27 April, he was present on eight of the twenty-nine days of debate. Even when he was present, he was a very different person from what he had been in the Legislative Council when he raised his voice on almost every topic before the chamber. Now he was silent on many occasions and when he did raise his voice, he would do so on behalf of Muslims. He was a very different politician from the one he had been in the Legislative Council.

On 17 and 18 April 1938 the All-India Muslim League held a Special Session in Calcutta with some two thousand delegates attending<sup>1</sup> and, more importantly, three provincial premiers: Sikandar Hayat Khan of the Punjab;<sup>2</sup> A.K. Fazlul Haq of Bengal;<sup>3</sup> and Mohammad Saadullah

of Assam.<sup>4</sup> It was in November that Liaquat published the *Pirpur Report*. The full title of the volume was *Report of the Inquiry Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League to inquire into Muslim Grievances in Congress Provinces*. The report catalogued grievances against the Congress governments. It was a great propaganda piece and helped in the campaign to gather Muslim opinion behind the League.

At the autumn session of the Assembly from 1 August until 10 August, Liaquat only attended three of the ten sessions. Before the Winter Session of the Assembly, from 17 October until 21 December, Liaquat attended the Sindh Muslim League Conference at Karachi from 8 to 13 October. On 10 October, Liaquat echoed the themes of Jinnah's presidential speech of two days earlier when he complained about Congress treatment of Muslims. He stated that people had travelled from all over India to attend the conference and that Sindhis should rally behind the League and establish a League ministry in the Sindh legislature.<sup>5</sup> On 12 October, Jinnah issued a statement where he said that after nearly ten hours' discussion with members of the Sindh legislature, twenty-seven of the thirty-six members had 'joined the All-India Muslim League and signed the pledge and accepted its programme and policy.'<sup>6</sup> In calling for a revision of the constitution, instituted as a result of the Government of India Act of 1935, the League also passed a motion calling for India to be divided into 'two Federations viz.—Federation of Muslim States and the Federation of non-Muslim states'.<sup>7</sup>

On the first day of the Winter Session of the Assembly the leader of the Muslim League party, Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman, asked for an extended leave of absence from the Assembly in order to be one of four representatives of the Khilafat Committee to attend the Palestine Conference in Egypt. His absence for over eight months created a vacuum in the leadership of the party in the United Provinces which Liaquat filled. He became more actively involved in debates when he did attend the Assembly but his attendance petered out the following year as his activities with the All-India Muslim League increased.

The year ended with the All-India Muslim League holding its annual meeting at Patna from 26 to the 29 December.<sup>8</sup> It was at this conference that the League took up the suggestion of the editor of the newspaper *Al-Aman*, Maulana Mazharuddin Ahmed, that Jinnah be addressed by the title of *Quaid-i-Azam* (Great Leader). The League continued its

onslaught on the Congress and Liaquat was re-elected as the General-Secretary of the All-India Muslim League.

\* \* \* \*

— 22 March 1938 —

This speech<sup>9</sup> given by Liaquat Ali Khan was significant in that it was his first speech in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly, and it was his first as a spokesman of the Muslim League in the Assembly. The leader of the United Provinces Muslim League was Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman who wrote that Liaquat 'was a forceful speaker and very good at repartee with plenty of humour. His admission to our party gave it great advantage.'<sup>10</sup> Liaquat's speech was also a first as it was his first speech as a communal spokesman. Over the past decade he had always eschewed talk of a communal nature but the political situation had changed and he, like many other Muslims, began to be overtly communal figures as they believed that the Congress, which had taken power in India in the provinces, was acting in a communal manner favouring Hindus through their actions as government ministers. This cleavage between the Hindu and Muslim political elite was to lead to the demand for Pakistan in 1940 and partition in 1947. For many Muslims, including Jinnah and Liaquat, the alienation between elite Hindu and Muslim political leaders lay solely with what they perceived to be the Hindus' attitude of superiority toward Muslims and their administrative actions which all harmed, they believed, Muslim interests. Liaquat's speech on 22 March 1938 was given on a 'Motion of Adjournment to Discuss the Communal Situation in the Province.'

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, I am sure there is none inside this House who does not deplore the communal trouble that has broken out in various places in the province. Human life, be it of a Hindu or a Muslim, is sacred and I think I am right in saying that the sympathy of every one of us will go to the members of the families of those who have been killed in these riots.

The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice<sup>11</sup> said that the type of speeches that were delivered from this side of the House were responsible for these riots. May I point out to him that, if these speeches are responsible for igniting this



communal fire, his speech would add fuel to that fire. Those who live in glass houses cannot afford to throw stones at others. He has said that the responsibility for these riots rests entirely on the shoulders of the Musalmans of these provinces. The Minister of Education has also hinted at the same thing. I say that the responsibility for these riots rests on the majority community in this province, and not on the Musalmans.

**The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice:** I never said that it rests entirely on the Musalmans of this province. I said that it rested on the Muslim League.

**Shri Phool Singh:** The Hon'ble the Minister said that it rested on the Muslim League.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** The Hon'ble the Minister says that it rested on the Muslim League. May I tell him and the other honourable members on that side of the House that the Muslim League represents the Muslim community today. You may throw dust into your own eyes, into the eyes of others but the Musalmans know today all over India that it is the Muslim League alone that can protect and safeguard their rights. The Hon'ble the Minister, said that at Cawnpore, when one of the Ministers visited it, there was great demonstration. May I ask him what happened during the civil disobedience movement? Did not the Congress tyrannize the peace-loving people? Did you not stop even supply of food to people by starting *Satyagraha* before their houses? May I say that when Hon'ble Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim,<sup>12</sup> for whom as a man I have great regard, is paraded before the public as a representative of the Musalmans, the Musalmans have every right to say that he does not represent them.

**Several voices from the Congress Benches:** What about the Bijnor re-election?<sup>13</sup>

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** If the honourable member there is acclaimed as the Minister of the Congress, I can assure you that no Musalman would have anything to say against him or against anybody else who occupies those Benches.

Sir, the Hon'ble the Minister of Justice has laid down something very novel today. He says that if any community

or any individual feels aggrieved and brings forward any resolution or asks any question, bringing before this House those grievances, then he is creating trouble.

**The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice:** Motive is the real thing.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** The Hon'ble the Minister says 'motive'. I am sure he being a lawyer knows that motive has no place in law.

**The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice:** I beg you pardon, Sir.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Will I be justified in going across and hitting the Minister on the head? The motive would be to prevent him from making speeches which excited communal passion and created trouble. But I, am sure, will be punished, all the same, for hitting him. It is the action that counts and not the motive.

Sir, the Hon'ble the Premier in one of his speeches stated that he was the trustee of the rights of the Muslims in this Province. May I know if the type of speech that has been made by one of his colleagues is likely to convince the Muslims that their interests are really safe in the hands of those honourable members there? Sir, God save us from these self-appointed trustees? This country has been under the trusteeship of a foreign power for the last two hundred years and we know what the result has been. I can only hope that history will not repeat itself and the trusteeship of my honourable friend Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>14</sup> will be of a different type than that of the British Government. The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice said that if they had taken stronger measures against those who were raising their voice to protect their rights and to demand the safe-guarding of their interests then these riots would not have taken place. May I point out to him that if the British had taken stronger measures, my friends would not have been there. Is that any valid argument, I ask you? Is that a convincing argument that because you want the safe-guarding of your rights, therefore you are creating trouble? The point is this, what has the Congress Government done during these seven months to remedy this evil? It is no use burying your head in sand like an ostrich and declaring that

there is no storm. The communal trouble does exist. The minority has no confidence in you. You are responsible for that and not I. If you had acted like the other majorities have done in other parts of the World, this problem would have been solved. If you had acted like Zaghlul Pasha<sup>15</sup> did in Egypt, there would have been no such thing as the minority problem in India today. You blame the minorities for not placing confidence in you but may I point out that it is for the majority to create conditions under which the minority can have confidence. The first thing which the Congress Government should have done was to tackle this problem. My friend the Hon'ble the Minister of Communications,<sup>16</sup> whom I congratulate on his speech, said that we could have asked them what they had done. Now I ask you. What have you done during these seven months to remedy this evil? Can you deny that the communal feeling is stronger today in the province, not only in the province but throughout the whole country than what it was seven months ago? The honourable members on the Treasury Benches say that it is of our doing. No—it is your arrogance, the wine of power has gone to your head, and as long as this intoxication lasts there is no hope for this country. (*Laughter from Government Benches*): Sir, I am surprised at the hilarity of the honourable members over there. If they think that by hilarity they can create a better atmosphere I shall be the first to join them in this laughter. The point is that the trouble does exist; it is being accentuated every day and it is the duty of the Congress Government to see that this trouble is minimized. I ask the Hon'ble Premier, I hope he will tell us, what has he done during the last seven months to minimize the communal trouble that exists in this province?

Sir, the Minister of Education<sup>17</sup> said that he did not hold any brief for some gentleman, whom he defended in his speech. I wonder what more he could have said if he held the brief for that gentleman. He, as he himself said, was not there, and his testimony is only hearsay and so is the testimony of those honourable members who have spoken from this side of the House.

**The Hon'ble the Minister of Education:** Mine is the testimony of the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, if you call it reliable testimony.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** I am glad to hear today from the Hon'ble Minister that the testimony of the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police is considered reliable by him. Seven months ago these functionaries were regarded by the Congress as great liars, story-tellers and what not, but today they are all that is good, all that is truthful and all that is honest. Sir, it has been stated by some of the honourable members who have spoken from that side of the House that the communal riots took place in the past. Yes, they did, but can you point out a single year when so many riots in different places took place simultaneously—

*(Cries of 'Yes! 'Yes!')*

**The Hon'ble the Speaker:** The honourable member must finish in one minute more.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:**—and under a Government which claims to be a national Government. If riots took place they happened when we were not ruled by our own men, but if these are the conditions under which we are to live then I would say, God help us, and save us from those over there!

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— 28 March 1938 —

The speech given by Liaquat on 28 March 1938 was another one on communal matters. The speech was given during a debate on the budget but, as was increasingly the case, accusations of communalism on the part of the government were raised by Muslim League members.<sup>18</sup> This was increasingly a theme developed by Liaquat.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, my first impulse was to deal individually with all the honourable members who have spoken from that side of the House. But after the speech of the Hon'ble the Premier I feel I shall not be justified in importing the same heat in the

debate as was done before he got up to speak. However, there is one point which I cannot ignore. Every honourable member who spoke from the other side of the House was very sore and bitter against the Muslim League. Muslim League seems to be on the brain of many a people these days. More it is criticized, more it is run down by the people in this province or elsewhere, the happier I feel. Because that shows that this organization of the Musalmans—the only organization which has every Muslim in its fold—is getting stronger and stronger every day and that is the reason why some of the honourable members here feel so peeved and want to put every blame at the door of the Muslim League. Sir, some honourable members here seem to be under the impression that this demand of the Musalmans for representation in the services is something new and something which is confined to this country only. The trouble with us, Indians, is that we never look beyond our noses. If my honourable friends had been following the events outside India, they would have found that even in the Western countries where the representative institutions are being run on most democratic lines this demand by the minorities for representation in the services is very insistent and persistent. Do not the honourable members know that as recently as a few days ago the Germans in Czechoslovakia have demanded that there should be representation in the services, of that community—not only as assurance to that effect—but that it should be embodied in the constitution of that country? I tell you that the Germans in Czechoslovakia belong to the same religion as others, they have the same culture, they have the same ideals, they have every thing similar with other people of that country. Whereas in this country, though my friends talk of nationalism yet most of them would not even touch a glass of water if it was touched by somebody else. Is it not disgraceful to hear of '*Hindu Pani* and *Muslim Pani*'<sup>19</sup> at railway stations? So what is the use of talking about things which do not exist. We are living at a time when our culture is different, our social life is different, our religions are different. It is wrong to think that this demand of the Musalmans for representation in the services is a religious matter. It is

nothing of the kind. Every minority feels that it must have adequate representation in the administration not for the few jobs, not for loaves and fishes so that it may feel secure and have confidence in the Government of the country. Why have the Congress Government selected two ministers who are Muslims by faith?<sup>20</sup> At least one of them did not belong to their party when they came into power and when they appointed him as a Minister. The object was simply this that they felt that if they did not have Muslims in their Cabinet, the Muslims will not feel that confidence in their Ministry, in their administration as they wished them to do. So I really do not understand when honourable member after honourable member stands up and says that this demand of the Musalmans is undemocratic, that it has no reason, or logic behind it, and that its motive is only to establish a Muslim rule in India. Sir, I assure you that he must indeed be a wretched Musalman who thinks in these terms of a Muslim rule or a Hindu rule. What every Indian wants is an Indian rule where every one belonging to every community will have fair play, where every one will have confidence in the Government of the particular province in which he happens to live. What we have to see is to create conditions under which the minorities will have confidence in the administration.

Sir, the Hon'ble the Premier has quoted certain figures pointing out that the Muslims were disproportionately represented in certain departments of the Government. It is true that there are certain departments where the Musalmans have got a very large share, but at the same time it is equally true that there are certain departments and certain services where Musalmans do not exist at all.

**The Hon'ble the Premier:** I accepted that.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** I know the Hon'ble the Premier accepted that, but what I mean to say is this that it will not create confidence in the administration if one community is over-represented in certain departments and the other community is over-represented in other departments. What I want and what I feel is this that the minorities should be adequately represented in every department of the Government. It is really a question of

creating trust in the administration of the province. Some honourable members seem to think that it is only a question of earning a few rupees here and there. I personally do not feel that. I feel that unless and until the conditions change in this province and in the country it will be in the best interest of the administration to give adequate representation to every community in every department of the Government. It is one of the methods by which confidence will be created in the minds of the minorities in the administration of the province.

Sir, I agree with the Hon'ble the Premier that the present Government have not had much time to be able to decide anything definitely or define their policy very clearly, and it is refreshing to know that the Hon'ble the Premier feels that the demand that has been put forward from time to time by the Musalmans in this province as well as elsewhere is a demand which is not unreasonable. According to him under the conditions under which we are living it is but natural that the minorities should want representation in the services.

**Shri Jagan Prasad Rawat:** What percentage do you suggest?

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, my honourable friend says, what percentage I would suggest. I can only tell him that if I had been a Hindu—and when I say this I am saying this most honestly and sincerely—I would have told the minorities to take cent. per cent. if that would satisfy them. What does it matter, what percentage you give to one community or the other in the services? What matters is that you get independence, and have the administration of your country in your own hands. These things are a passing phase. This distrust will not last long and I can assure you that as long as you think in the terms of percentage and things like that there will never be any real freedom for this country.

**Shri Jagan Prasad Rawat:** But what percentage do you fix?

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, my friend wants to know what percentage I shall recommend. When I am over there then I will tell my friend what percentage

I would recommend. Today the responsibility is not mine; the responsibility is of the honourable members over there.

Sir, after these unnecessary interruptions I feel that I made a mistake by having only confined myself to the speech of the Hon'ble the Premier. I thought I would act like a good 'Shikari' who when he is out big game hunting, does not waste his time shooting rabbits.

**The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice:** Is that parliamentary to call all other members of the House rabbits?

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** I have not called any honourable member a rabbit.

**The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice:** You are addressing yourself to the big lion, the Hon'ble the Premier, and everybody else is a rabbit.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, I am sorry that the Hon'ble Minister should think so.

**The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice:** I do not think anything.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** I meant nothing of the kind.

**The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice:** That is how confidence is to be created!

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, I am sorry if I have hurt the Hon'ble the Minister's feelings. I am quite prepared to withdraw if that would satisfy him. My object is not really to create any ill-feeling, but my object is to put this proposition before this House in a manner which might appeal to them. As a matter of fact I have only paraphrased the speech of the Hon'ble the Premier.

**Shri Raghunath Vinayak Dhulekar:**<sup>21</sup> In a wrong way.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** I think it is for the Hon'ble the Premier himself to say whether I am wrongly paraphrasing him or not. Sir, it is really a matter which needs very careful consideration by the Government. It is one of those thorny problems which has to be solved, and I hope that the Hon'ble the Premier will not be influenced by the speeches that have been made by his followers, but he will deal with it as a practical man realizing all the difficulties, and the conditions under which we are living in this province. If I felt that the honourable members who



have spoken from that side of the House represented the view of the Hon'ble the Premier I would have felt greatly disappointed. But after the speech of the Hon'ble the Premier I feel that there is still some hope and if this problem is tackled in a statesmanlike manner I have no doubt that it could be solved to the satisfaction of everybody concerned in this province.

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— 21 April 1938 —

On 21 April 1938 Liaquat spoke on the United Provinces Legislative Assembly (Members' Emoluments) Bill.<sup>22</sup>

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, I rise to oppose the motion which has been moved by the Hon'ble the Minister of Justice. There were two very reasonable and modest amendments moved by my honourable friend on my right to this Bill, but both of them were rejected by the Government and their supporters. As regards the third amendment, the exhibition that the House saw today would ever remain a very amusing incident in the annals of this Assembly. The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice accepted the amendment which was moved by Mr. Lari<sup>23</sup> and when the time came for voting it was voted down by the Government and their supporters. This, I am right in saying, is the first instances of its kind that has happened in any responsible legislature. Sir, when a Government Bill is brought forward before this House, there cannot be any question of there being any difference of opinion between the supporters of the Government and the Government themselves. If the Hon'ble the Minister had been a Minister in some country where parliamentary system of Government was not made a farce like it was done a moment ago, he would have been forced to resign the office which he was holding.

The Hon'ble the Minister for Revenue, says 'Hear! Hear!' I am glad to say, he is in agreement with me. The Hon'ble the Minister of Justice, says 'Hear! Hear!' Sir, if I was to

take notice of all the utterances of the Hon'ble the Minister of Justice I would probably have to go on speaking for hours. I purposely avoided referring to something which he said earlier in the debate. One of the amendments that was moved by Mr. Lari was really an amendment which should have been accepted by the Government. But it seems to me that all the wisdom of all the Congress Ministers all over the country is centred over there. The Congress Ministry in Madras, according to the Hon'ble Minister, never think about their legislation; the Congress Ministry in Bombay is no better; but it is this wonderful Ministry of ours that thinks of every thing! When my honourable friend quoted the Madras Bill and the Bombay Bill where no restrictions or conditions are laid down as regards the salary of the members the Hon'ble Minister said it perhaps escaped their notice. I do not agree with him. Those Ministers had more respect for the members of the legislature than the Minister over here. It is an insult to a member of the House to suggest that if he does not attend any meeting of the Legislature, he must come forward with an application like a peon or a *chaprasi*\* that so many days' salary may be allowed to him. None of the honourable members wanted salary here. Why don't the Government continue with the present system of daily allowance? I submit that it is derogatory for a member of the House to be told that if you absent yourself for some reason or other you must give in writing your reasons for your absence, or otherwise your salary will be cut. I should have thought that the Government would have been only too glad to accept an amendment of this kind. But I regret to say that the Hon'ble the Minister of Justice did not think that there was any reason for this amendment. Not only that but he did not feel that it was derogatory to the dignity of the members that such a provision should find place in this legislation. I very much doubt if he would have thought the same if he had been occupying these benches and had been one of the members of this House. I am sure he would have made a most vehement speech against this provision which finds a place in this Bill. Sir, I oppose this

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\*Office messenger

Bill because I feel that in passing it in the form in which it is before the House, it is offering an insult to each and every member of the House and I hope that the honourable members will realize that it is not a matter in which the Opposition alone are particularly interested. It is a question for every member of the House to consider whether it is in keeping with the dignity of the honourable members of this House to come forward with a written application to the Minister, or whoever the person may be, and ask him for leave of absence for the days that he is not able to be present in this House. If the Government thought that this was only in the nature of an allowance, then I submit, Sir, it would have been much better if they had continued with the present system of giving daily allowance. I am sure every one would have agreed to it. But when you bring forward a measure and you have it in the form of an Act to give salary to the members and then say that if you absent yourself from any meetings your salary will be cut unless you can satisfy the Hon'ble Minister that your absence was due to some causes over which you had no control, then I submit, Mr. Speaker,<sup>24</sup> that it is most insulting. This is one of the most insulting Bills that is moved to be passed by the honourable members of this House. With these words I oppose the motion which has been moved by the Hon'ble the Minister of Justice.

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— 10 August 1938 —

On 10 August 1938, Liaquat spoke on the United Provinces Stay of Proceedings (Revenue Courts) (Amendment) Bill.<sup>25</sup>

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, since yesterday a number of speeches have been made on the subject matter of this Bill. Some of the honourable members who spoke in support of the motion that was made by the Hon'ble Minister forgot themselves to the extent of making very wild allegations. One of them was so much carried away by the sound of his own voice and the clapping from

behind that he related a harrowing tale of the atrocities that are being committed by the zamindars in this Province. Another honourable member stated that hundreds of zamindars and money-lenders had been murdered and hundreds of tenants were slaughtered. I wonder if the honourable member realized that he was casting a grave reflection on the Government of this Province. If one-hundredth of what was said yesterday is true, then the Government in power has signally failed to keep the peace in this Province. Sir, a number of instances were related of the illegalities that were being committed by the zamindars in this Province, and even the Parliamentary Secretary and the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Revenue succumbed to the temptation of making such statements. I ask you, if it is right to take one or two instances and make a general statement like that. Statements such as these should be treated in the same way as 'Mother India'<sup>26</sup> written by Miss Mayo was treated by this country. You cannot take one instance from here and one instance from there and malign a whole community. This is, to say the least, most unfair.

**A voice:** There are many instances. There is not only one instance.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, if the honourable member would have a little patience, courtesy of course I do not expect, then we might be able to proceed with the discussion of the motion which is before the House.

Sir, the speech of the Hon'ble Minister of Justice yesterday came as a very pleasant surprise. For once he did not go out of his way to be offensive either to the zamindars or to the Muslim League. The reason for that, I presume, as was stated by him, was his longstanding love for the zamindars, which had been lying dormant all this time on account of his 'new love'. Sir, the Hon'ble Minister asked the zamindars to move with the times. I assure him that the zamindars in this Province and elsewhere fully realize the change in times. They do not expect that they will have the same rights or privileges which they enjoyed in the past. As a matter of fact, no class of people would expect to be in the same position today as they were 100 years ago. But what I understood from the speeches that were made by my

honourable friends on this side was that they only asked for justice, equity and fair-play. The Hon'ble Minister said, when he was dealing with the arrears of rent, that in his experience at the bar if any case came where 90 per cent. of the recorded rental was realized, it was considered that the demand of the zamindars was really realized in full. I do not know whether the Hon'ble Minister of Revenue and the Hon'ble the Premier, who is in charge of the finances of the province would welcome that statement when they are contemplating an increase in land revenue. Sir, the leader of my party, Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman put the case very briefly and very ably before the House. We are not opposed to giving any concessions to the tenants. What this House wants and what this House expects is to know the decision of the Government on this point at as early a date as possible. The present Government has been in power for over a year and still they are coming forward with proposals for postponement, postponement and further postponement. Mr. Deputy Speaker,<sup>27</sup> one of my Congress friends was very hurt that one of his old colleagues and one who had shared his sorrows and inconveniences of the jail life was sitting over here and not over there. I want to ask you, does it not convey any lesson to you, when men tried in the service of the country like the leader of my party have had to leave you? There must be something rotten in the state of Denmark.

**A voice:** How far can human nature go?

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, my friend talks of human nature. I think it would be better if he talked of Congress nature. Human nature and Congress nature must be two different things altogether. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I assure the Government, that we, on this side of the House, are not opposed to giving any relief to the cultivators. We want that the state of uncertainty which exists in the province today should not continue a day longer than it is absolutely necessary. The economic condition in a country suffers most when there is no stability. When there is uncertainty in the minds of the people. What we want and what we desire and what everybody in the province desires is that the Government should give up this policy of opportunism.

They should have a straight forward policy based on justice, equity and fair-play and Mr. Deputy Speaker, sooner it is done better it will be for the people of this province.

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— 28 November 1938 —

On 28 November 1938, Liaquat paid his tribute to the memory of Maulana Shaukat Ali.<sup>28</sup>

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** It is with a heavy heart that I rise to associate myself and the members of the party with whom I have the honour to sit in this House with the tribute that has been paid to the memory of Maulana Shaukat Ali by the two speakers who have just spoken. The death of Maulana Shaukat Ali is a personal loss to us—the members of the Muslim League. In his death India has lost one of its foremost leaders and the loss to the Muslim community is irreparable. His true, loyal and fearless service in the cause of the freedom of the country will always be remembered with gratitude by the future generations. Mr. Speaker, he was one of the greatest leaders of the Muslim League and the Muslim League could ill-afford to lose such a leader at this critical juncture. His influence over the masses, whom he had served loyally and faithfully during the last twenty-five years, was great and his death will be mourned by every one—rich and poor. Sir, every member in this House and the country at large knows the great services that the Ali Brothers rendered in the cause of the freedom of India and I have no doubt that when the history of the fight for the freedom of the country comes to be written, the names of the Ali Brothers will stand out in bold letters. Sir, Maulana Shaukat Ali has left an example for us to follow—the example of true, faithful and fearless service to the country and the community.

Sir, I associate myself with what the Hon'ble the Premier has said about Mr. Hansraj. He did not belong to this province but his services in the social uplift of a section of the Indian people were great and we mourn the loss of that great man

also. I request you, Sir, to convey our deep sense of sorrow and personal loss to the members of the family of Maulana Shaukat Ali and our sympathy and condolences to the members of the family of Mr. Hansraj. I support the motion that has been moved by the Hon'ble the Premier that the House should adjourn as a mark of respect to the memory of Maulana Shaukat Ali.

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— 15 December 1938 —

On 15 December 1938, Liaquat spoke on an adjournment motion regarding the release of Makhan Singh.<sup>29</sup>

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Mr. Speaker, Sir. The principle which is involved in the adjournment motion which is before the House is of a vital importance to the future administration of justice in these provinces. One speech that was made by the honourable member from over there, was really to sidetrack the issue which is before the House.

The issue here is not whether the application for mercy was signed by Muslim Leaguers or Congressmen. The issue is whether the Government, it does not matter what Government it may be, are justified in giving their decision on matters of fact after the highest tribunal in these provinces has given its finding. That really is the issue which is before the House. My honourable friend, the Minister for Justice, and other honourable members read out names of some persons who had signed the petition of mercy. I say all credit to them. I am not condemning these people because they pleaded for mercy. I am condemning this Government because the reasons which they used for extending mercy are such which are bound to create mischief in these provinces. Sir, the Hon'ble the Minister for Justice said that, have not you heard of the grave miscarriage of justice not only in this country but in some other countries also? Yes, I have. But that grave miscarriage of justice is only rectified when new facts come to light, otherwise what is

the use of your having these law courts? If your District Magistrates and a few non-officials are the authority to pronounce their judgment on facts that are placed before courts of law, then I would say the sooner you do away with these law courts the better it will be. It will at least save some money of the people of these provinces. Sir, my honourable friend the Minister for Justice stated that the Commissioner of Meerut, Mr. Marsh, had said that he had heard that the man was innocent. I know Mr. Marsh quite well. He is a very tender-hearted man. He hears lots of things, but it is not necessary that the informers can always be relied upon. I know that all types of people go to see him. I know of instances where people have gone and told him definite lies and he has believed them to be true. This is no argument that because some members went to see the District Magistrate or the Commissioner and told him that a certain person was innocent therefore Government are led to believe that the man was really innocent. All the documents that the Government examined in connection with this case were available to the courts. I dare say that all of them were examined by the court. If they were not, the fault was of the defence counsel. Sir, this matter should not have been given a communal tinge. I say it and I say it without any fear that had it been the case of any one even belonging to this House I would have stood up and condemned the action of the Government in the same manner as I am doing today. It is not that you have used your prerogative of mercy but it is because the reasons which you have given for the use of that prerogative are fundamentally wrong.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the reasons which have been given are such which should be condemned by every member of this House. When I was listening to the speech of the Hon'ble the Minister it appeared, as if he was dictating a judgment in a case which had come to him in appeal from the judgment of the High Court. Is it right for any Government to go behind the finding of fact of the highest tribunal in this province unless and until some new evidence comes to light which was not available to the law courts at that time? I submit that the Government has no right to say



that the finding of the High Court was wrong. Mr. Speaker, it is an action such as this which brings a Government into discredit. It is an action such as this which shakes the confidence of the people in the impartial administration of justice. It is an action such as this which would be responsible for throwing them out of office.

**A voice:** We are doing service to you.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** My honourable friend says he is doing service to me. I would say to him look after your own-self, do service to your own-self. I am trying to save your own conscience by bringing forward this motion of adjournment and point out to you your mistakes. Sir, when this motion of adjournment came up for discussion I was under the impression that the Government will probably come forward with some new facts which had come to light since the judgment of the High Court. They would come forward with some facts which were not available to either the Sessions Court or to the High Court. But the decision of the Government is based on the same facts of which the Sessions Court and the High Court had delivered their judgments. If this is the policy then I say that the people will not have any confidence in the findings of your courts of law in this province. The Hon'ble the Minister said that an application was received signed by a number of people. I say that if an application was received on these grounds without disclosing any new facts signed by millions of people, Government should not have accepted it. Of these gentlemen, who have signed that application may I know if any one of them was an eye-witness to the event? All of what has been said, I believe, must have been hearsay and they must have been actuated by motives of mercy. I do not dispute that point. What I dispute is this that the reasons that are given by the Government are such which deserve condemnation by every member of this House. If you are going to use your prerogative in this way then you will really be prostituting that right which the constitution has conferred upon you. That right was never given to you to sit in judgment over the highest tribunal in this province. It is only in such cases that you should use your right where you think that there

was a grave miscarriage of justice and new facts had come to light. You should not have given your judgment on the facts on which the High Court and the Sessions Court had already given their judgments. Sir, the Hon'ble the Minister said that when the first petition for mercy came, the then Government dismissed it summarily.

I do not know what he meant by saying that the then Government dismissed it summarily. Did they not take the legal opinion of the Legal Remembrancer? If the Legal Remembrancer of the then Government was of the opinion that there was no case for release of that particular man then is that not sufficient justification for the *bona fides* of that Government? Now because the present Government have done an act which is wrong in principle, therefore, they are trying to justify it by saying that the Legal Remembrancer examined the case and he came to the conclusion that there were grave doubts about the guilt of this man. Am I to understand that your Legal Remembrancer is such a wonderful man that he has to sit in judgment over the findings of the High Court in this province?

Mr. Speaker, now that the act has been done, I would only request this Government not to repeat it again, because as I have said before acts like this will really lead to the ruination of this Government. Sir, the facts of the case have already been related by the members who have spoken before me. I am not concerned with what the facts of the case were. A court, the highest court in this province had given its judgment on these facts and no Government has the right to sit in judgment over the High Court, and that is really the main object of this adjournment motion. I support the adjournment motion which has been moved and I hope that this adjournment motion will do some good to this Government by not repeating mistakes like these again.

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## NOTES

1. For an account of the proceedings, see *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 2, January–June 1938, pp. 377–387.
2. Sikander (1892–1942) was the leader of the non-communalist National Unionist Party and as such became the premier of the Punjab in 1937. On his life see Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan (1892–1942): A Political Biography* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985). For a history of the party see Ian Talbot, 'Deserted Collaborators: The Political Background to the Rise and Fall of the Punjab Unionist Party,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11 (1982): 73–93; and *Punjab and the Raj, 1849–1947* (Riverdale, MD: The Riverdale Company, 1988). For a list of works dedicated to the Punjab see Roger D. Long, *The Founding of Pakistan: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998), pp. 187–203.
3. Known as the *Sher-i-Bangla* (Lion of Bengal) Fazlul Haq was one of three Muslim leaders competing for power in pre-independence Bengal. He moved the historic Pakistan Resolution on 23 March 1940. For two years, from 1956 to 1958, he served as Governor of East Pakistan. See A. S. M. Abdur Rab, *A. K. Fazlul Haq (Life and Achievements)* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1966).
4. Sir Mohammad Saadullah (1886–1955) was a lawyer who practiced law at Gauhati from 1909 until 1919 and in Calcutta from 1920 until 1924. He was elected to the Assam Legislative Council in 1913. He served as premier of Assam from 1937 until 1946.
5. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 2, July–December 1938, p. 356.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 357.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
8. See *Ibid.*, pp. 343–352, for an account of the proceedings.
9. *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces* (Allahabad: Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, 1939) Vol. 4, pp. 1036–1043.
10. *Khaliquzzaman, Pathway to Pakistan*, p. 190.
11. Dr Kailas Nath Katju, member for Allahabad District (Doaba), General Rural constituency. His portfolio was Minister of Justice, Development, Agriculture and Veterinary.
12. Ibrahim, (1889–1968), like Liaquat, had been elected to the United Provinces Legislative Council in the 1926 election and to the Legislative Assembly in 1937. He was the Minister of Communications and Irrigation, member for Garhwal District and Bijnor District (North-West) where he was originally elected unopposed on the Muslim League ticket. In order to take the Congress ministership, and in the face of strident League criticism, Ibrahim resigned the seat to run again but on a Congress ticket. He was opposed by a League candidate but won with 77.57 per cent of the vote. Nonetheless, among many Muslims his name became a synonym for perfidiousness.
13. The bye-election was held on 27 October 1937.
14. Member for Bareilly, Pilibhit, Shahjahanpur, Budaun Cities. He was a long-time member of the Congress party and actively involved in Congress politics. See M. Chalapathi Rau, *Govind Ballabh Pant: His Life and Times*. (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1981). Pant was a relative of Liaquat's wife, Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan.

15. Saad Zaghlul Pasha was a leader of the Nationalist Party (*Wafd*) in Egypt who served as premier of Egypt in 1924 and president of the Egyptian legislature from February 1925 until his death in August 1927.
16. Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim was a former Muslim Leaguer.
17. Pyarey Lal Sharma, Congress member for Bulandshahr, Meerut, Hapur, Khurja, Nagina Cities where he defeated Liaquat's former colleague in the Legislative Council, the Speaker of the Council, Sir Sita Ram, with 73.03 per cent of the votes.
18. *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces* (Allahabad: Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, 1938) Vol. 5, pp. 460-462.
19. 'Hindu water and Muslim water'.
20. Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim and Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. Kidwai was Minister of Revenue and Jails, member for Bahraich District (South). He had been elected unopposed in a bye-election held on 29 April 1937 having been defeated in the general election for Gonda District (North-East). Kidwai spearheaded the unsuccessful Congress attempt to defeat Liaquat in the 1945 general election. On his life see P.N. Chopra, *Rafi Ahmad Kidwai: His Life and Work* (Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala, 1960) and Ajit Prasad Jain, *Rafi Ahmad Kidwai: A Memoir of His Life and Times* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1965).
21. Congress member for Jhansi District (South).
22. *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces* (Allahabad: Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, 1939), Vol. 6, p. 1022.
23. Zahirul Hasnain Lari (1906-1972) was a lawyer who practised law at Allahabad. He was elected to the United Provinces Legislative Assembly in 1937 as the member for Gorakhpur District East, a Muslim rural constituency. He migrated to Pakistan in 1950 where he served as a judge of the Sind High Court (1952-1955) and the West Pakistan High Court (1955-1958).
24. Purushottamdas Das Tandon, elected Congress member for Allahabad City.
25. *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces* (Allahabad: Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, 1939), Vol. 7, pp. 875-877.
26. Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927), with its highly critical depictions of India's social and economic conditions, touched a raw nerve in India and set off a storm of protest.
27. Abdul Hakeem, Muslim League member for Basti District (South-East).
28. *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces* (Allahabad: Printing and Stationery, 1938) Vol. 9, No. 7, p. 723. Maulana Shaukat Ali (1873-1938) along with his younger brother Mohamed Ali (1878-1931) were influential Muslim leaders in the 1920s and the 1930s. They were leaders of the Khilafat movement and followers of Gandhi in the non-cooperation movement in the 1920s. Both brothers became alienated from the Congress in 1928 over the *Nehru Report*. See Shan Muhammad, *Freedom Movement in India: The Role of Ali Brothers* (New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1979).
29. *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces*, Vol. 10, No. 9, pp. 809-812.

### 3

## 1939: Deliverance from Congress Governments

**D**uring the Winter Session of the United Provinces Legislative Assembly, held at Lucknow from 3 January until 23 February, which was mostly devoted to the United Provinces Tenancy Bill, Liaquat attended ten of the twenty-seven sessions. More and more of his time was devoted to his work as General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League as the League increased its activities and assumed the form of a modern, well-organized political party for the first time in its history.

At a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee held on 26 March in Meerut the League decided to appoint a committee to examine the various draft constitutions written by a number of Muslims in order to devise a replacement for the Government of India Act of 1935. Seven different draft constitutions had been issued: 'Sir Sikander Hayat's Scheme, the Pakistan Plan, the Quinquedpartite Scheme of the Nawab of Mamdot, the Pakistan Caliphate, Dr Latif's Cultural Future of India, the Scheme of Muslim Federation, and the Eastern Afghanistan Scheme'.<sup>1</sup> The Working Committee also passed a resolution urging Muslims in Indian states to organize themselves, assuring them of support from the All-India Muslim League.

On 8 April 1939, in New Delhi the Pirpur Committee, a committee set up by the Working Committee, issued its report on the Congress' Wardha Scheme of Education. The Wardha, or Basic Scheme of Education, was a new system of education based on practical education which was intended to be self-supporting and self-sustaining. Some Muslims, especially those in the League, interpreted the Wardha Scheme, based on a report issued by the Congress on December 1937, as a plan to Hinduize the educational system and to Hinduize India. They especially resented the plan to use Hindi in the early years of schooling

and to introduce English only at the high school level. The Scheme was to provide the League with a great deal of ammunition in its attack on the Congress and for the League to argue that it was the defender of Muslim interests.

On 2 July 1939 the Working Committee met in Bombay at Jinnah's house and issued a statement that no one in an individual province should negotiate or come to an agreement with the Congress with regard to the Hindu-Muslim question.<sup>2</sup> Any Congress initiative to come to an agreement with a regional League party should be referred to the President of the Working Committee. This was an attempt by the All-India Muslim League to bring all of the provincial League parties under its control. The AIML would have considerable success in this endeavour although a number of influential Muslim provincial politicians, most importantly in the Punjab, would remain outside the League and oppose the demand for Pakistan.

At its April meeting in Bombay the Working Committee had considered the decision of the Indian Princes not to join the proposed Federation of India as envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. On 18 September 1939, it passed a resolution regarding the League's attitude to assisting the government in prosecuting the war against Germany. It stated that if the government wanted the cooperation of the Muslims then it needed to take the League into its confidence. The League believed, as Liaquat argued in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly on 28 October 1939, that the constitution introduced by the Government of India Act of 1935, was unsuited to India. It made the Hindus a permanent majority that harmed the Muslims. The League wanted 'an assurance that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted'<sup>3</sup> without the League's approval. This would be the League's unwavering position.

The most important event of the year came at the end of the year with the British declaration of war without what the Congress considered proper consultation. As a result Congress ministries resigned. This led to the League declaring 22 December 1939 the 'Day of Deliverance', 'as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments have at last ceased to function'.<sup>4</sup> This was one of the two biggest blunders the Congress made in the decade before independence (the other was the Quit India campaign of 1942.) The resignation of the Congress ministries led to the party giving up all the power and authority it was acquiring as it

established itself in the minds of the British and Indians alike as the legitimate inheritor of power. It was a disastrous political decision by the Congress, but a golden opportunity for the League to recover its fortunes; it did not miss the opening as its organized activities increased in number, frequency, and intensity.

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— 24 February 1939 —

It was on the first day of the Budget Session, on 24 February 1939, that Liaquat gave a strong speech taking issue with the Congress premier Govind Balabh Pant who had denied any responsibility for the worsening communal situation in the province.

**Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan:** Sir, the speech of the Hon'ble Premier is a cry of helplessness and despair. May I suggest to the Hon'ble Premier to look nearer home for the causes of the communal bitterness which exists in the Province today. The speech that was made by Mr. Vijeypal Singh<sup>5</sup> was what the minority community thinks to be the mentality of the Congress. Why do you not realize that everyone of you is not like the Hon'ble Premier or like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru?<sup>6</sup> Why don't you realize that there are amongst you people who pose as nationalists but they are the worst type of communalists? My honourable friend, Mr. Vijeypal Singh, said that he had got the solution for the settlement to this problem. He said that if the two communities wanted to fight, he would leave them to settle their account among themselves. Would he say the same thing about the people in the North-West Frontier Province? Would he say the same about the people in the Sindh province? He suggests that solution for the province where he knows his community is 86 per cent of the population. Is that the solution? I say, and I say this with a full sense of responsibility, that it is this mentality among Congressmen which is responsible for the present bitterness between the two communities.... Sir, the point is this. Does not the Government realize that since they have come into power every Congressman in the villages, or in the districts, irrespective of his past record,

has begun to think of himself to be the greatest nationalist and has begun to think that the Government of the Province is his own. That is really the reason why the people have lost confidence in the party as such. (*Cries of question.*) My friend questions. He may go on questioning, but the fact remains that there is not much difference between the mentality of a large number of Congressmen and the mentality of Mahasabhaites.<sup>7</sup> Sir, is it not the duty of the majority community to create confidence in the mind of the minority? After all the minority, the Muslim minority, which is only 14 per cent in this Province desires to live in peace. It knows that by fighting it is suffering and it will rather perish altogether than live a dishonourable life in this country.... If a few Congressmen, who are only perhaps one per cent of the population, think themselves strong enough to turn out the mighty British from the country then surely the ninety million Musalmans cannot easily be suppressed. They are determined to live an honourable life in this country irrespective of what you might say or what you might do. Do you think these unnecessary interruptions will affect me in the least? They won't.... My proposal is: change your mentality and live up to your professions. Sir, honourable members may go on interrupting me. The more they interrupt me the happier I feel, because I feel that my thrusts are going home and in their heart of hearts they know that there is a lot of truth in what I am saying. How is it that in other provinces the communal feeling is not so acute as it is in this province? Can it be said that in the Punjab or in Sindh or in Bengal or in North-West Frontier Province the communal feeling is not so strong? (*A voice: Because the Muslim League has failed there.*) No, it is not that; it is because the Government in those provinces has not shown the special favour to any one political party. That is the reason. If the Government really mean that the people should have confidence in the Government, they should create a sense of security in their minds, irrespective of their party label, and impress them that everyone is to receive the same treatment and the same justice as members of the Congress Party.



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— 25 March 1939 —

On 25 March 1939, Liaquat gave the Presidential Speech at the United Provinces Divisional Muslim League Conference, Meerut.<sup>8</sup>

The present activities of Muslim League commenced from the General Elections. The question arose as to how the various Provincial Governments were to be formed. The Congress preferred party Governments to coalitions with Muslims. Thus in eight provinces we have Congress Governments which are fundamentally Hindu. After the acceptance of office by the Congress, an ever increasing number of defects in the Government of India Act have made themselves apparent, for under this act it has become obvious that there need be no Muslim at all in any provincial government—witness Orissa and Central Provinces—or if any—those who beside themselves represent nothing else—witness the rest of the Congress Provinces. Further it has become apparent that the protection given to the religious, cultural, linguistic and other rights of the minorities under the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors has proved to be futile and meaningless. Under cover of Section 144 the Muslims are being denied their several rights. There is riot and civil commotion in United Provinces and Central Provinces and suspicion is gaining currency that the Hindus are being favoured, that the elementary rights of the Muslims are being ignored. Look at the matter any way you like, it remains an established fact that the Governors have not yet recognized, in a single instance, their powers in respect of the minorities. This will explain why the Muslims insisted that all the safeguards in respect of the minorities should be embodied in the constitution itself. They knew, only too well, that those special powers of Governors might in time of stress be made to yield to and serve the purpose of the British Government's desire for political convenience and expediency. And we see that while the Congress has suspended its attacks against British Imperialism, the Governors have not failed to vie with it by suspending the exercise of their special powers. May we presume that these were the understandings, tacit or otherwise, of the

'Gentleman's agreement' between the Congress and White Hall [sic]?

The Muslims are beginning to understand that in the minority provinces they have been reduced to the status of subjects and that they are being deprived of the rights of citizenship which they have so far enjoyed in common with other communities. Federation will complete the disaster, for the States are being bullied and rendered helpless: and the British Government is acting as an ally of the Congress so that the Government of the States may be transferred into the hands of a patronized and dragooned democracy, to this end, electoral methods are being foisted on the States so that the Congress may gain a majority and form the government in the Federal Assembly on the strength of these artificially induced representatives of the 'Popular' vote. The victims—the Indian States and the Musalmans—are to be sacrificed to the new-fangled entente between the British and the Congress. It is not mere speculation that even in the provinces where they have a majority the Muslims will be reduced to a subordinate status of serfdom under this proposed Federation.

When in 1937 the Muslim League acquired a new orientation, it was felt that there would be some understanding with the Congress and the two communities would collaborate and their conjoint labours would result in the successful government of the country. But after the establishment of the Congress Governments with the passage of time, unsuspecting aspects of the Act revealed themselves. Separate electorates, weightage, and special powers of Governors, and safeguards which were the mainstay of the Musalmans, revealed themselves as idle and illusory shibboleths. The Government of India Act seems to be designed to promote the Hindus. The future of the Musalmans can not hope for betterment in this state of affairs. This democracy has a parallel nowhere in Europe; where do you find a government in Europe analogous to the Governments in the provinces or the one that is intended for the federal centre. At the moment the majority and minority in the political structure derives its nourishment not from a political or an economic programme, but the majority is a

majority for the reason, if not the excuse, of religion and minority is a minority on the excuse that it is a minority.

This preconsidered majority and minority has created the critical position, that the Hindus are and will be the Government, the Muslims are and will be the opposition, and the best orations cannot convert the majorities into minorities or vice versa. Centuries will pass and the Musalmans will be in opposition—always deprived of power.

The Congress Socialists have a solution for this. Abolish religion, they say, and political parties will be affiliated to economic policies, and every difficulty will disappear. In other words, abolish Islam and the Musalmans will be strong. Is this democracy? Does democracy enjoin the permanent subordination of minorities to majorities, of one religion to another? Is this not a conjuring trick to subordinate 90 million Muslims to 23 *crores*\* Hindus? We are Indian, but why should we cease to be Muslim? Why should we be traitors to Islam? Islam is our faith, culture and civilization, but India is our home where the bones of our ancestors lie buried for the last 1200 years. We desire to live in our home with our own culture, and we wish to control our own destiny according to our own tradition. We want no trustees—British or the Hindus, we want no charity, we do not wish others to grant us favours, we want the power and the right to look after ourselves. We cannot tolerate the Congress issuing instructions to its ministers teaching them how to look after Musalmans. The Congress is not the sovereign power and we certainly are not its subjects.

I want an independent India where Muslims have power and freedom, for the Muslims are a nation and not a community. It would be a travesty to dismiss 90 million people with a glorious past as a community. Although Hindus and Muslims live in the same country, they live differently because their religion, culture and civilization are different. Muslims do not favour the pseudo-nationalism that the Hindus have borrowed from Europe. The ideology of Islam abhors the geographical basis. It is world wide, and preaches international brotherhood, denies frontiers and is based on one factor and one factor alone—the Quran.

How are the Musalmans, thus constituted and preconditioned, to fit in into this country? They cannot live honourably if only some changes are made here and there in the Government of India Act, which during the last twenty-one months of its operation has betrayed defects, and has shown the utter futility and insufficiency of the so-called safeguards. Unless the rights of the Muslims are guaranteed there can be no peace and tranquillity in this country. There is mutual suspicion of religious favouritism on all sides and it has become almost impossible for the Hindus and the Muslims to coexist under the same regime. Cynics may inquire how the two communities succeeded in living together in the past. The answer is tremendous in its simplicity. They lived together because they did not live under a parliamentary democracy but under a benevolent autocracy which did not enforce its religion and culture on its subjects. The British technique was to oblige the two communities to live together with their military might in the background. The more this might and power has been transferred in the name of democracy, the more pronounced have the difference become between the two communities. The Hindus who are in power want to shape India according to their ancient ideas but the Musalmans who have their own part and their own ideals cannot willingly accept this. The only way out of this impossible situation is to allow each community to develop itself unhindered. The first attempt to achieve this was the one proposed before the Nehru Committee. That Sindh, Punjab and N.W.F.P. should be amalgamated under one political system so that the Muslims would be in a united majority in one area. The idea was further examined by the late Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal<sup>9</sup> when the word Pakistan emerged and found favour with a section of the Muslims. Many more schemes are being evolved, but whatever scheme is finally adopted, it is obvious that if the Hindus and the Muslims cannot live amicably in any other way they might be allowed to do so by dividing the country in a suitable manner on a religious and cultural basis. Only thus can each community develop freely without annoying the other. There are bound to be some hardships in this cultural redistribution of the population, but they are

trifling in view of the lasting results it is aimed to achieve. Greece and Turkey did reshuffle their population and are still the better for it. If this is done, limited and specific federation would not only be easy but desirable. The only fault with this proposal is that the Hindus either will not or cannot welcome it because of their inordinate desire to rule and because they can not conceive of permitting the Musalmans to live a free life according to their own ideal.

Nevertheless the idea is sane and must be adopted. It were better that it were accepted with mutual consent and good will.

And take the questions of Muslims abroad and examine the guardianship of the British. The Palestine Conference<sup>10</sup> has failed at the altar of British expediency. We are in no dash-hurry, let our delegates return from London and when we know all, we will do much.

This abroad. At home you are aware of the communal riots. Crime is on the rise, favouritism is paramount, security of life and property speculative. Will the Government consider it expedient to appoint an impartial committee to review the situation so fraught with danger.

Further there is the Wardha scheme of basic education<sup>11</sup> which will determine the whole course of primary education, on which the education and outlook of the young will depend. To say the least, Musalmans must concern themselves with a scheme that intends to mould their descendants. The scheme is under examination at present by a committee of the All-India Muslim League.

From all points of view we must be vigilant and vigorous. We should have Volunteers and a well trained army of National Guards to protect our prestige in every crisis. Enough attention has not been paid to this, but the need is urgent and should merit better response.

The future of the Musalmans is very bright if they would only take their destiny into their own hands and march forward with courage and determination.

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— 22 July 1939 —

Charleville Hotel<sup>12</sup>

Mussoorie

22.7.39

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since I left Bombay I have been on the move most of the time. I spent a couple of days in Delhi on my return from Bombay and came up here just for 3 days before going to Lucknow for the Assembly Session. From there I went to Moradabad for the District Muslim League Conference. It was a very successful Conference. I have just come up here. I have issued letters to all the Provincial Leagues asking them to send us their views about an alternative scheme to the Govt. of India Act. I find that in the Central Office we have not got many schemes. Probably the people concerned must have sent them to you direct. Will you kindly send me a copy each of the constitutional schemes that you have received so that I can have some copies made and send them to the Provincial Leagues for their views? I propose that we should have a meeting of the Council in Delhi sometime towards the end of August. What about Sunday, the 27th of August? It will be just about the time when you will be going up to Simla.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit.

With our kindest regards to both of you,

Yours sincerely,

Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 7 August 1939 —

Little Gibbs Road,<sup>13</sup>

Malabar Hill,

Bombay.

August 7, 1939.

Dear Nawabzada Sahib,

I am writing this letter to you under Mr. Jinnah's instructions.

I am enclosing copies of the various schemes<sup>14</sup> which have been sent to Mr. Jinnah for making changes in the present constitution. They are as follows:-

1. Confederacy of India by a Punjabi
2. Sir Sikandar Hayat's scheme as published in the *Times of India* dated 31st July
3. Dr. Latif's scheme
4. Dr. Afzal Husain Qadri's scheme
5. Copy of Zainul Abideen's letter
6. Copy of Abdul Majid Khan's letter

As you will see, it is the first four that are really of importance, and these only have been emphasized by Mr. Jinnah. He wants you to have copies of them prepared by your office so that one may be sent to each member of the Working Committee and of the Sub-Committee appointed to go into these schemes.

As regards 'Confederacy of India', I have further to point out that the theme of the book is not so much the advocacy of any particular scheme as to show that the Hindu-Muslim Question is a real one, and that a solution lies only in the direction of a partition. In the introduction, however, the author has ranked the various schemes, discussed them briefly and expressed the order in which he would prefer them. So you will have to decide which portions are relevant and should be reprinted.

The last two are so fantastic that it does not really seem worthwhile to take them seriously. But, if you so desire it, you may have reprints prepared of them as well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Usman Ansari

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
Charleville Hotel  
Mussoorie.

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— 28 October 1939 —

On 28 October 1939, Liaquat intervened on the debate on the motion regarding India's participation in the war.<sup>15</sup>

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is indeed a very solemn occasion and I hope my honourable friends of the Congress will forgive me if I were to say that some of the speeches that have been made from that side have not taken into consideration the seriousness of the situation in which we are placed today. Sir, I assure you and the honourable members on the side opposite, that it is not my intention to introduce any heat in the debate and I speak with a certain amount of frankness, which by some may be regarded as brutal, I assure them that the object will not be to hurt the feelings of any member of this House or anyone outside. It would be to contribute towards the realisation of the realities of life in which we are living. Sir, great joy was expressed by my honourable friends of the Congress over the speech of Mr. Adil Abbasi.<sup>16</sup> Great cheers were given, great acclamations were made. Why? Because he spoke against the overwhelming majority of his own community. Mr. Adil Abbasi does not belong to any party. He is an independent. Our great statesman of England has described an independent as one on whom no one can depend and if my honourable friends depend on men like Mr. Adil Abbasi, I wish them the joy of it. Sir, the introduction of this resolution is connected with the history of our country since the declaration of war on the 3rd of September, and if I, with your permission, narrate briefly some of the events since the war was declared, I hope the honourable members will bear with me. On the 4th of September, immediately after the declaration of war, Mahatma Gandhi was invited by the Viceroy to interview him. Mahatma Gandhi, as everyone in this House would agree, exercises the greatest influence over the Congress organization. In spite of the fact that he is not even a four anna\* member of the Congress, everyone knows, that it is his word which carried the greatest

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\*Sixteenth part of a Rupee



weight with Congressmen. What did he say on that occasion? The honourable members will remember the language of the statement which Mahatmaji issued after his interview with the Viceroy. He stated that he was for supporting Great Britain unconditionally in this war. Not only that but he further told us that he actually broke down in his interview with the Viceroy thinking of the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey. The last action of his—I mean his 'breaking down'—may be due to his highly sensitive nature and his emotionality. But I am sure that the first part of his statement where he offered unconditional support to Great Britain could not be attributed to any such consideration. We all know that Mahatmaji has a calculating mind. We all know that he is not guided always only by sentiments, but he has his head well screwed on his shoulders. What happened after that? After that the Working Committee of the Congress issued a lengthy statement and established a record for verbosity, which stands unbroken today, in spite of the efforts of the Viceroy in his long statement. Sir, what did Mahatmaji say after that? He said, that the British should take into consideration that the statement of the Congress was drafted by an artist, by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was more English than Indian, and who felt more at home with English people than his own countrymen. This was said so that the British may not think that the Congress were showing teeth. Now, Sir, what happened after that? The Viceroy invited Mahatmaji and the foremost leaders of the Congress organization for an interview. They put forward their point of view, which, as is evident from what has happened since, was to persuade, to induce and cajole the British into accepting the position that Congress and Congress alone represented the whole of India and it was the only organization that could speak on behalf of India, and when the British refused to be a party to this nefarious move, the Congress party comes forward with this resolution. May I ask my honourable friends over there, did they not know on the 3rd of October when this House met, that India was dragged into this war, without her consent? Is it only today that you feel that you are in duty bound to express your regret because the British have

refused to let down the minorities in this country? May I ask my honourable friends is it only a new phase in this war? Was not India made a party to the war on the 3rd of September, and why did you not bring forward a resolution of this nature when the House met on the 3rd of October? Right up to now you are expecting that Britain will play into your hands and break her pledges to the Musalmans of India and other minorities in this land. Sir, I have related these facts to show as to what is behind this resolution.

**Some members:** Fiction, fiction.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali:** My honourable friends talk of fiction. I assure them that Congress cannot be beaten in this respect. Sir, what is the position today? Great Britain says that we are sorry we cannot agree to your demand because there are divisions in your country. Mahatmajji says that the divisions that exist in India today are the creations of the British. Let us assume that for the sake of argument. May I know what has the Congress done since it came into power to remove those divisions? It has done one thing. It has tried to break up the solidarity of the 90 millions of the Musalmans by means which are not honourable. This is what the Congress has done with the result that today the 90 millions of Musalmans have no confidence in your professions and in your actions.

Sir, my honourable friends of the Congress are living in the clouds. There are three prominent leaders of this great organization. The foremost of them is Mahatma Gandhi. He is engrossed in '*ahimsa*' and his 'inner voice'. Next in order of importance is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His thoughts are full of 'internationalism' and he is thinking of China and Spain. The third a dynamic force today in the Congress, in spite of the fact that he is in a minority, is Mr. Subhas Bose.<sup>17</sup> His hobby is 'revolutionary mentality'. None of these leaders, these great leaders of the Congress are thinking of this poor country. They are thinking of things which are not real. What is the use of living high up in the skies? What is the use of thinking of things beyond this earth when your own house is on fire? Sir, the situation demands that it should be tackled in a realistic manner, but I regret to say that my Congress friends are still not on

earth, and I assure you that there is no hope for this country as long as the realities of the situation are not recognized by those who are able to command influence in the country today.

Sir, a lot has been said about the Muslim League amendment and the attitude of the Muslim League. Words have been introduced into the text of the amendment which are not there. May I know where does it say that the Muslim League does not stand for freedom? Where does it say that the Muslim League does not stand for independence? If my friends will pardon me this interpretation can only be on account of two reasons,—either their ignorance or their deliberate misrepresentation of the point of view of the Muslim League.

Sir, it is stated that the Musalmans who are lovers of freedom, are against democracy in India. Where does the amendment say that we are against democracy? Have the honourable members who have criticized our attitude studied the wordings of the amendment? It says that 'the democratic parliamentary system of Government under the present constitution' has failed. Where does it say that the Musalmans do not stand for democracy? But I will tell you what the Musalmans do not stand for and will never stand for. It is the domination one community over the other. We shall resist that type of democracy with whatever force we have at our command. If there is democracy, if there is freedom for every nationality in this country, let me tell you that you will not find a single Musalman who will not be prepared to shed his blood for that kind of democracy and freedom; but if you want to make fools of Musalmans, as you did in 1920, then I can assure you that Musalmans after these twenty years are wiser today and will not play into your hands. You utilized their services, you utilized their sacrifices; you became so powerful today on account of the sacrifices that the Musalmans made in 1920 and what is the result? The result is the plight in which the Musalmans find themselves today. Sir, I find, that my honourable friends of the Congress are getting restless. Whenever I am interrupted I feel very happy because I know that my thrusts are going home.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it has been stated by the members opposite that we do not want any advancements in this country. Where does the amendment say that we do not want any advancement? We say that apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, which even you have rejected, the whole position of India's constitution should be revised and reviewed *de novo*. It is stated in the amendment that no constitution will be framed by Great Britain and no commitment will be made without the approval and consent of the Musalmans of India. It does not mean that the constitution to be introduced should have only our consent. No, it must have your consent also, but we shall not accept any constitution which does not have our approval and I submit, Sir, that no constitution in this country can ever work satisfactorily unless it has the support and approval of the 90 million Musalmans. The sooner this fact is realized the better it will be for this country.

Sir, the Hon'ble Premier in his speech made certain statements. I am sorry I could not hear some portion of his speech, but I agree with every word of it with this little change that where he uses the phrase Great Britain the word 'Congress' or 'Hindu' may be substituted and in place of 'the people of India' the phrase 'Musalmans of India' be inserted. Our complaint against you is exactly the same as your complaint against Great Britain. What did he say? He said they desired protection and freedom. You want protection against Great Britain. We want protection against you. He stated that 'might is not right.' I entirely agree with him. This is our complaint that you believe that might is right while we have always been saying that might is not right. Then he wants the principle of self-determination to be applied. I agree with that. Have not the 90 million people in this country a right to determine their own fate? The 90 million people whose culture, whose religion, whose ideals, whose philosophy and whose whole social life is different from the rest of India, have they no right, have they no voice in the future constitution of this vast sub-continent? Or is it self-determination only for you and not for us? Sir, the Hon'ble Premier said—they wanted equal partnership with Great Britain. We want the same.

We do not want domination by you. We want only to be treated as equals and not to be your camp followers. This is what the Muslim League has been asking for during the last two and a half years. That is all that the Musalmans of India want. Then he said that they wanted not words but deeds. This is exactly our cry against you. But there are no deeds to show that you really mean to do justice to the 90 million Musalmans in this country. I assure you and every one of you that the Musalmans are as keen and as anxious and as ready to make sacrifices for the freedom of this country as anyone of you. But we want freedom for all and not domination of one community over the other.

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— 16 November 1939 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>18</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue  
New Delhi  
16.11.39

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

First let me offer you congratulations, in which my wife joins me, on your broadcast talk on Id day. It was excellent. We listened to it on the Radio and next morning read it in the papers. Everybody speaks highly of this speech and the *Hindustan Times* published it on the front page and wrote a leading article on it. I suppose you must have seen it. The speech is liked by Muslims and Hindus. I feel that there is more to it than meets the eye.

I am herewith enclosing a letter from Khaliquzzaman for your perusal. I am not quite sure if just yet you should fix any date for the purpose mentioned in Khaliq's letter. As far as Muslim League is concerned nothing definite has been decided by it, regarding the war and under these circumstances I fear that different people will interpret the resolutions differently as suits them and thus great confusion might be created in [*illegible*] if you decide to fix some date for the purpose you must issue necessary instructions also as to what should be told to the Musalmans.

I am going to Darbhanga on the 21st to preside at the Muslim League Conference which is to be held on the 23rd, 24th and 25th. I hope to return to Delhi about the 28th.

I hope you have been able to get some rest in Bombay and are keeping very fit.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 29 November 1939 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue<sup>19</sup>  
New Delhi  
29.11.39

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank-you very much for your letter of the 18th which I received on the 21st, the day that I was leaving for Darbhanga. I returned from Darbhanga only this morning, hence the delay in sending a reply. I have thought over the proposal of observing the day of Deliverance and I am of opinion that this should be done. It can do no harm, on the contrary it will show to the people in India and abroad that the return of Congress Ministries without a settlement with the Musalmans will lead to great trouble. We should do what we can to keep them out of office until we are made to feel safe and secure. I consulted Syed Abdul Azeez and Mr. Fazlul Haq, who had come to Darbhanga for the Conference, and they both welcomed this proposal. The Raja of Mahmudabad<sup>20</sup> who arrived here today also agrees with this suggestion. I suggest that you should issue a statement on the lines of your letter to me and fix the 15th of December as the day of Deliverance. In the statement you will of course mention the other minorities as you yourself suggest in your letter. The 15th of December will give ample time to me to communicate to all the Provincial Leagues the draft resolution and other instructions and they will be able to send instructions to their Branches long before

the 15th. I shall have the resolution and the necessary instructions ready by the 29th and shall send them out as soon as I get information from you that the 15th of December meets with your approval. You might inform me telegraphically. You should ask the Musalmans to go *en masse* to the Mosques and after the *Juma* prayers every one should offer prayer in thanks for deliverance from this tyrannical regime and that it may never [illegible].

According to religion the thanksgiving prayers will have to be offered by everyone individually as it can not be done by a gathering all together like the *Juma*\* or other prayers. I have consulted some *Ulemas*\*\* on this point and this is their opinion. However you need not go into the details you can only say in your statement that every Musalman should, after *Juma* prayers, offer special thanksgiving prayers and after the prayers there should be a public meeting. You should also ask the Musalmans to observe humility and not do anything that is likely to give offence to any one. I suggest that this should be done all over India and not be confined to the Provinces where Congress Ministries were functioning. The Musalmans in Muslim Majority Provinces can observe this day as a token of sympathy for their unfortunate brethren in the Minority Provinces. In your telegram I would like you to tell me whether the day is to be observed all over India or only in Minority Provinces.

You will be pleased to know that the Conference at Darbhanga was a huge success. It was really wonderful. It was as good as the Patna Session in every respect, except that you were not there and all that your presence means. The arrangements were perfect, the enthusiasm great and the gathering huge. There must have been quite twenty or twenty-five thousand persons. For all the three days there was great interest and enthusiasm shown by the people. I did not expect that it will be such a big show. Syed Abdul Azeez told me that he was having a Workers' Conference at Patna during Xmas holidays and is most keen that you and I should go there for it. It is no doubt an excellent idea. I do not know what your programme is for the next month.

---

\*Friday

\*\*Muslim Religious Scholars

The Jubbulpore people are having a Muslim League Conference towards the end of December and they want me to preside over it. I have told them that I shall let them know later as I am not sure what other engagements I might have for that week. I would decide about it on hearing from you and knowing as to what your programme is. Mr. Azeez told me that you were thinking of going to Madras.

Raja Mahmudabad tells me that the Conference in Assam was a very great success. He seems very pleased with his visit and is intending to go there again.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit.

With our kindest regards and love from Ashraf to you both—

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 11 December 1939 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue,<sup>21</sup>  
New Delhi  
1.12.39

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The 'Day of Deliverance' has caused great stir and you must have seen in the papers the various statements that have been appearing in this connection. As far as our people are concerned I think they will observe the day. The Urdu papers have supported the proposal. I issued a statement in this connection last evening which appeared in the *Statesman*<sup>22</sup> this morning. I am sending a cutting from the paper for your perusal. I hope you approve of it.

I have issued instructions to all the Provincial Leagues for the 22nd and have suggested that they should recommend to all the branches to pass the other resolution also, a copy of which was sent by you to me.

You must have seen Abdur Rahman Siddiqi's<sup>23</sup> statement regarding the proposal for the Day of Deliverance. It is most objectionable. At first I thought of dealing with him in



my statement but then I decided that it would be advisable to ignore it completely, and treat him with contempt. He is a despicable fellow. I am sure that everybody will disapprove of his action. This opposition to the proposal will act as an incentive to our people and I am certain that the meetings will be very successful.

Sir Stafford Cripps<sup>24</sup> came to see me this morning. I had about an hour's talk with him. I told him that the principles which were applicable in the West could not apply here. The Democratic Parliamentary System of Government, as it is worked in the West, will never work here. No constitution which is based on purely majority rule will be acceptable to the Musalmans and they will resist such a constitution with every means within their power. Musalmans were not opposed to the freedom of the country as is generally stated by our opponents, but they would certainly oppose the type of freedom that is demanded by the Congress. I told him that the way in which the Congress Ministries functioned during the last two years had convinced the Musalmans that they would never agree to this type of Government. There are innumerable cases of unprovoked and unjust aggression on the Muslim minority by the majority community which were due to the impression that was created by the Congress that Hindu Raj had been established. The Muslims were always ready and willing for an honourable settlement with the Hindus and they were as keen as anyone to get freedom for the country. I told him that recently the Muslim opinion had become very strong for partition of India into Muslim India and Hindu India as we feel that this is the best solution of the problem for everyone concerned. I gave him a copy of our resolutions since October 1939, a copy of Pirpur Report<sup>25</sup> and a copy of Sharif Report<sup>26</sup> about Bihar. I also gave him a copy of our constitution. I told him that if he could find time to glance through these documents he will get an idea as to how the Muslim mind has been working. He said that he was going to Bombay and hoped to meet you there. Of course Sir Stafford Cripps does not wield much influence in English politics but it is just as well that he should know the other, that is the Congress, point of view also.

I do not know what your programme is, but I think we should have a meeting of the Working Committee at some convenient date. Apart from the question of war there are other matters that should be considered. The report of the National Guards' Committee, which has already been circulated to the members should be examined and a move should be made in this connection. Then I think we should consider the question of having some sort of a Press<sup>27</sup> because it is needed most at this time so that people in England may come to understand our point of view. If it is not possible to have an English Daily Paper we should at least have a weekly. I have prepared a draft of a Prospectus and articles of Association for a limited Co to be started for this purpose. I shall send a copy to you shortly. The budget for the next year also has to be passed and we should take stock of the general situation as well. A meeting of the Working Committee, I think, should be called either sometime this month or the beginning of next year.

They are having a M. League Workers' Conference in Patna on the 23rd, 24th and 25th of this month. Syed Abdul Azeez<sup>28</sup> is very keen that you and I should go there. It no doubt is an excellent idea. I do not know if you will be able to go there.

What do you think of Patel's<sup>29</sup> statement? He has shifted all the responsibility on to the Governors.

My wife sends you and Miss Jinnah her kindest regards and hopes that you will be coming to Delhi soon.

With kindest regards

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat

\* \* \* \*

## NOTES

1. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, January–June 1939, p. 65. They were also published by Rezaul Karim, *Pakistan Examined, with the Partition Schemes of Dr. Latif, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Others* (Calcutta: Book Company, 1941).
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, July–December 1939, p. 345.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 46. The full resolution is found in Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice, Towards Consolidation, Speeches and Statements, March 1935–March 1940* (Karachi, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1992), p. 417.
5. Member for Bulandshahr District North, a General Rural constituency.
6. On the remarkable life of Jawaharlal Nehru see Stanley Wolpert, *Nehru: A Tryst with Destiny* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). On Nehru's own writings see his *A Bunch of Old Letters: Written Mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru and Some Written by Him* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1958); *The Discovery of India* (London: John Day, 1946); *Toward Freedom: The Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru* (London: John Lane, 1936); and *The Unity of India: Collected Writings 1937–1940*, 2nd edition (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1942).
7. A great deal was written in the 1990s about the rise of Hindu communalism, often dubbed Hindu extremism, in India. On the history of Hindu nationalism see Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). He traces the crystallization of Hindu doctrine to the 1920s. Contacts between Hindu nationalists and European fascists took place in the 1930s.
8. This is a 'translation summary,' Archives of the Freedom Movement (hereafter AFM), Vol. 351.
9. (1876–1938). As president of the 1930 session of the All-India Muslim League he called for the creation of an autonomous Muslim state in northwest India. See Hafeez Malik, ed., *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).
10. Mohammad Ali Alooba Pasha of Egypt invited Indian Muslim representatives to the Palestine Conference of October 1938 to discuss the situation in Palestine and to try to prevent partitioning Palestine into Jewish areas and Palestinian sections. One of the attendees was Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman. See his account of the conference in *Pathway to Pakistan*, pp. 198–203.
11. This scheme was first spelled out by Gandhi in 1937 in a series of articles in his weekly, *Harijan*. It aimed to introduce some form of manual labour into the curriculum. A Congress committee was appointed in October 1937 under Dr Zakir Husain (1897–1969) to give practical application to the idea. His committee reported within two months with recommendations that included the use of Hindi as the medium of instruction for the first seven years of schooling. Many Muslims interpreted the report as the Hinduization of the curriculum and a direct attack on their way of life. Husain served as president of India from 1967 until his death. See B. Sheik Ali, *Zakir Husain: Life and Times* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1991).
12. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
13. *Ibid.*

14. Not printed here.
15. *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1939, pp. 214-218.
16. Qazi Muhammad Adil Abbasi was elected on the Muslim League ticket in the 1937 elections for Basti District (West), a Muhammadan rural constituency.
17. Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945) was educated in Bengal and Cambridge and he entered the Indian Civil Service but quickly resigned and returned to India in 1921 to enter politics in Bengal. He was imprisoned several times (the first from 1924 until 1927). He was elected president of the Indian National Congress in 1938 and reelected in 1939 but for Bose non-violence was a tactic and not an article of faith, accordingly he was hounded out of office by Gandhi. While under house arrest in January 1941 he disappeared. He turned up in Berlin and was then taken to Southeast Asia to organize the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) under Japanese auspices. He was killed in an air crash. See Leonard A. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Bidyut Chakrabarty *Subhas Chandra Bose and Middle Class Radicalism: A Study in Indian Nationalism 1928-1940* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1990). Bose wrote an autobiography of his middle years, Subhas Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle 1920-1934* (London: Wishart & Co., 1935).
18. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmed Khan of Mahmudabad (1914-1973) was a member of the Working Committee and the treasurer of the All-India Muslim League from 1937 until 1947. One of the leading Muslim figures in the United Provinces, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of India in 1945 representing Lucknow and Fyzabad Divisions, a Muhammadan rural constituency. See his account of his activities during the struggle for independence in C.H. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwright, eds., *The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives 1935-1947* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).
21. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
22. The *Statesman* was favourable to the Congress governments and it, and other newspapers, played an important role in the independence movement. None more so than *Dawn* for the Muslim League whose role in the Pakistan movement remains to be told. On the role of the press in the independence movement see Milton Israel, *Communications and Power: Propaganda and the Press in the Indian Nationalist Struggle, 1920-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
23. (1887-1953). Educated at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College and Wadham College, Oxford. He was called to the bar. He became a member of the All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board in 1936 and the Working Committee in 1938. He was elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1939 and the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1946.
24. As a British Cabinet official Cripps had a special interest in Indian affairs. His most important contribution to the creation of Pakistan was the Cripps Mission of 1942 when he flew to India to bring the Congress into the government in exchange for a constituent assembly after the war. Congress refused but Cripps reaffirmed the British government's promise that no constitutional settlement would be made without full consultation with the League. See R.J. Moore, *Churchill, Cripps and*

- India, 1939-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979). On Cripps' privileged life see Colin Cooke, *The Life of Richard Stafford Cripps* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957) or Eric Estorick, *Stafford Cripps: A Biography* (London: Heinemann, 1949).
25. The *Pirpur Report* catalogued Congress abuses of power and was a powerful weapon in the League arsenal. As much as it was quoted over the next six years by League politicians as evidence of harm done to Muslims, it was resented in equal measure by Congress leaders. It helped to create the climate of opinion that led to acceptance of partition as the solution to the Hindu-Muslim question in India. Syed Muhammad Mehdi, Raja of Pirpur (1896-?) had served with Liaquat in the United Provinces Legislative Council from 1930 representing Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Rae Bareilly Districts, a Muhammadan Rural constituency, and in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly from 1937 where he was the member for Fyzabad District, a Muhammadan Rural constituency. In 1930, he was an independent and in 1937 he had been elected on the National Agriculturist Party of Oudh ticket.
  26. The full title of the report was *Report of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League to Enquire into some of the Grievances of Muslims in Bihar*. It was published in Patna in 1939 and, like the *Pirpur Report*, it was used by the League in its campaign to denigrate the claims of the Congress to represent all communities in India. S.M. Shareef (1880-1972) practiced law. From 1940 he was a member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee.
  27. Liaquat's suggestion for a Muslim League newspaper was eventually accepted by Jinnah with the creation of *Dawn* as a weekly newspaper in 1941 and a daily the following year. It was to play a major part in the League's campaign for Pakistan.
  28. Not much is known about the activities of Azeez who is not listed in *Muslim India (1857-1947): A Biographical Dictionary*.
  29. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950) was called to the Bar in London in 1913 and established a successful law practice in Ahmedabad. In 1922 he gave it up to devote his life to politics and social and economic reform. He became a close follower of Gandhi and eventually became known as the 'strong man' of the Congress party. It is said that he was the first of the Congress leaders to accept that partition was necessary. On his long life in politics see Rajmohan Gandhi, *Patel: A Life* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1991) or D.V. Tahmankar, *Sardar Patel* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).

## 4

### 1940: The Pakistan Resolution

**T**he most momentous event of the year, not only for the League, but for the political class in India and the future of the sub-continent, occurred on 23 March 1940 in Lahore when the League moved the Pakistan Resolution. Henceforth, the League would campaign ceaselessly for a sovereign state (or states) in the northeast and northwest of India for the Muslims of South Asia. The League would make this demand the centerpiece of its political strategy. The record of the Congress provincial governments from July 1937 until December 1939 had convinced the League that Muslim interests would be harmed in a central government dominated by the Congress. That experience had also convinced the All-India Muslim League of how weak the party's position was. Influential and powerful regional Muslim politicians in Bengal, Sindh, the North-West Frontier Province, and especially the Punjab, were not fully supportive of the demand for Pakistan as it was defined by Jinnah and Liaquat. Many of them felt that the League had become too inflexible and too unwilling to compromise with the Congress. This feeling of intransigency was also shared by members of the All-India Muslim League as well. Some of them wanted to join the War Committees that the British created to support the war effort and were angered about Jinnah's initial ban on League members joining these bodies.

Jinnah was aware of the problems and difficulties the creation of Pakistan or Pakistans would create, with large Hindu or Sikh minorities remaining in the Pakistan area(s). His response was to refuse to discuss the details of partition and the problems it would create until the principle of Pakistan had been conceded. He maintained this stance in spite of constant demands by various Indian politicians and the British to do so. He knew full well that the Congress and the British would try to destroy the idea of Pakistan by subjecting the plan to the minutest scrutiny and quibbling in interminable arguments until the difficulties

of the plan overwhelmed the advantages and was defeated. Jinnah and Liaquat fully realized this and their tactic, which required an unbreakable resolve and nerve, was to maintain the principle of Pakistan.

This demand for Pakistan would dominate the political agenda for the remainder of British rule. It was a brilliant political gambit. For two decades Gandhi and the Congress had dominated the political discourse in India. All British initiatives had centred around the ideas and activities of Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. Gandhi would parlay with the Viceroy on a one-on-one basis. Henceforth, the focus of attention would be on Jinnah and the League. Jinnah was demanding that the League be granted a veto on all future constitutional development. In this quest, he was ultimately successful. Within a few years Gandhi would be visiting Jinnah in his home in Malabar Hill, Bombay for face-to-face discussions with him. Again, Jinnah would refuse to budge from his position of Pakistan. For the League, Pakistan symbolized parity with the Congress. Without equality the League feared marginalization in an independent India. Pakistan would be the only safeguard. The great fear of the League was that their voice would be ignored. They had very little leverage if the British decided to by-pass and ignore them. The pressure they could bring on the government was limited to how much the British needed them and how much the League could demonstrate that it represented the Muslims of South Asia. If the Congress played their cards correctly, the League could be marginalized. It was a measure of the brilliance of the League's strategy that the League not only became central to British plans for independence but came to dominate the political discourse.

From being a minor political entity when war began, the All-India Muslim League became the only major national party in the country effectively organizing its workers. As it was a *de facto* supporter of the war effort, the British bent over backward not to alienate the League. The result was a remarkable reversal of fortune. By the end of 1945 the League had transformed itself into a major political organization with a sophisticated organization, a growing following, and its own daily English newspaper, *Dawn*, to spread its voice to every corner of the country and even take its message overseas. This was the great work of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan. The Pakistan Resolution of 23 March 1940 was the 'Magna Carta' of Pakistan.

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— 26 April 1940 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue<sup>1</sup>  
New Delhi.  
26.4.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The film of the League Session that was taken at Lahore is ready.<sup>2</sup> We saw it last evening—on the whole it is quite good and should prove useful for our propaganda. Before I decide about the purchase of it I should like you to see it and give your opinion. The film could be sent to you by post and you could arrange with some cinema people to show it to you. If you approve of the film and if you think that we should buy it then I would request you to get in touch with some one interested in films to arrange for the exhibition of the film in the Bombay Presidency and Kathiawar. In other words, we could appoint him as a distributor for that area on agreed terms. In the same way we could arrange with some people in other parts of the country. If we were to have, say, six copies of the film showing all over the country at the same time it will cost us roughly seven thousand rupees for the six copies. Now we must get all this back and make a little profit if possible.

When I send the film down to Bombay kindly arrange to get a certificate for it from the Board of Censors. If you like, I could send the film down with Mr. Mandal who is one of the employees of Sarong Studios. But it will cost us over a hundred rupees and we will have to pay his travelling expenses etc.

Kindly let me know by wire if I should send the film to you at Bombay and whether you would like me to send it by post or send Mr. Mandal with it. It is necessary that we should decide about it as early as possible. I shall be awaiting your reply.

Mr. Bokhari, the Controller of Broadcasting came to see me the other day. He wants to know if you would be willing to give a broadcast talk on Constituent Assembly. His idea is that if he can succeed in persuading the Government to agree to it he would arrange for two fifteen minutes talks



on this subject—one by you and one by some Congress leader. He does not want to move the Government for their permission unless he has found out privately that you and some one on behalf of the Congress will be willing to give a talk. I told him that I would write to you to find out what you thought of the proposal. But on my own, I told him that I doubted very much if you would agree to it because as far as we are concerned the proposal for a Constituent Assembly was dead and buried and we would not care to resurrect it by giving the subject so much importance. But if he was keen to have some political talk and could get the Government and the Congress to agree to it, then you might be willing to give a fifteen minutes talk on the Partition of India which really was the live issue at the moment and not the Constituent Assembly. This, of course, I said on my own and you are not committed to anything. However, please let me know what you think about this proposal of Bokhari's.

I got a letter from Abdul Hamid Khan<sup>3</sup> of Madras which together with the reply that I sent to him I am sending for your perusal.

I am going tonight to Lucknow and Shahjahanpur for Muslim League meetings and shall return to Delhi on the 30th.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit.

With our kindest regards and Ashraf's love to you and Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 14 May 1940 —

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,<sup>4</sup>  
*Park Mansions, Delhi Gate*  
DELHI.  
14.5.1940

Dear Sir,

You are probably aware that at the last Session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference held in December last year in Calcutta, a resolution was unanimously passed disapproving the Wardha Scheme and recommending the appointment of a committee to frame a comprehensive and broad basis scheme of education, suiting the special needs and requirements of the Muslims and helpful to the preservation of the distinctive features of their culture and social order. The future of the 90 million Musalmans in India depends on the right type of education and it is desirable that every assistance should be given to the Committee that has been appointed by the Muslim Educational Conference. I would, therefore, request you to give every assistance to the Committee and instruct all your branches to do likewise. If you need any further information in this connection I would request you to communicate with Prof. Abdul Majid Saheb Qureshi,<sup>5</sup> Muslim University, Aligarh, who is the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely,  
(Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan  
Honorary Secretary

Copy forwarded to:

1. All the Presidents of the Provincial Muslim Leagues
2. All the Secretaries of the Provincial Muslim Leagues
3. Nawab Kemal Yar Jung Bahadur,<sup>6</sup> Khan Khanan Palace, Hyderabad, Daccan
4. The Hon. Azizul Hauque,<sup>7</sup> Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Calcutta
5. Prof. Abdul Majid Saheb Qureshi, Muslim University, Aligarh.

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— 29 May 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>a</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
29.5.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On seeing your statement in the papers this morning I sent you a telegram saying that I was in Mussoorie, as I was not quite sure if you were aware of my whereabouts. But before my telegram could have reached you, I received yours calling a meeting of the Working Committee on the 15th of June in Bombay. I have today issued the enclosed circular letter to all the members of the Working Committee, as I had intimated to you in my telegram in reply to yours.

Your statement regarding the present grave situation, if I may say so, is a very good one. You have made the position quite clear as far as the Muslim League is concerned. Everyone has been trying to put blame on both the Congress and the Muslim League for the present deadlock in the political situation in the country; when in reality it is the Congress alone which is responsible for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. You have hit the nail on the head by issuing your statement.

The situation in Europe is very grave indeed. I wonder if the leaders of the Congress, that really matter, I mean Gandhi and Jawaharlal realize how serious the situation is, as Jawahar is still talking in the air.

We came up here a few days ago. Delhi was getting rather hot and the temperature has risen since we left. It is very pleasant here.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah have been keeping very fit. When are you returning to Bombay?

With our kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 29 May 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>9</sup>  
Mussoorie  
29.5.'40.

Dear Sir,

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League will be held at the residence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, on Saturday, the 15th. of June, at 11 a.m.

I am to request you to kindly attend the meeting without fail.

AGENDA

1. To consider the grave situation created by the War in Europe—internal and external.
2. To consider the question of organization of the Muslim National Guards.

(A copy of the report of the National Guards' sub-committee has already been supplied to members.)

3. To pass the Budget for the year 1940.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan  
Hon. Secretary.

M. A. Jinnah Esquire,  
M.L.A. (Central).  
Matheran.

\* \* \* \*

— 3 June 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>10</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
3.6.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 31st of May. I shall reach Bombay on the morning of Friday, the 14th., by the Frontier Mail.

You must have by now received my letter which I sent you the other day, enclosing a copy of the circular letter that has been issued to all the members for the meeting of the Working Committee on the 5th. Yes—I have read all your statements. The position has been made quite clear.

I shall leave here on the 11th and stay in Delhi for a day en route to Bombay.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 17 July 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>11</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
17.7.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have today received a requisition for a special meeting of the Council signed by thirty-five members of the Council from the Punjab. All of them are Sikandar's henchmen and are members of the Punjab Assembly. The signatories include the two Muslim ministers viz. Abdul Haye<sup>12</sup> and Khizar Hayat Khan.<sup>13</sup> I have today sent the enclosed reply to Mohd. Ameen<sup>14</sup> who is one of the signatories to the requisition and whose name is the first on the list. I received a telegram also from this gentleman in this connection. I suppose you also must have received a similar requisition. Under the constitution it is not obligatory on me to convene a meeting. The word used in the rule no. 20 of the Constitution is 'may' and not 'shall'. To me it seems that there is a mischievous move behind it. However, I am sure we shall be able to deal with it satisfactorily. I should like to know what are your views about convening a special meeting of the Council? If you decide to call the Council then I suggest that we convene an ordinary meeting and at some place in the United Provinces or at Delhi. However,

I shall await your instructions in the matter. I hope you will approve of the reply that I have sent to Mr. Ameen.

I hope you are keeping fit.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah & love from Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 18 July 1940—

Charleville Hotel,<sup>15</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
18.7.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent you a letter yesterday which will reach you tomorrow. I do not know what your programme is. Are you going to Quetta and if so when?

Your reply to Abul Kalam<sup>16</sup> has been condemned by the Congressite Muslims in very strong language. I have today sent to the Press a statement regarding this matter. I hope you will approve of this action of mine. My first instinct was to ignore these statements of Asaf Ali<sup>17</sup> & Co completely but on account of the ignorance of the people and their credulity I thought it would be better to say something. I am herewith enclosing a copy of the Press statement for your perusal.<sup>18</sup>

Raja of Mahmudabad was here for about three days. We had long talks. He is going round organizing the Muslim National Guards. He seems to be all right and very keen on working for the League. I was very glad to see that he had once again put his heart into the movement. He can do such lot of good if he would only not get these fits of inactivity. The Viceroy seems to have gone to sleep once again.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

P.S. Raja of Mahmudabad suggested that if we decide to have a meeting of the Council in the United Provinces it should be held at Allahabad. Delhi also he thinks will be quite suitable for the meeting. LAK.

\* \* \* \*

— 19 July 1940 —

Mount Pleasant Road,  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
19th July 1940.

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th July and I think your reply is quite correct, because a special meeting of the Council can only be called for a definite business of public importance or interest.

I am extremely sorry to say that for the last few days I am indisposed and have a very bad chill, but I am better now, but still I do not think I shall be able to undertake the journey to Baluchistan, which I had hitherto intended. It will be much greater disappointment to me than to those kind people who very kindly invited me and were looking forward for my visit to their province. It is rather unfortunate. I cannot say more.

However, I feel quite confident that under your presidentship the conference will be a great success.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to both of you and our love to Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
[M. A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— *No Date* —

My dear Liaquat,<sup>19</sup>

I never received your letter dated the 18th July. I have already posted a letter to you informing you of my regret of my inability to attend the Quetta conference owing to my indisposition. Your statement was really good. Every nation has [illegible] to deal with its traitors. India is a [illegible]. If the need of the Muslim organization declined to reciprocate the confidence of a renegade the names is a traitor is guilty of using strong language, discourtesy, rudeness [illegible].

Ever since the leaders and [illegible] Abul Kalam Azad know that the policy of the Muslim League, as laid down by the Working Committee that the [illegible]

[illegible]

I am glad that you met Amir<sup>20</sup> [illegible] that he is working with all his zeal. I know he can do a lot.

Yes, I have not heard further from the Viceroy of any definite character except that he circulated the constitution [illegible] of my note and thanked me for it.

With regard to the next meeting of the Council I am waiting to hear from you as to the date.

With kind regards to you both and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,  
[M. A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— *2 August 1940* —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>21</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
2.8.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your two letters in reply to mine which I received on my arrival here yesterday from



Quetta. Your secretary had forgotten to write any address on the 1st letter with the result that it went to various places, including the dead letter office and reached here several days after it was posted. I was wondering why I had not received any reply from you, but it was through no fault of yours and was due to an oversight on the part of your secretary. I was extremely sorry to learn of your illness and do hope that you are very much better now. Your unavoidable absence was greatly felt by the people of Baluchistan and there was general disappointment. They had made great preparations to give you a right Royal welcome. I arrived at Quetta on the 26th of July and left there on the 29th. The Conference was a great success. There were large gatherings every night and people stayed on till 2 o'clock in the morning at every meeting. It was so encouraging to see what wonderful progress Baluchistan, a backward Province, has made in such a short time. Of course the credit is due to the untiring zeal and enthusiasm of Isa. The work of the organization of Muslim National Guards is going on very nicely. All the prominent people have joined the movement. The Conference passed resolutions (1) of complete confidence in you and the League Policy, (2) support for the League regarding its attitude towards the war, (3) support for the stand you took in replying to Abul Kalam Azad (4) appealing to Musalmans to join the National Guards (5) reforms for Baluchistan.

The Conference also offered prayers for your good health and long life. The Govt. officials do not look with favour on the organization of the Musalmans in Baluchistan and try to hinder the movement in different ways, which is rather deplorable. I suppose these local officials feel that their prestige will suffer if the people are organized and they will not be able to exploit their ignorance as they have been doing all this time. In spite of this, the people are showing good spirit. I am sure you would have been very pleased to see for yourself the awakening that has taken place. It is a pity that in spite of Isa's sending pressing invitations to various members of the Working Committee to attend the Conference nobody turned up. I wish people would begin

to take the same keen interest as the leaders of the Congress do. It would encourage the local workers a great deal.

I have not yet had a reply to my letter that I sent in answer to the requisition from the Punjab for a special meeting of the Council. I had sent you a copy of my reply asking them to state in a definite form as to the matters that they wanted the Council to consider. I learnt in Delhi that efforts are being made by the Punjab people and others to canvass members of the Council to support the attitude that the Punjab has adopted regarding the war. Efforts will be made to secure proxies from those members who are not able to attend the meeting to support the attitude of Sikandar & Co regarding help in the war. I personally feel that amongst those members who will attend a meeting of the Council, when it is convened, we shall have a majority for the attitude that we have adopted regarding the war but I am not sure about the number of proxies that might come in. However I am keeping a watch. But if we decide to have a meeting of the Council we shall have to see that we are not caught napping.

You might meet the Viceroy when he visits Bombay and perhaps be able to find out how the land lies. My idea is that we should not convene a meeting of the Council till we know what is the attitude of the Viceroy definitely. When we are more certain as to how the things are going to shape we will be in a better position to meet the Council. Just at present when the things are still in a fluid state it would not serve any purpose convening a meeting of the Council. It is a fortnight since I wrote to the requisitionists asking them to state in a definite form the matters that they wanted the Council to consider and no reply has come so far. They can not accuse us for not convening a meeting of the Council and I am for marking time. No suggestions for a meeting has come from any other quarter except the henchmen of Sikandar. I was asked by people in Baluchistan as to what steps you had taken regarding the Khaksar question. There is great feeling against the Punjab Govt. and the sympathies of the people are with the Khaksars. They feel rightly or wrongly that the action that has been taken by the Punjab Govt. is intended to destroy this

movement of the Musalmans and they do not believe in the bonafides of the Punjab Govt. I do not suppose you could have attended to this matter on account of your indisposition.

I hope you have completely recovered by this time.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

P.S. My Baluchistan Presidential address will be published in the 'Manshoor' of this week. I should like you to have it read to you by your Secretary. LAK.

\* \* \* \*

— 3 August 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>22</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
3.8.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just sent a letter to you by registered post. After the despatch of my letter to you I received a letter from the Punjab enclosing copies of resolutions that they want the Council to consider at a special meeting. These resolutions are signed by sixteen members of the Council and only eight of these are those who had signed the requisition that was sent by thirty-five members on the 15th of July. The other eight are new names. According to the rules the requisition must be signed by at least fifteen members and in my letter to Mohammad Ameen in reply to the requisition I had stated that the resolution must be signed by at least fifteen members from amongst those who had signed the requisition. I am inclined to think that this second letter sending the resolutions is not in order unless we treat it as a fresh requisition. But it cannot be considered as a requisition because these people themselves state that this communication is in connection with the requisition that was sent on the 15th July. I would like to know what you

think about it. I am sending copies of the letter and the resolutions for your perusal. You will notice that the resolutions are most mischievous and are intended to undo everything that we had done so far.

I am writing to Mahmudabad today asking him to get busy and secure written opinions against these resolutions from as many members all over India as possible so that if a meeting is held we shall be armed with proper weapons to meet any situation that might arise. Mahmudabad suggested Allahabad as the place where we should hold a meeting if it is decided to convene one. What do you think about it? I am asking Mahmudabad to get as many people to attend the meeting as possibly can.

I should like to have your views about all these matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 7 August 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>23</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
7.8.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have received my two letters (one of these was sent by registered post) which I posted on the 3rd instant. I have today received a letter from the Raja of Mahmudabad in reply to mine saying that Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan<sup>24</sup> has been in Lucknow canvassing support for the resolutions sent by the Punjab people for the meeting of the Council. Raja Ghazanfar Ali is visiting a number of places in the United Provinces and Delhi. Mahmudabad is of the opinion that Sikandar's men must have gone to other provinces also for the same purpose. Malik Barkat Ali<sup>25</sup> has written to say that Sikandar Hayat is getting written opinions in support of the resolutions from the members of the Council. So the information that I had received in Delhi was correct.

I am sending copies of the letters that I have received from Mahmudabad and Barkat Ali for your perusal. As reported in the Press a deputation from the Punjab is going to wait on you on the 10th. You should ask these fellows what do they mean by playing this double game of, on the one hand, waiting in a deputation on you and on the other hand, trying to undermine the position of the President and the Working Committee and creating disruption in the League. You should give them a good dressing down. We are not afraid of the Council. I think we shall get the majority with us if a meeting is held.

I am herewith enclosing a cutting from the *Pioneer*<sup>26</sup> giving a gist of the speech which the Governor<sup>27</sup> of United Provinces made at Fyzabad. He is reported to have said that 'he regretted that the Chief Political bodies the Congress and the Muslim League were not helping the Government. It was therefore all the more incumbent on independent bodies to help the Government.' The Congress and the Muslim League are tarred with the same brush. Because the Muslim League has asked the Musalmans not to join the War Committees therefore all that the Muslim League has done so far to help the British counts for nothing. The help that the ministries have been giving in the Bengal, the Punjab and the Assam assemblies is of no value. The money that has been given by the members of the Muslim League in the various provinces is no help. The Muslim League is placed on the same footing as the Congress which has not only not given any assistance in the war but has created difficulties for the British and is making preparations for civil disobedience on a mass scale. This just shows the mentality of these British officials. It seems that nothing will satisfy them except the support of the Muslim League like slaves. Their argument seems to be that we must give our blood and money without a murmur and these Britishers do what they like with us. Only support like this will please our lords and masters. I only hope that the Muslim League will never agree to give support in such humiliating terms. I hope in your next interview with the Viceroy the matters will be settled one way or the other. Our policy must become more definite soon.

I hope you are quite well and fit again.  
Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 8 August 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>28</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
8.8.1940

Dear Sir,

An emergency of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League will be held at Bombay, at the residence of Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, on Saturday, the 17th of August and subsequent days, at 10:30 a.m.

The following telegram has been sent to you today:-

'Emergency meeting Working Committee at Bombay on seventeenth kindly attend.'

The Committee will consider a number of vital questions concerning the political developments in the Country and it is hoped that you will kindly attend the Meeting without fail.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan  
Honorary secretary.

To  
M.A. Jinnah Esquire,  
President  
All-India Muslim League  
for information

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— 8 August 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>29</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
8.8.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your telegram this morning. An emergency meeting of the Working Committee has been fixed for the 17th at Bombay and all the members have been informed telegraphically. I have issued letters also confirming the telegrams.

I have received a letter from Khurshid Ali Khan<sup>30</sup> in connection with the requisition for a special meeting of the Council. He says that no action should be taken till he writes again. I am enclosing a copy of this letter for your perusal.

Mahmudabad has got busy and he has sent out his men and letters to friends to secure written opinions from members of the Council against the resolutions that were sent by the Punjab people. So we are quite alert and shall be fully prepared to face a meeting of the Council if and when it is convened.

I hope you are very much better now.

With kindest regards from both of us to you and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 9 August 1940 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>31</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
9th August 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd of August along with a copy of the resolution from the members of the

Council who desire to call a special meeting of the All-India Muslim League. A special meeting as I have already indicted can only be called if there is an urgent definite matter of public interest or importance.

Apart from the fact that you mention that the requisition is signed by sixteen members, eight of whom are those who signed the requisition of the 15th July and the other eight are new members, it is to be noted the matter to be discussed is not of urgent definite public importance or interest.

The first requisition dated the 15th July was sent to you without stating any definite business to be discussed, although it was signed by thirty-five members. You very rightly pointed out by your letter of the 17th July 1940 that unless the matter to be discussed was put in definite categorical form which may be placed before the Council in the form of resolutions and unless such resolutions are signed by fifteen members of the Council it cannot be considered by you. You have now received the requisition dated the 2nd of Aug. after delay of over a fortnight, signed by sixteen members, eight of whom are the signatories of the original requisition and eight are new names. This alone shows that the requisitions either old or new or combined number 16, did not consider the matter being really urgent.

Besides, Resolution No: 1 is half [?] in contravention of the policy laid down by the Working Committee and repeatedly confirmed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League and finally by the Lahore Sessions.

The Bombay decision of the Working Committee on the 16th, 17th and 18th is provisional pending the negotiations, the result of which will in due course be placed before the Council of the All-India Muslim League. While the negotiations are going on it will be highly detrimental to the cause and interest of the Musalmans to call a special meeting of the Council at this juncture, and to allow a discussion of the kind envisaged in that resolution.

The resolution No: 2 is hypothetical and imaginary.

The resolution No: 3 is not a matter of urgent definite public importance or interest for which a special meeting of the Council should be convened. Besides, it is a matter that the Working Committee should consider in the first



instance and it is open to any member of the Working Committee to place the proposal in the first instance before the Working Committee, which is now going to meet on the 17th of August at Bombay.

This is apart from the irregularity and invalidity of the requisition pointed out by you, namely that this second letter sending the resolutions is not in order unless we treat it as a fresh requisition. But it cannot be considered as a fresh requisition because the signatories themselves state that this communication is in connection with the requisition that was sent on the 15th July.

For these reasons, as after all it is in my discretion to allow the Special Meeting of the Council or not, in my opinion the requisition should not be complied with.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 9 August 1940 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>32</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
9th August 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am sorry that my two letters went astray. It is our fault, but I was not well and hence the lapse.

Now let me first of all heartily congratulate you in your great success in Baluchistan, and it really heartens me to hear the cheerful account of the well-doings that you have narrated.

Yes, I was sorry I could not go to Baluchistan. I, of course, received your telegram conveying the good wishes of the Musalmans of Baluchistan and their kind personal references.

Yes, I agree with you that the Muslim Leaders, particularly the members of the Working Committee, should have gone

to Baluchistan [illegible] to the Conference but our people are very easy going & do not yet realize the danger [illegible] I know that Punjab clique are doing their worst; but I heard indirectly that now the requisition is going to be withdrawn. I do not know how there is to this but we must be prepared for the worst.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,  
[M. A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 13 August 1940 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>33</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
13th August 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 7th and 8th August.

Yes the Punjab clique has done its worst and I have received reports from various provinces where canvassers were sent for the support of the resolutions sent by them for the meeting of the Council; and now the requisition has been withdrawn by Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan.

As regards your cutting of the speech of the Governor of United Provinces it is obvious that the Govt. policy is intended not to give any credit to the League for the responsible reasonable and honourable position we have taken up because they have not yet definitely made up their mind to displease the Congress, as there is still a lingering hope on their part and much more so with His Majesty's Government in England, that the Congress will still fall in to line with them.

Yes, you are quite right that their present attitude is that the Muslim League and the Musalmans should give their blood and money, to use your own words, and let the Britishers do what they like with us, and they expect the

support of the Muslim League like slaves. That is the very point and the issue for which we are fighting.

I am very glad that Amir is taking very keen interest and an active part. I hope many more will realize that we have to fight with very powerful forces both inside and outside. You must have got my telegram asking you to adjourn the meeting of the Working Committee which was fixed for the 17th August till further intimation. I had to do this [illegible] interview with the Viceroy and the whole matter is still in the melting pot. The Viceroy himself realized that it will be futile to call the meeting of the Working Committee unless I get the true picture of the proposals and the full details of the scheme which he wants to place before us for our consideration. Besides there are other reasons, which I am afraid I cannot incorporate in this letter as I cannot trust now-a-days the postal agencies; but I think when we meet I will tell you what exactly is the position.

Yes I am quite well now. Thank you very much indeed.

With kind regards to you both and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
Mussoorie

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— 13 August 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>34</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
13.8.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your telegram this morning.

All the members have been informed telegraphically regarding the postponement of the meeting of the Working Committee. I have today sent the enclosed circular letter to all the members.

I think you were right in postponing the meeting. It was no use considering the Viceroy's statement with the Complete

Picture. The debate in the Parliament tomorrow on these proposals might make the position more clear.

I hope you are feeling quite fit again.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 18 August 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>35</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
18.8.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your telegram last night fixing 31st of August for the meeting of the Working Committee.

I have today issued the enclosed circular letter to all the members of the Committee.

I thank you very much for your kind letters of the 11th and the 13th. We are happy to know that you are quite well now.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 18 August 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>36</sup>  
18.8.40

Confidential

Dear Sir,

I have sent the following telegram to you today:-

'Working Committee Meeting fixed for seventeenth postponed.'

The President in his interview with H.E. the Viceroy at Bombay yesterday discovered the full details and complete picture of the latest proposals of His Majesty's Government were not yet available and it was decided to postpone the Meeting of the Working Committee for some future date which will be intimated to you in due course.

I hope you have not been put to any inconvenience on account of this unexpected change.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan  
Honorary Secretary.

Forwarded to the President for information.

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— 18 August 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>37</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
18.8.1940.

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that the President has fixed Saturday, the 31st of August, and subsequent days for the postponed meeting of the Working Committee.

The meeting will be held at the President's residence, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, at 10:30 a.m.

The Committee will consider the latest proposals of His Majesty's Government, the orders of the Government of India regarding the Volunteer Corps and certain other important matters.

In view of the importance of the subjects to be discussed it is hoped that you will be good enough to attend the meeting without fail.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan  
Honorary Secretary.

M.A. Jinnah Esquire,  
M.L.A.,  
Bombay.

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— 8 September 1940 —

Charleville Hotel,<sup>38</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
8.9.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I must thank you and Miss Jinnah very much for your kind hospitality. I hope Miss Jinnah has fully recovered from her indisposition. My wife sends her best wishes and love to her.

On my arrival here I got a couple of letters from Aligarh informing me that the Muslim University will be closed from the 23rd of September to the 4th of October for the autumn holidays and consequently a number of students will be away from Aligarh when we hold our meetings of the Working Committee and the Council there on the 28th and 29th instant. Don't you think under these circumstances the purpose for which we were holding the meetings at Aligarh will not be achieved? If you approve of it my suggestion is that we hold the meetings at Delhi instead of at Aligarh and the next meeting of the Council, which will be convened some time in November could be held at Aligarh. The meeting of the Working Committee could be fixed for the 28th and that of the Council for the 29th.

Kindly let me know by wire if you agree to the change of the place for the meetings from Aligarh to Delhi.

We are leaving Mussoorie tomorrow. Kindly send the reply to my New Delhi address.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 14 September 1940 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>39</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
14th September 1940

My dear Liaquat,

This is just to inform you that the Viceroy has asked me to go and see him and it is now fixed that I should reach Simla on the 24th morning and see him at 3 p.m.

I wonder whether you would care to accompany me as you were good enough to do on the last occasion. I shall leave Bombay on Sunday the 22nd by Frontier Mail, and hope that you will be able to accompany me. We shall be able to leave Simla on the 25th as far as I can see at present and reach Delhi on the 26th and that will give us a couple of days for the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council.

I notice from the press report that you have changed the place of the meeting from Aligarh to Delhi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mussoorie

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— 15 September 1940 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue,<sup>40</sup><sup>3</sup>  
New Delhi  
15.9.40.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. I have decided to hold the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council on the 28th at Delhi and 29th instead of Aligarh. Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmed<sup>41</sup> and the Secretary of the Aligarh District Muslim League came and saw me on Thursday last

and after considering all the Pros and Cons I came to the conclusion that it will be better to hold the meetings in Delhi. We can hold a meeting of the Council at Aligarh in November.

I saw in the papers this morning that you are meeting the Viceroy in Simla on the afternoon of the 24th. I do not know what your programme is. If you are going straight to Simla then you will have dinner with us. I shall meet you at New Delhi Railway on the date that you will be passing through. On your return from Simla, it goes without saying, that you will stay with us in Delhi. The weather is not too bad in Delhi now. It is a bit warm in the day time but the nights are nice and cool. Please let me know your programme. Is Miss Jinnah coming with you? She could stay in Delhi while you go on to Simla. You know that it is always a great pleasure to have you and Miss Jinnah stay with us.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 17 September 1940 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue,<sup>42</sup>  
New Delhi,  
17.9.40.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 14th which I received this morning having been redirected from Mussoorie. Kindly instruct your secretary to address the letters to my New Delhi address in future.

I sent you a letter on the 15th which must have reached you by now. I shall be happy to accompany you to Simla and shall join you at Delhi on the 23rd night. I shall meet you at New Delhi Railway Station on the 23rd night. We



shall have dinner at Gul-i-Raana and, catch the train to Kalka at about 10 p.m.

Today I received a letter from Professor Sattar Khairi<sup>43</sup> from [illegible] for you. I am sending it herewith.

More when we meet.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat

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— 20 September 1940 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>44</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
20th September 1940.

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th, and I am sorry that my letter went to Charleville. However, I am glad you would be able to accompany me to Simla. Please wire to Cecil Hotel for your accommodation if you have not already done so.

I thank you for asking me to dine with you. I shall be very pleased to do so.

I have read the letter of Professor Sattar Khairi, which you enclosed in yours in reply. We will consider the matter when we meet next.

Miss Jinnah is not accompanying me but she is quite alright now. Thank you for your kind enquiries.

With kind regards to you both and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 5 October 1940 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>45</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
5th October 1940

My dear Liaquat,

In the first instance let me thank Begum Saheb and yourself for all your kindness during my stay with you.

Please send me the names and addresses of all the Presidents and Secretaries of the various Provincial Leagues as soon as possible. I would also like to know your opinion and you may consult others with regard to fixing the day to show Muslim sympathy with Egypt, Palestine etc against foreign aggression.

I am also expecting the copy of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee and confirmed by the Council.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 5 October 1940 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>46</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi,  
5.10.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you feel rested after your strenuous time in Simla and Delhi and these long journeys.

I am herewith sending you copies of the resolutions passed by the Council on the 29th. I would like you to see the wording of resolution No. 7, and let me know if you would like to suggest any changes in the wording of it. There was no resolution moved on the subject and the Council had expressed its desire for observing a day on

the telegram that as received from Calcutta. I am sending a copy of the telegram for your ready reference.

I would suggest your fixing, Friday, the 1st of November, as the day for demonstrating Muslim Solidarity etc. This will be the last Friday of Ramzan and is regarded a very sacred day.

If you would like to suggest any changes in the wording of any of the resolutions kindly let me know as soon as convenient. I shall not have these proceedings printed till I hear from you.

The weather here is getting cooler everyday.

I hope Miss Jinnah is keeping well.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

P.S. I hope you had a successful meeting on the 2nd, LAK.

\* \* \* \*

— 11 October 1940 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>47</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay,  
11th October 1940

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th of October, along with the resolutions passed by the Council on the 29th.

The resolution No. 7 should be worded according to the text enclosed herewith. I have addressed a circular letter to the Presidents and Secretaries of the various provinces and I am enclosing a copy of it for your information.

With regard to resolution No 8 what do you suggest should be done for organizing the Red Crescent Branch.

As regards the resolution, notice for which was given by Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, you merely say was not

moved. This will convey nothing in our proceedings. We should state the resolution and say it was withdrawn.

If you like you need not reproduce the whole of the resolution but only the substance of it as it was reported in the press.

With kind regards to Begum Saheb and yourself and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

\* \* \* \*

— 12 October 1940 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue,<sup>48</sup>  
New Delhi,  
12.10.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 5th which I received on my return from Muzaffarnagar a couple of days ago. I am sorry when you stayed with us last time we had to try so many cooks on you. However we have at last got hold of a man who is not bad and so next time when you come here you will be saved that trial!

A list containing the names of members of the Council and Presidents and Secretaries of all the Provincial Leagues was despatched to you soon after you left Delhi and I hope you must have received it long before now. I wrote to you on the 4th and sent you a copy of the resolutions that were passed by the Council.

I read in the Papers today that you have, as was suggested by me, fixed the last Friday of the Ramzan to be observed as the day on which sympathy should be shown for all the Muslim countries. Kindly let me know if you want me to do anything in this connection, as I noticed in the papers that you have already written to all the Provincial Leagues in this connection. I should like to have a copy of the letter which you have sent to the Provincial Leagues.

I have today received a representation from the office-bearers of the Nagpur Muslim League which I am herewith enclosing in original for your perusal. If what is written in it is true, then it is certainly a case where the Muslims are being treated most shabbily by the Central Provinces Govt. They ask me to suggest to them as to what the Musalmans should do. I do not know what advice to give them—hence I am sending this letter to you to get your opinion. The representation is in Urdu. Kindly ask your secretary to read it to you and let me know what should be done. I do not know if you have received any communications from C.P. regarding the matter mentioned in the enclosed representation.

With kindest regards from both of us and love from Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 18 October 1940 —

Readymoney Lodge  
Matheran.  
18th October 1940<sup>49</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 12th of October.

I have already written to you informing you as to what I have done for fixing the date and sending the circular to the office bearers of the various provincial Muslim Leagues. You do all you can to back it up. It seems that my letter to you crossed with your letter under reply. I hope you have received it now.

Yes, from all accounts I also gather that the Musalmans are treated badly by the Central Provinces Govt. The question is what should be done. May I suggest that you, as the secretary of the All-India Muslim League, draw the attention of the Central Provinces Governor to the complaints that are pouring in the Central Office and ask him to act? Let us see what is the reply.

By that time I shall be in Delhi and will put our heads together and see what can be done in the matter. I am returning the original of the representation you received.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 19 October 1940 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue,<sup>50</sup>  
New Delhi.  
19.10.40

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending a letter from Professor Abdus Sattar Khairi of Aligarh, which he sent addressed to me with a request that it be forwarded to you. He is in great distress and is deserving of sympathy. The Council in its meeting on the 29th of Sept passed a resolution requesting you and the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature to take up Khairi's case with the Government.

In your last letter you asked my opinion as to what should be done to give effect to the resolution of the Council regarding sending of medical missions to Muslim countries if and when they get involved in the war. I suggest that in each Province some suitable persons, who are willing to go abroad, from amongst the members of the Muslim National Guards be selected and arrangements be made to give them the necessary training. The services of some doctors will be required to go with the missions. An appeal should be issued (preferably by you) asking all those medical men (Muslims) who are willing to offer their services for the noble purpose, to send their names to you so that we may be in possession of names and addresses of some medical men and when the time comes to send missions, we may not be hunting for doctors. Some funds will be needed when the time comes for sending the missions. For this I suggest you should issue an appeal asking people to send

donations to you direct. But this appeal should be issued when a Muslim Country is actually involved in the war and is attacked by a foreign power, because it will have a very great effect then.

I am sending a copy of the resolution of the Council on the subject to all the Provincial Leagues asking them to make arrangements for giving necessary training to such persons as are willing and ready to go outside India on medical missions. Even if we are able to send out a couple of missions it will have a great effect apart from the fact we will be serving humanity. This is just the broad line and when you come to Delhi next month details can be worked out.

I read in the papers that you had gone to Matheran for a few days. I hope the rest will be of great benefit to you.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah & love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

P.S. I received a telegram from Sattar Seth<sup>51</sup> saying that Madras has invited the League to host its next Annual Session there during Easter. You also must have got the news. This must be the result of your writing to them. LAK.

\* \* \* \*

— 22 October 1940 —

Readymoney Lodge<sup>52</sup>  
Matheran.  
22nd October 1940

My dear Liaquat,

Your letter of the 19th October.

As regards the Red Crescent mission I thank you for your suggestion which we will consider when we are in Delhi. I am glad you have already sent the resolution of the council to various Provincial Muslim Leagues to give training to the persons who would be willing to go abroad in medical missions.

Yes I am in Matheran and hope to roll down to Bombay by the end of the month. I hope to be in Delhi by the 5th of November.

I have received the telegram from Sattar Seth and have officially heard from the Secretaries. I would like to know your suggestion for the fixing of the dates during the Easter Holidays in the event of my accepting from Madras. Most probably I shall decide that we should go to Madras.

Of course I had written to them explaining the whole matter and that had some effect in their arriving at their unanimous decision.

With kind regards to you both from us and love to Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,

[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 12 December 1940' —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>53</sup>

Malabar Hill,

Bombay.

12th December 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. I am leaving for Karachi tonight.

I thank you for enclosing the report of Zakir Ali<sup>54</sup> on Burhanpur and I shall look into it.

With regard to Fazlul Haq's move it is quite obvious that it is inspired. It is a pity that he allows himself to tumble into these pitfalls.

You say 'God help us from our friends'. I say organize our people. God is already with us. I am glad you found Aligarh alright.

Yours sincerely,

[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

New Delhi

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## NOTES

1. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
2. Copies of the film are in the National Archives, Islamabad.
3. Abdul Hamid Khan (1896-1966) organized the Khilafat Movement in Madras and was a member of the Congress Party. From 1925 he was involved with the Muslim League. He was a member of the Madras Legislative Council (1926-1936) and the Legislative Assembly (1937-1947) where he was a Muslim League member. He supported the Pakistan Resolution of 23 March 1940.
4. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
5. Abdul Majid Saheb Qureshi (?-1982) received his B.A. from Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in 1905 and he was the first Indian Headmaster of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental school and the first Indian Principal of Aligarh Muslim University in 1919. Reader and Professor of Mathematics and Dean of the Faculty of Science, he served as Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University from 1945 until 1947.
6. Kemal Yar Jung Bahadur (1905-1944) was founder of the Majlis-i-Tabligh-i-Islam in Hyderabad in 1927. He lectured on the Quran and the life of the Holy Prophet. He joined the Khaksars in 1938 but resigned over the assassination attempt on Jinnah by a Khaksar in 1943. He was the founder of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen in Hyderabad in 1939 and the All-India States Muslim League in 1940.
7. Azizul Hauque (1892-1947), lawyer and member of the Bengal Legislative Council and in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. He was active in educational activities and served as Chancellor of Calcutta University from 1938 until 1942. He served as the Indian High Commissioner in London from 1942 until 1943. His correspondence with Jinnah is found in *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, pp. 257-260.
8. *Ibid.*, *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Mian Abdul Haye (1889-1946) received his B.A. in 1908 from Foreman Christian College of Lahore and his LL.B. in 1910 from the Law College, Lahore. He was elected to the Ludhiana Municipality shortly after beginning his law practice. He took part in the anti-Rowlatt Bill in 1919 and the Khilafat movement in 1921. In 1923, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of India. A decade later he joined the Punjab Unionist Party and he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937 and appointed the Minister of Education, a position he retained until 1946.
13. Khizar Hayat Khan (1900-1975) was educated at Aitchison College, Lahore, and Government College, Lahore in 1916. He discontinued his studies to volunteer for the army. After the end of the First World War he attended to his estate. In 1937, he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly serving as Minister of Public Works (1937-1942) before he replaced Sikandar Hayat Khan as Premier of the Punjab on Sikandar's sudden death on 31 December 1942. An opponent of the demand for Pakistan he was expelled from the League in 1944. He resigned the premiership on 2 March 1947. See Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana, the Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996).

14. Mohammad Ameen is not listed in *Muslim India*.
15. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
16. Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) was born in Mecca and brought up in Calcutta. A man of great learning he was the most prominent Muslim member of the All-India National Congress and served as its president from 1939 until 1946. For the League he was a token Muslim for the Congress, a show boy with whom Jinnah refused to shake hands (Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, p. 264). See Azad's *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative* (New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1960). See also Ian Henderson Douglas, *Abul Kalam Azad: An Intellectual and Religious Biography*. Edited by Gail Minault and Christian W. Troll. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Islam and Indian Nationalism: Reflections on Abul Kalam Azad* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1992).
17. Ashraf Ali is not listed in *Muslim India*.
18. The press attachment is not included here.
19. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
20. 'Amir' was the Raja of Mahmudabad.
21. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. (1894-1963). Educated at Government College and the Law College, Lahore, he served in the Indian Legislative Assembly (1923-1926) and the Punjab Legislative Assembly (1937-1945). In 1942, he became a member of the League Working Committee in the Punjab. After Partition he served as Pakistan's Ambassador to Iran (1948-1952); the High Commissioner to India (1953-1956); and the Ambassador to Italy (1956-1957).
25. (1885-1946). He was renowned for his journalism, his law practice, and for his work in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. A long-time member of the All-India Muslim League, he began his support of Jinnah in 1916. See M. Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969).
26. The *Pioneer* was published from Lucknow in the United Provinces. It was founded in Allahabad at the end of the nineteenth century and was an Anglo-Indian paper, a 'virtual official gazette, the paper of the services' (Israel, *Communications and Power*, p. 211), before it faced difficulties and was purchased in 1932 by a group headed by J.P. Srivastava, the Education Minister in the United Provinces, and moved to Lucknow. It remained a voice of the establishment.
27. The Governor of the United Provinces was Sir Maurice Hallett.
28. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
29. Ibid.
30. Khurshid Ali Khan is not listed in *Muslim India*.
31. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. (1914-1970). Jamiluddin Ahmed (usually spelled Ahmad) is one of the unsung heroes of the Pakistan movement as he helped provide the AIML with its intellectual underpinnings serving as the convener of the Muslim Writers' Association. He was also a member of the AIML Council. Educated at Aligarh he was a lecturer in English at his *alma mater* and served as one of the League's important contacts at the University. He was the author of a number of books before partition which included *The Indian Constitutional Tangle* (Lahore: Sh. Ashraf, 1941); *Through Pakistan to Freedom* (Lahore: Sh. Ashraf, 1944); and *Some Aspects of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sh. Ashraf, 1946) and he served as a historian of the movement after 1947. He wrote: *Creation of Pakistan* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1976), published posthumously, it contained a gracious note by the publishers of his role in the creation of Pakistan; *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1960); *Middle Phase of Muslim Political Movement* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1969); *Final Phase of Muslim Political Movement* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1964); and *Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1970). He also compiled four volumes dealing with Jinnah and his speeches, writings, correspondence, and statements. When Liaquat was Prime Minister of Pakistan (1947-1951), Ahmed served for a time as his Public Relations Officer.
42. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
43. Abdus Sattar Khairi (?-1945) was educated at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College and spent several years in the Middle East and Germany where he founded a number of institutions. In 1917, he submitted a plan to the Socialist International Conference at Stockholm for the division of India into Hindu India and Muslim India. At Aligarh Muslim University he taught French and German. He served on the League's Writers' Committee and the United Provinces League's Working Committee. He wrote *National States and National Minorities* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1945).
44. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. A comparatively unknown figure, he is not listed in *Muslim India*.
52. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
53. Ibid.
54. He is not listed in *Muslim India*.

## 5

### 1941: Deputy Leader of the Muslim League

**T**he major event of the year for Liaquat Ali Khan personally was his election to the Legislative Assembly of India where he immediately became the deputy leader of the Muslim League party to Jinnah the leader.<sup>1</sup> He had been elected unopposed on 24 March on the Muslim League ticket—the first time he had run as a League candidate—for the Muslim rural seat of Rohilkhund and Kumaon Divisions after the seat had become vacant on the imprisonment of the previous holder. Liaquat had finally arrived in the Assembly for which he had first sought election in 1923 from the Punjab. His election was a major addition to the League in the Assembly as Jinnah was sometimes too ill or too busy with his legal practice to attend the proceedings and Liaquat was not only an experienced parliamentarian, having been first elected fifteen years earlier and served as Deputy President of the United Provinces Legislative Council, thereby having an intimate knowledge of the workings of a legislative body. He was also a good and forceful speaker, having honed his skills both in the United Provinces Legislative Council in the face of dominance by the British government and criticism from the Congress, but also in the period of Congress hegemony in the seventeen months of the Congress ministry after July 1937. He was an able deputy to Jinnah and an even abler leader in his absence. As a patient, sociable person he was temperamentally suited to parliamentary life.

While the British had devolved power in the provinces it maintained a tight grip in the Assembly especially now that Britain was in a life-and-death struggle with Germany. A block of twenty nominated officials sat to the right of the Speaker, then clustered a group of nineteen people representing special interests, and finally the League.<sup>2</sup> On the Speaker's left sat the largest party in the Assembly, the Congress.

There were 102 elected members. Even if the Opposition parties combined and outvoted the government, as they could have done, the ministry would still have continued to function. Nonetheless, the Assembly was an important means for the British to sound out Indian opinion and for the Congress and the League to argue their case and expound their views. For the League it was a very important venue to argue its case for Pakistan.

For the League, there were two very significant events during the year. The first was the controversy over the participation of Muslim League members in the National Defence Council. The National Defence Council of some thirty members, nine from the Indian states, was being established by the Viceroy to assist in the war effort. The three Muslim premiers of the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam—Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Fazlul Haq, and Sir Mohammad Saadullah—had agreed to serve on the Council. This was in contravention of the League's resolution of 29 September 1940 that the League would decline acceptance into this body. Not only was acceptance contrary to League policy but the government had arranged for their membership in secrecy. To add insult to injury, Leo Amery, Secretary of State for India, had remarked in the House of Commons on 1 August 1941 that he was glad that, 'regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline' Indians had agreed to serve on the Defence Council.<sup>3</sup> This was a direct and open confrontation with the League. Either the challenge had to be met and defeated or the League had to give up all hope of organizing India's Muslims into a strong and unified political party under Jinnah's leadership.

In Bombay in August the All-India Muslim League Working Committee decided that the members of the Defence Council should resign as they had not been appointed by the League. This led to a showdown. The British wanted the Muslim members to stand firm and not bow to the League but eventually Muslim opinion was so great that they had to resign. All three premiers had argued that they had been appointed as premiers not as representatives of Muslim opinion but this was not accepted by the League and they were given the choice of resigning or facing disciplinary action from the League. They resented it, especially Fazlul Haq, who not only resigned from the Defence Council but also from the League Working Committee. He did so, he said, as a 'mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in the President.'<sup>4</sup> Two other members of the League, Sir Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz both refused to resign

from the Defence Council and were expelled from the League for five years. This action was an indication of the strength and authority that the League had built up over the past five years and the skill with which it had established its claim to be the voice of the Muslims of India. The flexing of League muscle and the retreat by provincial leaders was a major victory for the League. It signalled the League's coming of age as a political party able to exert its authority on the national stage. Provincial Muslim politicians had unequivocally been put on notice that the All-India Muslim League was monitoring their activities and expecting them to follow the League's lead. If they did not, they would be called to account.

The second most important event of the year for the League was the publication of the weekly newspaper, *Dawn*. The first edition was issued on Sunday, 26 October: its aim was to 'mirror faithfully the views of the Muslim League in all its activities'.<sup>5</sup> Jinnah was the proprietor of the newspaper, Liaquat was the unpaid managing director, and Hasan Ahmad<sup>6</sup> became the editor. Selling at two *annas*, it took the message of the League around the country and also overseas. It was an important means of publicizing the activities of the League, countering the voice of the Congress and the statements of the British government, and in spreading the demand for Pakistan. The importance of the newspaper went beyond its circulation as, in the manner of newspapers in South Asia, snippets of its contents would be read out or repeated at coffee shops and gatherings to both the literate and the illiterate and sometimes repeated for days, weeks, and even months, sometimes years. *Dawn* became so equated with the League and the Pakistan movement that 'just holding of *Dawn* in one's hands was enough to disclose one's identity.'<sup>7</sup> It was a powerful weapon for the League and it became an important factor in the creation of Pakistan. Liaquat played a central role in the creation and management of the newspaper in its formative years.

The year began with a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee held at Liaquat's house in New Delhi on 22 February where five resolutions were passed.<sup>8</sup> The following day the League Council met and approved the actions of the Working Committee and passed three resolutions. They included one regarding the League's reaction to the Secretary of State for India, Leo Amery's, 'India First' slogan; one dealt with celebrating 23 March as the 'Pakistan Resolution Day'; and one announced that the League had decided that there would be celebrations during a Muslim League week held every three months.

On 14 August 1940, Leo Amery had been sympathetic to the League's viewpoint that no constitutional advance would be made without the approval of the League but then reversed himself in a speech in the House of Commons on 22 April 1941 when he spoke in favor of a united India using the slogan 'India First'. This set League alarm bells ringing, hence the resolution condemning Amery's speech and his slogan. The League was holding on to the Viceroy's statement of 8 August 1940 that the constitutional issue in India would only be decided by agreement between the major parties in India. As long as the British held to the agreement this gave the League veto power. Any reneging on the part of the British would take the League out of the political equation. As the Congress had just authorized a civil disobedience campaign, against both the British and the League, it looked like the British were caving in to the Congress. Hence, the strong League response.

Liaquat gave the presidential speech to the Bombay Provincial League Conference on 6 April, and on 12 April the League opened an All-India Muslim League conference at Madras. At both conferences the League reiterated its demand for Pakistan and at Madras amended its constitution and made Pakistan its goal.<sup>9</sup> In May, Jinnah released the correspondence between Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru<sup>10</sup> and Gandhi. Sapru had, believed the League, asked for a national government which would lead to domination by the Congress. On 26 and 27 October the Working Committee and the Council met in Delhi; on 29 November at the Lucknow Pakistan Conference the League unfurled the Pakistan flag that had first been raised by Jinnah in the same city three years earlier. Liaquat inaugurated the conference and hailed Pakistan as the charter of independence in line with the League's policy of condemning the Atlantic Charter. In December the League boycotted the Legislative Assembly of India session in protest against the government's policies.

All these activities ended a very successful year for the All-India Muslim League: it had come of age as a political party. As Ismail Khan said at the Lucknow Pakistan Conference when referring to the Muslim League flag, 'Everybody knows what impetus the Muslim League got under this very flag in such a short time.'<sup>11</sup>

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— 4 January 1941 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>12</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
4th January 1941.

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your wire of good wishes on my birthday.

I hope Begum Saheba, yourself and Ashraf are well.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 8 January 1941 —

8th January 1941<sup>13</sup>

My dear Nawabzada Saheb,

Two consignments of 500 copies each of 'INDIA'S PROBLEM OF HER FUTURE CONSTITUTION' are lying here with me for despatch to England. Please let me know if you have made any arrangements for them.

I am also waiting for your cheque for Rs 270/- for the booklets that I delivered to the Central Office when we were in Delhi. Perhaps the matter slipped your memory and hence this letter.

Thanking you very much for an early response.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 14 January 1941 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>14</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
14.1.41.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very well. We have to have a meeting of the All-India Muslim League sometime in February. I propose that we have it either on Sunday, the 16th or the 23rd. I do not know when you will be coming to Delhi for the session of the Legislative Assembly. Perhaps the 23rd of February will suit you better. Kindly let me know which of the two dates you approve of for a meeting of the Council and also if you would like to call a meeting of the Working Committee a day earlier to the meeting of the Council.

I wonder if you had some luck with the people of the Sindh. The accounts that have appeared in the press are not quite clear. Your referring to Pakistan persistently in your speeches has been of great value. I think people are beginning to realize that this proposal of the Muslim League cannot be lightly brushed aside. When I was at Allahabad towards the end of last month Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru came to see me. I had quite an interesting talk with him. His proposal was that the Muslim League being the next biggest party in the country should convene a meeting of the leaders of all the other parties to find a solution to the present political deadlock and should not allow the stalemate to continue because the Congress have taken up an impossible attitude. I put certain posers to him. He promised to communicate with me later regarding his proposal. When you come to Delhi I shall tell you in detail about it. The Conference at Allahabad<sup>15</sup> was quite successful.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 16 January 1941 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>16</sup>  
Malabar Hill,  
Bombay.  
16th January 1941

My dear Liaquat,

I am receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. and thank you for it.

Yes, I think 23rd of February will be a suitable date for holding a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and I think we ought also to call a meeting of the Working Committee to consider the general situation. I hope to be in Delhi, according to my present arrangements on or about the 10th of February.

With regard to Sindh I think we are making some progress and we must trust to luck for the rest.

With regard to Pakistan I know that it is beginning to assume serious aspect. It has penetrated very deep, except for the few top men amongst us who are still an obstacle in the way. But the caravan is moving fast and steadily.

Yes, I would like to get the full details of your talks with Sir Tej Bahadur.

I gather that Allahabad was a great success.

Hoping Begum Saheb and you are well. With kind regards from us both and love to Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 4 February 1941 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>17</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
4.2.41

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. I have fixed the meeting of the Working Committee for the 22nd and that of the Council for the 23rd. The Agenda for the meeting of the Council is rather heavy as a number of members have sent in resolutions. As soon as the Agenda is ready a copy of it will be sent to you. I hope you will kindly let me know the definite date of your arrival here. In your letter you mentioned that you expected to arrive here on the 10th.

We are looking forward to your arrival in Delhi.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 9 February 1941 —

9th Feb. 1941/J<sup>18</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th inst. and I have noted that the Working Committee is meeting on the 22nd and the Council on the 23rd of February. I hope you will let me have the agenda as soon as it is ready.

As far as I can see at present I may be able to leave on or about the 15th but I shall let you know the date by wire.

With kindest regards to both of you and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 10 February 1941 —

10th Feb. 1941/J<sup>19</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I shall feel obliged if you will send me at least 100 copies of the booklets containing all the resolutions passed by the Working Committee, the Council and the Sessions of the All-India Muslim League up-to-date.

I understand that 800 copies of my booklet were delivered at the Central Office as arranged. We have not yet received the cheque for it. Please therefore let me have it as soon as possible.

May I also draw your attention to the following points which may be considered by the Working Committee and the Council?

1) The question of fixing a date to be observed as Pakistan Day every year on the 23rd of March, being the date on which the Lahore Resolution was passed by the sessions of the All-India Muslim League.

2) Once a month or at least once every three months a Muslim League Week must be fixed during which period the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League should be explained to the people throughout India by the Provincial and District Leagues and a drive should be explained to the people throughout India by the Provincial and District Leagues and a drive should be made to enroll more members of the League and also various parts of India must consider and take up constructive programmes for the purpose of the uplift of the Musalmans in the matter of their economic, social and educational conditions.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

P.S. I [illegible] dates of the meeting of the [illegible] inst.  
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 13 February 1941 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>20</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
13.2.41

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letters of the 9th and the 10th instant. 100 copies of all the resolutions of the Council and the Working Committee are being sent today as desired by you. As regards payment for the 800 booklets supplied to the Office it will be made when you arrive in Delhi as I am not sure if the cheque would reach you before your departure from Bombay.

I have today issued a supplementary Agenda, containing the matters mentioned in your letter, for the meeting of the Working Committee on the 22nd.

We are all eagerly waiting for your arrival here.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 1 March 1941 —

8B Hardinge Avenue<sup>21</sup>  
New Delhi.  
1.3.41

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank-you very much for your kind letter. A meeting of the Working Committee will be convened in Delhi on the 26th as suggested by you. I propose that the Working Committee should meet in the morning on the 26th at 10 a.m. and the Council the same afternoon at 2-30 p.m. On account of Id being on the 22nd or 23rd it is not possible to hold the meeting of the Working Committee earlier. If the Council does not finish its business on the 26th it will have to meet on the 27th also. So far very few resolutions have been received in the office. I have convened a Conference of the

Presidents and Secretaries of various Provincial Leagues the next day after the meeting of the Council. It is necessary that we should know as to how things are going to go on in the various provinces. I shall request you to kindly attend the Conference. I do not know when you intend to arrive in Delhi. It will be very nice if you could come a few days earlier.

Kindly let me know if there are any matters that you would like in particular to be placed on the agenda of the Working Committee apart from Fazlul Haq's letter.

Altaf Husain,<sup>22</sup> who is Director of Publicity in Bengal and K.B. Murshid who is the Private Secretary of Fazlul Haq came and saw me a couple of days ago. They told me that Fazlul Haq is most unhappy about the whole affair and that if some face-saving device could be found he would welcome it. I asked them, after telling them frankly what I thought of Fazlul Haq's letter, what would they suggest. Murshid stated that if you could ask Fazlul Haq to go and see you in Bombay he would do whatever you would suggest to him to make honourable amends. I asked Murshid what guarantee was there, that supposing you asked Fazlul Haq to go and see him in Bombay—firstly that he would go to Bombay and secondly that he would abide by your advice. Murshid said that he undertook to take Fazlul Haq to Bombay and see that he made honourable amends for his action. I told him that this was not enough. I must have something more definite and certain before I consider writing to you on the matter. He told me that he will let me know after consulting Fazlul Haq. I am writing this just for your information and if anything further happens I shall let you know.

The preparations for the *Dawn Weekly* are going on and it is hoped to bring out the 1st number on the 19th of this month. The Editor, Hasan Ahmad, has already written to you for a message for the first issue. kindly send us one at your early convenience well before the 16th.

Fazlul Haq I am told got a hot reception at the Delhi Railway Station when he was going to Simla, which it seems upset him very much.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit. Our kindest regards to you both and love from children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 2 April 1941 —

2nd April 1941<sup>23</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I understand that Sir Currimbhoy<sup>24</sup> as the chairman of the Reception Committee has made arrangements for you to stay with him. I think you will find yourself comfortable there and perhaps it is just the right thing that you should stay with him.

As regards the special for Madras I am at it and I will send you a wire either today or tomorrow.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

P.S. It is now certain that I shall reach Madras on the 11th about 7 am.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 5 May 1941 —

Nandi Hill Station<sup>25</sup>  
(Mysore)  
5th May 1941

My dear Liaquat,

As I now feel better I am going to worry you. Please let me have without delay

(1) Copy of all the resolutions passed at Madras

(2) Complete list of the members of the Council up to date. I want to know whether Barkat Ali is amongst the members of the Council.

I understand that the Constitution of the All-India Muslim League as amended at Madras gives me the authority to nominate twenty members. Will you please consider the matter carefully and make your suggestions. I will then carefully consider the matter and announce the names which I am authorized to nominate.

Further, please let me have your suggestions regarding any changes in the personnel of the next Working Committee, which as you know, I have to announce as soon as possible.

I propose to stay here for another fortnight and then go down to Bangalore and Mysore and if possible to Ooty for a week. I shall be returning to Bombay in the first week of June.

I suppose you are following the doings of the Sapru Conference and the various statements that have followed including those issued by me. I would like to know what you think of it all.

We hope that Begum Saheb and Akbar are doing well.<sup>26</sup> With our love to Akbar and Ashraf and our best wishes and kindest regards to you both.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 10 May 1941 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>27</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
10.5.41.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. We are indeed very happy to know that you are feeling better. I thought



several times of writing to you before this but as I was not certain of your movements I did not do this.

I am sending under separate cover two printed copies of all the resolutions that were passed at Madras and a complete upto date printed list of the Members of the Council. Malik Barkat Ali is a member of the Council.

I have formally forwarded copies of Resolutions Nos. 4, 5, 10, 12, 13 passed by the Sessions to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy requesting him to place them before His Excellency for his due consideration and necessary action. A copy of resolution No. 11 was sent to the Governor of United Provinces.

Yes—you have been authorized to nominate up to the extent of twenty members to the Council. As there is no immediate hurry about it I shall consider the matter and let you have my suggestions at some later date. Perhaps we might invite suggestions from some of the prominent members of the League and then you might make your choice out of the names that may be recommended. As regards the Working Committee I do not think you should make very radical changes this time. I suggest only the following changes in the personnel of the Working Committee:

Behar: In place of Mr. Shareef either Syed Husain Imam,<sup>28</sup> M.C.S. or Nawab Mohammad Ismail.<sup>29</sup> My reason for suggesting this change is because of the ill-health of Mr. Shareef. He does not keep good health and will not be able to attend the meetings and because of his health is unable to take very active part.

N.W.F.P.: In place of Khan Sadullah Khan<sup>30</sup> I would suggest the name of Bakht Jamal Khan Saheb,<sup>31</sup> President of the N.W.F.P. Provincial Muslim League. I think Bakht Jamal Khan will be more useful.

Bombay: Chundrigar<sup>32</sup> in place of Sir A.M.K. Dehlavi<sup>33</sup>—This change I am suggesting because Sir Dehlavi does not keep good health and is unable to take very active part.

These are the only changes that I can think of. As regards the two Premiers I would not eliminate them. Let them go out if they choose to do so.

Yes I have read carefully your and other statements regarding the Sapru Conference. I think the Bombay resolution is not dead. You did well to publish the Correspondence that passed between you and Sapru. It forced Sapru to publish his Correspondence with Gandhi and brought many things to light. I issued a statement on this Correspondence. It was published in the *Statesman* of the 7th. I am sending a cutting for your perusal. The Moderates viz. Sapru & Co are very wild with you as you must have seen by their statements. You have made a short-shift of their resolution and the Secretary of State<sup>34</sup> has put a lid on it.

My wife & Akbar are doing very well. She came back to the house on the 24th of last month from the hospital. We are leaving for Mussoorie on the 15th. Delhi has been terribly hot this year. My address in Mussoorie will be 'Charleville Hotel.'

Please take a good long rest before you begin hardwork again. We hope Miss Jinnah has been keeping very fit.

Our kindest regards to both of you and love from Ashraf & Akbar –

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

P.S. A number of Leaguers have been to see me wanting to know what the League has done about the situation in Iraq and the use of Indian troops against a Muslim Power. There seems to be great concern felt by Musalmans regarding the developments in Iraq. I told them that I shall convey their feelings to you.

I do not know if you have drawn the attention of the Viceroy to the fact that the situation in Iraq is causing great consternation amongst Muslims. LAK.

\* \* \* \*

— 15 May 1941 —

Nandi Hill Station<sup>36</sup>

(Bangalore)

15th May 1941

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th May. Many thanks for it. I am very glad to hear Begum Saheb and Akbar are doing very well. I note that you intend going to Mussoorie and leave Delhi on the 15th.

Yes, I saw your statement, but I don't know whether the full text was published in the paper here or not. You say that you're sending me the cutting of your statement published in the '*Statesman*', but I find that you have forgotten to enclose it. I should like to see the full text of your statement.

I thank you for your sending me the copies of the resolutions passed at Madras and a list of the members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and also your various suggestions which I shall certainly bear in mind.

As regards the situation in Iraq, I can quite understand the grave concern felt by the Musalmans regarding developments there; but what is it that you exactly suggest should be done by us in the matter? What do the Leaguers who have been to see you, suggest we should do? My merely drawing the attention of the Viceroy to the fact that the situation in Iraq is causing great consternation among the Muslims is rather vague. However I am thinking over it very gravely.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 15 July 1941 —

15th July 1941<sup>36</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of July.

At present I do not know what useful purpose can be served by calling the meeting of the Working Committee, as you say there does not seem anything important.

As regards our internal consolidation surely that is more the work of the Working Committee of the various Provinces and can't you wake them up and galvanise them, urging upon them to carry out programme that was laid down at Madras.

There is nothing fresh that I can write to you about except that you must have noticed that the Hindus have made a dead set against Pakistan and consider the proposal of the Muslim League a crime, nay, high treason, whereas preaching '*Akhand Bharat*'<sup>37</sup> is national and patriotic although that involves now the strangulation and subjugation of Musalmans. It is curious now the Hindu leaders make no secret of their purpose of establishing Hindu raj as they have been so thoroughly exposed that now they have come out in their true colours.

I think you will have to work much more and constantly. If necessary keep touring round the different provinces and guiding the selfless and sincere workers who are really doing wonderful work all over India. I wonder that progress you have made in the matter of bringing out the paper about which we discussed last March in Delhi. I wish you can push it on and do something in that direction.

I am much better, thank you very much for your kind enquiries but I cannot say that I am quite all right yet.

With kindest regards to both of you and love to Ashraf and Akbar.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 24 July 1941 —

24th July 1941<sup>38</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th of July 1941 and thank you for it.

With regard to the activities of the League I am glad to note that some of the Provinces are going to observe the Muslim League Week, but please try and wake them all up.

As regards the English Weekly at present I cannot think of any name, but there is a gentleman who is working in the Orient Press Ltd. named Mr. Hasan Ahmad who had approached me before. Please get in touch with him and if you are satisfied, well and good. Is it not sad that we cannot get a man qualified even to run a Muslim Weekly.

I am glad you are going to attend the meeting of the Executive Council of the Aligarh University. I am very sorry to hear of the trouble there. I think our people must learn one principle that once a matter is decided it must be accepted for the time being, however much one may dislike it and when we have to make a change it must be accepted for the time being, however much one may dislike it and when we have to make a change it must be by peaceful negotiations and settlement among ourselves. I quite agree with you that it is a pity Aligarh should become the hot bed of intrigues and party warfare. Dr. Ziauddin<sup>39</sup> saw me last night on his way from Bangalore to Aligarh and I found him at any rate in a very reasonable mood. You say, 'If Ziauddin would listen to reason and work for the good of the University alone I might succeed in making matters smooth.' Well, it is a proposition to which Dr. Ziauddin will subscribe wholeheartedly. At any rate, that is the impression he created on my mind. He further promised me that he will get in touch with you, and he expressed a real desire to work in a friendly way with Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan. But the other two viz. Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan<sup>40</sup> whom you know well and so do I, he is right in saying that he is unreliable and has already done a great deal of harm to the Musalmans. I do not know much about Habibullah Khan,<sup>41</sup> but he holds

a very strong opinion against him also. Of course you being on the spot will be able to find out every thing. I wish every success in your efforts to create harmony and peace in the University.

With regards to the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council we now know the decision and you must have read my statement by now. We have two alternatives - whether the disciplinary action should be taken by me by virtue of the power conferred upon me by the full sessions of the All-India Muslim League at Madras or whether we should wait until the meeting of the Working Committee is called which means a considerable delay. Please let me know when and where you propose to call the meeting of the Working Committee and also let me know which course you think would be better viz. that I should proceed to take the disciplinary action or that I should wait until the meeting of the Working Committee is called.

I am now quite alright. Thank you very much for your kind enquiries.

With kindest regards to Begum Saheb and yourself and our love to Ashraf and Akbar.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 30 July 1941 —

Camp State Guest House<sup>42</sup>  
Hyderabad, Deccan.  
30th July 1941

My dear Liaquat,

I received your telegram today and I have already wired to you as follows:

AWAITING REPLY MY LETTER 24TH YOUR TELEGRAM  
TODAY PLEASE WAIT POSTING LETTER.

I wonder whether you have received my letter of the 24th July 1941. The immediate question that we have to consider is, that we have to take disciplinary action against

those members of the Council who have joined the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council, as announced in the communiqué of the Government dated the 21st of July 1941. The Working Committee is empowered to take such actions under Rule 28, ii (a) and they have a right of appeal to the Council against the decision of the Working Committee, if they are dissatisfied. I, therefore, cannot understand why you wish to call the ordinary meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League for this purpose. It is true that the Council has also got the power to take disciplinary action against its members under Rule 25 (j) but that power is given to the Council provided the Working Committee fails in its duty and it is open to the members of the Council by proper written requisition of fifteen members to call upon the Secretary to call a special meeting of the Council for that specific purpose. Normally, therefore, it is intended that the disciplinary action should be taken by the Working Committee and not by a large body of 465 members. Apart from the Constitutional aspect, it is not even a practical procedure to adopt, as it will lead to all sorts of strong and heated debates and speeches, which is not at all desirable in which to take a calm and judicial view of the action and conduct of those who are likely to have violated the decision of the League and its general policy and ignored the leader and the executive of the organization.

The only question that requires consideration was whether I should proceed by virtue of the power conferred upon me by the resolution of the Madras sessions or the Working Committee. Personally I would rather that the Working Committee should proceed in the normal course. The question of where to call the meeting of the Working Committee is also one that required consideration. Delhi will hardly be desirable and the only place that I can think of is Bombay. But with regard to the venue I am quite willing to fall in with the general wish of the members of the Working Committee. Please therefore let me know before hand when and where you propose to call the meeting of the Working Committee.

In calling the meeting of the Working Committee you will have to put down in the agenda the item 'disciplinary action against Sir Sultan Ahmad,<sup>43</sup> Sir Muhammad Saadullah, Nawab of Chhatari, Begum Shah Nawaz,<sup>44</sup> Mr. Fazlul Haq and Sir Sikander Hayat Khan,' who are the members of the Council. They must however, also be given the fullest opportunity of explaining and of a hearing either in person or in writing. You will, therefore, have to write to them as Secretary, giving them intimation somewhat in the following terms:

'It is proposed that in order to maintain and secure discipline in the organization and correct standards of public life a disciplinary action should be taken against you by the Working Committee for you have associated yourself with the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council while you were a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. Your action is contrary to the express decision of the League and its general policy; and further without reference to the leader or the executive of the organization and thereby you have violated the decision of the League and have acted in contravention of the general policy of the League. If you wish to say anything in your defence either in person or in writing the fullest opportunity will be afforded to you before any decision is taken against you. Please therefore, let me have what you have to say in your defence within ten days after the receipt of this intimation. In default of this the Working Committee will have to proceed against you *ex-parte*.'

As explained, in my opinion there is no need to call the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League for this purpose.

Please let me know your final opinion before calling the meeting of the Working Committee and also whether you think it necessary to call the meeting of the Council in view of what I have pointed out before making any announcement.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*



— 18 August 1941 —

18th August 1941<sup>45</sup>

My dear Nawabzada Saheb,

Mr. Jinnah has telegraphed to you as follows:

YOUR LETTER EXPECTING YOU 23RD MORNING. OF  
COURSE YOU WILL STAY WITH US.

Please therefore let him know as soon as possible by  
what train you will be coming here.

With respects.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

\* \* \* \*

— 25 August 1941 —

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B Hardinge Avenue  
New Delhi

Mr. Fazlul Haq<sup>46</sup>

Calcutta

After full discussion consideration working committee  
unanimously opined that Sir Sikandar Hayat, Sir Saadullah,  
Mr. Fazlul Haq should resign from National Defence Council-  
stop-Sir Sikandar Hayat Sir Saadullah have agreed tender  
resignation NDC-stop-Regarding your working committee  
resolution runs as follows-stop-Mr. Fazlul Haq communicated  
he would like have time consider matter-stop-If he also  
resigns from NDC within ten days and informs president  
accordingly no further action necessary-stop-failing receipt  
satisfactory reply from Mr. Fazlul by president within time  
aforesaid committee hereby fully authorize president take  
such action he deems proper.

Secretary All-India Muslim League

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

8B, Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

Dated Bombay

the 25th August 1941

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— 26 August 1941 —

Nawab Chhatari<sup>47</sup>

Aligarh

Working committee decided if you resign membership National Defence Council before assuming charge premier Hyderabad and communicate to president no action necessary otherwise president authorized take disciplinary action.

Liaquat Ali Khan

Secretary All-India Muslim League

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

8B Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

Dated Bombay

the 26th August 1941

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— 31 August 1941 —

After attending the session of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay, Liaquat travelled to Aligarh to attend a meeting of the Muslim University Muslim League. After attending an 'At Home' given by Jamiluddin Ahmed, among others, he gave his speech at the Union Hall later in the evening. The speech was eagerly awaited: 'Unusual enthusiasm prevailed at the meeting in view of the fact that this was going to be the first authoritative pronouncement on the recent crisis...Nawabzada Saheb was lustily cheered and thunderous shouts of League Zindabad, Quaide Azam Zindabad, Pakistan Zindabad were raised when he rose to address the meeting.'<sup>48</sup>

Mr. President and my young friends.

First of all let me thank you, Mr. President, for the kind things that you have said about me and you, my young friends, for the cordial welcome which you have been good enough to extend to me. I consider it a welcome from

younger brothers to an elder one, as all of us are the sons of the same Alma Mater. (Cheers).

Friends, when your President asked me if I would address a meeting of the students of the Muslim University under the auspices of the Muslim League I was most happy to welcome the opportunity, because it is my firm belief that the future of Muslim India depends on you. Let me tell you that whatever we are fighting for is for you and your children. We know that the ideal that we have placed before our people will be achieved by the youth. When you go out into the world you will carry aloft the banner of Pakistan.

Friends, your organization, the Muslim League, has just passed through a most critical time. I do not know how many of you realize fully the critical position in which the Muslim League found itself. A few years ago the Muslim League was an organization for a few to be exploited by them; but today, thank God, it is not to be exploited by the highest in the land. It is the poor Musalman who today constitutes the true strength of the Muslim League. The crisis to which your President just referred in his speech, when it happened, sent a wave of indignation and anxiety throughout the country. I must pay a tribute to the Muslim students of the Punjab and Bengal. They stood like a rock behind the Muslim League. Mr. President, you will remember that when Mr. Jinnah, our Quaid-i-Azam, visited Aligarh last he described the Muslim University as the arsenal of India but I am sorry to say that the young men of Aligarh failed to supply the ammunition to the Muslim League on the occasion of this struggle (cries of shame). I did not hear of the Muslim students of Aligarh standing up boldly for the prestige of the only authoritative Muslim organization. It was from you that we wanted to know what the younger generation was feeling on this critical occasion. However, this occasion was a trifling one compared to what we might have to face in the future. We look to you who are our arsenal for every kind of ammunition to win the battle of independence of the Muslim nation in India.

Mr. President, all of you know that an effort was made by the British—and I say this with full sense of responsibility—to create disruption in our ranks. It was a well-thought-out

move, but thank God that the Muslim nation stands more united and more solid than it has ever done before. When I was in Bombay I read the comments of some of the Hindu papers. They stated that the Muslim League from being a loosely-knit political body had emerged from this crisis as a well-organized political party. It is a fact that this was a very critical moment. Hindus thought that it would cause disruption and dissension in the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah now would be left all by himself or with a few others. But they did not know that a Musalman, whatever he might have done in the past, will always stand for the Musalmans. Now, my friends, I would like to relate briefly the history of the events that led to this crisis. As you all know, when the war was declared the position of the Muslim League was that we believed that for better or for worse our destinies were linked up with that of Great Britain. We were fully prepared to cooperate in the successful prosecution of the war with power and authority in the government. But we were not prepared to take the position of camp-followers. We were prepared to give our last drop of blood and our last penny. But we could not consciously do it without the knowledge as to what use would be made of our money and our blood and how it was to be spent. The Viceroy accepted the principle of cooperation with power and authority. I do not know—it may be due to the fear of the Congress and the Hindus or it may be due to the fact that the British were unwilling to part with power—when it came to working out the details the effect of the principle was lost. I cannot understand how anyone with a grain of sense could refuse such an offer of the Muslims of this country. The Viceroy made a proposal known as the August offer. It was nothing but a mere sham. The Muslim League refused to accept that offer, because our organization is not meant to get jobs for individuals but to secure real power for the Muslims. For a year the Viceroy sat tight. Then I do not know who advised him to proceed in the way that he has done. But whoever advised him was not his friend. He went over the head of the Muslim League. He made an announcement on the 21st July suggesting certain changes in his Cabinet and constituting a so-called National Defence

Council. You know that they got certain Muslim Leaguers to be members of this Cabinet and the National Defence Council, and it was done without the knowledge of either the President or the Executive of the Muslim League. He knew fully well that the Muslim League had refused to have anything to do with such a scheme. And how did the Viceroy proceed. He told the Muslim Premiers that they were to be taken into the Council as Premiers and they were told to keep it as a strict secret. But he sent a message to Mr. Jinnah through the Governor of Bombay that certain Muslims of the highest prominence and capacity had agreed to serve on the Council and they had been appointed to represent the great Muslim community. In other words he played a double game, because he knew that in spite of everything the Muslim Premiers would refuse to serve on the Council if they were appointed as representatives of the Muslim community. He told the Premiers to keep the appointment as strictly confidential, not to whisper it even to their colleagues in the Cabinet. In the House of Commons Mr. Amery boasted that the Viceroy had correctly judged the temper of the people of India, and as a result of his efforts patriotic Indians had agreed to serve on the Council, regardless of Party leaders and in defiance of party discipline. Mr. Amery regards those as patriotic who are willing to act as the tools of the British, regardless of the interest of their people and their country.

Now, gentlemen, I am sorry to say that a representative of the British Crown and a Minister of Parliament [*sic*] like Mr. Amery should have stated on the floor of the House of Commons that the Muslim Premiers had consulted their colleagues before joining the Council. These Premiers were sworn to strict secrecy. They never consulted anyone. It is a matter of regret that such objectionable methods were employed by the highest authority in India. My friends, even British diplomacy could not have done anything more underhanded. Their object was to create disunity among Muslims and undo our work of the last five years. But I tell you that Providence is with us. He is helping us with our work. The Muslim League is not to be exploited by anyone, as we are fighting for our rightful place in the country. What

happened was that the Viceroy's message was to be conveyed orally to Mr. Jinnah by the Governor of Bombay. You can put any interpretation you like on an oral message. But as I have stated we were on the right path and God was helping us. The Governor of Bombay fell ill and the message had to be committed to writing. The gentlemen in question according to the message were appointed as representatives of the Musalmans. And yet a communiqué was issued later on behalf of the Viceroy saying that they were appointed in their capacity as Premiers. Such boldness is to be wondered at. Now, my friends, you might have read in the papers various reports that most fiery speeches were made in the Working Committee and so on. Let me tell you there was neither fiery debate nor violent defence put up by any one, and I will be failing in my duty if I do not say that the Premier of the Punjab played the game (cheers). The decision was taken unanimously which I think is the greatest achievement of the Working Committee. As you know there are six members of the Muslim League who have associated themselves with this scheme. Five of them were taken in the Defence Council and one in the Executive Council. Out of the five three have already agreed to resign. There are only two left, namely Begum Shah Nawaz and Mr. Fazlul Haq. I trust that in view of strong Muslim feeling on this question these two members will also now bow down to the decision of the Working Committee. As for Sir Sultan Ahmad I would only say that the position of an Executive Councillor is different from that of a member of the Defence Council, because there is a fat salary attached to the office of an Executive Councillor. However, we must wait and see. The Working Committee has decided that, whatever the consequences, we shall maintain discipline in the League organization, irrespective of the position that a person may hold; because, after all, if an organization is not capable of maintaining discipline within its ranks then the sooner it goes into liquidation the better. Let me tell you that we are determined that in order to maintain discipline in our organization we are prepared to face any consequences.

My friends, as soon as I arrived here I was asked by a number of young men as to what the Muslim League had done about Iran. I may tell you that every member of the Muslim League Executive has the same feeling about Muslim countries as the youngest and most enthusiastic among you. We did consider the Iran situation and passed a resolution. But the resolution was censored by the Government. Gentlemen, we realize the responsibilities we have on our shoulders and I tell you that we feel as much for the calamity which befalls any Musalman country as we do for the Muslims in this country. Mr. President, there is another matter just now before the country, that is, this '*Akhand Hindustan*'. When I arrived here yesterday one gentleman told me that the Hindus always liked to imitate the Musalmans. We have the All-India Muslim League, they started the All-India Hindu League. We have proposed the scheme of Pakistan; they have brought out '*Akhand Hindustan*'. Let them begin it with a P like Pakistan, and it will become '*Pakhand Hindustan*'. (Laughter) As a matter of fact, all Hindus are one in their essential outlook. There are some in the Congress, some in the *Mahasabha*, some in the Hindu League and some in yet another party, the No-Party Conference. The aim of all the different Hindu organizations is the same. The Congress want the independence of India, the constitution to be framed by an assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise; the *Hindu Mahasabha* is dominion status, democracy and parliamentary system of Government; the programme of the All-India Hindu League is to oppose the demands of the Musalmans and to demand the rule of the Hindu majority. *Akhand Hindustan* demands democracy and a united constitution for the whole of India with the domination of the Hindu majority. The net result is the same—one India, democracy for the whole country, parliamentary system of Government, and consequently Hindu Raj. Hindus may have a dozen platforms but their aim is the same. The flutes may be many but the tune is the same. Mr. Munshi<sup>49</sup> is very active in opposing the Muslim demand for Pakistan. When he was a member of the Congress he believed in truth and non-violence against the British. Then he realized that the Musalmans of the

country want Pakistan. So he dissociated himself with the Congress, as he does not believe in practising either truth or non-violence against Muslims. He left the Congress and started '*Akhand Hindustan*'. He says India has always been one and shall always remain one. This statement is a travesty of the truth. Let me tell him that India was never one; it has an appearance of being one by the force of British bayonets and it shall never be one. Mr. Munshi goes about exciting the passions of Hindus by telling them that they had everything—wealth, industry and education—but the one thing they lacked was courage thus inciting them to violence. Well, if they have no courage how are they going to rule in this country and specially over the 100 million Muslims who have any amount of courage? Mr. Munshi and his friends feel that they can frighten the Muslims by appealing to the passions of the Hindus and inciting them to violence. But this will not frighten the Muslims. The issue is so simple that I do not think any Musalman will have any difficulty in deciding it. The question is whether 100 million people are going to live at the mercy and sufferance of others or they will live here as an independent people entitled to full power and sovereignty. Even if the Musalmans were much fewer, they would prefer death to a life of serfdom. What is the use if you live the life of a slave? If we are to live, we must have power to shape our lives in accordance with our own ideals and culture, so that we could go about in the world with our heads erect. Let me tell Mr. Munshi and his friends who are opposing Pakistan that they cannot frighten the Musalmans out of it. Mr. Savarkar<sup>50</sup> says that if Hindus accept Pakistan they will be signing their own death-warrant. They say that Pakistan would mean Muslim rule in this country. It is nothing of the kind. Pakistan scheme is embodied in the Lahore resolution. It really means that the Hindus will have the same sovereign power in one part of the country as we will have in another. There is no question of reducing anyone to the position of serfdom. I really cannot understand their mentality. Mr. Munshi puts forward another argument. He says if we accept Pakistan the Hindus will be reduced to the position of a minority. How? They do not explain it. Under the Pakistan scheme there will be a portion



of India under the Hindu majority, as there will be one under the Muslims. What they mean is that every portion of India should be under the Hindu majority. They are only trying to frighten the Muslims by these methods, as I said a few months ago. But they should know that it is a futile attempt. We are determined to bring Pakistan into existence, whatever the opposition may be. The idea of Pakistan is not confined to the intelligentsia. Soon after the passing of the Lahore Resolution I addressed a meeting consisting mostly of illiterate persons. After the meeting was over an illiterate person was heard to say that what he understood was that if two persons could not live together they must separate in peace and have their shares. I think he understood the question perfectly well.

Well. Pakistan is all right. But the question is how we should achieve it. We can only achieve it if we are united and strong that, my friends, as I told you in the beginning of my speech, depends on you. I would ask you not to follow the mentality of the older generation. So far the Muslims have either depended on the British or on others. You must learn to depend upon yourselves. Unless the Muslim youths of today develop a sense of self-reliance, there will be no future for the Musalmans. The mentality of the older people is illustrated by the statement issued by Sir Rafiuddin that Mr. Jinnah had made a great mistake in publishing his correspondence with the Governor as the Viceroy would be displeased. Well, if striving for one's just rights is going to displease the Viceroy, let him be displeased. Are the 100 million Musalmans in this country and their descendents going to be tied for ever to the apron-strings of Dame Britannia or shall we depend on ourselves ready to make efforts and sacrifices for the realization of our ideals?

As I stated in the beginning of my speech, the Muslim League is determined to face any situation that may arise and we want our Muslim youth and specially the youth of Aligarh that has been described as the cream of the Muslim intelligentsia to devote themselves to the pursuit of the ideals for which the Muslim nation is fighting today. You must be prepared to fight for your just rights, so that you

may live as honourable men, independent men, and free men in this country. (Prolonged Cheers)

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— 8 September 1941 —

8th September 1941<sup>51</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st inst. and I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs 3,000/- as an advance for 'THE DAWN' Weekly, to be published from Delhi.

It is understood that a separate account will be maintained and will be submitted to me from time to time, and that I have agreed to make good the loss, if any, for one year, not exceeding Rs 6,000/- (Rupees six thousand).

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 15 September 1941 —

8B Hardinge Avenue<sup>52</sup>  
New Delhi.  
15.9.41

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank-you for your kind letter of the 8th enclosing a cheque for Rs 3,000/- for 'The Dawn' weekly.

Fazlul Haq's letter of resignation from the Working Committee of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has already been published in the Press, reached me on the 13th. I issued a statement on it yesterday which appeared in the local papers this morning. The 'Statesman' mutilated it but the *Hindustan Times* published it in full. I am herewith enclosing a cutting from the *Hindustan Times* for your perusal as I am not sure if the Bombay papers will publish it in full.

I hope you are keeping well. We all came down here on the 13th. Delhi is not too bad. It is a bit hot in the day time.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 18 September 1941 —

18th September 1941<sup>53</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 15th enclosing a cutting of your full statement. I am very glad that you have replied to Mr. Haq. It seems that he has lost his balance completely. Your statement is very good, indeed if I may say so.

I hope that you are going ahead with '*The Dawn*'.

I am glad to say that I have now fully recovered.

With kindest regards to you both and love to little ones from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 22 September 1941 —

22nd September 1941<sup>54</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

This is just to draw your attention that you might also give a formal notice of the meeting of the Working Committee on the 26th of October, although I think most of the members will be there to attend the meetings of the Council, and place the letter of Mr. Fazlul Haq addressed to you and already published in the Press.

Of course you will draw the agenda of the various other topics and questions that the Working Committee have to deal with.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 24 September 1941 —

24.9.1941<sup>55</sup>

Dear Sir,

I am sure you realize that the course of events in the Indian politics may at any moment take a turn which would require the Musalmans of India to play their part boldly and courageously and it being the duty and the right of the Muslim League to organize and lead the Muslims, we should take stock of the situation and make necessary preparations.

It is this exigency which I wish to discuss with the Presidents and Secretaries of all the Provincial Leagues. The next meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League will be held on the 26th of October 1941 and I write this to request you to kindly make it a point to attend the said meeting of the Council and to come here prepared to stay longer for the said discussion.

In the meantime I would request you to kindly furnish all information in the form of the annexed statement which would greatly facilitate our discussion. You are at liberty to include any other member also in the said discussion.

Pray acknowledge the receipt of this letter so that I know that it has reached you.

Yours truly, [Liaquat Ali Khan]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary

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— 7 October 1941 —

7th October 1941<sup>56</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of 3rd of October and I have considered the question. On the whole & to be on the safe side, I think you should send the usual notices to Mr. Fazlul Haq for the meeting of the Working Committee and that of the Council.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 9 October 1941 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>57</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue  
New Delhi  
9.10.41

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent you a letter a few days ago which must have reached you by this time. I am writing this to ask you if the notice of the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council on the 26th and a copy of the Agenda should be sent to Mr. Fazlul Haq or not. There is no procedure with regard to resignations. So far the practice that has been followed is that when a person has resigned, the fact of such resignation is notified to the Council and the Council is asked to elect another person in his place. The resignation takes effect from the time that it is received and is not subject to its being accepted by the Council. Although in the case of the Nawab of Chhatari you had rightly refused to accept the resignation because of the special circumstance. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know what action I should take with regard to Fazlul Haq. Should I regard him as no longer a member of the Working Committee and the Council or should I send the notice of the meeting to him and consider him a member of these two bodies till such time as they have had an opportunity of considering the letter of resignation? Kindly let me have your opinion before the 11th of the month.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 11 October 1941 —

8B Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
11.10.41<sup>58</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith enclosing a copy of the agenda for the meeting of the Working Committee on the 26th. With regard to item no. 3 I would suggest, for your consideration, that you should write to Dr. Ziauddin to convene a meeting of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature either on the 26th evening at 7 p.m. or on the morning of the 27th at 9-30 a.m. before the meeting of the Legislative Assembly. I think the Party should also consider this matter.

Your message for the *Dawn* has not reached us yet. Kindly send me immediately as the paper will be going to the Press on the 14th.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 13 October 1941 —

8B Hardinge Avenue<sup>59</sup>  
New Delhi  
13.10.41

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is rumoured here that you are coming to Delhi on the 15th. But as I have had no news from you yet about the date of your arrival in Delhi I suppose there is no truth in it. You, I hope, will kindly inform me about the date of your arrival in Delhi when you have fixed it. You will, I presume come here some days before the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council, as you must have a few days rest before the commencement of the League meetings and the Assembly Session.

I had a telephone call from Mr. Manzoor Murshid from Calcutta. He is the Private Secretary and some relation of

Mr. Fazlul Haq. You remember I wrote to you about his having met me in Delhi some days ago. He says he had a talk with Fazlul Haq and he is willing and ready to make amends and give full satisfaction. His suggestion is that if you could find time to write to him (Fazlul Haq) something on the following lines *Fazlul Haq* [crossed out] it will give an opportunity to Fazlul Haq to clear up the whole position to the entire satisfaction of every body - 'In my statement which I had issued after the publication in the press of your letter to the secretary of the Muslim League I had expressed a hope that in reconsideration you will regret having stated what you did in the letter. I hope you have had time to ponder over the whole matter in a calm and cool manner. Your unjustified allegations against the Working Committee and the Central Executive and against the Musalmans of the minority provinces and creating division among the Muslim nation as a whole have caused great resentment amongst the Musalmans which I am sure could never have been your intention.

Your statements contained in the letter have caused great misunderstanding and bitterness and I shall be very glad if you could find it convenient to come and see me so that we could discuss the whole matter as friends and remove the misunderstanding which has been created by your letter.'

The wording of the proposed letter is my own but this is the kind of letter that would, according to Mr. Murshid do the trick. Fazlul Haq will either go and see you if at all possible and if he can make himself free from his official duties or he will issue a statement which would be satisfactory in every respect.

I have tried to put down in writing as faithfully as I can the gist of the matter the conversation Mr. Murshid had with me on the telephone. I do not know what you think of it. You are in a better position to judge as you must have the other side of the picture also before you through some other people from Bengal. I do not know what influence Mr. Murshid has [illegible] Haq as are in [illegible] relied upon. But he seemed very anxious on the telephone for settling this matter. I told Mr. Murshid that I will consider

over the matter whether I should write to you or not and as it was expected that you might come to Delhi a few days before the meetings of the League perhaps it would be better if I were to mention all this to you when you came here. He was most anxious that I should either write to you or tell you all about it on the phone. You would of course know what would be the best thing to do. Kindly let me know when you intend to arrive here.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

Copy of Mr. Fazlul Haq's letter.

Calcutta

The 13th October, 1941

My dear Nawabzada,

I have to apologize to you for not replying to your letter earlier. I understand that my Private Secretary, Khan Bahadur S. M. Murshed, met you in Delhi, and that he has been talking with you over the trunk telephone. Very likely he will go to Delhi to meet you soon and explain everything to you.

There has been so much misunderstanding throughout the Continent relating to certain passages in my letter that I feel I ought to take the earliest opportunity of meeting the President, in order to explain certain matters. People are taking advantage of the situation that has arisen and I am getting every day as many letters in support as in condemnation. Everyone seems to express his views according to his way of thinking, but the whole issue has been confused by reason of the misrepresentations that are being circulated about me.

As regards the portion of your letter where you express the apprehension that Muslims may be called upon to make sacrifices I can only say that the Muslim League may depend upon me to make whatever sacrifices may be necessary in the cause of Islam.

Yours sincerely,

A.K. Fazlul Haq

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A.

Secretary, All India Muslim League.

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— 15 October 1941 —

15th October 1941<sup>60</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th of October and thank you for it. It is not quite correct that I am coming to Delhi on the 15th. I had informed Mr. Jafri that I would be coming about the 15th in order that the house may be kept in order, but at the same time I had informed him that I would let him know about the exact date of my departure from Bombay. It is, however now settled that I shall be leaving by the Frontier Mail on the 20th inst. and am looking forward to meet you all.

As regards the telephone call that you received from Mr. Manzoor Murshid from Calcutta regarding Mr. Fazlul Haq, what can I say? I am enclosing a copy of the letter written by Mr. Fazlul Haq to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan<sup>61</sup> dated the 3rd of October 1941. The original is with me sent to me by Aurangzeb Khan. You will see from that letter that Mr. Fazlul Haq proposes to have a telephone talk with me and then to write a letter. But upto this moment I have heard nothing from him and now comes the suggestion mentioned in your letter. I really do not know what to think of it. But one thing is certain that Mr. Fazlul Haq should have got in touch with me direct before I could do anything in the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 16 October 1941 —

Gul-i-Raána<sup>62</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
16.10.41

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since my last letter to you about Mr. Fazlul Haq I have received three trunk telephone calls from Calcutta from Mr. Murshid wanting to know when you were arriving in Delhi that he wants to come and discuss the matter with you and me. Today I have received a letter from Mr. Fazlul Haq in which he expresses a desire to meet you. The reference in Mr. Fazlul Haq's letter to my letter is to the circular letter I have sent to all the Presidents and Secretaries of various Provincial Leagues and a copy of which I am enclosing herewith for your information. I am also sending a copy of Mr. Fazlul Haq's letter to me which I received this morning. From all this it is evident that Fazlul Haq is very anxious to get out of the awkward situation in which he has placed himself. Now that he expresses a desire to meet you I think you can give him an opportunity to meet you as desired by him. I do not know when you are coming to Delhi but if you are coming here a few days before the 26th you could inform Fazlul Haq to meet you in Delhi or if you like I could write to him in reply to his letter that you will be glad to meet him as desired by him in his letter to me. One thing seems certain that Fazlul Haq wants to make amends for his outburst, otherwise he would not have shown all the anxiety to meet you and so on.

I do not know what you think about all this. Personally I would not mind a solution and establish the prestige and authority of the Muslim League. However, you are in a better position to judge as must have the other side of the picture also from Bengal. I feel that once you get Fazlul Haq to see you he will do whatever you would suggest to him. He is a strange type of humanity!

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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## NOTES

1. Reeves, *Elections in Uttar Pradesh*, p. 51.
2. The renowned writer, and former Indian Civil Service officer, Philip Mason, has left a description of the Assembly in his *A Shaft of Sunlight: Memories of a Varied Life* (Calcutta: Rupa & Co., 1995, orig., 1978), p. 206.
3. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, January-June 1941, p. 296.
4. Quoted in Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, p. 193.
5. Quoted in Roger D. Long, 'The Muslim League, Islam, and the Mobilization of Popular Support', *Indo-British Review: A Journal of History* 15, 1 (1988), p. 44.
6. He was working for Orient Press.
7. *Muslim India*, p. iv.
8. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, 1941, pp. 35, 37, 42. See also Liaquat's account of the League's activities in *IAR*, Vol. 1, 1941, pp. 292-300.
9. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, January-June 1941, pp. 58-61.
10. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1896-1979) was a liberal Congressman who attempted to negotiate a middle way between the Congress and the League through direct correspondence with Gandhi and Jinnah and through non-party conferences. In January 1941 he published an article in *Twentieth Century* urging Gandhi and Jinnah to resolve their differences and in March he opened a Non-Party Leaders' Conference in Bombay. See D.A. Low, 'The Mediator's Moment: Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Antecedents to the Cripps Mission to India, 1939-42.' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 12, 2 (1984): 145-164; Mohan Kumar, *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: A Political Biography* (Gwalior: Vipul Prakashan, 1981).
11. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, January-June 1941, p. 209.
12. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. This was the United Provinces Muslim League conference held on 24 December 1940.
16. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.
22. Altaf Husain (1900-1968) is another of the unsung heroes of the Pakistan Movement. His work in making *Dawn* a powerful voice for the League has not yet received the attention it deserves although his daughter, Zebar Zubair, has begun the task with *From Mutiny to Mountbatten: A Biographical Sketch of and Writings by Altaf Husain, Former Editor of Dawn* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1996). Husain was born in Sylhet and educated at City College, Calcutta and Dacca University. He became lecturer at Islamic College in 1926 and professor of English at the Intermediate College, Chittagong, 1934, serving as the Principal of Dacca College, 1937-1938. In 1943 he became Director of Public Information, Bengal; at a reduced salary he became editor of *Dawn* in 1945. He remained with *Dawn* until 1968 although he also served in a number of official and unofficial posts.

23. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
24. Sir Ebrahim Currimbhoy III (1903-?) was a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation (1928-1929; 1935) and the Bombay Legislative Assembly from 1937. He was the Convener of the Rules and Regulations Committee of the Muslim National Guards.
25. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
26. Liaquat's youngest son, Akbar Liaquat, was born on 10 April while Liaquat was on his way to Madras.
27. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
28. Syed Husain Imam (1897-1985) was educated privately in India and then at the Imperial College of Science and Technology at the University of London. He was the leading figure of the Muslim League in Bihar, serving as President of the provincial party. From the late 1930s he condemned the Government of India Act of 1935 as being inimical to the interests of Muslims. He was the leader of the Opposition in the Council of State.
29. Nawab Mohammad Ismail was Syed Mohammad Ismail who became President of the Bihar Muslim League in 1944.
30. Saadullah Khan (1880-1948) was educated at Mission High School, Peshawar and Government College, Lahore. He served in a number of positions in the government of the NWFP such as the revenue department and the judicial service and became the Agriculture Minister in the province. He was President of the Muslim League Party in the NWFP in 1939.
31. Bakht Jamal Khan (1900-1975) was involved in the Khilafat and in the Khudai Khitmatgar movements before he became a member of the NWFP Muslim League in 1941 and the All-India Muslim League Working Committee in 1942.
32. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar (1897-1960) was a lawyer who practiced first in Ahmadabad, where he was involved in the Ahmadabad Municipal Corporation (1924-1927) and then in Bombay where he also served in the Bombay Legislative Assembly (1937-1945). He had been educated at Bombay University. He was President of the Bombay Muslim League Party, 1940-1946.
33. Sir Ali Mohammad Khan Dehlavi (1875-1952) was the Leader of the Muslim League party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. He was a lawyer who started his practice at Gujerat (1896-1900) before moving his office to Sind (1900-1908) where he founded and edited the first Anglo-Sindhi newspaper, *Al-Haq*. He had been involved with the All-India Muslim League almost from its inception in 1906. He was the author of *Is India a Nation*.
34. The Secretary of State for India was Leo Amery (1873-1955) who served in the position from 1940 until 1945. He was a Member of Parliament from 1910 until 1945 and was always near the leadership of the Conservative Party. He was a contemporary with Winston Churchill at Harrow. See John Barnes and David Nicholson (eds.), *The Empire at Bay: The Leo Amery Diaries 1929-1945* (London: Hutchinson, 1988); Wm. Roger Louis, *In the Name of God, Go! Leo Amery and the British Empire in the Age of Churchill* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992).
35. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
36. *Ibid*.
37. 'United India'.
38. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.

39. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (1878-1947) was educated at Government School, Meerut and at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Calcutta University, Cambridge, and Gottingen where he received his Ph.D. in 1905. He became an Assistant Master at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in 1895 and a Professor of Mathematics before becoming the first Pro Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University in 1921. He was elected to the United Provinces Legislative Council in 1923 and, from 1930 until 1947, he served in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The history of Aligarh Muslim University between the wars is virtually synonymous with that of the life of Ziauddin Ahmad. See David Lelyveld, 'Three Aligarh Students: Aftab Ahmad Khan, Ziauddin Ahmad and Muhammad Ali,' *Modern Asian Studies* 9, 2 (1975): 227-240.
40. Zakir Husain (1897-1969) was educated at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College and the University of Berlin where he received his Ph.D. in 1926. He had a part in the creation of Jamia Milia Islamia at Aligarh in 1920. On his return from Germany he became the Vice Chancellor of Jamia Milia Islamia. A sufi, he was intimately involved with the Congress as the President of a committee which submitted a report known as the Basic or Wardha Scheme of Education.
41. Not much is known about the Habibullah Khan mentioned by Jinnah.
42. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
43. Sir Sultan Ahmad (1880-1963) became a barrister-at-law in 1905 having studied at Gray's Inn after undergraduate work at Patna College. He practiced law at Calcutta and then served in the legal system in Bihar including a spell as an Acting Judge on the Patna High Court (1919-1920). From 1937 until 1945 he served on the Viceroy's Executive Council.
44. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz (1896-1979) was the daughter of the prominent Lahore lawyer and Punjab Legislative Council, Indian Legislative Assembly, and Governor-General's Executive Council member, Sir Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932). She followed her father as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council and the Indian Legislative Assembly and became a supporter of the All-India Muslim League. See her autobiography which serves as a double biography of her and her father, Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Autobiography* (Lahore: Nigarishat, 1971).
45. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Maulvi Masoodur Rahamn Khan Sherwani, ed. *Obedience! Duty!! Sacrifice!!! A Call to Muslim Youth* (Aligarh: Muslim University Muslim League, 1941), p. 1.
49. Kaniyalal Maneklal Munshi (1887-1971) began practicing law in Bombay in 1913. He was the joint editor of *Young India* in 1915, secretary of the Bombay Home Rule League, 1919-1920, and then worked as the editor of *Gujarat*, 1922-1931. He served in the Legislative Council and Assembly in Bombay from 1927 until 1946. He was Home Minister in Bombay, 1937-1939 but resigned from the Congress party in 1941 although he rejoined in 1946. He was the editor of the weekly, *Social Welfare*, from 1940 until 1946. A prolific writer in a number of genres, he was the author of dozens of books including *Akhand Hindustan* (Bombay: New Book, 1942); *I Follow the Mahatma* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1940); and *The World We Saw* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960).

50. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966) was a member of a group of activists and formed a secret society against British rule in 1889. He then spent five years in London (1906-1911), read law at Gray's Inn, but was not called to the Bar. He wrote a study of the Mutiny of 1857 calling it the First War of Independence, translated the works of Mazzini, and established contacts with Indian revolutionaries in London. Back in India in 1910 he was imprisoned for seditious activities and only released in 1925. A Hindu nationalist he believed that all Indians, including Muslims, should recognize their basic Hindu identity and that India should be a *Hindu Rashtriya* (Hindu nation). Some people were convinced that he was the mastermind behind the conspiracy to assassinate Gandhi but there was not enough evidence to convict him and his knowledge of the law served him very well in his defence (see Yogesh Chadha, *Gandhi: A Life* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997, pp. 469-482; 502). On his life see Prem Vaidya, *Savarkar: A Lifelong Crusader* (New Delhi: New Age International, 1996).
51. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. *Jinnah Papers*, F 335.
55. 'Copy of the letter sent to Presidents and Secretaries of all Provincial Leagues.' was written by hand by Liaquat on the top of the letter.
56. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan (1892-?) was educated at Mission High School, Dera Ismail Khan and at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. He practised law at Peshawar. Elected to the Legislative Assembly in the NWFP he served as premier of the province (1943-1945). Actively involved in the provincial League, he became a member of the AIML Council in 1939.
62. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.

## 6

### 1942: 'Quit India'—The Congress Blunder

**1** 942 was a breakthrough year for the All-India Muslim League, through brilliant strategy moves, a horrendous political blunder by the Congress, and personal tragedy in the Punjab. By the end of the year, the League had not only consolidated its position considerably through organizing the party but, in August, the League became the major party to which many people in India looked for assuming a major responsibility in the government of India. The major events of the year were the Cripps Mission of March and April, the Congress Quit India Movement of August, in October the transformation of *Dawn* from a weekly newspaper into a daily and the continuing challenge of the League to the political authority of Fazlul Haq in Bengal, who was finally expelled from the party. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in the Punjab, was increasingly constrained by League opposition and whose premature death at the end of the year was a turning point in League fortunes in the Punjab and in the movement for the creation of Pakistan.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 and its simultaneous onslaught in Southeast Asia, Japanese advances were unrelenting: Singapore fell on 15 February 1942, Rangoon on 7 March, and the Andamans on 12 March. The Japanese were knocking at the door of India and parts of the east coast of India and Ceylon were under aerial attack. The British Cabinet decided, through a visit to India of the British Cabinet member Stafford Cripps, to offer Indian political leaders positions in the Viceroy's Executive Council and a constituent assembly immediately after war's end to frame India's constitution as a Dominion. This was the Cripps Mission.<sup>1</sup> The aim was to conciliate Indian opinion to bring all parties into the government and to mobilize Indians for the war effort.

Cripps arrived in New Delhi on 23 March and he remained in India until 12 April.<sup>2</sup> On 25 March he met Jinnah who was surprised and pleased that Cripps had practically conceded Pakistan with the offer that provinces could opt out of the constitution. However, without ironclad agreements that Pakistan would be created, the League could not accept the offer. This rejection became possible when the Congress, in a major error, turned down Cripps' offer on 10 April, ostensibly on the basis that the defence minister would not be an Indian. In reality Gandhi was against the offer. Congress was very close indeed to accepting the offer but Gandhi's view prevailed and at the ultimate moment Congress' pique and wounded pride prevented them from seizing the opportunity that would have handed India to Congress rule. The Congress rejection was a political blunder of the highest order; it rivalled its resignation from office in 1939. The British, with their backs to the wall, were willing, over the objection of the Viceroy Linlithgow, to bend over backwards to accommodate Indian leaders in their hour of need and to modify conventions to make Indians partners in the government of India. They would in practice, be handing India over to the Congress, even if the political climate in Britain prevented any formal constitutional advancement for the duration of the war.

The Quit India Movement was a consequence of the failure of the Cripps Mission. With the British hard-pressed, and Gandhi convinced that India would be invaded and Britain lose the war, Congress decided on 29 April at Allahabad that they would meet any Japanese invasion with non-violent non-cooperation. On 14 July the Congress made the incredible demand that the British withdraw immediately from India; the following month on 7 August the Congress Working Committee passed a Quit India resolution and announced that it would commence a 'mass struggle' against the government. It was *hubris* of staggering proportions and a colossal political blunder: at five in the morning of 9 August the entire Congress hierarchy was arrested as were large numbers of Congress workers at all levels. They vanished into jails for years on end and Congress virtually disappeared from the political scene! A mass outbreak of protest followed the arrests that Linlithgow described as the most serious threat to British rule since 1857 and thousands of people were killed and injured in the repression that followed.<sup>3</sup> With the Congress incarcerated, the political field was cleared, and the League, in a remarkable turnaround, became the predominant party in India.



As a result of their sudden predominance, there were calls by both Hindus and Muslims that in Britain's hour of need the League should shoulder a major burden for prosecuting the war and serve in such bodies as the Viceroy's Executive Council. The League Working Committee met for some two and a half hours on 16 August at Jinnah's residence in Bombay in the first of several lengthy sessions held over a four-day period to discuss the situation. The League discussed the possibility of a Japanese invasion and decided that in the event the League would seize the governments of the Muslim majority provinces for Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> A number of members of the Working Committee, including M.A.H. Ispahani,<sup>5</sup> disagreed and argued that this was the time for cooperation with the Congress and for participation in a national government. Jinnah was adamant, however, that without a commitment on the part of Congress for Pakistan this would mean the dominance of any government by Congress and the slow marginalization and emasculation of the League, not to mention the defeat of everything the League had worked for over the previous five years. The League was willing to form a national government providing that Congress was prepared to accept Pakistan in advance of any cooperation in a national government. At a press conference in his new house in New Delhi on 13 September Jinnah made the League position clear when he said, 'My fundamental point is this, that we do not want, under the stress of the war emergency, to be stampeded into forming a Provincial Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudice, prejudice or militate against the Moslem demand for Pakistan.'<sup>6</sup>

Syed Mohammad Hussain,<sup>7</sup> Secretary of the Muslim League party in the Council of State and a member of the All-India Muslim League Council, believed this was a mistake, as the situation was so grave that action by the League was urgently needed. He was joined by many others. One of them was Abbas Ali Kamal, Vice-President of the Muslim League in the Central Provinces,<sup>8</sup> and another was Abdul Latif Farookhi, Secretary of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, who believed that the time was ripe for a compromise with the Congress.<sup>9</sup> On 27 September, Jinnah received a memorandum from members of the Bombay Muslim League and other prominent League members urging him to cooperate with the Congress and form a national government.<sup>10</sup> But the League held firm to its policy of using the situation to build up the party, to contest the legitimacy of the Punjabi and Bengali premiers, and to continue to mobilize Muslims behind the demand for Pakistan.

— 7 January 1942 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue<sup>11</sup>

New Delhi.

7.1.42

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 1st. I am sorry for the delay in replying to it as I had gone out of Delhi. I have duly received the cheque for Rs 100/- for the *Dawn* which Mr. Abbas Ali Kamal sent you. I shall write to him direct as suggested by you.

I am herewith sending Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's letter as desired by you. The resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress is so vague and confused that it is difficult to understand what it really means except that the Congress are dying to get out of the hole in which they have placed themselves. Let us see what happens next.

I hope you are keeping fit. With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf and Akbar.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 11 January 1942 —

11th January 1942<sup>12</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th inst.

About the sessions of the All-India Muslim League I am expecting to hear every moment from Allahabad and Lucknow. I have received the original letter of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan enclosed with your letter under reply. With regard to Congress, as you say, let us see what happens next, at Wardha this week.

This is just to inform you that I have accepted Bengal[s] request to preside over the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Siraganj on the 14th and 15th of February. I wonder what you think of our holding the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Calcutta, either

before the Conference or after it. We have to call a meeting of the Council and I would, therefore, request you to consider the matter. The next meeting of the Council may assume a great importance, as we shall be meeting after Wardha and it is important.

However, you will consider the matter and let me know as soon as possible.

With kindest regards to both of you and our love to Ashraf and Akbar from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 24 January 1942 —

24th January 1942<sup>13</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

In view of the petrol difficulties I have dispatched my car, Chevrolet, today to Delhi in order to utilize my ration already given to me before the end of the month of January. May I, therefore, trouble you to take delivery of the car through your Chauffeur and keep it in my garage? I am sending you herewith Coupons for 12 gallons which will be useless after the end of the month, to enable you to get petrol and fill it in the tank of my car before the end of this month. It will at least last me for some period of February otherwise my Coupons will become useless.

I am also enclosing two keys of my garage.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

The Railway receipt will be posted tonight by separate cover.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

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— 29 January 1942 —

29th January 1942<sup>14</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

As at present advised I propose to arrive at Delhi on the 8th evening by the Frontier Mail. I have written to Ziauddin, please see that the Party meeting is arranged on the 9th.

I propose to leave for Calcutta on the 10th and shall be away till the 20th.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

\* \* \* \*

— 30 January 1942 —

30th January 1942<sup>15</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

Since writing to you last I find I may have to go to Bengal direct from Bombay. My anxiety to get to Delhi on the 8th was due to the fact that I should be able to attend the meeting of the Muslim League Party of the Assembly on the 9th, specially when I had gathered from the newspapers that Mr. Joshi's resolution seeking the establishment of a National Government at the Centre was going to be taken up on the 12th. But as I find now, that I may have to go to Bengal earlier, I write and inform you that I shall not be able to get to Delhi on the 8th, as I intended to do. I have also seen the forecast of the Muslim opinion in the newspapers and I suppose that the opinion was gathered from amongst the Muslim members at Delhi.

Of course it is obvious that the resolution cannot be accepted by the Muslim League. But we have to play our part and we should not be misunderstood in any way. National Government at the Centre responsible to the Central Legislature either by securing changes in the constitution to the maximum extent necessary or by convention, with a

satisfactory provision for the protection of the interests of minorities, will be a death blow to Muslim India. Our position is clear, that the future constitution of India should be considered on the basis of partition of India and that we are ready and willing, during the period of the war, to do all we can for the defence of our people provided we get real share in the authority of the Government at the Centre and the Provinces within the framework of the present constitution.

If necessary, you can table the amendment to the resolution on these lines. I feel confident that you will guide the party and come out successful from the attempt on the part of Hindu India to once more create confusion.

We cannot entertain any proposal or resolution which presupposes that the Muslims are a minority. Our position has been that the Muslims are a nation by themselves and we claim equality. We certainly stand for safeguards for the accepted minorities such as Scheduled Casts [*sic*], Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Christians and Parsies, etc.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Sir Ziauddin Ahmad also for his information.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

\* \* \* \*

— 30 January 1942 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue  
New Delhi.  
30.1.42<sup>16</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letters. I have fixed the 21st of February for a meeting of the Working Committee of the Council as suggested by you. I am convening a meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of all the Provincial Leagues on the 23rd of February.

As the full text of your speech at Nagpur was printed in the *Dawn*, I did not have it printed separately. I have asked

the office to send you 50 copies of the *Dawn* in which the speech has been printed.

Your car arrived here yesterday. The petrol has been filled in the car and it has been locked up in one of your garages. We ourselves went to your house and saw the car properly and safely garaged. Brooks' men are still busy with your house. Ghulam Rasul told us that the whole work will be finished by the 3rd of February. I hope you will kindly let me know the date and time of your arrival here.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf and Akbar.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 3 February 1942 —

Gul-i-Raána  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
3.2.42<sup>17</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 30th of January. I note that now you are not coming to Delhi on the 8th as you intended but will go straight from Bombay. I have noted your views about Joshi's resolution which will come up for discussion in the Assembly on the 12th. As you say, the position of the Muslim League regarding the subject matter of the resolution is quite clear. I am herewith enclosing the draft of an amendment which we might send in after the Party meeting on the 9th which Dr. Ziauddin has convened. I should like you to go through the draft and let me have it back after you have made such changes as you consider proper.

I have received [a] pressing invitation from Sir Nazimuddin and Hassan to attend the conference at Sirajganj. If I find there is nothing of great importance in the Assembly I might go there. In any case I can not leave before the debate on Joshi's resolution is over. The Bihar Provincial Muslim League

Pakistan Conference is on the 17th and 18th at Katihar in Purnea District. I have to preside there. They have been after my life and they have been pestering me to induce you to go there for a day. I am writing to them to change the dates of the Conference to 16th and 17th as I do not think there is anything of great importance in the Assembly on these dates.

We have purchased a small pony for Ashraf and as we have no stables I shall be grateful if you would kindly permit the use of one of your stables and a servant's house for the syce\* till we are able to build one. But if it is likely to inconvenience you in any way, kindly do not hesitate to say no. I shall try and make some other arrangement. It takes some time before one is able to put up any structure as one has to go through so many formalities before permission is secured from the municipality to put up a structure. The lady from whom we have purchased the pony is going away about the middle of this month and we will have to take over the pony before that.

Is there any particular item that you would like to be included on the Agenda of the Working Committee? I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf and Akbar.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 4 February 1942 —

4th February 1942<sup>18</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I have already written to you a long letter that I have now decided to proceed direct to Calcutta. Unfortunately, I did know, when I fixed up with Sirajganj, that Joshi's resolution was coming up on the 12th. But I do not think that my presence is essential for that purpose, as, I think, the decision of the League has been made quite clear by

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\*Groom

our resolutions at Nagpur and earlier ones. It is clear that we cannot accept Joshi's resolution. But I read now in the newspapers, that Sant Singh has given an amendment on the lines of the Sapru proposals. I have already characterized those proposals as plausible and subtle and therefore all the more treacherous. We therefore cannot accept Sant Singh's amendment either. Our objection to these resolution[s] is on the ground that they negative the demand for Pakistan without even examining it dispassionately and honestly. Our position should be, if it is necessary for us at all, to table our point of view. But I would avoid this course, because the subject is no longer a matter for recommending to the Governor-General to convey to His Majesty's Government, this, that and the other thing. We have reached a stage when the question of the future constitution of India should be solved and settled by negotiations and by agreement between the main elements in India's political life. One-sided proposals lead us nowhere.

But if ultimately you think that we should table our proposals, then I suggest further, after consideration of what I have written to you already, that, perhaps it will be better that we should table an amendment somewhat on these lines:

That while this house is of opinion that the only solution of India's future constitutional problem is by means of partition of India, this house recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to convey to His Majesty's Government that Muslim India is ready and willing, singly or in cooperation with other parties, to assist the British Government in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, provided real share is given to the Musalmans in the authority of the Government, both at the centre and in the provinces, within the framework of the present constitution, as a provisional arrangement for the period of the war.

Of course I do not say that you should table this amendment necessarily, but you may consider this if you think you are driven to do so. As it strikes me at present, we should oppose Joshi's resolution as well as Sant Singh's resolution or any other amendment or resolution of this character, on the ground that it prejudices Pakistan scheme and therefore we cannot agree to it. I do not know what the



Government will do. Most probably they will, as far as I can see, remain neutral and probably not even take any part in the discussion. They may at the utmost, say that they will forward the result and the debate to the proper channels. In that case the question will be decided by the elected members, viz. Europeans, Sant Sangh and the Muslim Leaguers. I do not know what attitude the Europeans will adopt, but if it is left to the votes of the elected members then the Muslim League Party will probably be in the majority and you must make every member be present. In that case you either reject Joshi's resolution and any other resolution of that character or if you all think that the amendment suggested by me should be tabled then you can carry with your majority. Personally I would prefer rejection of any move of this character.

I hope I have made my views clear. It is now for you to decide [*sic*] what you consider best.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

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— 5 February 1942 —

5th February 1942<sup>19</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I have already posted you a letter dated the 4th which has evidently crossed yours of the 3rd which I have received to-day. In my letter I have fully indicated my views. The draft that you have sent me is likely to be misunderstood and got hold of by our opponents and I am therefore returning it to you. The damage that we have to avoid against is the scheming that the Government may be cornered by the Hindus and they may say that they are quite ready and willing provided they get a real share of the authority of the Government at the centre and in the provinces within the framework of the present constitution and that the minorities are also protected and represented in the Governments. In

that case they will argue that at the most the Musalmans and the Hindus should have equal number of seats and the Scheduled Castes, Anglo-Indians, Christians, Parsies, and Sikhs should be represented in the Government at the Centre, and also in the provinces. The result will be that, as the Sikhs and Christians are already with them and the Scheduled Castes will go with them and the Anglo-Indians and Parsies will not be able to stand up against them because of the outside influence, we shall be once more reduced to a minority. My view is that you should table no amendment but oppose the game behind Mr. Joshi's resolution, on the ground that it is not acceptable to us as it negatives and prejudices the demand for Pakistan. If Mr. Joshi's resolution is accepted, it will mean a cabinet responsible to the Legislature, which means the rule of the Hindu majority responsible to the Congress only. Mr. Sant Singh's resolution also negatives and prejudices the Pakistan demand, and although the ingenuous idea of Sir Tej is that the Executive will be responsible to the Crown, the Crown cannot always be over-ruling the Executive through the Viceroy and the Governor-General, and besides the next step viz. the responsibility to the Legislature is so close that it will be jammed in later on, on the basis of unitary government at the centre, responsible to the Legislature. Besides, what will be the proportion of the Cabinet and what will be the Muslim share in it is kept in the background of the Sapru proposals. If, however, we have to table the amendment, it should now, not on behalf of the peoples of India, but on our behalf, that is to say, on behalf of the Musalmans. Then alone the issue will be clarified, and our amendment, if necessary, although I would avoid it, would be on the lines I have already indicated in my yesterday's letter to you. viz.

That this Assembly is of opinion that the only solution of India's future constitutional problem is through the Pakistan scheme, and it recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to convey to His Majesty's Government that a declaration to that effect should be made without delay and given effect to, by carrying out the scheme of the partition

of India so soon as the circumstances may permit or immediately after the war.

This Assembly further recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to convey to His Majesty's Government that Muslim India has been and is still ready and willing, without prejudice to the major issues, singly or in cooperation with other parties, to assist the British Government in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, provided a real share is given to Muslim India in the authority or the government both at the centre and the provinces, within the framework of the present constitution, as a provisional arrangement for the period of the war.

Yes, I really don't think you can leave the Assembly until Mr. Joshi's resolution is disposed of and of course I shall be delighted if you can come to Calcutta later on, as the Conference will not begin until the 14th. Even if you arrive on the 15th it will be something.

With regard to the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Pakistan Conference, I am glad you are going there. I wish I could go with you but I have to be in Bengal until the 18th and it is not possible for me to do so.

With regard to Ashraf's Pony, I would have willingly given you our stables, but last time we found that there is not enough accommodation for the servants and two of our servants had to stay out. So I am trying to convert them into servants' rooms. I am very sorry therefore that I cannot manage to accommodate the pony, but you can take charge of the stable and use it until you are able to make some other arrangements and we will somehow or other manage for the time being.

I cannot think of any other item at present to be mentioned in the agenda of the Working Committee.

With kindest regards to both of you and love to Ashraf and Akbar from us both,

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

\* \* \* \*

— 11 May 1942 —

Savoy Hotel,  
Mussoorie.  
11.5.42<sup>20</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you reached Bombay safely and are keeping quite fit. We arrived here on the 7th morning. I am glad to say that Ashraf is alright again, and has no fever now.

I sent you a telegram yesterday asking you to send me a cheque for Rs 12,000/- (Rupees twelve thousand) to pay for the paper which is expected to arrive in Delhi from Sirpur Paper Mills, Hyderabad by the end of this week. The position of the paper is as follows:

1) We placed an order with Sirpur Mills for 30 tons of paper to be supplied by June. We have already received about 12 tons from them for which payments have been made. This quantity is in stock. They have to supply another 18 tons, the larger portion of which they have despatched and for which I have asked you to send me a cheque. The price of 18 tons of paper which is due from Sirpur Mills is about Rs 20,500/-. They have already received as advance from us Rs 5,600/-. Thus the total amount which will be due to them and which is payable on delivery is after deducting the advance will be about Rs 14,900/- and it is towards the payment of this amount that I have asked for a cheque of Rs 12,000/-. After making this payment we will require only another Rs 2,900/- or so to pay for the whole lot of 30 tons. All this paper is for stock and not for everyday consumption for which we are still getting paper from the market.

2) We have placed an order for 15 tons of paper with the Titagarh Mills. (This quantity the Govt. allowed me to get out of the quantity reserved for Govt. use). The price of this quantity will be about Rs 17,000/- which will be required when the paper is supplied by mills. This also should be coming during this month and June. We have not heard from them as to when they are going to supply this paper and whether it will be supplied in one lot or in smaller lots.

In other words, after deducting the amount (Rs 12,000/-) for which I have asked you to send me a cheque immediately,

another Rs 20,000/- about will be required for the purchase of paper for stock.

I can not tell definitely as to the time when this amount will be needed as it all depends when the mills will supply the paper. But it is likely that money may be needed for this purpose at short notice. I am giving you all the details so that you might know the whole position.

When all this paper has been bought we shall have in stock paper of the value of about Rs 51,000/-.

When you were in Delhi you asked me if I could make any suggestion regarding the personnel of the Working Committee. It is a difficult question and I have been thinking about it. One change seems very apparent I think from Bombay Mr. Chundrigar will be a more useful substitute. You know more about him than I do. He appears to be a very sincere and capable person.

I hope you will kindly keep me informed of your movements.

I am going down to Delhi on the 24th for about ten days or so.

Our kindest regards to you both and love from Ashraf and Akbar.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 7 June 1942 —

7th June 1942<sup>21</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I have received a letter from Mr. Ahmad,<sup>22</sup> 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<sup>23</sup> 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

\* \* \* \*

— 11 June 1942 —

8B Hardinge Avenue<sup>24</sup>  
New Delhi.  
11.6.42

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter 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 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<sup>25</sup> 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

\* \* \* \*

— 22 June 1942 —

8B Hardinge Avenue<sup>26</sup>  
New Delhi.  
22.6.42

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter enclosing the copy of a letter which you have written to Hassan. I also wrote 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 is that we must start an English daily from Delhi immediately we really can not 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

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\*Roots woven into window blinds or moistened with water in summer

copies daily. More I think about it 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 Haq's letter in the press regarding the formation of a new party.<sup>27</sup> 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 yesterday to the A.P.I. on Fazlul Haq's new move but I don't suppose it will be published in any paper. Our case is going by default and we can not afford it.

I am enclosing a letter from Latifur Rahman.<sup>28</sup> I think I should help him. Either you can send him a cheque 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

\* \* \* \*

— 25 June 1942 —

25th June 1942<sup>29</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd of June.

I am enclosing the letter from Mr. Latifur Rahman. 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 regarding Mr. Fazlul Haq. 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 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 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]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 3 July 1942 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>30</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
3.7.42

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank-you very much for your letter of the 25th of June. I have sent a cheque for Rs. 500/- to Latifur Rahman.

As regards the Working Committee I really do not know what suggestion to make. In the place of the late Nawab of Mamdot<sup>31</sup> you once thought of appointing his son. It is difficult to say anything about him, but he, I feel, will never be able to resist official pressure. I read in one of the papers that he had been the leader of the National War Front in his district. He is young and I do not think he will

be able to adopt an independent line of action. However you can try him as it is very difficult to find any suitable person from the Punjab. I do not know what you have decided about Sir Sikandar. Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan told me that they were meeting him in Lahore and after having had a talk with him they will write to you. I wonder if you have heard from them. In place of the late Sir Abdoolah Haroon I cannot think of anybody except K. B. Khuro.<sup>32</sup> You, of course, know everybody in Sindh and are in a better position to decide. There is such a scarcity of men amongst us in every walk of life that there is not much scope for making a wide selection.

When Nawab Ismail Khan and Khaliquzzaman were here last month we discussed the Aligarh University affairs and it was decided that a committee consisting Dr. Ziauddin, Mr. Zahir Hussain (he is in the Govt. of India, Finance), Khaliquzzaman and myself be appointed which should select suitable persons for election to the Court, Executive Council etc. Khaliquzzaman stated that he had had a talk with Mahmudabad and the Raja was also in favour of such a proposal. These gentlemen told me that I should write and inform you about what was decided upon. I purposely waited till I had had a talk with Dr. Ziauddin before writing to you in this connection. I met him the other day when he had come here to attend a wedding and told him about this proposal. He accepted it and told me that he had always been in favour of such a scheme. However everything seems to have been amicably settled for the time being. Let us see how it works in actual practice.

I have received the information asked for from Ispahani and am busy getting the scheme ready about the English daily. As soon as it is ready I shall send it to you. I read your statement which you gave in a Press interview in the *Statesman* of today. It is very good and very opportune, if I might say so. The *Hindustan Times* published only half a dozen lines of your statement. So the Executive Council has been further extended. What a farce and waste of good money.

We have had quite good rain here which has made the place nice and cool. It has been raining continuously for

the last 3 days. If the rainy season were like this then there will be nothing to complain about!

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit.

With our kindest regards to you both and love from children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 10 July 1942 —

10th July, 1942<sup>33</sup>

My Dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letters of 26th June and also of 7th July, 1942 but could not attend to these earlier because I was away from Bombay. As regards the situation in Punjab with regard to the Phillaur Conference banned by the District Magistrate of Jullundur on the 16th May 1942, I did get in touch with some of our office bearers and also with Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. I am sending herewith a copy of the correspondence. I have been given to understand as you will see from the correspondence that the matter was adjusted to the satisfaction of the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League as well as to the Punjab Muslim Students Federation and I have not heard any more complaint from any quarter.

I believe you must have also seen the recent statement made by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in the press in this connection. I therefore think that the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League for this purpose expressly is not called for, but the matter may be considered further when the Working Committee meets next.

I am awaiting your full report with regard to the English Daily which you are going to send to me.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to both of you and love to children.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
Gul-i-Raana, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi.

\* \* \* \*

— 25 July 1942 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>34</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
25.7.42

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter which I received on the 14th. I am now in a position to give you the scheme for an English daily from Delhi. Hassan Ispahanai was here on the 20th and the 21st in connection with some private business of his. I have discussed the whole scheme with him and he told me to inform you that he was in complete agreement with it. As a matter of fact he thinks that I am rather conservative in my estimates and that the result might be even better.

Here is the scheme—

- 1) The *Dawn* should be converted into a daily.
- 2) It should be an 8 page paper of the size of the *Star of India* priced at 1 1/2 annas.
- 3) The estimated expenditure per month will be Rs. 15,177/- 13-0 and the estimated revenue Rs. 13,937-8-0 (a detailed statement of expenditure and income is enclosed herewith). On this basis the net loss per month will be Rs. 1,240-5-0. Ispahanis have offered to pay Rs. 1,000/- per month as you know for one year to meet the charges of Pothan Joseph's salary. There is an item of income of Rs. 4,000 per month as from Government advertisement. This figure seems rather high, but as you know, the Information Department are spending a lot of money on war propaganda. I had a talk with P. J. Griffiths who is in charge of it and he assured me that he will do his best to help us with advertisements. However we should, I think, for the first year estimate on a loss of Rs. 2,000/- (roughly) a month instead of Rs. 1,240/- as it would be after taking into account the offer of Ispahanis. Hassan seems to think that our revenue from advertisements should be more than what I have estimated. But this is a very uncertain item. While I am of the opinion that we should get good revenue from advertisements on account of the war publicity one cannot say for certain how much it

would be. I have tried to get an assurance for a specific amount but have not got it yet. I suppose it is difficult to specify any definite figure.

4) The press wants at least one month's time in which to make proper arrangements for printing the daily.

5) We shall need at least twenty-five thousand rupees to start the paper. The income will not start coming in from the very first day and we must have some money to start the paper. The question arises from where in this money to come. Hassan and myself both are of the opinion that you should give this amount as an advance to start the paper and that we should approach fifty persons who would give Rupees one thousand each for 2 or 3 years which would constitute the fund for the *Dawn*. A Private limited Company may be formed and these gentlemen would be given shares to the value of their contributions and this Company would be the proprietors of this paper. All this can be done during the course of the next few months and in the meantime the daily would have come into existence and thus it will be easier to induce people (selected persons) to subscribe to this scheme. I am sure there must be at least 50 persons [strikeout] Musalmans in the whole of India who would be only too glad to help in this venture and if we have not succeeded in creating such a spirit even amongst fifty Muslims who would help in starting an English daily with hardly any sacrifice, then I am afraid all our efforts have been in vain. You can count on me as one of the fifty.

I am definitely of the opinion that the paper should be started without any delay and we must not wait for the enrollment of these fifty gentlemen. This can be done in the course of the next three months and I am sure we will succeed.

6) The newsprint about which Ahmad Ispahani had written to you I am told by Hassan is needed by the *Star* and so they have arranged to rail it direct to Calcutta from Karachi. Hassan told me that he had already written to you about it. However I did not know anything and now we will have to make arrangement with the local dealers to supply us the newsprint.

7) If you approve of this scheme kindly let me know immediately preferably by wire, so that I can get along with it. There will be a number of things that will have to be done before the *Dawn* becomes a daily. If we start making arrangements immediately I think we can bring out our first issue on the 1st of September.

I have carefully examined every aspect of the matter and I am of the opinion that is the best scheme. Any other scheme would take a long time to mature and we cannot wait. We must start at once.

I wonder when and where you propose to convene a meeting of the Working Committee. We might have a meeting of the Council with it and for that Delhi would be the best place.

Ra'ana has not been very well—but she is better now.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit. With our kindest regards and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 31 July 1942 —

31st July 1942<sup>35</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

After great deal of consideration I have today announced the personnel of the Working Committee. I [sic] list of the members is enclosed herewith for your information.

I think that a meeting of the Working Committee should be called as soon as possible and I suggest some date near about the 15th of August at Bombay. Please therefore consult other members and if convenient fix up the date and announce it.

With regard to the calling of the meeting of the Council I really do not think it is of urgent need but I do not see any reason why the Council should also not meet in Bombay if you think it necessary.

I have received your full report about the '*Dawn*' being turned into an English Daily and all that I can say is that

I shall be prepared to advance Rs 25,000/- to start the paper and therefore you can go ahead with your arrangements.

We will discuss further details when we meet.

With kind regards

Your sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

\* \* \* \*

— 5 August 1942 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>36</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
5.8.42

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 31st of July which I received on the 4th instant. I have fixed the 16th for the meeting of the Working Committee and have issued notices to all the members. I agree with you that there is no desperate hurry for a meeting of the Council. We can have it later and it will be better to watch and see before we call a meeting of the Council.

I have started making arrangements for the *Dawn* daily. I need some money immediately to pay for the newsprint which I have started to purchasing and I shall be obliged if you will kindly send me a cheque for Rs 10,000/- (Rupees ten thousand only) immediately. I am very keen that the paper should be started from say the 7th of September, and I am hoping that the arrangements will have been completed by then. There are a number of things that we will have to discuss and settle in this connection when we meet in Bombay. I am intending to reach Bombay on the 15th morning.

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah from both of us and love from children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 10 August 1942 —

10th August 1942<sup>37</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I received your letter of the 5th August and I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs 10,000/- (Ten Thousands) for the purchase of newsprint which should be held by you in trust on my behalf until further arrangements can be made.

I am glad that you are coming on the 15th. Of course you will stay with me.

With kind regards to you both from Miss Jinnah and myself and love to children.

[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B Hardinge Avenue  
New Delhi

\* \* \* \*

— 25 August 1942 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue,<sup>38</sup>

New Delhi.

25th August 42.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

First of all I must thank you and Miss Jinnah for all your kindness. I arrived here quite safely though a couple of hours late. I am glad to say that I found the family quite well and happy. Ra'ana is quite fit and feels o.k. again.

I sent you the following telegram as soon as I came to know that the Assembly had been summoned for the 14th of September:-

Assembly meeting fourteenth September. Must start *Dawn* daily before that. Ask Ispahani release Pothan Joseph first September please.

If we can start the daily before the Assembly Session it will, in my opinion, be most useful. Hassan can easily allow Joseph to come away by the first of September. After all when Joseph was away on leave for such a long time they



were able to manage the *Star*. This Session will be important from the point of view that it will give an opportunity for our point of view to be given publicity which is most important. I do hope you will be able to induce Hassan to agree to it. It will be indeed great if the *Daily Dawn* can be started on the 10th of September.

When are you reaching Delhi? Kindly let me know if I can do anything connected with your house. I will be only too glad.

I hope you feel rested after the strenuous time you had, and are feeling well.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 29 October 1942 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>39</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
29.10.42

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 26th today in which you ask me to have your post sent to Agra till the 31st. I am sending you the letters that were waiting for you at your house, as desired. It is no use asking the post office to redirect your post to Agra as it will be the 30th tomorrow and you wanted the post only up to the 31st.

When are you likely to return to Delhi? Are you going to Aligarh straight from Agra? I suppose you are as you are expected there on the 2nd of November.

Matloob is still having fever. He has been having a bad time of it, poor fellow.

I was laid up again with fever for nearly three days. I am up again. It is awful to be ill now when there is such a lot to be done. I hope I keep all right now.

I hope you have been keeping well.

With our kindest regards and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 7 December 1942 —

7.12.42<sup>40</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We expected you back in Delhi by the end of last week but evidently the case had taken longer than you expected. When will you be returning to Delhi?

You will be glad to know that 'Dawn' is going strong and the demand is increasing every day. I wish we had our own press!

I hope you are keeping fit.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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## NOTES

1. See Nicholas Mansergh, ed., *Constitutional Relations between Britain and India: The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol. 1, *The Cripps Mission January-April 1942* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970) and R. J. Moore, *Churchill, Cripps and India, 1939-45* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979). See also Colin Cooke, *The Life of Sir Richard Stafford Cripps* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), pp. 283-295; Eric Estorick, *Stafford Cripps: A Biography* (London: Heinemann, 1949), pp. 300-316, and Clarke, *The Cripps Version*, pp. 276-322.
2. See Mansergh, ed., *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 1.
3. See Nicholas Mansergh, ed. *Constitutional Relations between Britain and India: The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. 2, *'Quit India' 30 April-21 September 1942* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971).
4. The Congress had made a similar decision that the Congress would take control of the national government.

5. Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani (1902-) was a leading industrialist of Bengal, a close associate of Jinnah's, and a contributor to Muslim League funds. He was educated at Cambridge and called to the Bar. He was a member of the Calcutta Corporation, 1933-1935 and 1940, and Deputy Mayor, 1941-1942. From 1941 until 1947 he was a member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee. After independence he served on Pakistan's delegation to the United Nations in 1947 and served as Pakistan's ambassador to the United (1952-1954) United States (1947-1952), and Afghanistan (1973-1974) and as the High Commissioner in London (1947-1952). He was the Minister for Industries and Commerce (1954-1955). See Ispahani's own personal account of this period in 'Factors Leading to the Partition of British India,' in C.H. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwright (eds.) *The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives 1935-1947* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), pp. 344-345. He also penned a volume on Jinnah that is partly autobiographical, M.A.H. Ispahani, *Quaid-e-Azam As I Knew Him* (Karachi: Forward Publications Trust, 1966), and Z.H. Zaidi has edited, *M.A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence, 1936-1948* (Karachi: Forward Publications Trust, 1976). For a summary of the politics of Bengal in the decade before independence see Mohammad Siraj Mannan, *The Muslim Political Parties in Bengal 1936-1947 (A Study of their Activities and Struggle for Freedom)* (Dhaka: Islamic Foundation Bangladesh, 1987).
6. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 2, July-December 1942, p. 32.
7. Syed Mohammad Hussain (1897-1985) [Syed Husain Imam in *Moslem India*, pp. 163-164] was educated privately in India and at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the University of London. He became a member of the Gaya Municipal Committee in 1928 and the Council of State in 1930 where he later became a member of the Muslim League Party. He was a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference in 1931 and the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board in 1943. He was the leader of the Muslim League in Bihar. Among his official positions in Pakistan he was a member of the Governing Body of the Quaid-i-Azam Academy in Karachi.
8. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 2, July-December 1942, p. 26.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
11. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Mr Ahmad was M.A.H. Ispahani.
23. Pothan Joseph (1892-1972), a Syrian Christian from Travancore, played an important role in establishing *Dawn* as a reputable daily newspaper. Jinnah had known Joseph since 1918 when he joined the *Bombay Chronicle* and he started his

famous column, 'Over a Cup of Tea' and Jinnah was the Chairman of the Board. He wrote for and edited several newspapers including Gandhi's *Young India* and Congress' *Hindustan Times*. In 1944, he left *Dawn* to become the Principal Information Officer to the Government of India. See T.J.S. George, *Pothan Joseph's India* (New Delhi: Sanchar Publishing House, 1992) and Pothan Joseph, *Idylls Past and Present: An Editor's Wet Copy* Selected by Jailboy Joseph (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979). Jailboy Joseph was Pothan Joseph's son and this selection of Joseph's writings also includes an autobiographical piece.

24. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.
25. Yusuf A. Haroon (1918-?) was educated at St. Patrick High School, Karachi and S.M. College, Karachi. He became a member of the Karachi Municipal Corporation in 1940, the Indian Legislative Assembly (1941-1947), and the All-India Muslim League Council (1942-1947). He served as Mayor of Karachi Corporation (1944-1945) and Chief Minister of Sind (1949-1950). Between 1950 and 1954 he was Pakistan's High Commissioner in Australia.
26. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.
27. This was Fazlul Haq's plan to start a new party called the Progressive Muslim League. The Governor of the Province, Sir John Herbert was certain this was a bargaining ploy by Fazlul Haq as no effort had been made to create a party organization. He also believed that if a rival Muslim party to the AIML was set up it would garner little support in Bengal. Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 July 1942, OIOC, MSS EUR F125/42.
28. Latifur Rahman (1902-?) was a member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly (1937-1946) and the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, 1942. He had also been connected with the Momin Conference.
29. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.
30. Ibid.
31. Sir Shah Nawaz Khan, Nawab of Mamdot (1884-1942) was a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly (1937-1942) and the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League (1937-1942).
32. Mohammad Ayub Khuhro (1900-1980) was educated at Sindh Madrasa and Sind College. He was a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly (1923-1936), Governor of Sindh (1936-1937), and served in the Sindh Legislative Assembly (1937-1947). In the Sindh government he was Minister of Agriculture (1940-1941), Revenue Minister (1942-1944, 1946-1947), and Chief Minister (1947-1948, 1951, 1954-1955). He was Revenue Minister of West Pakistan (1955) and Minister of Defence (1958).
33. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 480.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.

## 1943: Jinnah's 'Right Hand'

1943 was a year when the All-India Muslim League continued to strengthen the party organization, to continually challenge the influence of regional politicians, especially in the Punjab and Bengal, and in a minor fashion, Sindh. At the Annual Meeting in December at Karachi, it set up a body, the Committee of Action, designed to exert and extend League control of provincial Muslim League parties. At the same time, it also established a Planning Committee to plan for the economic development of Pakistan. Both the Committee of Action and the Planning Committee became functional in 1944.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, in conferences, statements to the press, speeches, and correspondence it maintained its stance that Pakistan was the solution to the political impasse in India. In this regard, *Dawn* played its full part by publicizing the activities of the League and the text of speeches by its leaders. The League also involved itself in relief efforts in Bengal as a result of the famine, both out of humanitarian concerns, and as part of its campaign to establish its credentials as a major party involved in every aspect of the nation's life.

It was also the year when an assassination attempt was made on the life of Jinnah at his home in Bombay. On 26 July, a Muslim attacked Jinnah with a knife. The attacker was a Khaksar from Lahore, Rafiq Sabir Mazangavi, who arrived at Jinnah's house and asked his secretary for an interview. At that moment Jinnah entered the room and asked him who he was and what he wanted. As Jinnah tried to leave the room Mazangavi sprang at him, hit him on the jaw with his fist, and took out a knife from his waist aiming it at Jinnah. Jinnah caught his wrist and deflected the blow which cut his chin and his coat on his left shoulder. He also sustained a cut on his finger. Jinnah's watchman helped his secretary subdue the man who was handed over to the police shortly afterwards: he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment

for attempted murder.<sup>2</sup> This shocked and dismayed many in the League and Jinnah had to urge people to be calm.

On 18 February, Liaquat spoke in the Legislative Assembly of India saying that enforcing the federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 would be a great mistake. On 17 March, he spoke again in the Legislative Assembly demanding the immediate transfer of power. He said that the Muslim masses were the Muslim League and the Muslim League was the Muslim masses. 'Democracy does not mean tyranny of the numerical majority over the minority but the system of ascertaining the will of the people as to how they desire to be governed.'

The thirtieth annual session of the All-India Muslim League opened in New Delhi on 24 April, under the flag of Pakistan with such slogans as 'Freedom of India Lies in Pakistan'. Dressed in a white *sherwani*\* Jinnah wore a button on his collar with the letter 'P' on it. Some 1,200 delegates and 350 members of the All-India Muslim League Council<sup>3</sup> met with the knowledge that League ministries were in office in Bengal, Sindh, and Assam, and the Unionist Party in the Punjab had become emasculated; Jinnah even claimed it was a League ministry, a claim which generated a great deal of comment in the press in the province.

The second day of the proceedings on 25 April began with Liaquat giving his annual report.<sup>4</sup> He explained in detail the circumstances leading to the rejection of the Cripps proposals while he paid tribute to Rajagopalachari for accepting the right of Muslims to self-determination. He applauded Muslims for remaining aloof from the Quit India movement of the previous August. His report denied that the League had any opportunity for solving the political deadlock as the government kept the door locked and the Congress remained adamant. He talked about the activities of the Muslim League Defence Council. The other outstanding events of the year were the establishment of League ministries in Bengal and Sindh, and the conversion of *Dawn* from a weekly to a daily newspaper.

In adjourning the conference Jinnah reaffirmed that the League stood by the Lahore Resolution; he announced that the session had attracted the largest audience in League history; and that the next session would be held in Sindh. Jinnah's heightened confidence, as a result of the League's increasing strength, was noted by a British observer in the audience.<sup>5</sup> 'It cannot be denied,' he wrote, 'that he is today more powerful than he has ever been.'<sup>6</sup>

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\*Long Muslim frock coat

The year ended with the thirty-first Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League held over a four-day period in Jinnah's birthplace, Karachi.<sup>7</sup> The Open Session began on 24 December with the main event being a two-mile long procession in which Jinnah was escorted to the podium to unfurl the League flag at 7:30 in the evening. His carriage was pulled by thirty-one camels and he unfurled the flag to the accompaniment of thirty-one rockets. Some two thousand Muslim National Guards, students, Boy Scouts, and 'physical culturists' comprised what Jinnah gratefully called a 'royal reception'.

In his presidential address which followed Jinnah said the past seven years had been strenuous ones but the League had made remarkable progress when it had survived the opposition to its organization from the government, which had now slackened, from the onslaught of the Congress mass contact movement and when it told the League to dissolve itself into the Congress, from the Congress ministries, as well as attempts by the Congress, Jamiats, Ulemas, Ahrars, the Azad Conference, and the Momins to destroy the League at elections and by-elections. The great danger to the League, he argued, was that the League would be by-passed, ignored, and the Congress and the government would make a deal whereby power would be handed to the Congress. He asked the British to divide and quit.

With regard to the League organization he stated the party had ministries in five of the provinces of India. These ministries were in power because of the support they received from the League. They had the chance to work for the amelioration of the conditions of the people and to galvanize and unify the League party in the provinces. For the further development of the League organization he announced that a Committee of Action with its own secretariat would be created to establish a Bureau of National Industries in Pakistan and a Parliamentary Board with final authority for issuing League tickets and settling disputes. The aim, Jinnah stated, was to put more vigour into the League.

The Committee of Action of six members was established on the final day of proceedings. It consisted of Ismail Khan<sup>8</sup> of the United Provinces as Chair, Liaquat as Convener and the four members being G.M. Syed<sup>9</sup> of Sindh, Haji Sattar Essack Sait<sup>10</sup> of Madras, Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot of the Punjab, and Mohammad Isa<sup>11</sup> of Baluchistan. The aim of the Committee was to 'control, direct, and regulate' all the various provincial League parties and to discipline any member of the League who acted in contravention of League decisions or who ignored

League directives. It was, in short, an attempt by the All-India Muslim League to establish a strict party discipline over the provincial League parties.

The Parliamentary Board was established by the Committee of Action with a similar goal of central control in mind. The Committee was made up of Liaquat, Khaliquzzaman, and Husain Imam. The Board would be a detached body to which election disputes would be submitted for claimants to League tickets at the general elections expected at the end of the war. It would serve as a final court of appeal for such claimants. It was another attempt by the All-India Muslim League to exert its control over provincial League parties and politicians. Both the Committee of Action and the Parliamentary Board were to prove very effective at reminding provincial politicians of the sway and influence of the All-India Muslim League and they were to prove to be powerful weapons in the League's arsenal.

The highlight for Liaquat had come about on the previous day when Aurangzeb Khan and the Raja of Mahmudabad proposed that he should be re-elected as General Secretary of the League for the following year. When the proposition was put to the vote Jinnah rose to speak and described Liaquat as his 'right hand' saying that he had 'worked and slaved' day and night and that none could possibly have an idea of the great burden that he had shouldered. Jinnah continued by saying that Liaquat commanded the universal respect and confidence of Muslims and that although Liaquat was a Nawabzada he was a thorough proletarian and he hoped that other nawabs would follow his example. Jinnah paid tribute to his services over the past seven years and wished him a long life of service to the community. This was high praise indeed from Jinnah who did not often go out of his way to express his feelings of gratitude. Liaquat and his wife were very pleased with the compliment, the first they had received from Jinnah in the years Liaquat had dedicated to Jinnah and the League.

\* \* \* \*

— 12 January 1943 —

12.1.43<sup>12</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. I am glad to know that you have returned to Bombay safely. You must



take good rest. It was a very strenuous time for you in Karachi and good rest is absolutely essential. I am enclosing a list of the names for the Planning Committee which were given by persons at the sessions and a letter from Mr. Lari for your perusal and consideration. One of the names recommended by Mr. Lari is that of S.M. Rizwanullah,<sup>13</sup> Secretary of the United Provinces Provincial Muslim League. Nawab Ismail Khan was here yesterday. He told me that there were some very serious charges against this gentleman that he used the Muslim League funds for his own private business and the matter is being enquired into by the Working Committee. The other persons are well known to you. Nawab Ismail Khan told me that he had also given some names to you at Karachi for this Committee.

We are having the first meeting of the Committee of Action at Lahore on the 2nd and 3rd of February to chalk out a plan of work and it is intended that the Committee should meet every month in different provinces. I am taking steps to reorganize the Central Office of the League. We are likely to get the building for the Offices about which I had spoken to you at Karachi. It is a very fine building and belongs to a Musalman. I am having a meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board also either sometime this month or the beginning of February. In the meantime I am writing to the various Legislative Parties to supply us with information on certain points.

Nawab Ismail Khan and myself are of the view that the personnel of the Planning Committee should be announced by you when you come to Delhi and we have had an opportunity of discussing the matter with you. In the meantime we will try and get the names of some more suitable persons for your consideration.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are quite fit.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

P.S. Your full address at Karachi, was published in *Dawn* today.

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— 22 January 1943 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue<sup>14</sup>

New Delhi.

22.1.43

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank-you very much for your kind letter received this morning. The books as desired by you will be sent to the persons mentioned in your letter.

*Dawn* is getting on all right but the arrangements can not be satisfactory till we have our own press. I am trying for a press and as soon as we get our own press I have no doubt the efficiency will increase by at least 50% and the cost of printing will be less. As soon as I am in a position to let you know more about it I shall communicate with you. The Turkish mission has been here. We have done our bit to show them that the Musalmans are not dead. There are a number of things I want to tell you but it will not be advisable to write about them, as I am not sure if your letters are tampered with.

Therefore I can give you only the conclusions and make my proposals for your consideration. It is most desirable that you should meet the Turkish mission before they leave India. According to the programme that has been arranged for them they will reach Bombay about the 16th of February and will return to Turkey straight from there via Karachi. The mission are anxious to meet you and I propose that you should invite them to some quiet meal or tea with you while they are in Bombay. Not a function but you should invite only the six members of the mission and the Turkish Consul General who is a very nice man. I know they will accept this arrangement. This letter must read very blunt but I have told them the reason why I have to be so abrupt and can not give all the details. The members of the mission are all important persons closely connected not only with the press but Turkey as a whole.

The Assembly meets here from the 10th of February but as you know there is nothing that happens in the Assembly. I am of the opinion that it is more important for you to meet

the members of the Turkish mission than bother about the Assembly.

Kindly let me know if you agree with my proposal and if you can be in Bombay when the mission will be there and the rest will be arranged.

I have met Mr. Phillips<sup>15</sup> at his request and we had a talk for over an hour (although A.P.I. said in its message only half an hour). He already knows something about the Indian problem and struck me as being a clever fellow. He is very nice and very polite. He told me that he was looking forward to meeting you either in Delhi or in Bombay. He has not yet drawn up his programme of going about the country. I shall tell you all about it when we meet. I think you will find him intelligently interesting. He is an elderly gentleman.

Yes I had seen your statement regarding the Annual Sessions. I think Delhi is most suitable at this time with transport difficulties etc.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping well. With our kindest regards to both of you and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 28 January 1943 —

8B Hardinge Avenue<sup>16</sup>  
New Delhi.  
28.1.43

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your telegram saying that you will be in Bombay on the 16th of February. The Turkish mission is on tour and it has been arranged that the Turkish Consul General should get in touch with you and fix up things. The Consul General who has just returned to Bombay is a very nice man. He understands English but does not speak it. I am told the Turkish Consul who is also in Bombay speaks English very well. Why not ask these two gentlemen to come to lunch or tea with you. I am sure you will be pleased

to meet the Consul General and he will greatly appreciate this kindness and courtesy on your part.

When will you be coming to Delhi? Isa was here a couple of days ago and he told me that you will most probably be going to Bhopal for a case sometime about the 21st of February. I do not know how long you will be there. We have to have a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League to elect the President for the next term. We might have the meeting on either Sunday, the 21st of February or Sunday, the 7th of March whichever date suits you. I do not think that there is any need to call a meeting of the Working Committee unless you desire it.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 6 February 1943 —

8B Hardinge Avenue<sup>17</sup>  
New Delhi.  
6.2.43

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Joseph has sent me today a copy of the letter, which he has sent to you, for my perusal.<sup>18</sup> I am afraid he has allowed his pen to run riot and there was no justification for him to condemn the management in the strong language in which he has done. There things are nowhere as bad as he imagines, and it appears that he is used to exaggerate matters. I am herewith enclosing a copy of the letter which I have written to Joseph today. This will explain everything. It is true that Mahmood Hasan has had no experience of managing a daily paper but he tries to do his best and I spend several hours every day in the office. I think Joseph is upset because he has not had everything his own way. To him the question of expense is of no consideration and he has been wanting increases of salaries all around. You must be wondering how I could write that things were going

on all right when there is such a chaos according to Joseph. The things are satisfactory and there is no need for alarm.

The Sirpur Mills of Hyderabad have agreed to supply us with paper and it is indeed a great help. The paper difficulty is getting more acute every day. But we are managing it and I hope we shall be alright. There are some other things that I will tell you when you come to Delhi.

I am trying to have our own press and I want to do it as cheaply as it can possible be done. The press will cost us about sixty thousand so when something is decided more definitely we shall need this money immediately. As we have to pay for paper which is coming in I shall need some money to pay for it because the payment is demanded immediately. May I request you to send me for the time being a cheque for Rs. 20,000/- (Rupees twenty thousand) for the purchase of paper.

This money is required immediately. We have paid as advance about eight thousand to Hyderabad Paper Mills and there is a very large amount due to us from advertisers, and so we are in need of money to run the paper. Our losses in spite of the fact that our advertisement revenue is not as much as we expect are less than what should be expected. You will be glad to know that our loss on the whole is about two thousand or so a month and as we get more advertisements it will become less. This I do not think is a bad effort on the part of the management. When you come to Delhi I shall be able to place before you a detailed account.

I am fixing up a meeting of the Council on the 7th of March as suggested by you in your letter received this morning.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 10 February 1943 —

Mount Pleasant Road,<sup>19</sup>

Malabar.

10th February 1943.

My dear Liaquat,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my letter which I have written to Joseph in reply to his letter dated the 1st instant. Therefore, I need not discuss it any further till I reach Delhi.

With regard to your request for a cheque for Rs. 20,000/- for the purchase of the paper, it will receive my attention and I will see what I can do. I propose to leave Bombay on the 10th for Bhopal and after few days stay there I hope to reach Delhi, the latest by the end of the month, and we will then see what we can do. In the mean time I hope you will keep the detailed accounts of the management of the '*Dawn*' ready. I note that you have fixed the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League for the 7th March 1943.

With kindest regards to you both and love to children.

[M.A. Jinnah]

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— 12 May 1943 —

Savoy Hotel,<sup>20</sup>

Mussoorie, U.P.

12.5.43

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent you a detailed letter yesterday regarding the purchase of paper from the mills for *Dawn*. Today I have received a letter from Titagarh Mills that the paper of the value of Rs.16,446/- has been dispatched from Calcutta on the 5th of May and the Railway receipt has been sent through the Allahabad Bank. As the delivery of the Railway Receipt from the Bank has to be taken immediately I am somehow or other making arrangements to find the necessary amount and to take delivery of the paper I shall request you to kindly send me a cheque for Rs.17,000/- on account of the price of paper from Titagarh Mills as soon as possible.

'Dawn' can congratulate itself that at this time when every newspaper is in difficulty regarding paper it will have a respectable stock and will not stop publication if anything untoward happens regarding the import of newsprint from abroad.

So now I require Rs.12,000/- immediately as I said in my telegram sent to you on the 10th to pay for the paper expected during the course of the week from Sirpur Mills, Hyderabad and the Rs.17,000/- as soon as possible to pay for paper from Titagarh Mills.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 14 May 1943 —

14th May 1943.<sup>21</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I have received your telegram on the 10th and also your letter of the 11th instant. I have already paid you Rs. 49,000/- and the bulk of the amount is paid having regard to the exigencies of keeping certain amount of paper in stock in case of emergency. I am complying with your request of sending you a cheque for Rs. 12,000/- as you want it to take the delivery of the paper from Sirpur Mills.

With regard to 15 tons of paper from the Titagarh Mills, I have noted that you may require further money. You can send me a wire giving me few days time and I shall make arrangements and send you a cheque accordingly.

With kindest regards to both of you and love to the children.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
Savoy Hotel, Mussoorie, U.P.

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— 20 May 1943 —

20th May 1943<sup>22</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am sending you a cheque for Rs. 17,000/- herewith for the Titagarh paper to be stocked. I have now come to the end of my tether. I can advance no more unless some definite arrangement is made beforehand, for which you must give me time. You will notice that I have advanced to you a very large sum and most of it at my own risk and I am personally responsible for it. Of course I am trying to make arrangements for any future contingency.

You will, therefore, please return to me as soon as possible this advance for stocking the paper which now comes to over Rs. 50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousands).

I am surprised that you have not yet received my cheque for Rs. 12,000/- which was posted to you as far back as the 14th to your address at Mussoorie. I have replied to your wire today and I am sending this cheque to you at your address at Mussoorie.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
Savoy Hotel, Mussoorie.

\* \* \* \*

— 25 May 1943 —

25.5.43<sup>23</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 21st. I arrived in Delhi from Mussoorie today. Delhi is very hot. I am herewith enclosing a copy of the letter which I have received from Nawab Ismail Khan. I should very much like to have your views on it. Personally I think at the next meeting of the Working Committee we should examine the whole situation and lay down a clear cut policy. I have



received a number of enquiries in connection from some other people also.

I am coming to Bombay on the 1st of June to attend a conference in connection with the standard cloth for the use of civil population. I wonder if you will be still in Bombay. According to the reports in the press you should be in Karachi. However I shall find out when I get to Bombay if you are still there. I shall stay there for about 3 days.

My heartiest congratulations to you on the formation of the League ministry in N.W.F.P. You have now the League ministries functioning in all the provinces of Pakistan. May all this be for the good of our cause!

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 29 June 1943 —

Savoy Hotel<sup>24</sup>  
Mussoorie  
Grams 'Savoy'  
Telephone No. 10  
29.6.43

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are very happy to know that you are quite well again. Your telegram from Karachi was a great relief - thank you ever so much. It seems that you have been doing too much. Please look after yourself and while you are in Quetta do have some rest. It is absolutely necessary, as you have had no holiday of any kind this time. Quiet and rest is most essential.

I wonder if you will come straight to Delhi from Quetta for the Assembly Session or go to Bombay first. I am returning to Delhi about the 20th of July.

I propose that during the Assembly Session we might have a meeting of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League. I propose that we have a meeting of the Working Committee on Saturday, the 7th of

August and that of the Council on Sunday the 8th of August. There is nothing in particular that we have to consider but under the circumstances we have to have at least two meetings of the Council before the next Session. As this time we are having the Session in December I propose that we have one meeting of the Council in August as suggested above and the other meeting some time in November. If you approve of this kindly let me know by telegram.

I hope this will find you and Miss Jinnah in the best of health. The monsoon has not broken yet here and it is quite warm and stuffy.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 11 August 1943 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>25</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
11.8.43

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. As I have already informed you by telegram I have postponed the meeting of the Muslim League *sine die*. I knew from your letter that you could not possibly come to Delhi for the meetings and apart from that I do not think that in your present state of health you should be made to travel. There was nothing really important on the agenda [illegible] was no point in having the meetings. Before announcing it in the press I had tried to get in touch with you on the phone but did not succeed as there was something wrong with the line.

The Assembly session has lasted longer than expected. It is likely to go on for another few days.

We have won all the four in the N.W.F.P. elections for the Assembly. It is a great victory for the Muslim League and for you. My heartiest congratulations. I hope you will soon recover completely. You know there are millions of Musalmans who pray for your health and long life every day.

Kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 2 September 1943 —

Savoy Hotel,<sup>28</sup>  
Mussoorie.  
2.9.43

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter which I received before I left Delhi. I hope you have completely recovered by now and the effects of the sprain have completely disappeared. May God grant you health, strength and long life!

You must have received a letter from the General Manager 'Dawn' regarding the Editor's money. Joseph gave an account of expenses incurred by him for three months and desires that the amount of Rs.200/- per month be given to him now as an allowance without his submitting any account for it. I shall await your instructions. Personally I think we might give it to him and be done with it. You will be glad to know that 'Dawn' is doing well with regard to advertisement revenue. It is now nearly ten thousand a month—far in excess of our expectations. The main trouble is the Press. It is really hopeless and I do not know what to do about it. Unless we get our own Press things will never be satisfactory. 'Manshoor' is not doing well with regard to advertisements. I have sent Mahmood Hasan to Simla to try and secure some Govt. advertisements. Their Publicity Department is in Simla.

We are returning to Delhi on the 10th of this month. Mussoorie has been having too much rain this year. I hope Miss Jinnah is keeping well.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— *No Date* —

[n.d.]<sup>27</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 2nd of September. I was not able to reply earlier and by this time you must have returned to Delhi so I am writing this letter to your Delhi address.

I am glad to tell you that I am quite all right now and I am deeply thankful to you for your great concern about my health.

As regards the imprest money, I have received all the particulars from Mr. Mahmood Hasan and I have informed him that as you are agreeable, the amount of Rs. 200/- per month be given to Mr. Pothan Joseph as allowance. I have no objection to its being given effect to and that such arrears as may be due to him on that basis may be paid to him.

I am glad indeed to hear the good news that '*Dawn*' is doing well and we are getting more advertisements. Yes I agree with you that the main trouble is the Press. If we can secure some good Press, I am in for it and we will do our best and I am hopeful that we may be able to find the money for it. Mr. Mahmood Hasan has also sent me a detailed account of the way in which the Manager of the Latifi Press is treating us and I was extremely sorry that the Muslim Press should instead of being helpful and sympathetic are not able even to keep to the terms of the agreement. However, it is for you to manage things as best as you can, but of course there are many complaints with regard to the paper not reaching in due time to the

subscribers. I myself has [*sic*] been a victim of it as I always look forward to see [*sic*] '*Dawn*' at the earliest moment.

You must have noticed in the papers that the accused assailant was put up before the Magistrate and in all probabilities the case will be committed to the Sessions and if the arrangements can be made then it will be taken up in October and I am very anxious that I should be free from it because as you know I have to give my evidence again in the Court of Sessions. In these circumstances, as at present advised, I may be able to get to Delhi about the end of October.

Thanking you again and hoping that Begum Saheba, you and children are quite all right. With our kindest regards to both of you and love to the children.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
8B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi.

\* \* \* \*

— 27 September 1943 —

27.9.43<sup>28</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter which I received a few days ago. I am indeed happy to know that you are quite fit again. I note that you expect to be free to come to Delhi about the end of October. If you approve of it we might have a meeting of the Working Committee on the 5th and 6th of November and a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League on Sunday the 7th of November. The Assembly is meeting from the 8th of November and so I thought the 7th for the Council meeting will be a suitable date. Kindly let me know about it so that steps might be taken to hold these meetings. I have suggested two days for the meetings of the Working Committee so that there is no undue strain on you.

*Dawn* will be completing its one year of existence on the 10th of October. I should very much like you to send a

message on this occasion which could be publicized in *Dawn*. During the first year of its life *Dawn* has undoubtedly rendered a great service to ML cause and the response from the Musalmans has been splendid. But we want to see the day when every Muslim will be a reader of *Dawn*. Its circulation is not confined to Musalmans only but we have a good number of non-Muslims also among the readers of *Dawn*.

You might have seen my statement in *Dawn* when I said that I was visiting Bengal shortly to see what further help we could give to the Muslims there.

I had gone to Lucknow a few days ago and there I was told by Jamal Mian<sup>29</sup> who had recently returned from Calcutta that there was a general feeling that some one responsible should visit Bengal on behalf of the Central Muslim League. I have suggested to Nawab Ismail Khan that he should also visit Bengal and that we might go together. I hope he will agree. I intend to go to Bengal as soon as possible after 'Id'. I hope you will approve of this proposal. We should help Bengal in every way possible. The people there are having a terrible time.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 4 October 1943 —

4th October 1943.<sup>30</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th September 1943 and the dates mentioned by you for holding the meeting of the Working Committee, 5th and 6th of November and the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League on the 7th will suit me, but there is only one difficulty which I can ascertain in the course of next two or three days, namely the assault case on me having been committed to the Sessions, I don't yet know when it will be taken up.

I may be able to find out in the next few days and definitely let you know.

As regards the message for the '*Dawn*,' I am going to take in my hand and send it on to you tomorrow or the day after. Yes '*Dawn*' has done great service to our cause there can be no doubt about it.

As regards your going to Bengal, it will be a very good thing and if Nawab Ismail Khan will accompany you, all the better so that you can both go together. I think your visit to Bengal will be appreciated and it will show how deeply the League is concerned about the distress and suffering of the people of Bengal.

Hoping you are all well.

With kind regards to you both and love to children from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

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— 10 October 1943 —

10.10.43<sup>31</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter and the telegram which I received today. I am fixing Saturday, the 13th of November for the meeting of the Working Committee and Sunday, the 14th for that of the Council.

As regards the bonus for staff of *Dawn* I am having the accounts audited up to the end of September and a statement prepared. After this is ready I shall be able to know definitely how we stand financially. I propose that the matter should be decided when you come here by which time I shall know definitely how we stand. It is true that *Dawn* has done better than what was expected financially but whether we have done so well that we can follow the example of well-established and old papers is a matter that needs examination. I still contend that our staff is not underpaid and our terms can compare very favourably with old established papers like the *Hindustan Times*. However we

shall consider the whole matter when you come to Delhi. Nawab Ismail Khan and myself are leaving for Calcutta tonight. We shall stop in Calcutta for 2 or 3 days and then make a tour of the affected areas especially Eastern Bengal.

With kindest regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself from both of us and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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### NOTES

1. The idea of a Planning Committee for the All-India Muslim League goes back to 1937 when a motion was passed at the Lucknow session of the All-India Muslim League to establish a committee to 'frame and put into effect an economic, social and educational programme'. A committee was formed in 1938, the same year when the Congress also established a National Planning Committee, when six Leaguers were appointed to such a committee but it only issued a sketchy four-page report. Another attempt was made in 1941 but it too petered out. The first meeting of the third Planning Committee was held on 3 September 1944 but not much came of the committee. See Nasib Akhtar, 'All Indian Muslim League Planning Committee', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 40, 1 (1992): 33-57.
2. Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, p. 224. For an account of the assassination attempt and the proceedings of the trial see A Barrister at Law, *Jinnah Faces an Assassin* (Thacker & Co., 1943). On the Khaksars see Shafique Ali Khan, *The Lahore Resolution: Arguments For and Against (History of Criticism)* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1988); Y.B. Mathur, *Growth of Muslim Politics in India* (Delhi: Pragati Publications, 1979); Ikram Ali, *The History of the Punjab 1799-1947* (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1970); and Malik Ikram Ali, *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab 1799-1947* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of Punjab, 1970).
3. A report on the proceedings is found in *IAR*, Vol. 1, January-June 1943, pp. 279-289 as well as in Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 3, pp. 918-923.
4. A summary is found in *IAR*, Vol. 1, 1943, p. 284.
5. Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 3, p. 918.
6. Ibid.
7. For the proceedings see *IAR*, Vol. 2, 1943, pp. 288-297.
8. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (1886-1958) is one of the unsung heroes of the Pakistan movement although he did not migrate to Pakistan in 1947. He was educated at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, the University of Cambridge, and the Inner Temple, London and he was called to the Bar. He took part in the Khilafat Movement and the All India Congress Committee. He was on the



Reception Committee for the United Provinces Muslim League, Meerut in 1928 and from 1938 he served on a number of All-India Muslim League committees beginning with the Fund Committee. He was the Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University (1934-1935 and 1947-1948). He was elected to the Legislative Assembly of India in 1926 from Meerut Division, United Provinces, and reelected in 1931. In 1937, he was elected to the United Provinces Legislative Assembly for the Meerut, Hapur, Bulandshahr, Kurja, Nagina Cities Muslim Urban constituency. In 1945, he was elected once again to the Legislative Assembly of India but this time from the Cities of the United Provinces constituency, a Muslim urban constituency. From 1946 until 1952, he served in the Indian Constituent Assembly and the Parliament of India. After the 1937 elections, he expected, along with Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman, to be one of the two Muslim League members of the United Provinces Congress Cabinet. Their exclusion led to a widening of the rift between the Congress and the League and is the formative event of the Pakistan movement. For an account of this affair see Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, pp. 156-164.

9. Syed Ghulam Murtaza Shah (1904-1995) took part in the Khilafat Movement, was the organizing secretary of the Hari Conference in 1930, founded the Sindh Peoples Party in 1934, and became a member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee in 1935. Elected to the Sindh Legislative Assembly in 1937, he became the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League. In 1945 he quit the League over control of League tickets in Sindh for the 1945 elections and was expelled from the AIML the following year. He afterwards gave his support to Sindh regionalist causes.
10. Sait edited the Urdu weekly, *Jadeed Dilchasp*, in 1938.
11. Mohammad Isa became the leading figure for the Muslim League in Baluchistan.
12. *Jinnah Papers*, F 335.
13. Maulvi Syed M. Rizwanullah (1904-1964) was educated at Aligarh Muslim University and Lucknow University and practiced law at Gorakhpur. He became a member of the United Provinces Legislative Assembly in 1937 representing Ghazipur, Jaunpur, Gorakhpur Cities, a Muslim Urban constituency and he was reelected in 1946. He served as secretary of the United Provinces Muslim League, as a member of the United Provinces Parliamentary Board, and as a member of the United Provinces Civil Defence Committee (1942-1944). He was a member of the Constituent Assembly of India between 1946 and 1949; a bye-election was held on 30 June 1949 for his seat as he had been absent in Pakistan for more than sixty days.
14. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
15. William Phillips of the United States Foreign Service was President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in India between January and May, 1943. Phillips made some disparaging remarks about the Indian Army and this caused a rumpus among British officials. See Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 4, documents 2-3, 5, 10, 14, 23-24, 37-38, 53, 66, and 216.
16. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
17. *Ibid.*
18. This letter is reproduced in Hasan, *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, pp. 236-239. Within a short time, however, this crisis seems to have passed as Joseph did not mention any problems to Jinnah in his next letter on 4 October 1943.

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19. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
  20. Ibid.
  21. Ibid.
  22. Ibid.
  23. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
  24. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
  25. Ibid.
  26. Ibid.
  27. Ibid.
  28. Ibid.
  29. Moulana Jamaluddin, Jamal Mian Firangi Mahali (1920-?) was educated at the Madrassa-e-Nizamia, Firangi Mahal. He was elected to the United Provinces Legislative Assembly where he was a member of the Muslim League.
  30. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
  31. Ibid.

## 8

### 1944: The Punjab—Negotiations with Gandhi

**W**ith the death of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and the premiership of the Punjab in the hands of Khizar Hayat Khan,<sup>1</sup> the League ended its careful relationship with its Punjabi Muslim leaders and began an onslaught to bring the government of the province under the sway of the League. The aim of the League was the repudiation of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact of 1937 the gist of which was that the League would represent the Muslims at the national level while Sikandar would enjoy a considerable measure of independence at the regional level. In 1937 the League needed the members of the Unionist Party as supporters of the party but the situation had changed in seven years, as the League had gone from strength to strength. Now that Sikandar had departed the scene it was an opportunity for the League to exert its influence in the Punjab and to try to force the Muslim members of the Unionist Party into the League's fold.

An equally important event during the year was when Jinnah accepted Gandhi's invitation of 17 July 1944 for one-on-one negotiations to try to resolve the political stalemate. Gandhi travelled to Jinnah's home on Malabar Hill in Bombay and they engaged in discussions over a twenty-day period from 9 September until 29 September. Gandhi's aim was to reach a settlement with Jinnah on the basis of the Rajagopalachari formula in order to defeat his campaign for Pakistan.

These negotiations captured the imagination of political observers. It focused the attention of Indians on the possibility of partition (engendering some anguished cries of opposition) and generated comments and discussions in both Britain and the United States. The negotiations were based on the Rajagopalachari formula which Rajaji discussed with Gandhi in March 1943. This was a very clever ploy whereby a plebiscite of all voters would be held in the north-west and

the east of India where Muslims were in the majority to decide whether India should be divided.<sup>2</sup> If such a plebiscite were held Gandhi and the Congress were very aware that Muslims did not have a majority over other voters in the Punjab and that voters would be subject to the influence of officials and open to coercion from landowners and influential figures. In addition, such Muslim figures as Khizar in the Punjab were vehemently opposed to partition and, with the full support of the British, would have brought the full force of the provincial government to bear to convince anyone against voting for Pakistan. In addition, the plebiscite would be administered by an interim government which would be dominated by the Congress. Jinnah, however, held firm to the argument that independence for India and Pakistan should come first and then a plebiscite could be held to determine which areas should be in India and which would join Pakistan. The talks reached an impasse but they were extremely significant in the fact that the most important Hindu leader in India, Gandhi, was meeting on the basis of equality with Jinnah, who claimed to speak for all of India's Muslims. It was a great victory for Jinnah and the League. It established in many observers' eyes that Jinnah and the All-India Muslim League did, in fact, represent the Muslims of India as he claimed. Once again, Jinnah's political strategy had been brilliant and Gandhi's highly flawed.

In the Punjab the League took the campaign into the heart of the province with a series of conferences at which the League campaigned for the creation for Pakistan, criticized the Unionist Party for its independence from the All-India Muslim League, continued to claim to speak for the Muslims of India, and defended its stance with regard to the Congress and the British. At the same time as this widespread propaganda campaign, fortified with articles in *Dawn*, Jinnah travelled to the Punjab to engage in direct talks with Khizar Hayat Khan. The League's aim was to have the name of the ministry in the Punjab changed from the Unionist Coalition Party to the Muslim League Coalition and for the Muslim members of the Unionist Party to accept the discipline of the Muslim League.

In early February the campaign began when the Committee of Action travelled to Lahore and on the third discussed the condition of the Muslim League in the province and came up with suggestions on how the party could be strengthened. The following month, on 18 March, Jinnah inaugurated the annual conference of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation at Lahore claiming that ninety per cent of the Muslims of India, whether they were members of the party or not, were behind the

League. It was on the following day that Jinnah entered into negotiations with Khizar.<sup>3</sup> Over the next month he met him half a dozen times with discussions lasting two to three hours on each occasion. On 27 April negotiations finally broke down. That evening Jinnah asked Khizar to put in writing his final answer to Jinnah's proposals:

1. That every member of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes his allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist Party or any other political party.
2. That the present label of the coalition should be dropped, namely the 'Unionist Party'.
3. That the name of the proposed coalition Party should be the Muslim League Coalition Party.<sup>4</sup>

He asked him to give his response by 9 p.m. When no letter from Khizar was forthcoming, Jinnah telephoned him and asked him for the letter. Khizar told him he had nothing to add to his earlier comments. Jinnah wrote out a letter setting out his understanding of the situation and sent it to Khizar who refused to sign the receipt acknowledging that he had received it. Nonetheless, Jinnah's letter was left with him. By 12:30 a.m. no response had been received by Jinnah. The League now had to decide what action to take. Later that day Khizar gave a long statement in which he reviewed the history of the Unionist Party in the Punjab and the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact arguing for the right to non-interference in Punjab affairs. Further, he argued that Jinnah's methods savored of 'dictatorship and totalitarian methods.'<sup>5</sup>

Ironically, the previous day Sikandar Hayat Khan's son, Shaukat Hayat Khan,<sup>6</sup> had been dismissed from the Punjab cabinet. This turned out to be a breakthrough for the League as he subsequently became a strong follower of the League and a member of the All-India Muslim League Council. He was an important addition to the League in the province.

On 2 May, the Committee of Action met in Lahore to examine the political situation in the province. The following day Liaquat wrote to Khizar on behalf of the Committee asking him to explain his position with regard to the League party in the province and to explain some of the passages in his statement of 28 April. He responded on 8 May defending his speech and asking the Committee to explain their attitude toward the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact so he could clarify his position further.

On 14 May, the Committee met in Delhi, considered Khizar's response, and asked him to respond to the Committee's concerns. He replied on 20 May merely repeating his statement of 8 May arguing that he was operating within the parameters of the Pact. The Committee responded that the Pact was merely a statement of intent on Sikandar's part that he would become a member of the All-India Muslim League and induce other Muslim members of the Unionist Party to do likewise. Accordingly, Khizar and others were subject to the rules, regulations, and disciplinary actions of the party.

Back in Lahore a week later, the Committee announced at midnight that Khizar had been expelled from the All-India Muslim League and barred from membership in the party. The gloves were finally off with regard to the Punjab and the League would engage in a relentless campaign against Khizar and the Unionist Party in the cornerstone of Pakistan over the next three years.<sup>7</sup> While the League had not been able to impose its will in the Punjab it had put the Muslim members of parliament on the defensive and raised the question of their loyalty to Islam and their Muslim brethren: a very potent argument indeed. It would lead to the resignation of the Unionist Party.

\* \* \* \*

— 3 January 1944 —

'Abdulla Court',<sup>8</sup>

Victoria Road, Karachi,

3rd January 1944.

My dear Liaquat,

This is just to inform you that I am leaving for Bombay on the 6th instant. In the meantime please put your heads together and let me have such names as were handed over to you at Karachi and other[s] that you may think of in consultation with our friends in Delhi. I am also consulting others and I am anxious to announce the personnel of the Planning Committee as soon as possible.

I am sorry I have not been able to correct my speech owing to rush of engagements in Karachi which I could not avoid. If you think it worthwhile now I can do so when I get to Bombay. Please drop me a line if you want me to send it on to you.

Hoping that you are all well. With very kind regards to both of you and love to the children.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
8B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi.

\* \* \* \*

— 5 January 1944 —

'Abdulla Court',<sup>9</sup>  
Victoria Road, Karachi.  
5th January 1944.

My dear Liaquat,

I have received your telegram and I have gone through the speech in a great hurry and made such corrections as I could and I am sending it to you. Please you also carefully look into it and as you were actually present when I delivered the speech, I authorize you to make such alterations as you consider necessary.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

\* \* \* \*

— 9 January 1944 —

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A.,  
8B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

Z.H. Lari  
26 Hamilton Road,<sup>10</sup>  
M.L.A.  
George Town, Allahabad.  
Advocate, High Court  
9th January 1944

My dear Nawabzada Saheb,

With reference to the proposed planning committee I suggest the following names for consideration by the President.

- (1) Mr. S.M. Rizwanullah (General Secretary, U.P. Muslim League, U.P.)
- (2) Mian Bashir Ahmad Saheb (Member Working Committee, Punjab)<sup>11</sup>
- (3) Mr. G.M. Saiyed (Sindh)
- (4) Khan Bahadur Moazamuddin, (Minister for Agriculture)<sup>12</sup> or Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi (Bengal)<sup>13</sup>
- (5) Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar<sup>14</sup> [*sic*] (Minister, Frontier)
- (6) Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhry (Minister, Assam)<sup>15</sup>
- (7) Dr. A.H. Qazi (Bombay)<sup>16</sup>

Please place this letter before the President. Need I add that my services, considerent with my practice, are at the disposal of the President. I had talk with gentlemen mentioned at nos. 1, 2, 3 & 7 & they are willing

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,  
Z.H. Lari

\* \* \* \*

— 18 January 1944 —

18th January 1944.<sup>17</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant and thank you for it.

I am glad that you as the Convener of the 'Committee of Action' and member of the 'Parliamentary Board' are moving and I am sure that you will work and there is a lot to be done.

As regards the Central office of the League, I am glad that you are likely to get the building for the offices about which you spoke to me at Karachi. Don't let it go if you are satisfied with it.

I note that you are calling the meeting of the 'Committee of Action' on the 2nd and 3rd February 1944 at Lahore and I see that the 'Parliamentary Board' is also going to meet.

As regards the Planning Committee, you would remember, I saw the difficulties at the moment in choosing the personnel of this Committee and that was the position why I made my



position clear before the resolution was put to votes, it is not an easy job. However, I shall not do anything until I reach Delhi in the first week of February. At present I am only collecting the names.

With kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and me to both of you and love to the children.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

\* \* \* \*

— 20 May 1944 —

'Kooshik', Near Nishat,<sup>18</sup>  
Srinagar, Kashmir,  
20th May, 1944.

Dear Liaquat,

I am enclosing herewith in original a letter received from Mr. Mujib Ahmad Moti,<sup>19</sup> President, Sibsagar Muslim Students' Federation, Assam.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan  
8B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi.

Enclos:

Copy of a letter dated 12th June, 44, from Linotype & Machinery Limited, Calcutta, to The General Manager, Dawn, P.O. Box No. 103, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter No. 11161 dated the 10th June, with which you enclosed a copy of a letter received from the Executive Officer in connection with your import license No. 27413.

We have no secondhand machines to offer you nor have we any information that any of these machines are available in the U.S.A. for export to India. There are certainly none at the factory of our Principals.

As previously advised, your machines will be available for shipment six months after the U.S.A. export license has

been granted and, in order that this may be granted at an early date, we strongly recommend you to let us have your deposit of Rs.22,500/- without further delay so that we may cable our principles to proceed with the preparation of the machines for shipment.

Our American friends cannot apply for the export license until this necessary preliminary has been attended to.

Your immediate attention to this matter is therefore most strongly recommended.

True copy. Sd/-M. Hasan. 17/6.

\* \* \* \*

— 6 July 1944 —

Guest House No. 4,<sup>20</sup>  
Srinagar.  
6th July, 1944

My dear Liaquat,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs.22,500/- as arranged by way of deposit required for the order of the machinery, which I have under the terms of the arrangement to pay to Messrs. Linotype & Machinery, Limited, Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
Houseboat 'Sheila Anne', Srinagar.  
Enclos:-Cheque.

\* \* \* \*

— 2 August 1944 —

Mamdot Villa<sup>21</sup>  
Davis Road, Lahore.  
2nd August, 1944.

My dear Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,

When I established the weekly English journal '*The Dawn*' in 1941 I had, as its sole owner and proprietor, entrusted you with the responsibility of its conduct and publication, and it was mentioned in the title of the said paper that it

was being published under your supervision. Thereafter in October 1942 I decided to convert this weekly paper into a daily and publish it from Delhi under its present name 'DAWN'. You were requested by me to continue supervising the publication and business side as before. In June 1943 I requested you to look after the 'MANSHOOR' Urdu weekly in the same manner as 'DAWN'. It gives me great pleasure as sole owner and proprietor of these papers to gratefully acknowledge the services you have rendered to these and the immense help you have given me in conducting them at great sacrifice of time and energy. I am sure these services are appreciated by everyone who has the cause of the Muslim League dear and near to his heart.

Ever since the establishment of these papers you have been signing various papers as proprietor which you were permitted by me in a '*benami*' capacity. In the interest of business and in view of the future development and growth of these papers which will require greater devotion to time and energies on your part, I wish now that your position should be clarified and established. I wish therefore that you will inform all concerned that the sole proprietor of 'DAWN' and 'MANSHOOR' is myself, entirely owning the name, goodwill, properties, assets and other effects of these two papers and that your position heretofore was '*benami*' in that you conducted business for me and my behalf signing as 'proprietor'. As such only I am entitled to all profits accruing to business of these papers and responsible for its liabilities. Having made this clear, I should like you to carry on the supervision and general conduct of business of these papers, being solely responsible to me for the same. I have already expressed my gratitude above and now there is every reason to offer you a remuneration of Rs.2000/- per month, which will include all your expenses for conveyance, travelling etc., which amount I authorize you to draw with effect from 1st October 1943. You will be designated 'Director' and I shall give you a special Power of Attorney, defining your position and powers *vis-à-vis* the papers and myself as the sole owner and proprietor thereof. Kindly make necessary arrangements for opening accounts in the bank in the names of 'DAWN' and 'MANSHOOR' to be operated upon by you

under the special power of Attorney referred to herein-above.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly confirm the above in writing so that I may forthwith arrange for giving you the special power of Attorney.

Thanking you once again,

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

\* \* \* \*

— 2 August 1944 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue,<sup>22</sup>  
New Delhi,  
2nd August, 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter of August 2nd 1944.

I am indeed grateful to you for the kind sentiments which you have been good enough to express with regards to the little that I have been able to do for 'DAWN' and 'MANSHOOR'. I confirm the arrangements proposed by you in your letter and accept the terms of remuneration referred to in your letter. I shall carry out the instructions and the terms embodied in your letter, and on receiving a special power of Attorney will act accordingly.

I assure you that I shall do my best for 'DAWN' and 'MANSHOOR' unflinchingly, and it will give me great pleasure to make these papers great national organs in English and Urdu.

Yours sincerely,  
[Liaquat Ali Khan]

M.A. Jinnah, Esq.,  
Mamdot Villa, Davis Road, Lahore.

\* \* \* \*

— 26 August 1944 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>23</sup>

Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.

26.8.44

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are happy to learn that you are very much better now and hope that by the time this reaches you you will have recovered completely from your recent illness. Please look after yourself and do not overwork.

I have forwarded your letter to Sir Richard Tottenham<sup>24</sup> as was desired.

The Govt. of India have refused permission to convert the '*Manshoor*' into a daily and allot any newsprint for it and this is in spite of my having seen Sir Azizul Haq<sup>25</sup> personally more than once in this connection. In his interview he had more or less assured me that permission will be given. However, if it cannot be, it can't be, although I feel very annoyed about it and feel sorry that I should have wasted my time in going to see Sir Azizul Haq. He is a useless creature - too afraid to do even mere justice to Musalmans.

You must have been glad to read in the papers that things were amicably settled in the U.P. It should have never happened. However all is well that ends well.

Joseph is again going on leave for about 3 weeks at the end of this month. His daughter is getting married and he feels that he must go.

Delhi has not been too bad climatically. We have been having some rain on and off.

I wonder when you are meeting Mr. Gandhi. Nothing has come out in the papers so far. You know in your mission you have the best wishes of every Musalman.

I hope Miss Jinnah is keeping well.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 30 September 1944 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>26</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue  
New Delhi  
30.9.44

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have read the correspondence that passed between you and Mr. Gandhi with great care and keen interest. I greatly admire your patience throughout. Please accept my sincere congratulations on the excellent manner in which you presented the case of Muslim India. We are indeed most fortunate in having you to guide the Musalmans and advocate their cause so admirably. It is quite evident that the Hindus do not mean business and they are not yet reconciled to the Musalmans coming into their own. All that Mr. Gandhi offered was zonal autonomy instead of autonomy province-wise and then also after slicing away a very large portion of the area and the reducing the autonomous territory. I do not believe that Mr. Gandhi did not understand what the Lahore situation infact meant. He knows very well and unless the Hindus are really prepared to give up their dream of Hindudom I do not see any possibility of a settlement. It must have been a very great strain on you and so hope you are none the worse for it. Please take some rest and look after yourself.

I am having the whole correspondence together with your speeches at the Lahore Session and the Madras Session of the Muslim League printed in a booklet form. I think it will be very useful.

I purposely refrained from writing to you all this time as I did not want to bother you when you were so busy. I have not yet received the power of attorney regarding *Dawn* and *Manshoor*. May I request you to kindly send it to me as early as convenient so that everything may be put on proper footing.

I read in the papers that Sir Azizul Haq had met you in Bombay. I wonder if you remembered to speak to him about the quota of newsprint for *Manshoor*. I feel that we must have an Urdu daily also from Delhi.

What is your programme now? Will you be staying on in Bombay till you come to Delhi for the Assembly session or will you take a short holiday before that. You should if it can be managed. A short holiday will do you a lot of good.

I hope Miss Jinnah is keeping fit.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 20 October 1944 —

Legislative Assembly  
20.10.44<sup>27</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you ever so much for your kind letters.

- (1) I have duly received the power of Attorney which you so kindly sent me.
- (2) The copies of the correspondence that passed between you and Mr. Gandhi has been received. Thank you for sending it. Now on second thoughts we have decided to publish from your Lahore speech at the meeting of the Council to your interview to the correspondent of the *Daily Worker*. It is not considered necessary to include in this pamphlet your Presidential addresses at the Lahore and the Madras Sessions. It would make the compilation rather bulky if these addresses were also included and is unnecessary. The material which we propose to publish is enough to clarify the position of the Muslim League with regard to Pakistan. I hope you agree with this view. I should like to know what you think about it.
- (3) I have received today the registration certificate of your car, and shall do the needful.

When do you intend to reach Delhi? I hope you will kindly let me know beforehand about the date of your arrival here.

The weather here is very pleasant. I hope you and Miss Jinnah have been keeping well.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 27 October 1944 —

27.10.44<sup>28</sup>  
The Agent,  
Imperial Bank of India,  
Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 25th inst. I am glad to note that you have opened separate accounts as desired by me.

I am enclosing herewith the signature specimen cards Nos. F56443 & F56444, as required. The other two forms which require the signature of Mr. Jinnah have been forwarded to him and on their return signature will be sent to you.

Mr. Jinnah will not draw any cheques on these two accounts as long as the Power of Attorney is in force.

Yours sincerely,  
LAK

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.  
M.L.A.  
Encl.1

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## NOTES

1. Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana (1900-1975) was educated at Aitchison College, Lahore. He became a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937 and served as the Minister for Public Works (1937-1942) and he became the premier (1942-1947) on the sudden death of Sikandar Hayat Khan. See Ian Talbot, *Khizar Tiwana, the Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996).
2. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 2, 1944, pp. 129-132.
3. See *ibid.*, Vol. 1, 1944, pp. 217-221.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
6. Shaukat Hayat Khan (1913-) was educated at Aligarh Muslim University (1926-1931) and at Government College, Lahore where he received his BA in 1935. He became the Minister for Local Bodies on 9 February 1943 and was dismissed by Khizr on 26 April 1944.
7. Best described by I.A. Talbot in his *Punjab and the Raj, 1849-1947* (Riverdale, MD: The Riverdale Company, 1988) and *Freedom's Cry: The Popular Dimension in the Pakistan Movement and Partition Experience in North-West India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996). For an annotated list of works dealing with the Punjab see Roger D. Long, 'Provincial Studies: Punjab' in his *The Founding of Pakistan: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), pp. 187-203.
8. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
9. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
10. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
11. Mian Bashir Ahmad Saheb (1893-1971) was educated at Government College, Lahore, Wadham College, Oxford, and the Middle Temple, before being called to the Bar in 1914. He practiced law in Lahore and became a professor of history at Islamia College, Lahore (1917-1919). In 1922, he was the founder-editor of *Humayun*. He became a member of the Court of AMU and the Council of the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore. He founded the Anjuman-e-Urdu, Punjab in 1936 and he was a Fellow of Punjab University (1936-1940). He was a member of the Lahore Legislative Assembly (1946-1949) and served the Punjab Muslim League as joint secretary (1937-1938) and on the Working Committee (1942). He was on the All-India Muslim League Working Committee (1942-1947) and he was involved in the All-India Muslim Students' Federation.
12. Not much is known about Khan Bahadur Moazamuddin.
13. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi (1887-1953) was educated at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College and Wadham College, Oxford and called to the Bar in 1922. He was a member of the Ansari medical mission to Turkey in 1912 and he became the Manager of *Comrade* (Calcutta). From 1942 until 1948 he was the editor of *Morning News*, Calcutta. He served as the managing director of The Eastern Federal Union Insurance Company. He became a member of the All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board in 1936, the All-India Muslim League Working Committee in 1938, and the All-India Muslim League Palestine Fund Committee in 1939 having been a delegate to the Palestine Conference in Cairo in

1938. He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1946) and served as the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation in 1940.
14. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar (1899-1958), one of the unsung heroes of the Pakistan movement, was matriculated from Mission High School, Peshawar in 1918 and graduated from Edwards College, Peshawar with an LL.B. in 1923. He practiced law in Peshawar. He took part in the Khilafat Movement and in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. He founded the Muslim Literary Society in 1922 and he was secretary of the Tableeghul Islam Party. He served on the Peshawar Municipal Committee (1928-1938) and was Vice-President of Peshawar Municipality (1933-1936), and he was a member of the Congress Committee (1927-1931). He joined the Muslim League in 1931 and became a member of the All-India Muslim League Council and the All-India Muslim League Working Committee (1936). From 1937 until 1945 he served in the NWFP Legislative Assembly and from 1946 until partition he was in the Constituent Assembly. He became the NWFP Minister of Finance (1943-1945). From 1944 until 1947 he served on the All-India Muslim League Planning Committee. He was also a member of the All-India Muslim League Committee of Action. He became the Pakistan Minister for Communications (1947-1949), the Convener of the Constitution Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League in 1948, and the Governor of the Punjab (1949-1951). From 1956 until 1958 he was the President of the Pakistan Muslim League. He was a close ally of Liaquat Ali Khan. For an account of his, mostly pre-partition, career see Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar* (Lahore: Qadiria Books, 1985).
  15. Abdul Matin Choudhry (1895-1948) was educated at M.C. College, Syhet, MAO, and University Law College, Calcutta. He took part in the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements and was a founder of the Indian Civil Liberty Union. He was a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly (1926-1937) and he was elected to the Assam Legislative Assembly in 1937. He was the editor of *Muhammadi* (1925), founder-editor of *Jugaveri* and the *Assam Herald* (1939). He served on the All-India Muslim League Public Accounts Committee (1934), the AIML Working Committee (1938), and he was the secretary of the All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Committee (1936-1937).
  16. Abdul Hameed Qazi (1906-1961) was educated at Jamia Millia, Delhi and Berlin University where he received his MA and Ph.D. He took part in the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements and joined the Indian National Congress in 1921. In 1938 he was a member of the All-India Congress Committee and he also became a member of the Working Committee of the Jamiatul Ulama-e-Hind. In 1940, he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for his *satyagraha* activities. He joined the All-India Muslim League in 1942 and the following year he became a member of the Working Committee of the Bombay Muslim League. He was professor of Philosophy at Urdu College, Karachi (1950-1952), and chairman of the department of Philosophy and Psychiatry, Sindh University (1952-1959).
  17. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
  18. *Ibid.*
  19. Very little is known about Mujib Ahmad Moti except that the Moti-Jinnah correspondence is in the *Shamsul Hasan Collection*.
  20. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
  21. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.

22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Sir George Richard Frederick Tottenham (1890-1977) was educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford University. He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1914 and spent most of his career in Madras and south India before serving as Additional Secretary and Secretary of the Government of India in the Home Department between 1940 and 1946. He retired in 1948.
25. Sir Azizul Haq (1892-1947) was educated at Santipur Municipal High School, Presidency College, Calcutta, and University Law College, Calcutta and he started a law practice at Krishan Nagar in 1915. He was Chairman of Krishan Nagar Municipality and Vice-Chairman of Nadia District Board. He became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1929 and served as the Minister for Education (1934-1937) and the Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1938-1942). He was the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University (1938-1942) and the Indian High Commissioner in London (1942-1943) before serving on the Governor-General's Executive Council as the Member for Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies (1943-1946). Haq wrote to Jinnah three months later on 19 November informing him that the government had now given permission for *Manshoor*, an official organ of the All-India Muslim League, to be published as a daily newspaper. See his correspondence with Jinnah in Hasan, *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, pp. 257-260. *Manshoor* was issued as a daily on December 25, 1944, Jinnah's birthday, under the editorship of Hasan Reyez. See Reyez's correspondence with Jinnah in *ibid.*, pp. 219-236. Syed Hasan Reyez (1894-1972) became the assistant editor of *Hamdan* (bi-weekly), 1924, the editor of *Mansur* (bi-weekly), 1920, the editor of *Fateh* (daily), 1921, the assistant editor of *Hamdard* (daily), 1924, the joint editor of *Himmat* (daily), 1929, its editor-in-chief, 1930, and editor of the weekly *Naveed* from 1933 until 1936. He became the editor of *Manshoor* from its inception in 1938. He was a member of the United Provinces Muslim League, Parliamentary Board, and Working Committee and in 1938 served on the Pirpur Enquiry Committee.
26. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
27. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
28. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.

## 9

### 1945: The General Elections

**T**he general elections held during the cold weather of 1945 and 1946 were fought by the All-India Muslim League on the basis that every vote cast for the League would validate its claim to speak for all the Muslims of South Asia, it was a symbol of Muslim solidarity, and, most importantly, it was a vote for Pakistan. If the League did not garner overwhelming support it would be dismissed by the Congress as being of no consequence and the British would have ignored its demands. The elections were, therefore, perceived to be a life and death struggle for the League. All three parties recognized the importance of the elections; Congress targeted individual Muslim Leaguers for defeat. Jinnah's seat from Bombay for the Indian Legislative Assembly was safe but Liaquat was considered vulnerable and the Congress waged a fierce unrelenting campaign to unseat him. They were unsuccessful.

On 31 August Liaquat published the text of what came to be known as the 'Desai-Liaquat Pact' when he issued a statement to the press, published the following day, whereby he explained the nature of the 'Pact'.<sup>1</sup> The previous year, after the Autumn session of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Liaquat and Bhulabhai Desai of Bombay, who was the Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly (a number of Congress leaders had returned to the Assembly after an absence of some three years) met informally and discussed the prevailing economic and political conditions in the country. The war against Japan was expected to last two years longer than the war in Europe, and India would be the base of operations against Japan with all the concomitant hardships Indians would have to endure. They believed that the current composition of the government of India was incapable of dealing with the expected prolongation of the war and the worsening situation. Desai asked Liaquat what the attitude of the Muslim League would be to some interim arrangement regarding the government at the Centre

and a temporary reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Liaquat informed him that the League's position was the one stated in the resolutions it had passed from time to time. He gave it as his personal opinion that the League would carefully consider any proposal as it had done in the past.

In January 1945 they met again in Delhi on the day Liaquat left for a tour of Madras Presidency and Desai showed him some proposals which he had drafted for the formation of an interim government at the Centre. He gave Liaquat a copy enjoining him to treat it as strictly private and confidential. Rumours of an agreement circulated for months afterwards, and on 28 July Gandhi suggested, in the course of an interview with a member of the press, that the proposals should be published. Liaquat, however, did not agree to their release at that time.

On the basis of the proposals, Desai was going to attempt to bring about a change in the composition of the government. Liaquat told Desai that in his personal opinion the proposals could be made the basis of discussions but until Gandhi approved the proposals he did not see any headway being made. Liaquat reiterated to him that these were his personal opinions and he was not speaking for the League or anyone else. When Desai had the authority of the Congress for these proposals he would have to submit them to the president of the All-India Muslim League, Jinnah. Liaquat said he had respected Desai's request for confidentiality and had not shown them to anyone else but as Desai had made a statement about them and the press, calling the proposals the 'Desai-Liaquat Formula' or the 'Desai-Liaquat Pact', had taken up the story, and there was a great deal of speculation and confusion about them, he wanted to clear the matter up. Hence Liaquat's unilateral release of the proposals to the press.

The scheme was entitled 'Proposals for formation of Interim Government at the Centre'. The interim government would consist of an equal number of persons nominated for the Cabinet by the Congress and the League. They would not need to be members of the Indian Legislative Assembly. Further, there would be representatives of other minorities, especially the Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs. The Commander-in-Chief would also have a seat in the Cabinet. The government would operate under the Government of India Act of 1935 but the Governor-General would not resort to reserve powers if the Legislative Assembly did not approve of a Cabinet decision. This would make the Cabinet operate independently. The Working Committee of the Congress would be released from jail and Section 23 in the

provinces would be withdrawn and coalition governments would be formed.

After Liaquat released the text of the proposals, Desai responded on 16 September saying that in spite of Liaquat's denials there was indeed a pact between them. This led to another statement by Liaquat two days later saying that this was not the case; there were merely proposals by Desai. Liaquat had denied that there was any pact between them and in a speech to the Indian Legislative Assembly when Desai was present. Desai did not contradict him on the floor of the house nor in private afterwards.

Desai, in his enthusiasm to reach an agreement, had overstated his case. Liaquat throughout had stated the League position carefully, a position reiterated by Jinnah, that it would welcome any discussions that led to a resolution of the political impasse in India. When the press got hold of the 'Desai-Liaquat Pact' story, as they did immediately through Desai, it took on a life of its own. The press was not willing to let the story drop and Liaquat was caught in the middle.<sup>2</sup>

The situation also got out of hand as Wavell, in his enthusiasm for a political settlement, seized on the 'pact' to try to bring about a *rapprochement* between the Congress and the League. The drawn-out discussions that followed about the 'pact', along with Wavell's visit to London from March until May for consultations with the British Cabinet, led to his calling the first Simla Conference. Wavell had been thinking along these lines since October 1944 after the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. He was encouraged in his initiative on hearing Desai who met him a month later. Desai's proposals were similar to Wavell's. The Conference was called on the basis of what came to be called the Wavell Plan. This plan was discussed at a meeting of the governors of the eleven British-Indian provinces. The governors endorsed his view that he should call a conference to discuss the composition of a reformed Cabinet that would be called the 'Interim Government'. Responsible government would also be formed in the provinces. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, finally agreed to the conference because, along with several members of his Cabinet, he believed it would fail and he, and most of his Cabinet, was pleased when it did.<sup>3</sup>

The Simla Conference had two main aims: settlement of the communal question and the creation of a new Executive Council reflective of the strength of the main political parties. The Council would consist of an equal number of caste Hindus and Muslims and it would be an all-Indian Council except for the Viceroy and the

Commander-in-Chief. The most important functions of the Council would be to prosecute the war and to plan for a permanent constitution for the future. Events partially overtook the working of the conference as war in Europe ended on 8 May, although this did not eliminate entirely one of the main concerns for the British as the conflict against Japan was expected to continue for a considerable time longer.

The Simla Conference opened on 25 June and held proceedings the following day and on 26, 27 and 29 June and 14 July<sup>4</sup> with twenty representatives of various Indian parties and interests meeting with Wavell and his aides. In addition, there were innumerable discussions, notes, and telegrams between the parties concerned and British officials throughout the land. Jinnah, Liaquat, Husain Imam,<sup>5</sup> Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, and Sir Muhammad Saadullah represented the League although Jinnah was the sole spokesman for the League. Gandhi was in Simla, and he met Wavell on 24 June, the same day as Jinnah met with him,<sup>6</sup> and 11 July, and corresponded with him, but he was not an official member; nonetheless, with his presence in Simla, he hovered over the proceedings. The Conference failed over the issue of the size and composition of the new Executive Council. Jinnah insisted on naming any Muslim representatives; this was objectionable to both the Congress and the British. Wavell asked the Congress and the League to see if they could come to an agreement privately which he would present to the Conference. Jinnah refused to meet with the Congress President, Abul Kalam Azad, but had talks with Govind Balabh Pant which led nowhere. Wavell's attempt to save the Conference from failure was his talk with Jinnah on 8 July, who not only refused to accept any Muslim nomination not coming from the League but also suggested that any proposal in the Council to which the Muslims objected would need special provision such as a two-thirds or three-quarters majority. These demands had been unanimously agreed upon by the All-India Muslim League Working Committee two days earlier. Wavell rejected this out of hand and believed there was no point in proceeding further although, in fact, met him again three days later before coming to the same impasse.<sup>7</sup>

Wavell believed that Jinnah's attitude hardened during the Conference and that the League's refusal to compromise, 'represents a real fear on the part of the Muslims, including those who do not support Jinnah, of Congress domination, which they regard as equivalent to a Hindu Raj.'<sup>8</sup> On 11 July Wavell recorded in his diary the failure of the conference<sup>9</sup> and at a meeting of the Conference on 14 July,<sup>10</sup> he accepted

responsibility for its failure and he asked for comments. In his long statement, Jinnah said that in the proposed Council there would have been constant clashes between the idea of Pakistan and a united India. The League had offered cooperation but had to be assured of Pakistan. His fear was that Congress would make use of the Council to strengthen its position and to prejudice and even destroy the support for the demand for Pakistan. Wavell wrote that it was 'difficult to understand why he [Jinnah] accepted invitation to Conference'<sup>11</sup> although he had earlier stated that 'There is genuine fear among Muslims (other than Nationalists) of Congress and Congress propaganda, and conviction that Congress would combine with other minorities in any interim Government to settle finally with the League.'<sup>12</sup> This was precisely why the League had to be at the Simla Conference. The greatest fear for the League was that the British and the Congress would come to an agreement amongst themselves and ignore the League and the demand for Pakistan. They would certainly have done so in their absence. The League had not yet demonstrated that it had widespread support for the creation of a sovereign state for the Muslims of South Asia. It could only do so through the electoral system the British had introduced.

It was for this reason that the following day the All-India Muslim League Working Committee met and called for the holding of general elections at the centre and in the provinces. The results of these elections would demonstrate whether or not the Muslims of India supported the creation of Pakistan. The League believed it would.

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— 31 January 1945 —

Legislative Assembly  
Hyderabad (Deccan)<sup>13</sup>  
31.1.45

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I arrived here today after completing the tour of Madras Presidency. Sattar Sait and myself were the only members of the Committee of Action who could do this tour. The other members for one reason or another could not come down to Madras. Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, who, as you know, has been appointed as Salar-e-Ala of the Muslim National Guards also accompanied us. It was a great experience. In



seventeen days we travelled at an average of two hundred miles a day and addressed over seventy gatherings. The total number of people who attended these meetings must have been between two and three *lakhs*\*. There was great enthusiasm every where and the masses and the youth are solidly with the League. The Provincial leaders have been rather slack for some time. I think this tour will do lot of good. Everywhere there was a demand that you should visit the south.

I came here today just to see Hyderabad. I am leaving on the 3rd and shall reach Delhi on Monday, the 5th morning. When are you reaching Delhi? I hope you will let me know at my Delhi address the date and time of your arrival there.

I hope Miss Jinnah and yourself have been keeping well.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 3 February 1945 —

Bombay,  
3rd February, 1945.<sup>14</sup>

My dear Liaquat,

I was very pleased to get your letter of January 31st from Hyderabad and to learn that you had a very successful tour in Madras. I have been following your tour through the Press and I could gather as much, that it was a great success. Yes, I also learnt that the Provincial leaders are rather slack, but I hope that this great demonstration of the public behind the League will put more heart and activity in the leaders.

As regards my going to Delhi, unfortunately my programme has been upset, as Ahmedabad enthusiasm and activities, as usual, have brought me down. It was a very strenuous programme, and I am paying the price for

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\*100,000

it. I cannot therefore tell you the exact date of my arrival in Delhi yet.

May I draw your attention to the fact that the situation in Sindh is serious, and the intrigue is rather deep rooted owing to some powerful outside influences that are working? It is for the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board to take immediate steps to handle this matter, otherwise according to my information, it will bring about a very serious disruption and crisis. I would therefore advise you to call a meeting immediately of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board, and if possible you should personally go to Sindh immediately, and with the powers and authority vested in those two bodies you can handle the whole situation with a very firm hand. I believe Isa can only deal with such matters as come within the function of the Committee of Action, but the other dispute, which is far more deep rooted and serious, namely the Parliamentary activities of the Muslim League Party and the Muslim League Ministers in the Sindh Assembly, can only be handled by the Central Parliamentary Board. You can well understand my reluctance to interfere with the normal functions of these two bodies, which are of our own creation, and which are vested with certain definite powers. I believe that Isa is going to Delhi straight from Karachi, and can give you perhaps a fuller and the latest report of the situation in Sindh. I think your two Committees must act immediately. I cannot say more at present.

I hope you are in the best of health despite your strenuous tour, and with kindest regards from both of us,

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

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— 7 February 1945 —

New Delhi<sup>15</sup>

7.2.45

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. We are indeed very sorry to learn of your indisposition and hope and pray that you will soon be quite well. You should take care of yourself. I do not think you realize fully what your health means for the Muslim nation. May God grant you very long life and bless you with good health!

I have written to Nawab Ismail Khan about convening an emergent meeting of the Committee of Action. As soon as I hear from him I shall convene a meeting of the Committee as well as that of the Central Parl. Board.

It is still quite cold here with. With our kindest regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself and all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

P.S. Mr. Pothan Joseph has gone to the Middle East and Italy for about four weeks. He left a note for me saying that he had taken permission from you to go on this trip which has been arranged by the Government.

Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 19 February 1945 —

Legislative Assembly

8B Hardinge Avenue<sup>16</sup>

New Delhi.

19.2.45

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank-you very much for your telegram in reply to mine. We are very pleased to learn that there is nothing seriously wrong with your health, and hope that you are getting on well. You must take care of yourself and must take complete rest.

I postponed the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council as you must have learnt from the newspapers. There was nothing of any importance on the agenda of the Council and so I decided to postpone it. We had a joint meeting of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board on the 16th to consider the situation in Sindh.<sup>17</sup> It was decided that Nawab Ismail Khan, Ch. Khaliquzzaman and Qazi Isa should be sent to Sindh with full powers to take such action as they consider proper in the interest of League organization. They left for Karachi the same night. Let us hope the mission will prove useful.

The Assembly has been going on as usual. You must be following in the papers the doings in the Assembly. The party is doing all right.

When are you coming to Delhi? I hope Miss Jinnah is keeping well.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 28 April 1945 —

'Readymoney Lodge',<sup>18</sup>  
Rugby,  
Matheran,  
28th April, 1945.

My dear Liaquat,

Thank-you for your letter of 24th April,<sup>19</sup> enclosing a copy of the letter from Altaf Husain. I also received a communication from him in reply to my letter and I do hope that he will make up his mind very soon. I have already replied to your letter of the 20th, and I am glad to tell you I am almost all right, but still I need rest.

As regards the Parker pen, please send it to me here to my Matheran address by post. Yes, I also saw a paragraph about the MORNING NEWS starting from Delhi. Well I don't think we need worry about it. It does not matter who is

behind it. I am going to send a reply to Altaf's letter, which I have received and shall let you know the final result.

With kind regards to you and Begum Sahiba and love to the children from both of us.

Yours sincerely,  
M.A. Jinnah

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— 6 May 1945 —

Gul-i-Raana  
New Delhi.  
6.5.45

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. We are happy to know that you are getting on very well.

I have sent your Parker fountain pen by insured post yesterday. I hope it will reach you safely and you would like it.

About Joseph I am not quite sure when he will leave but it is likely that he will be with us till the end of June. I have heard of another young Muslim, one Mr. S.A. Rafique,<sup>20</sup> M.A. (Cantab) Bar-at-Law who is at present practising law at Allahabad and has had varied experience in journalism in England. He was here in the Information Department of the Govt. of India for some years and is supposed to be a clever man with lot of go in him and is reported to have a very good and free pen. I am finding out if he is still interested in journalism and if he is I might ask him to see me and let you know what I think about him. He has evidently left a good impression behind when he left Delhi. A number of people have spoken well about him.

I am leaving for Bengal and Assam tomorrow night. Nawab Ismail Khan was also to go but he is not keeping well and so will not be able to go on this tour. Khaliquzzaman is supposed to join me at Cawnpore and go on this tour. The things are not very happy in Assam. This tour is likely to be of a duration of 3 to 4 weeks. We want to give a few days to Bengal also.

Delhi is getting hot now. The temperature is about 109.  
Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love  
from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 1 June 1945 —

'Readymoney Lodge',<sup>21</sup>  
Matheran,  
1st June, 1945.

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of 6th May, and I purposely delayed the reply as I knew you were touring in Bengal and Assam. But I expect you have now returned to Delhi. I wonder if you have finally come to some arrangement with Altaf. I have not heard anything further from you about Mr. S.A. Rafique.

Many thanks for getting me the fountain pen which I received and I am sending you a cheque, herewith, for Rs.90/-.

I am glad to tell you that I am almost all right but I still need rest very badly and so I have to continue with as little activities as are absolutely necessary. Please, do keep me informed with regards to various matters in Assam and Bengal as naturally I am very anxious to know the position.

I shall be leaving Matheran about the 10th for Bombay and thereafter, I wish to go to some place to avoid the Bombay Monsoon as I am advised strongly by the doctors. I have not finally fixed the place, but I shall let you know in time.

I may draw your attention once more that you must now concentrate on the Punjab, the N.W.F.P. and Sindh. I have been getting a number of letters and lot of information which is all very favourable as far as the people in general are concerned, and I think a firm handling and the tour of the Committee of Action will be able to put matters at a very sound footing there. From the newspaper and the

private information, that I have, Syed's activities and moves are mysterious, extraordinary and seem to me highly detrimental to the policy and the programme of the All-India Muslim League and our cause.<sup>22</sup> I don't know whether you have been following it, but this is one of the matters which the Committee of Action should definitely handle. I get letters from various quarters expressing resentment and very deep dissatisfaction regarding Syed's activities. However this is a matter which I thought I should bring to your notice and it is for the Committee of Action to deal with it.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards to both of you and love to the children from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,

[M.A. Jinnah]

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— 5 June 1945 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>23</sup>

Hardinge Avenue,

New Delhi.

5.6.45

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 1st and the cheque for Rs. 90/-. Your pen cost only Rs. 81/- as we were given 10% commission and so I owe you Rs. 9/- which I shall pay to you when we meet next. I don't think it is worthwhile sending you a cheque for Rs. 9/-.

I returned to Delhi on the 3rd night. The tour of Assam and a visit to Bengal was very interesting. Unfortunately Nawab Ismail Khan on account of ill-health could not go on this tour. Only Khaliquzzaman was able to accompany me. Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, who is as you know, the Salar-i-Ala of the Muslim National Guards joined us at Calcutta and accompanied us to Assam. You will be glad to know that the position of the Muslim League is very strong in Assam and I feel that if all goes well we should win practically every seat in the Assam Assembly in the next elections. The agreement<sup>24</sup> which Sir Sadullah has entered into with

the Congress is not a very satisfactory one and the position with regard to the question of Land Settlement is very unhappy. Unfortunately on account of the sudden serious illness of Sir Sadullah who had to enter hospital, we could not reach a final conclusion but we made it clear to him in writing as to what we thought of the situation and have offered to go and settle the whole affair when he is well enough to do so and if he requires further discussion. We have made it clear to him that the Muslim League cannot be allowed to associate itself with the present arrangement which is not in the interest of the Muslims. I am waiting to hear from him. I have a feeling that he is aware of the strength of the League in the Province which was amply demonstrated during our tour of Assam and will submit himself to the directions of the All India Muslim League. The visit to the province [illegible].

In Bengal, unfortunately, there are some internal dissensions. Abul Hashim<sup>25</sup> has been hobnobbing too much with the communists and undermining the position of Sir Nazimuddin<sup>26</sup> and doing propaganda for Shahid Suhrawardy as the next Chief Minister. Abul Hashim as you know is the Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League. There appears to be a race between Nazimuddin and Suhrawady<sup>27</sup> for the Chief Ministership after the next elections. But for this estrangement the position of the League in Bengal is quite strong and we should win at the time of the next general election.

I have noted your views about the Punjab and N.W.F.P. and would discuss them with Nawab Ismail Khan as soon as he is able to come here. Syed's game is difficult to understand. I think he changes his opinions very unthinkingly and is easily influenced which is not a very good thing in a man who occupies such an important position in the organization. One does not know where he stands and what his game is. I am afraid our Punjab leaders are getting mixed up with other parties in their anxiety to down the Ministry which is not possible, as far as I can see, at present. I agree with you that the position needs examination.

Mr. Altaf Husain told me when I met him in Calcutta again on my return from Assam that he had sent you a



copy of the letter that I had written to him with regard to the terms of appointment. The arrangement was that he would confirm our talk and then I would write to you and get your approval. But he did not write to me and communicated with you direct, that is why I did not write to you about it as I was waiting to hear from him. He says he may not be able to join before the 1st of October on account of the illness of his son. I told him to join if at all possible at an earlier date provided we finally decide to have him. You know the terms and if you approve of them I can enter into a contract with him. As regards Mr. Rafique I did not pursue the matter further when I learnt on reaching Calcutta that Mr. Altaf Husain was ready to accept the post. Please let me know what is your opinion about the terms that have been agreed to subject to your approval. To my mind the terms are very generous and if we were not in such a fix as we are in now I probably would not have been willing to offer such terms. But if he comes up to our expectations it is worth it, and as he would have to resign his permanent Government job we have to offer him generous terms. Pothan Joseph left *Dawn* on the 31st of May and I have appointed Abraham<sup>28</sup> as Editor temporarily till we get a permanent Editor. Abraham has made it clear that as soon as the permanent Editor takes over charge he would leave *Dawn*. He does not want to stay on after Joseph has left. I thought as much before I had made it plain to Mahmood Hussain.<sup>29</sup>

The Viceroy arrived here this morning. There are all kinds of rumours about the proposals which he is supposed to have brought from London. I suppose you will know about them in due course.

We are very happy to hear that your health has been improving so well. May God grant a long and healthy life!

Delhi is quite hot, but the temperature has not yet reached its maximum.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah who we hope is keeping well and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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— 9 June 1945 —

'Readymoney Lodge'<sup>30</sup>

Matheran,

June 9, 1945.

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th, giving me the account of your tour in Assam and Bengal, and I am glad that your visit to these two provinces was very useful and that you are seriously thinking of tackling the Punjab, Sindh and the North-West Frontier Province and would discuss the matter with Nawab Ismail Khan.

As regards Altaf, I am enclosing herewith the copies of the correspondence that have passed between him and me, since the 18th of May, along with the copy of the terms that were discussed, dated the 12th of May, and I leave it to you finally to decide the matter as regards his remuneration and the terms as you think proper. I am sending you also a copy of the letter I received from Professor Hays<sup>31</sup> and my reply to him. I wonder whether he would be suitable as an Assistant Editor of the *Dawn*, as he offers to serve as such.

Many thanks for your good wishes about my health, and I am glad to inform you that I am almost all right, but as I have said before, I still need complete rest except that I may be required in case of emergency.

I am leaving Matheran about the middle of this month for Bombay for a few days, and shall then decide upon my next place of rest definitely and let you know.

With kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to you and Begum Saheb and love to the children from both of us.

Yours sincerely,  
[M.A. Jinnah]

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— 31 July 1945 —

Legislative Assembly

31.7.45<sup>32</sup>

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We were very sorry to learn from your Secretary's letter that you were confined to bed for over a week on your return from Simla. Thank God—you are better now. May God give you a long life to lead the Musalmans!

I myself went down with malaria and was in bed for nearly a week. I am much better now. There is no temperature since yesterday but I am feeling rather weak.

I saw in the papers that you were going to Quetta on the 13th of August. I wonder if the news is correct. You must have some rest in a quiet place.

I hope Miss Jinnah is keeping well.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from the children.

Yours sincerely,

Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 20 August 1945 —

Gul-i-Raána<sup>33</sup>

Hardinge Avenue,

New Delhi.

20.8.45

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. We are very happy to know you are feeling better. I am alright again. Many thanks. I have had no fever for about a week now.

I saw Sir Francis Mudie<sup>34</sup> today. He says that it will be possible to get air passage to England but will be difficult to get passages by sea. He has no objection to our sending people as a delegation. He does not like the word deputation. All this is merely technical. Now the question is when do you want to send this delegation? I reliably understand that elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be

held this cold weather. [Illegible] that elections to the Central Legislature will be held in November-December before *Moharrum*\* and after *Idul Zuha*\*\*. The election to the Provincial Legislatures will be held in January-February. Except Bengal all the provinces have their electoral rolls ready which were prepared in 1942. So with some modifications their rolls will be ready by November or so. An announcement with regard to elections is expected during the course of the week. It is not likely that H.M.G. will make any move till after the elections. Now the question is when should the delegation go to England? My first reaction is after the elections because then, God willing, we will be in a stronger position. I strongly feel that if it is at all possible you should go to England. That will be the best because no one else can do what you can.

Mr. Altaf Husain will be joining *Dawn* on the 1st of October.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

P.S. [Illegible]

\* \* \* \*

— *No Date* —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>35</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue  
New Delhi

[Letter from Liaquat Ali Khan to Jinnah, n.d., first page missing]

...his experience in the past), Abdul Matin Choudhry,<sup>36</sup> Khwaja Nazimuddin (because of his administrative experience) or Chundrigar. I have suggested my name also if you consider proper. But if you decide not to have me on this Committee please do not hesitate to exclude me. It is entirely for you to decide as to how the distribution of work should be done.

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\*First month of the Muslim year

\*\*An auspicious Muslim day

I had received the keys which you had sent me. The certificates were given to the bearer as instructed by you. The key that Miss Jinnah had sent, I had myself given to the bearer at 10, Aurangzeb Road and told him what to do as was desired by Miss Jinnah.

I hope you are keeping well.

It looks as if the Congress are forming the Interim Govt. I think it is all to the good as far as we are concerned.

Our kindest regards to you both and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,

Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 22 September 1945 —

On 22 September 1945 Liaquat went to Aligarh Muslim University to speak to the students to ask them to work for the Muslim League in the upcoming elections. Under the headlines of 'AVOID DARK AND GLOOMY FUTURE,' 'TIME MAY COME FOR SUPREME SACRIFICE,' and 'NAWABZADA'S ADDRESS TO ALIGARH STUDENTS,' his speech was the lead story in *Dawn* on 25 September 1945.

Aligarh, Sept. 23.—'Come out of your schools and colleges, whether you lose one year or not—that does not matter. Come out and support the Muslim League. I want every student to show that he is really fighting for the freedom of Muslim nation', declared Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan while addressing the students of the Aligarh University last night in the Strachey Hall.

This is only the beginning of the struggle. Time may come when the supreme sacrifice might be necessary to obtain the freedom of the nation. What good will the degrees be to you if the future is dark and gloomy. No sacrifice is too great at this moment.

I do not ask but I demand of you to come forward and help in the election. There is no doubt that God willing we will succeed. We must win and 'Insha Allah' we will win.

The Nawabzada further said: 'If this University can render such magnificent services for a way fought for the freedom

of others, what services can it not render for the freedom of their own nation and their country. You are, as the Quaid-e-Azam has said, the arsenal of Muslim India and any big move for emancipation which is to affect the Muslim Youth must emanate from this University. I want you to realize that the forthcoming elections are a matter of life and death to Muslims. I want Muslim students not only of the Muslim University, but Muslim students throughout India, to play their part boldly and honourably in an issue which could mean either emancipation or perpetual domination. I have already said and so has the Quaid-e-Azam that students should not take active part in politics at the sacrifice of their studies, but there comes a time in the life of a nation when every other activity has to be subordinated to that big issue of the emancipation of Muslim India.

Did not the students of Europe—the cream of Europe—suspend their studies and go to face bullets? Did they ever ponder over the question as to whether they should obtain their degrees or defend the homeland and its freedom?

Further I would like to give a warning to all those who have been maligning the Muslim youth of Aligarh. Recently a very untruthful, prejudiced and vicious propaganda against the University and its students has been carried on. I can say it without any fear of contradiction that the discipline of the students here is of a standard which does not exist in any Hindu institution or University in India. Those who see moles in other's eyes, should not overlook beams in their own. We know why this malicious propaganda is being carried on. It is because the Muslim youth stands for the freedom and self-determination of the 100 million Musalmans and let me tell them that this is not going to make the slightest difference to either the students or the management.

#### SIMLA CONFERENCE

There was a time when perhaps all of you were anxious to hear about the Simla Conference. The Simla Conference along with all the designs of those who wanted the Conference to serve a particular purpose is as dead as mutton. Those who went to scoff stayed to pray and those

about whom it was said that they had gone to pray came out scoffing.

This is a common thing that when anyone wished to malign somebody in India, he is called an agent of British Imperialism. Those describing the Muslim League as the agent of British Imperialism have shown by their deeds and actions that they were the worst type of toadies of British Imperialism.

### QUIT INDIA ONLY FOR COERCION

The attitude of those who, 3 years ago proclaimed the slogan of 'Do or Die' from house tops and asked the British to Quit India, was so servile that I as an Indian was ashamed to see that. Why all this high and mighty attitude was lowered to such depths? The Quit-India Resolution was intended to coerce the British Government into accepting the demand of the Congress which meant the annihilation of the Muslims in India. At the Simla Conference also, the Congress had the same motive. Only the method had changed. After having failed to coerce the British through threats they tried to gain their object by flattery and thus with the help of the British to destroy the Muslim solidarity. This nefarious move also failed. In fact every move based on dishonesty is bound to fail. You must have read the correspondence which passed between Mr. Jinnah and Lord Wavell<sup>37</sup> as also the various statements of the Quaid-e-Azam. From these it is absolutely clear that the stand taken by the Muslim League was the only stand which any honest honourable and a decent party could take.

Let us now examine the position as it is today. Since the Simla Conference the Congress leaders are going round making all kinds of statements—sensible and nonsensical. Pandit Jawaharlal has been more vocal than anybody else. I will deal only with one part of his speeches, viz. that with reference to the demand of Muslim India for Pakistan. In one of his speeches he stated that Mr. Jinnah or the League has not defined Pakistan. In the same breath he asserted that he was opposed to Pakistan. How can you oppose a

proposition when you say you do not know it. They fully know what Pakistan is. And let me define it once again.

### WHAT IS PAKISTAN

Pakistan means the establishment of free independent, sovereign and democratic states in those areas and zones where the Muslims are in majority. They ask what are the boundaries of Pakistan? I once again declare it from this platform that the basis of the boundaries of Pakistan will be the present provincial boundaries of Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and Sindh in the North-West and Bengal and Assam in the North-East. They again ask what will be the constitution of Pakistan. Pakistan will be a democratic state and its constitution will be framed by the people of those areas through a constituent assembly elected by them.

Everything is as clear as daylight. The Congress wanted to clarify their position regarding self-determination. The resolution which the Congress Working Committee at Poona has passed on self-determination is a hotch-potch. We are told by the Congress President that the present resolution is only a mixture of the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in Delhi in 1942, the A.I.C.C. resolution of the same year passed at Allahabad and the Quit India resolution of 1942. If it was to be only a mixture of these resolutions then what was the need of passing any resolution? We were in no doubt even before, as to what the Congress meant when they talked of conceding the right of self-determination. The latest resolution has made it clearer. The Congress is definitely vehemently opposed to a division of India. If there is no division there is no right of self-determination. The Congress definitely and categorically believes in one united federal India. The Congress has definitely stated that they are positively opposed to any unit going out of a united India but they will not force any unit if it is the determined will of the people of that unit, to remain, in the federated India.



## THE CONGRESS POSITION

The Musalmans are determined not to allow a united India to come into existence. The Congress position is this—there will be one Central Government, one Central Federation for the whole of India. All powers are to be handed over by the British to a Centre dominated by a vast Hindu majority. They say that they are opposed to any unit seceding but will not use any force to make them remain in the federation. There are two objections to this: One—we are not asking for self-determination for units but for the Muslim nation. Therefore, this proposal is wholly and totally absurd and unacceptable. Secondly, we are going to wait till a federated Indian comes into existence. We want to see that the whole of freedom gets freedom. We want that Pakistan and Hindustan should get freedom simultaneously. Why cannot they be honest some time? Why don't they say that they would not have a divided India under any circumstances? We are not mincing words. The time has come when our people want to see the future constitution of India based on Pakistan. Freedom shall be given to Pakistan and Hindustan simultaneously. I want to say it with the fullest sense of responsibility that those who think we have pitched our demand too high in order to bargain are gravely mistaken. This is not the maximum demand, but the minimum demand of Muslim India, because we are convinced that this country will not be free and that the 400 millions of Indians will always be living under the domination of the British if the future constitution of India is not based on Pakistan.

## JUSTICE TO BOTH PARTIES

Pakistan means justice to the Hindus and justice to the Musalmans. I wish that our fellow-countrymen would realise it. If they honestly want freedom for India they should accept our proposal. Without Pakistan there will be no freedom. The longer these people take to come round to this view the longer they will continue under slavery. Then what is the solution—some people may ask. The Hindu position is that they will not accept Pakistan. The Muslims say they

must have Pakistan. The British must continue to rule them. The conclusion is correct. For the sake of giving freedom to Hindu India I am asked to sacrifice myself, I am expected to commit '*Hara Kiri*', I refuse to oblige them. I shall agree only to change my chains of slavery. I want freedom for myself and the Hindus. But if it means freedom for Hindus and no hope of freedom for the Muslims then I shall resist it with all the power at my command. I want freedom both for the Hindus and the Muslims and that can only be through Pakistan.

Now coming to the latest broadcast speeches of Lord Wavell and Mr. Attlee there is nothing new in them. They are the same Cripps Proposals. You know that the Muslim League had even in an April 1942 resolution, expressed disapproval of the proposals brought out by Sir Stafford Cripps. I don't know how through these proposals a solution of the Indian problem can be found. We cannot make any advance, unless we decide the question of a divided or a united India. The sooner this question is settled the better it would be. We cannot solve a problem by ignoring it, but only by facing it fairly and squarely what we believe to be the quickest method of achieving freedom is that of establishing Pakistan. I appeal to every well-wisher of the country and to every lover of freedom that they should settle the constitutional problem of India, at the basis of Pakistan.

#### COMING ELECTIONS

I want you to realize the significance and the importance of the forthcoming elections. Their importance has become greater since the announcement of the proposals of H.M.G. The Quaid-e-Azam has stated that we are going to the electorate on the issue of Pakistan and that the Muslim League is the only authoritative representative organization of the Musalmans.

The issue before the Muslims is very clear. Whether the Muslims in this country are to live at the mercy and sufferance of the Hindus or as an independent, honourable and free nation. This is not the time when the Musalmans could give

any other answer. The only answer is that we want Pakistan as we want to live honourably. India does not belong to any one community or nation. I have as much claim to the country as anyone else. I am also entitled to enjoy the fruits of the independence of this country. The only way is through Pakistan and there is absolutely no other way.

#### **PUPPET ORGANISATION**

The Congress has put up a number of Muslim organizations to oppose the Muslim League. I would request them to examine the position dispassionately. Why should these mushroom organizations be collected together to challenge the Muslim League? Because the Congress knows that in any Conference or constitution-making body the Hindus, the Muslims and others are to find a place. They are trying to create disruption among the Musalmans. They want that the Musalmans may not be able to speak with one voice, but that half a dozen voices may be raised. If the so-called nationalist Muslims think that there are defects in the Muslim League their mission should not be to disrupt, but to consolidate the position of the Musalmans and to remove all the defects which they think are existing in the League. During the last 8 years we have consolidated our nation. The duty of every Musalman is to oppose those who want to destroy the unity we have achieved. The doors of the Muslim League are open to everyone. The Muslim League invites everyone to come on equal terms in the Muslim League. Everyone has an equal right to serve the Muslim nation, under the Muslim League.

India is a country where there are the largest number of Muslims as compared with any other country in the world. You owe a duty to Islam. In the world there are all kinds of experiments being made—Fascism, Nazism, Bolshevism, Capitalism, Shintoism and a number of other isms. All these isms are out to destroy each other, Islam gave a message of peace nearly 1,400 years ago. We owe a debt to Islam. We have to show by our precept and example by working in the laboratory of Pakistan that the future of humanity lies in the teachings of Islam.—O.P.

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— 27 December 1945 —

Presidential Address of Liaquat Ali Khan at the 54th Annual Session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, Agra, 27 December 1945.<sup>38</sup>

Members of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference,  
Ladies and gentlemen.

It is always a matter of pleasure and privilege for any one to be called upon to preside over the deliberations of this Conference which has had such a long and distinguished history. On this occasion, however, I have more than one reason to express my deep and sincere gratitude to you for the honour you have conferred upon me. Firstly, in electing me to preside over this session you have adopted a new line and demonstrated your appreciation of the truth; that there exists a living link between politics in the higher sense and education. Secondly, it is not really an honour so much to me personally but a recognition on your part of the position and services of the great national organization, the All-India Muslim League, of which I have the honour to be a humble worker. Thirdly, it betokens your desire to bring the Conference into closer touch with the new trends and impulses in Muslim national life and promote fruitful cooperation between the two organizations which really represent two aspects of the same movement—the movement of Islamic renaissance in this sub-continent. You have had great educationists and renowned men as your presidents in the past. I do not lay claim to any such distinction but as one who has been working for the Muslim nation according to the best of his lights I am indeed very grateful for the opportunity you have given me to place before you the longings, aspirations, and needs which stir the Musalmans today and also, if I make some suggestions as to how those could be met.

This conference was the first collective effort on the part of Musalmans to rehabilitate their scattered forces and energies and recognize and reassert themselves as a social and cultural unit after the dissolution of Muslim power in this land. I would not like to tire your patience by recounting

all the circumstances which led the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan<sup>39</sup> to establish this Conference for they are well-known to you. Suffice it to say that in the special and complex circumstances of the latter half of the nineteenth century the great stage, Sir Syed, through his rare foresight and vision correctly grasped the realities of the situation and took the right step to stem the tide of the fast declining fortunes of the Musalmans and put them on the right track to adapt themselves to new conditions and make use of the opportunities and possibilities under the new dispensation without deviating one jot from the fundamentals of their Faith, Islam. Dislodged from the position of a ruling power and having suffered untold miseries and tribulations the Muslims' sense of pride and grievance created a deep psychological barrier between them and the new ruling power. There was a natural unwillingness on their part to reconcile themselves to the changed environment. They were between the Devil and the deep Sea. On the one hand, they were suspected and discouraged by the British as potential rebels, on the other they had to contend with the sister community which under the impetus and encouragement given by the British was fast developing aggressive ambitions and tendencies. To cap all the Muslims suffered from their own prejudices and bigotry, fostered and kept up by the obscurantists and selfish elements in their society.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan realized that at that juncture the only sound policy was to rouse the Muslims from their torpor and urge them first of all to go in for Western education, shedding aside all prejudices and superstitions and to avoid for the time being active participation in politics. It is easy to criticize that policy, but if we view the matter in its historical perspective and consider the later developments, we cannot but feel convinced that the attitude which Sir Syed then adopted was the only sensible and practical course in the circumstances. No fairer appraisal of Sir Syed's policy and movement has ever been made than what the view which the late Maulana Mohd. Ali<sup>40</sup> expressed about the matter in his presidential Address to the Coconada Congress. This is what he said, 'He realized to the full that nothing would suit the temper of the Muslims of his day better than the

vocation of critics of their British supplanters in the governance of India; and he also realized that such a pursuit would be as dangerous to the continuance and progress of a peaceful political movement like the Congress as it was easy. This was the first argument that impelled Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to keep his community under restraint in politics. The second argument was no less potent. The Muslims must educate themselves if they desired the uplift of their community, and yet it was no easy task to reconcile Muslims to Western education even in an institution of their own, which unlike Government colleges and schools, would not divorce religious from secular learning. The easy pursuit of a policy in which the Muslims could act as destructive critics of the hated infidel Government was sure to offer superior attractions to the dull and drab constructive programme of the educationalist, and he therefore set himself to oppose all diversion of Muslim activities into the more attractive, but for the time being less useful, political channel. Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation to-day when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise, and much as I wish that some things which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Muslims, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Muslims.

'Be it remembered that the man who enunciated this policy was not at the time a *persona grata* to the major portion of the community which he sought to lead. He was hated as a heretic because of the heterodoxy of his aggressive rationalism in interpreting the Holy Quran, and his militant opposition to popular superstitions believed in by the bulk of the orthodox and to shackling customs consecrated by time, though wholly unauthorized by Islam. He was abused and vilified by hundreds and thousands of his co-religionists, and for long the college that he had founded at Aligarh was the *bête noire* of the pious Muslim. And yet the entire community followed his political lead without a murmur. Neither fallacious arguments nor even political claptrap could have possessed such potency and

it is my firm belief that his advocacy succeeded mainly because of the soundness of the policy advocated.'

This it will be clear that the Muslims as a whole accepted the lead given by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and concentrated on educational progress during his lifetime. They had a tremendous leeway to make up. The late M.A.O. College which has now developed into a modern, flourishing University, was the first successful attempt made by Sir Syed to initiate the Muslims into modern educational progress and to bring about a synthesis between the western learning and science and the culture of the East. But one college, however well-equipped and well-managed, could not meet the needs of the whole community; nor was Sir Syed's aim confined to the establishment of a single institution. He was really the sponsor of a broad movement known as the Aligarh movement, whose object was to bring about a social and cultural regeneration of the Musalmans in keeping with the essential spirit and tenets of their faith and the requirements of a changing world. He, therefore, founded the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, which was intended to focus the attention and endeavour of the Musalmans on problems of educational and social reconstruction. To-day, looking at the history of the Conference in retrospect we cannot but admit that the conference fulfills a very important role in the national life of the Musalmans in carrying the message of enlightenment and culture to the Muslims in the remotest corners of India and rousing them to the need of standing on their own feet, of establishing their own educational institutions and of taking their share in government institutions. There is no doubt that during the first twenty years of its existence the Conference served as the only forum for all the thinking Muslims, who wanted to promote the welfare and uplift of their people. But the Muslims could not for long remain confined to activities for social reform and educational progress. Conditions were quickly changing. With the advance in education, political consciousness was dawning on the minds of the intelligentsia of the Muslims. The sister community was agitating for political rights, and the manner in which the agitation was carried on left no doubt that the

Muslims would be losers if they did not bestir themselves on the political plane. The British Govt. itself showed willingness to associate Indians with the administration and offer political concessions, though of meagre value. The Muslims had always been conscious of their separate identity, not only religious, social and cultural but also political, for Islam is not a mere religion, a private matter between the individual and his God as it is understood to be in the West. Islam is an all-embracing faith, a complete philosophy and code of life, a state-concept, a polity, a social order, a culture and an outlook on life. On the basis of deep historical, racial, linguistic, cultural, religious, social, economic, psychological and temperamental differences which divide them from other peoples, especially the caste-Hindus, the Muslims have always felt themselves to be a separate social and political entity with a destiny of their own. They have never, of course, been averse to cooperating with others on equitable terms but they have naturally been concerned to safeguard their civil, religious, social and political rights and to see that in any new dispensation conferring power and privileges, they obtained their due share. It is, indeed, remarkable that even at a time when the politics of India was in a very nebulous stage and self-government was not considered to be within the pale of practical politics, the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, with his unerring insight, had sounded a serious note of warning that the parliamentary institutions of the British variety, based as they were on the concept of a homogeneous country and nation, were totally unsuited to a heterogeneous country like India. He also upheld the idea of the separate nationhood of the Musalmans and though he yielded to none in his desire of friendly and neighbourly relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans he was quick to see the danger of any policy which implied the merger of Muslims in Hindu Nationalism and warned his co-religionists against it. All these factors and the new consciousness created by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference led the Musalmans to realize that their case would certainly be prejudiced and their position seriously imperiled, if they lost any further time to organize themselves on the political plane. It was on the occasion of the sessions



of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference at Dacca in 1906 that the foundations of the All-India Muslim League were laid and prominent among the sponsors of the new body were men who were the leaders of the Aligarh movement or the products of the M.A.O. College. Thus we can fairly say that the All-India Muslim League was in a sense the off-spring of the movement generated by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference. When, so close is the relation between the origin and development of the two bodies, you can well imagine what a great pleasure it gives me to help you in your deliberations.

Foreign rule is always a cramping force, but as I hinted above, it has been doubly so in the case of the Musalmans in this land. The Musalmans started late and that too with certain initial disadvantages and handicaps, imposed on them by the iniquitous policy of an unsympathetic government and the aggressive designs of a majority community actuated by the ambition of domination. With their fortunes wrecked, their economic position crippled, their social and cultural life enervated and with poor equipment to meet the onslaught of new forces and the demands of a new age, the Muslims had to battle hard to keep a place for themselves in the educational and cultural life of the country. Their problem was not merely to secure adequate opportunities for their youth to receive education, but also to see that their youths were brought up under conditions which would give them a good grounding in the tenets of their faith and the history and culture of their nation. Institutions maintained by governments or run by other communities did not provide such conditions and therefore failed to attract large numbers of Muslim students. Financial stringency prevented the Muslims for a long time from opening an adequate number of institutions under their own management. The policy of the government throughout has been such as to make the rich richer and the educated more educated. The duty of a civilized government is to afford greater facilities to educationally backward classes and to pay greater attention to their needs and sentiments. I will not go into the whole history of the difficulties they had to encounter and the struggle they had to wage in the field of education. The

separate schools and colleges established by Muslims have justified their existence. Though they had perforce to follow a curriculum, which by no means corresponded with their national and cultural ideal, yet they at least succeeded in producing a considerable number of educated Muslims, who retained something of the sense of pride in the Muslim national heritage so essential for the preservation of their distinct national individuality and who could strive to obtain a share for Muslims in the new life opening out before the peoples of India. I do not say that these institutions have achieved anything big from the standpoint of high ideals of our faith and national heritage. In the nature of things they could not. But in principle their establishment was right and today their need is greater than ever before. We have fully awakened to the consciousness of our distinct cultural, social and national individuality. We are not prepared to sacrifice it for any consideration whatever. It is not an attitude of exclusivism or narrow mindedness. Our whole history proclaims that given full freedom and opportunity to build our life according to our own genius and faith we are capable of making the most valuable contribution to world progress and civilization and rendering selfless services for the betterment and happiness of our neighbours and of those who may be committed to our care. Today we labour under acute difficulties. We do not receive adequate assistance from government to improve and expand our existing institutions and to open new ones to meet new demands. The doors of government institutions, especially those concerned with scientific, medical, technical, industrial and commercial education, are barred against us. The representation of Muslims on the teaching and administrative staff and the governing bodies of government institutions is almost nil. Every attempt of Muslims to secure a share in government institutions is defeated on the false plea of merit and efficiency. On the one hand Muslims are given no opportunity to qualify themselves in higher education and specially in scientific and technical training and on the other their demand for a share and representation is turned down on the plea that suitably qualified personnel is not available; and the vicious circle continues. This is one aspect

of the problem. The other and the more important aspect is that the Muslims, consistently with their stand of separate nationhood and distinct cultural and social identity have to make their own plans of education and to insist on freedom to carry through those plans in their institutions and further they have to see that in government institutions, they not only obtain their due share but also nothing is done to obliterate their culture and ideology or to de-Muslimize the young Muslim mind. This is how education in India cannot be divorced from politics. In fact, complete estrangement between education and politics in any circumstances is unnatural and unhealthy. The highest purpose of knowledge is to be a good citizen. Man is really a 'political animal.' There is not and there should not be any inconsistency and antagonism between education and politics. I do not use the word 'politics' in any narrow sense. Politics in its truer and large sense means the shaping of the life of man, according to certain and broad and high moral principles and social laws and the adjustment of relations of the individual and the society. Education is the means of preparation for the attainment of higher ends laid down by the political consciousness of man. Knowledge for the sake of knowledge is an outmoded theory. Such soulless doctrines arrest progress and throw nations into decay. It is only when the higher self of man or a nation awakens and asserts itself that learning, literature, art, poetry and all other accomplishments catch the spark of vitality and the way to advancement and progress is thrown open. Political organization is but a manifestation of this higher self, this urge of moving forward. Politics and education being so vitally and closely linked there is no wonder that every modern state has recognized its duty in the matter of education by establishing ministries and departments of education which control and direct educational policy and activity. The control of educational policy does not mean the turning out of blind automatons who have learned certain dogmas and theories parrot-fashion and whose talents and energies have been regimented to fit into some mechanical patterns to serve anybody's ulterior objects; it rather means an attempt to evoke and galvanize the energies and faculties

latent in man and to discipline his intellect and impulses towards a known higher end. Education is really an attempt to cultivate and harmonise the physical and intellectual faculties of the student with a view to preparing him to contribute to the improvement of his cultural heritage and to grapple with the problems of life, find their solution, develop and evolve clear ideas and concepts, steering clear of slogans and shibboleths, which have no meaning.

Viewed in this light the question of Muslim education in India is as much a political as a social or cultural problem. Apart from the intrinsic soundness of the proposition the developments which have taken place and the forces which have been at play in the educational field in India reinforce the position I have stated. There have been two attempts in recent years to control and plan education—the '*Wardha*' and the '*Vidya Manda*' scheme and the Sargent scheme<sup>41</sup> which is still hanging fire. The sinister designs of the former from the Muslim point of view, became all too apparent during the short-lived and unfortunate regime of the Congress ministries when an attempt was made to enforce it; the dangerous potentialities of the latter have not yet been fully realized. In a learned gathering like yours, I need not go into the details of the *Wardha* scheme. I need only to remind you that the basic ideas of this scheme cut at the root of the fundamentals of our faith and our national ideology. Education is a very potent and even a dangerous weapon in the hands of a government, if it is actuated by the motive of supplanting one culture and society by another culture and society. The Congress, on coming into power in several provinces, proceeded to use the vehicle of education with a vengeance in order to obliterate all non-Hindu cultures and especially the Muslim culture. The scheme that they evolved had a definite political motive behind it; namely the preparation of a generation which will cease to be Muslim in thought, character and action. The two basic principles of the scheme—the doctrines of *Ahimsa* (non-defence) and the ideal of territorial nationalism of *Akhand Bharat* variety militate against the cardinal beliefs of Muslims. They reject the doctrine of *Ahimsa* for their faith enjoins on them the duty of fighting in the cause of righteousness and against

evil when and wherever necessary. The insistence on *Ahimsa* is only meant to root out from the Muslim youths their martial spirit and traditions. Similarly, the principle of territorial nationalism is opposed to the Muslim view of nationalism which is based on a philosophy of society and outlook on life rather than allegiance to a piece of territory. The emphasis laid on nationalism in the scheme, is calculated to destroy the distinctive identity of Muslims and to merge them into the nationalism of the Hindu majority. The whole trend of the scheme is to impress on the mind of the Muslim child the inferiority and impotence of Muslim culture and to establish the revival and supremacy of the primitive Hindu culture, of *Vedic* times. The scheme sought to inculcate in the Muslim children the belief that all religions are equally true and to make them study the life of the Holy Prophet only in the setting and background of Arabia so that they may cease to hold the cardinal Islamic belief that Islam is the final truth and their prophet is a Universal Teacher and then the process of the merger of Muslims in the Hindu fold may be accelerated. Thus what the Congress as a political organization could not do openly the 'Wardha Scheme' had it had its way, would have achieved by slow but sure methods. The merit claimed for the scheme that it sought to impart instruction through craft is no novel feature. It has been in practice in many countries of the west. But it is doubtful whether all the subjects can be taught through a craft. The other idea underlying the scheme, that the basic schools should be financed out of the proceeds from the sale of articles made by school children was very objectionable and I am glad that it was opposed even by many of these educationists who otherwise supported the scheme. The real question, however, is not what methods were adopted in the scheme but what was the ultimate object behind the facade of the educational plan and how it was sought to be achieved. However, this scheme served one useful purpose—it opened the eyes of the Musalmans and made them realise the designs calculated to pave the way for their cultural absorption leading ultimately to their political annihilation.

The other scheme known as the Sargent scheme is also harmful from the Muslim point of view though it may not appear to contain as aggressive features as the *Wardha* Scheme. But the Sargent Scheme takes no account of the sentiments and needs of the Muslims. Though the Government has never extended to Muslims those measures of substantial support and encouragement which they deserved and stood in need of, yet it is a fact that ever since the days of the East India Company and the famous Despatch on Education of Sir Charles Wood<sup>42</sup>, the special position of Muslims in India was recognised and in every Government resolution or the report of Committee or Commission on Education separate chapters were devoted to problems of Muslim education. Contrary to the consistent practice and policy of Government the Sargent Scheme completely ignores the importance and special needs of the Muslims. This is an affront and an injustice which the Musalmans strongly resent. The scheme proceeds on assumptions which are far removed from the realities of the situation in India. The scheme presumes to guarantee 'equal educational opportunity to all' but it does not make any provision for those communities and classes who, for various reasons, are not abreast of others in educational progress and who have special cultural needs of their own. It is also very regrettable that in the formulations of this scheme the accredited representatives of Muslim opinion were not consulted.

I do not propose to enter into a detailed criticism of the scheme; that is the function of our educational experts. But it appears to me that the basic principles on which the whole edifice of the scheme is constructed are diametrically opposed to the ideology and aspirations of Muslims as a national entity. The scheme starts on the presumption that India is a homogeneous nation and a single nation and a single unit, which it is not. The framers of the scheme, strangely enough, closed their eyes to the existence of sharply divided nationalities with divergent cultures and social orders and differing in every essential matter of life. They simply ignore the unmistakable stand and the unshakable resolve of the Muslims that they shall not accept any policy

or scheme, political, educational or otherwise which does not recognise their position as a separate nation and their claim to establish independent sovereign states in the regions of their majority—a position to which they are entitled by every notion of justice and every canon of international law. I really wonder whether the authors of the scheme seriously believe that such a scheme stands any chance of success or can do any good in the face of the united dissent and opposition of 100 million Musalmans of India who are not prepared to sacrifice their cultural heritage at the altar of any educational theory or intellectual doctrine. The educational implications of the presumption to which I have referred are quite obvious. It means, in practice, that the control and planning of education will be dominated by the Hindu majority and coloured by its cult and ideas. The scheme envisages the establishment of a central educational authority. This proposal is of a piece with the political demand of some kind of central government for the whole of India to which the Muslims for obvious reasons are implacably opposed. This is indeed in a way an attempt to prejudice the constitutional issue in one important direction and the Muslims can never acquiesce in it. Even to-day education is a very provincial subject. The provinces of India are as large as many of the states in Europe and are quite capable of dealing with educational administration. The functions of the existing Central Advisory Board of Education are purely advisory. Any departure from this practice is unjust and undesirable and this Conference in my opinion should enter an emphatic protest against this proposal.

Another very serious defect in the scheme is the absence of any provision for religious education. To the peoples of India in general and to the Muslims in particular, religion is not a mere matter of mode of worship but it embraces and permeates their whole life from the cradle to the grave. It governs their actions and movements to the minutest details and moulds their thought, outlook and attitude in general. It also affects collective life and sets up a social order distinct from others. To a Muslim, life, especially knowledge and intellectual culture, are not an end in themselves but a means to a higher end ordained by the ethical and spiritual

ideals of Islam. Any educational plan therefore that completely divorces religion from education is bound to fail in a country like India where the life of the peoples is steeped in religion. The Muslims have always pressed the demand for the provision of religious education. Religion is their sheet-anchor and the only enduring force which has welded together Muslims living in far-flung localities into a virile brotherhood and has given them a strong sense of national and cultural unity over-riding all those factors of race, blood, territory and even language which tend to divide. The Muslims therefore cannot forego the demand of religious education. The objection raised in certain quarters that religious education will cause discord and strife has really no force. As a matter of fact, a good Muslim and a good Hindu or Christian who have been properly brought up in the traditions of their faiths are always good neighbours and live on terms of amity and mutual regard. It is not religion but the materialistic teachings which breed lust for power and greed and cause bitterness and dissension.

It is not in India alone that the demand for religious education is so insistent. After the ravages of war caused by blind materialism, the people of Western Countries are also becoming alive to the necessity of spiritual revival. In the United Kingdom a prominent place has been given to religious education in the White Paper on educational reconstruction and even the Jews who form a very small minority in the population of England have been assured of the preservation of their racial and religious identity in the New Education Bill. When such is the trend of educational development in the modern and progressive countries it is indeed very surprising that this important aspect of education has been neglected in the educational plans of the Government of India. The Committee set up by the Central Advisory Board of Education cannot command the confidence of the Musalmans. It is only a committee consisting of leading Muslims that can draw up a proper scheme of religious education for Muslims. It should be possible by mutual consultation to fit in the schemes of religious education for different communities into the general scheme of education. The Muslims insist on the inclusion of the teachings of



Arabic and Islamic history and culture besides theological studies for Muslim students in the curriculum of High Schools and they further demand that due provision be made for the study of the higher aspects of Islamic religion, history, philosophy and Islamics in general in the Universities.

I would turn for a moment to the question of the future of Urdu as our national language. The activities of those who want to supplant Urdu by an artificially developed Sanskritized Hindi have filled the minds of all lovers of Urdu with apprehension. Urdu is undoubtedly one of the finest gifts which the Muslims have offered to the furtherance of culture and civilization in India. Indeed, it shows to what extent the Muslims have gone to arrive at an understanding and amity with the Hindus. But it is a great pity that in pursuance of political designs and ambitions attempts are being made to snap this link of understanding between the Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims would still fain share the language with the Hindus but it takes two to do so. The present tendency among the protagonists of Hindi only, convinces the Muslims that they have to defend Urdu by their own efforts. Any injury done to Urdu means a blow to the national identity of Muslims. For language is a powerful factor in the building up of a nationality; it is the real repository of a people's historical heritage, traditions and contribution to world civilization; it is the mirror of a people's mind. Its thought, its culture and aspirations. The question of protection of Urdu has become part of the Muslim national problem. We should, therefore, insist on the preservation of Urdu language and script for at least Muslim children in all the schools and provision for the study of Urdu language and literature up to the highest standards.

Another very important problem from our point of view is the question of women's education. The Central Advisory Board of Education is of the way that 'Women's education should not be treated as a problem on its own.' Muslims cannot subscribe to this view. Firstly, the Muslim conception of woman's role and position in society is different from that of other peoples. Islam confers rights and obligations on both men and women. Acquisition of knowledge is enjoined as a duty on both Muslim men and Muslim women

by the Holy prophet (peace be on him). Islam prescribes a code of conduct for both men and women and disallows promiscuous intermingling among them. It is the only religion which has granted a high and dignified status and statutory rights and individuality to women. Muslim women have played a glorious part in the history of Islam and the examples of moral dignity, service and self-sacrifice they have set will forever remain a source of inspiration to posterity. They have done so within the rules of conduct laid down by Islam. Women having special duties, functions and rights as well as aptitudes and capacities, their education also constitutes a special problem. Moreover, in India many difficulties have been created by the general educational backwardness of women due to the neglect of men and the prevalence of un-Islamic customs, prejudices and superstition. These factors make it necessary to adopt special measures for the spread of education among women. It is a welcome sign that all sections of Muslims generally are alive to the need of the education of women, for they realise that the educated woman is the best custodian of the cultural traditions of a nation and the surest guarantee of the right upbringing of the young generation. But the Muslims are opposed to blind and wholesale imitation of the social modes and educational methods of Western countries relating to women. It is very necessary that a competent committee of leading Muslims should go into the question of Muslim women's education and suggest a plan which would preserve the distinctive character of Muslim women and enable them at the same time to benefit from the riches of modern science and learning.

There are two other aspects of the Sargent scheme to which I would like to invite your attention—the selective principle for the future High Schools, and the restriction on University education. In the present state of India with various communities in different stages of educational development and with political distrust and rivalry any attempt to impose the selective principle for admission to High Schools without regards to the peculiar conditions and needs of various communities and classes will result in injustice and create bitterness and discontent. The adoption of the economic

theory of *laissez faire* in the field of education in the special circumstances of India will lead to disastrous results. The Muslims have already much leeway to make up. No restriction should therefore be placed on those Muslim students who wish to go in for secondary education at their own cost. The poor but promising Muslim students should be provided for by reserving a certain percentage of concessions and stipends and places for them. The reservation of seats for Muslim pupils should be made not on the basis of their percentage in population but in proportion to the historical and political importance of the Muslims.

As to University education, the Central Advisory Board considers that 'the growth of universities should be in proportion to the expansion in lower stages'. This shows lack of appreciation of the real value and scope of University education. The need of well-trained leaders of thought and action in all the departments of life in India is greater today than ever before. The war too, has brought out the great need of higher education and research. The urgent problems of health, agriculture, industry and commerce cry out for research and trained personnel on a very large scale. The Board provides only 240,000 seats and that too after a period of forty years when the population is expected to reach sixty *crores*.\* This is wholly inadequate considering the importance of University education and the needs of the country. It is essential that the period during which educational expansion is sought to be carried through must be much shorter and provision should be made for University education on a more liberal scale. The interests of the Muslims should be safeguarded by reserving places and scholarships for them in the same way as in the High Schools. Furthermore the Universities should continue to be completely autonomous bodies and any such body as a University Grants Committee should be purely advisory.

The question of the cost of educational expansion as estimated by the Board need not depress us. The present Government has its own conception of cost and expenditure; it cannot visualise the conditions which will come into

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\*10,000,000

existence on the establishment of popular governments enjoying the confidence of the people. When the people are masters of their own affairs they will know how to finance the projects of educational development and how to make sacrifices for the removal of illiteracy and ignorance. Other countries with far inferior resources have successfully tackled the problems of illiteracy and educational backwardness; there is no reason why the peoples of India should not be able to do so when they come into their own.

I would now crave your indulgence to place a few suggestions before you with reference to the educational needs of Muslims which appear to me to be very pressing at the present time. This is an age of organization and expansion and no people can achieve anything or even preserve its existence without self-help and conscious and organized effort. The Muslims, I think, should establish a Central Educational Trust and an Academy of Educational Research and Information with branches in the provinces. These organizations will guide, help and coordinate the educational efforts of Muslims in all parts of India.

The Muslims have organized their commercial life by forming chambers of commerce in the provinces and an All-India Federation thereof. On the same lines a federation of all the Muslim schools and colleges should be formed. Its functions should be consultative and deliberative. It will enable all the Muslim institutions to adopt a joint policy and common line of action to protect and advocate their interests. The value of such collective effort cannot be overemphasised.

There is a woeful dearth among the Muslims of well-trained personnel to take their proper place in medical and engineering professions and commercial, agricultural, industrial and scientific pursuits. It is gratifying that Muslims are awakening to the necessity of education for all these professions and vocations. I would ask you to view this question from the wider aspect of the future national existence of Muslims in this land. Our goal is clear; our course is firmly set, and we are forging ahead. We are bound sooner rather than later to realise our national destiny, Pakistan, *Insha Allah*. But when it comes let us be ready with a properly equipped and efficient personnel to make proper

use of the power and opportunity coming in the wake of Pakistan and undertake and execute vast schemes for the social, economic, industrial and educational development of our people. Special efforts should, therefore, be made by Muslims to establish their own institutions to impart instruction in Commerce, industry, agriculture, engineering and medicine. Already efforts in this direction are being made in certain places but they should be intensified a hundred-fold. The Aligarh Muslim University being the central national institution of the Musalmans of India has a special responsibility in this behalf and I am glad to be able to say that it is doing its best within its limited resources to meet these needs. The University has started a College of Engineering and Technology, in spite of the acute difficulties of war time. The College of course needs improvement and expansion for which more funds are required.

The Government so far have given no financial assistance to the College which is naturally an ever-expanding and expensive institution. We must press the demand for additional grant for this college. Let us also appeal to our wealthy brethren, specially businessmen and industrialists, to contribute liberally the money required to place the College on a sound and efficient footing. But one College alone will not suffice. I am glad to know that you too are planning to open a Technical College in Agra which you propose to name after Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The great rush for admission to the limited number of seats in the Engineering College at the Muslim University shows that there is no truth whatever in the suggestion that there is a dearth of suitably qualified students for admission to technical institutions. If anything, it only shows that there is a keen desire among Muslim young men for technical studies and they are denied the opportunity. During the next few years serious efforts should be made to establish more and more Engineering & Technical Colleges.

I have noticed in recent years a great swing among Muslim youths towards scientific studies with a view to qualifying themselves for vocational pursuits. In the Aligarh Muslim University this year scores of students had to be refused admission in the Faculty of Science for want of

accommodation in Hostel, class-rooms and laboratories. Of late, a large number of Muslim High Schools have been raised to the status of Intermediate College but most of them do not provide instruction in science. It should be the duty of all Muslim schools and Colleges all over India to take immediate steps to open classes in science.

Another very important subject which has been sadly neglected by most of our Muslim institutions is Commerce. The Muslims in their palmy days were the pioneers of trade and commerce in the world. No nation to-day can lead an independent and honourable existence if it deficient in trade and industry. Commerce like other subjects has acquired the status of science in modern times. Education in commerce is, therefore, of the utmost importance. Persons with scientific knowledge of commerce can succeed much better in trade and business than others. The Aligarh Muslim University has recently opened a Department of Commerce which I hope will soon develop into a full-fledged College of Commerce with the generous support of Muslim businessmen.

India being mainly an agricultural country, the study of Agriculture also is very important for our youths. A beginning has been made at Aligarh by starting degree classes in Agriculture. Wherever the resources and facilities may be available classes in agriculture should be opened in Muslim institutions and we must demand reservations of seats for Muslims in Government agricultural institutions.

The Muslims' paucity in the medical profession is well-known. Only about 8% of the doctors in India are Muslims and even this percentage is likely to decrease because Muslims have been finding it extremely difficult to secure admission to the existing Medical Colleges. The question of health is of prime importance to a nation. The Muslims have had a reputation for robust physique and power of endurance. But the absence of an adequate number of medical personnel and medical facilities undoubtedly has a very detrimental effect on the health of our people, specially women and children. Muslim youths should be encouraged to take a medical education. It is, indeed, very deplorable that in spite of repeated representations of the U.P. Provincial

Muslim League the just demand of the Muslims of U.P. for the reservation of a due proportion of seats for Muslim students in the Medical Colleges has been turned down. The same, I believe, is the position in other provinces. While we should continue to press our demand in this direction we should also make a beginning by having a first-rate Medical College, of our own. It is in the fitness of things that the authorities of the Aligarh Muslim University have realized the urgent need of establishing a Muslim Medical College. It is gratifying that full plans for the establishment of the College have been worked out with the assistance of a distinguished experts' Committee. I understand that through the efforts of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, and other well-wishers of the University a sum of over 42 *lacs* of rupees has been collected including a princely donation of Rs. 10 *lacs* given by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to whom the Muslims of India are deeply indebted for so many benefactions for their educational advancement. The response of the Muslim to the appeal for funds for the Medical College is indeed very gratifying and indicates alike the place which Aligarh still holds in the affections of Muslim India and the keen desire of the Muslims for professional and vocational education. I believe steps will be taken as soon as the election campaign is over to augment the fund and to found the College at an early date.

There is one other matter connected with scientific progress to which I would like to invite your attention. India is undoubtedly on the verge of a great industrial upheaval. Our Quaid-e-Azam had been urging upon Muslim businessmen to take their due share in industries specially heavy industries. Without industrial development Muslims can have no economic future. I therefore attach very great importance to scientific and industrial research and the training of an efficient Muslim personnel for the purpose. Steps should be taken to establish a Muslim scientific and industrial research institute and Muslim businessmen and industrialists should be invited to support the project. The advantages of such an institute will be two-fold—it will give a great impetus to Muslim trade and industry and it will

produce a trained personnel of researchers and technologists who will be able to make better careers for themselves and will be ready to carry out industrial and technical plans which Muslims may launch now or after having their independent governments.

I have been talking at length about scientific, technical and commercial matters. But I should not be misunderstood to mean that what is known as liberal education or the study of humanities should at all be discouraged. The economic demands and requirements change from age to age and it is desirable to correlate as far as possible the instruction in schools, colleges and Universities with the requirements of the country. Educational institutions also cannot be entirely indifferent to the question of employment of their alumni. But while so much may be conceded regarding the utilitarian aspect of education it cannot be gainsaid that the real purpose and the higher end of education is to cultivate, develop and discipline the mental, spiritual and physical faculties of man and to build character with a view to training him for useful citizenship and for his rightful role in the cultural advancement of humanity. A good general grounding in cultural subject like literature, history, philosophy, social sciences etc. is essential for the right upbringing of youth so that he may not lose his soul in the matter of mundane activities and may lead and serve his fellow men intelligently and selflessly in whatever sphere he is working. Then there should be no restriction whatever on scholars seeking to pursue the highest studies and researches in the humanities and the abstract sciences. Their patient toil and hard thinking may not appear to yield immediate results but it is really they who mould the thought and action of generations of people and give a philosophical basis and a meaning to all their activities and movements. It is their ideas and speculations which in the ultimate analysis rule the world. That is why I advocate that far from placing any restriction on University education every encouragement and facility should be offered for liberal education and higher studies and research. I have laid special emphasis on religious education and the study of Arabic, Islamic history, Islamic philosophy and Islamics in general. These studies



are the foundation of our national life and culture. I am glad to note that this Conference has already sponsored a scheme for an All-India Academy of Islamic Research and another at Aligarh. I earnestly hope that this scheme will soon materialise and these bodies will contribute materially to the preservation and enhancement of the riches of Islamic culture and thought.

In conclusion, I would ask you to think of the future of the Muslim nation and plan for it. I do not propose to make any political observations on this occasion. But I am sure you realise that the Muslims of India after groping in the dark for a long time have at least a clear vision of their future and have taken their destiny in their own hands. They are solemnly determined to a man to lead a free and honourable national existence with goodwill and toleration for all the peoples in this land. This is not the occasion to go into any details of what the Muslims must do when they come into their own in Pakistan and in other parts where they are in minority. As I have already stated the national ideology of the peoples and shape of things to come in the political field is bound to affect educational planning. Even our educationists cannot shut their eyes to this fundamental conflict of ideals. They have to make up their minds and plan for the future education of their nation. There are precedents in modern political history of the grant of complete educational autonomy to minorities in states and international law also recognises it. The Muslims of minority provinces can and must claim educational autonomy with a share in the educational budget and the Muslims of majority provinces must use whatever power and opportunity they have even today to plan the educational advancement of Muslims. It is for this Conference to give a lead in this respect and I hope it will do so. The Muslim nation is moving forward with great speed and you must keep pace with its desires, ambitions and aspirations. This Conference has a very important part to play in the life of the nation and I have no doubt that it will do everything within its powers to contribute towards the establishment of 'free Islam in free India.' May God help and guide us! *Amin!*

## NOTES

1. This was reported in *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 2, 1945, pp. 124-127. The 'pact' was discussed at great length by Wavell and his advisers and by the British Cabinet in London. It became the basis for Wavell's Simla Conference and his later reorganization of the Cabinet. See Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 5. Bhulabhai Desai (1877-1946) was a lawyer from Bombay who had joined Gandhi's civil disobedience and was sentenced to a year in prison in 1932. He was again imprisoned in 1940 but released due to ill-health. The pact ended Desai's career as the Congress were not prepared to accept parity with the League. On Desai's life see M.C. Setalvad, *Bhulabhai Desai* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1968).
2. A great deal has been made of this 'Desai-Liaquat Pact' by a number of commentators. In doing so some of them have attributed improper motives to Liaquat's actions. Shaukat Hayat Khan in his acerbic memoir, for example, wrote that Liaquat was motivated by the fact that a doctor informed him that Jinnah only had a few days to live and this pact was 'personal insurance for him...just to please the Indian National Congress' *The Nation that Lost Its Soul (Memoirs of a Freedom Fighter)* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1995), pp. 174-175. The Desai-Liaquat talks began months before Jinnah's long illness of 1945. On the basis of everything we know with regard to Jinnah's highly secretive nature regarding his personal affairs, especially the details of his health, Liaquat's devotion to Jinnah, and Liaquat's commitment to the creation of Pakistan, Shaukat's diatribe is based wholly on a fertile imagination and has no basis in any of the facts we have at hand. In a total flight of fancy, Shaukat even blames Liaquat for the Kashmir problem. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-177.
3. See John Barnes and David Nicholson (eds.), *The Empire at Bay: The Leo Amery Diaries 1929-1945* (London: Hutchinson, 1988), pp. 1009-1048, for the discussions in London about the Simla Conference of 1945.
4. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 5, pp. 1086-1283, especially Document 627, pp. 1275-1280 for Wavell's assessment of the personalities and events of the Conference.
5. Hussein Imam, Muslim League Leader in the Council of State.
6. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 5, pp. 1153-1154.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 1224-1226.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 1279.
9. Wavell, *The Viceroy's Journal*, pp. 144-156.
10. *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 5, pp. 1247-1248.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 1248.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. The nomination of candidates for parliamentary elections was a problem for the League as it was for the Congress. Both parties wanted to ensure the selection of candidates favourable to the policies of the central party but this often ran into opposition from regional politicians who saw issues from a provincial perspective.

This was particularly true of the All-India Muslim League where many Muslims gave mere lip service to the demand for Pakistan if it supported it at all. Sindh was split into the Syed Group led by G.M. Syed and opposed by Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and the men of the Mir (chief of Baluchi tribes) Group. *Jagirdar* and *zamindar* factions dominated the Sindh Legislative Assembly. Syed was the leader of the *zamindar* group which generally opposed the *jagirdars*. Syed also tried to protect the rights of the oppressed *Hari* tenants. Conflict between these factions eventually led to the All-India Muslim League selecting the League candidates. See Sho Kuwajima, *Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition: 1946 Provincial Elections in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1998), pp. 48-50.

18. Liaquat Ali Khan Papers.
19. This letter is not available.
20. S.A. Rafique is not listed in *Muslim India*.
21. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
22. Syed's activities were considered so detrimental to the demand for Pakistan that he was expelled from the League in January 1946.
23. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
24. On 23 March Sir Mohamed Saadulla resigned as premier of the province following the resignation of one of his colleagues, Nabakumar Datta, but reconstituted the Cabinet with 50 percent representation given to non-Muslims. Liaquat wanted Assam to be led by a League ministry not a coalition government. League acceptance of the principle of a coalition government would be a bad precedent, especially for the Punjab. See *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, pp. 213-214.
25. Abul Hashim (1905-1974) became member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League in 1937. He had socialist views and he travelled widely in Bengal spreading the views of the Muslim League to the rural areas. He came into conflict with the All-India Muslim League in 1946, resigned his position from the League, and returned to his home town in Burdwan. In 1947 he supported the movement for a united, independent Bengal and he remained in Calcutta until 1950 when he migrated to Dacca and became the director-general of the Islamic Academy. He remained aloof from politics but had harsh words in his autobiography for many of the people in the government of Pakistan. See Abul Hashim, *In Retrospection* (Dacca: Subarna Publishers, 1974). On Muslim politics in Bengal in the decade before independence see: Rahim Enayet, *Provincial Autonomy in Bengal (1937-1943)* (Dacca: The Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi University, 1981); Mohammad Siraj Mannan, *The Muslim Political Parties in Bengal 1936-1947 (A Study of their Activities and Struggle for Freedom)* (Dhaka: Islamic Foundation Bangladesh, 1987); and Shila Sen, *Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947* (New Delhi: Impex India, 1976).
26. Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin (1894-1964) was educated at MAO College, Dunstable Grammar School, London, and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He received the CIE in 1926 and the KCIE in 1934. He served as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1923-1937), and the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1947). He became the Minister for Education (1929-1934), Home Minister (1937-1941), and the Leader of the Opposition (1941-1943) before becoming the Chief Minister of Bengal (1943-1945). After independence he was the Chief Minister for East Bengal (1947-1948), Governor-General (1948-1951), and Prime Minister of Pakistan (1951-1953). He founded the United Muslim Party in 1936 and served on the

- All-India Muslim League Working Committee (1937-1947). In his youth he was an athlete and belonged to a number of sporting clubs.
27. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy (1893-1963) was educated at Calcutta Madrassa, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, Oxford University, and Gray's Inn, London. He practiced law at Calcutta and took part in the Khilafat Movement. He served in the Bengal Legislative Council (1921-1937) and the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1945). He was Deputy Mayor of Calcutta Corporation in 1924 and a member of the All-Parties Muslim Conference, 1929, the All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board, 1936, and the All-India Muslim League Fund Committee in 1938. He was the founder of the United Muslim Party, 1936 but became part of the Bengal Muslim League the following year. He served as Bengal Minister for Food, Local Self-Government and Civil Supplies, 1943-1945, and Chief Minister, 1945-1947. In Pakistan he founded the Jinnah Awami League in 1949 and was the Leader of the Opposition in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (1949-1954), Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs (1954-1955) and Prime Minister (1956-1957). Known as the tough man of Bengali politics, he had an ambiguous relationship with the League. His cousin, Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah, a former Pakistani ambassador and a renowned writer, put together a biography that portrayed a different side of his personality in *Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy: A Biography* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1991).
  28. Not much is known about Abraham although he played a significant part in establishing *Dawn*.
  29. Like Abraham, not much is known about Mahmood Hussain although he too played a significant role in establishing *Dawn*; he is not listed in *Muslim India*.
  30. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
  31. Professor Haye is not listed in *Muslim India*.
  32. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481.
  33. Ibid.
  34. Sir Robert Francis Mudie (1890-1976) was educated at Cambridge University and became an Assistant Master at Clifton (1911) and Eton (1912-1913). He joined the Indian Civil service in 1914 and was posted to Bengal. During the First World War he served with the City of London Rifles and as an Indian Army Reserve Officer. From 1919 until 1949 he served in a large number of official capacities in India and Pakistan: Assistant Magistrate, Jhansi (1919); Joint Magistrate, Benares (1920-1922); Magistrate and Collector, Agra, Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Fatehgarh (1922-1926); Settlement Officer, Agra (1926-1929); Secretary, Indian Round Table Conference, London (1930-1931); Magistrate and Collector, Allahabad, Bulandshahr and Cawnpore (1931-1936); assigned to Secretariat, Government of India (1936-1937); Collector, Agra (1937-1938); Revenue Service, United Provinces (1938-1939); Chief Secretary, Bihar (1939-1943); Acting Governor, Bihar (1943-1944); Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council (1944-1945); Governor of Sindh (1946-1947); and Governor of West Punjab (1947-1949). In 1950 he was engaged as Commercial Minister, Belgrade. Mudie earned the trust and respect of both Jinnah and Liaquat which is why he was asked to serve as Governor of West Punjab. Privy to the workings of the British administration in India in the last years of the *Raj*, and intimately familiar with its leading personalities, his decision not to write his memoirs was a very unfortunate one.

35. Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 481. It is bound as p. 87; p. 86 is dated 20 August 1945.
36. Abdul Matin Choudhry is not listed in *Muslim India*.
37. The Jinnah-Wavell correspondence was released by the League office. Archibald Percival Wavell (1883-1901), Field Marshal and Viscount (1943), and Earl, 1947, served as Viceroy from October 1943 and until March 1947. Born into a military family he was educated at Winchester and Sandhurst and entered the Black Watch regiment in 1901. He served in the Boer War and the First World War losing an eye in 1915. By 1918 he was a brigadier in Palestine. At the beginning of the Second World War he was Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East and earned early victories before the British position was overrun by the Germans in Greece and Libya in 1941. He was then sent to India as Commander-in-Chief and then commanded Allied forces in Southeast Asia in early 1942. Wavell faced the Germans and the Japanese when they both had the upper hand against inferior British forces. He was a man of considerable ability and integrity but his extremely reserved personality and lack of social graces caused him innumerable political and personal problems. See Ronald Lewin, *The Chief: Field Marshal Lord Wavell Commander-in-Chief and Viceroy 1939-1947* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 1980) and the diary Wavell kept from 1943 until 1947, Penderel Moon (ed.), *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).
38. Liaquat published this speech in booklet form through the Muslim League Press. A copy is in Archives of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 447.
39. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875 which became Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. He is considered the father of Muslim modernism in India. See M.S. Jain, *The Aligarh Movement: Its Origin and Development 1858-1906* (Agra: Sri Ram Mehra and Co., 1965); David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978); and Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayeed Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).
40. Maulana Mohammad Ali (1878-1931), along with his brother, Shaukat Ali (1873-1938), led the Khilafat Movement and were committed to Muslim welfare and pan-Islamism. Mohammad Ali, who was educated at Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College and Oxford, started a weekly journal, *Comrade*, at Calcutta in 1911 which he shifted to Delhi the following year when he also started an Urdu daily, *Hamdard*. One of the founders of the All-India Muslim League in 1906, he also took part in the Red Crescent Mission to Turkey in 1912, and in the creation of Jamia Millia Islamia. The brothers took part in Gandhi's non-cooperation movement of 1920-1922 and Mohammad Ali was the president of the Indian National Congress in 1923. They broke with the Congress in 1928 and Mohammad Ali represented Muslims at the Round Table Conference in London in 1930. See Mushirul Hasan's *Mohamed Ali: Ideology and Politics* (New Delhi, 1980) and his edited volume, *Mohamed Ali in Indian Politics: Selected Writings* (Delhi, 1982). See also Muhammad Shan, *Freedom Movement in India: The Role of Ali Brothers* (New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1979), and Allah Baksh Yusufi, *Life of Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar* (Karachi, 1970).
41. The Sargent Scheme (1944), the 'Post-war Educational Development in India' report, popularly called the 'Sargent Report on Education', emanated from the

Central Advisory Board of Education. The objective was the creation within forty years of the same standard of education in India as applied in England. In a comprehensive manner it dealt with all aspects of education from the pre-primary level to university and adult education. Sir John Philip Sergeant (1888-1972) was educated at Oxford University and was employed as Inspector of Schools, East Riding, Yorkshire (1913-1920), Assistant Education Officer, Birmingham (1920-1927), Director of Education for Southend-On-Sea (1927-1931) and Essex County (1931-1938), and President of the Education Section of the British Association in 1938, the same year he travelled to India to become the Education Commissioner of the Government of India (1938-1943). He was the Education Adviser (1943-1945) and Secretary, Education Department (1945-1948). Back in England he became a Director of Education for the British Council (1948-1952) and Warden of Missenden Abbey Adult Education College (1953-1957).

42. Commonly known as the 'Woods Education Despatch' after Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control of the East India Company, although the report was a collaborative effort, it was issued in 1854. It contained the first comprehensive plan for education in India from the primary to the university level and it formed the basis of the educational system in India. Education would be secular and stress was laid on female education, and vocational and teacher-training. A university was started in each presidency based on the model established by the University of London. Instruction could be in English or the vernacular although the former was encouraged at the university level. See R.J. Moore, *Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy 1853-66* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966).

# 10

## 1946: The Interim Government

**W**ith its great victory in the general elections, 1946 began as a triumphal year for the League.<sup>1</sup> Since the previous elections held in 1937, the League had been working toward establishing itself as the political representative of the Muslims of South Asia. The political scene had changed very dramatically since 1937 both in India and in Britain. The League brilliantly manoeuvred to counter all the stratagems employed by the British and the Congress toward dividing the Muslims of South Asia and bringing the League into playing a role in the government that would compromise its position<sup>2</sup> and lead to its emasculation. The Congress, through political misjudgments, in part caused by over-sensitivity, arrogance, and wounded pride, wrecked its political position allowing the League to seize the political initiative.<sup>3</sup>

The British position had also changed dramatically. The war had weakened the British geopolitical and financial position in a way that few British people understood. Many people in India too had no idea of the extent to which the British position had collapsed. The great election victory of the League followed that of the Labour Party in England of June 1945 when Winston Churchill<sup>4</sup> and the Conservative Party were swept out of power in a surprising and dramatic way. The new Prime Minister was Clement Attlee<sup>5</sup> who, after his visit to India in 1928 as a member of the Simon Commission,<sup>6</sup> had become committed to the gradual decolonization of the British Empire. There was no longer any question of whether India would soon become independent, but under what circumstances. While Ireland had been partitioned by the Treaty of London of 1921<sup>7</sup> the British regarded it as a unique case; they were committed to a unified independent India and would continue to make every effort possible to bring about an arrangement between the League, the Congress, and the British that would make this possible. Any partition of India would be regarded as a failure of British policy.<sup>8</sup>

To commemorate the League's great electoral triumph and its new political prominence, Liaquat organized the Muslim League Legislators' Convention that was held in New Delhi at the Anglo-Arabic College quadrangle over three days from 7-9 April.<sup>9</sup> Some 450 to 500 members of the central and provincial legislative assemblies and numerous guests met in a highly triumphal mood to celebrate their remarkable individual and collective triumph. *Dawn* reported that some 200 journalists were at the meeting including the famous *LIFE* photographer, Margaret Bourke-White.<sup>10</sup> The turnaround in the fortunes of the party since the 1937 elections had been nothing less than phenomenal. The Convention was scheduled to open at 4:30 p.m. but due to the delay of the special train from Bengal bringing Suhrawardy and his contingent, which was forced to stop at intermediate stations due to the number of Muslim supporters waiting at the stations wanting to join in the celebration, the assembly did not commence until shortly before 6 p.m. When Jinnah entered and rose to speak he was greeted with a tumultuous reception and his forty-minute speech was interrupted numerous times with applause and cheers.

Commenting on the tremendous victory in the recent elections Jinnah said 'we have won a victory for which there is no parallel in this world...we have routed our opponents in every battle field' and while it was 'a heavy and sacred responsibility', the League stood for Pakistan and they would 'not falter or hesitate to fight for it, to die for it if necessary...[for] achieve it we must or else we perish.'<sup>11</sup> He reiterated that the League would not accept a compromise on the question of Pakistan and that they would never agree to a single constitutional body that would draw up a constitution for a united India. Jinnah specifically commented on and rejected the demand of the Congress that the British leave India and let the Indians themselves settle their political problems. The greatest fear of the League was, in fact, that the British would by-pass the League and make a settlement directly with the Congress. It was these fears that led to talk of the possibility of civil war both among the British and the Indians.

Fears of ignoring the League were not unreal. The British had tried every means they could think of to persuade the League to enter the central government as a minority partner. This would emasculate the League, as the prospect of office would entice some Leaguers to defy League discipline and serve the Congress as happened after the 1937 elections in the United Provinces. The Viceroy, in fact, had corresponded with a number of officials in India and London with the aim of coming



up with a list of Muslim League members who would defy the League and serve in the interim government (he finally submitted this list to Amery on 9 July 1945).<sup>12</sup> This would weaken the League and marginalize it. Nothing would have pleased the British and the Congress more. They would then have been free to negotiate a transfer of power to the Congress in a unified India. The League was fully aware of the danger this posed.

Following the failure of the Simla Conference of 1945 the British Government continued its attempt to induce the League into a constituent assembly and an interim government in a coalition with the Congress. This was done through the visit of the Cabinet Mission.<sup>13</sup> The Cabinet Mission was made up of Sir Stafford Cripps and Woodrow Wyatt<sup>14</sup> as his assistant, Lord Pethick-Lawrence,<sup>15</sup> and A.V. Alexander.<sup>16</sup> The Cabinet Mission arrived in India on 23 March 1946 and, between 26 March and 17 April, interviewed provincial governors, members of the Executive Council, representatives of Indian states, and Indian political leaders. After a short recess in Kashmir, the Commission returned to Delhi where they invited Congress and League leaders to Simla for further talks. The Second Simla Conference met on 5 May and continued for one week when the breakdown of negotiations over the issue of Pakistan was announced on 12 May. The Mission issued a statement saying, 'We are unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate Sovereign States.'<sup>17</sup>

Four days later the Cabinet Mission issued its Cabinet Mission Plan whose most important proposals were that there would be a union of India which would deal with foreign affairs, defence, communications, and tax-raising facilities. The provinces would be grouped according to three regions with their own legislatures and executives. A union constitution would be prepared after the groups had been formed. This plan did not grant Pakistan but it did not give the Congress the strong central government that it was demanding. It was a first step toward Pakistan and the League accepted the Plan.

It did not do so, however, without a certain amount of trepidation. The danger for the League was that in any parliament or Cabinet the Congress could, through its majority votes, dominate the proceedings and outvote the League and establish Congress-*raj*. As days and weeks went by in the workings of a coalition government, the British would feel less and less inclined to intervene in political disputes between the Congress and the League and, once the *raj* had packed up and left

India for good, Muslims would be in the hands of the Congress once again. The Congress was, in fact, asking the British to leave so that Indians would solve the problem themselves.<sup>18</sup> Cripps believed that the Cabinet Mission should make a deal with the Congress. It was only Wavell who prevented this from happening. This would have led to the complete destruction of everything the League had worked for over the past decade. The constituent assembly, where a constitution for a united India would be devised, had to be avoided at all costs if the League was to achieve the creation of Pakistan. On the other hand, if the League refused to take part in any negotiations leading towards independence the League would vacate the political arena and the Congress and the British would write the constitution. The next few months would be critical as the League would need to perform a careful balancing act between opposing the constitutional talks of a united India but at the same time not abdicating responsibility totally and marginalizing itself as the Congress had done for most of the war years.

Whether and when the Interim Government would be established would be critical. If the League served in the Interim Government it would be swept into the vortex of government, its members bogged down in the minutiae of office holding, Congress would consolidate its position<sup>19</sup> and the goal of Pakistan would be lost. Further, if the cabinet was responsible to the legislature then the Muslims would be dominated by the Hindu majority. If, on the other hand, the League abstained from serving in the interim government, but the Congress did, the Congress would become established as the *de facto* inheritor of the central government of India: the All-India Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan would be ignored. It was a delicate situation requiring constant vigilance.

Shortly after the Cabinet Mission left India on 29 June the Viceroy, Wavell, asked Nehru if he would meet Jinnah and persuade him to enter the Interim Government.<sup>20</sup> Jinnah would not do so unless the Governor-General retained his veto, the cabinet would not be responsible to the legislature, and he alone would choose the Muslim members of the cabinet. On 22 August Nehru wrote to Wavell that he was willing to form a coalition government but he would not accept Jinnah's conditions. His response was so strong that Wavell believed, 'It practically amounted to an ultimatum, almost a declaration of war, by Congress.'<sup>21</sup>

Instead, it was the League that declared war. The League was in great danger of being shunted aside. Congress was urging the British to ignore the League and many in the British government agreed.<sup>22</sup> A closer partnership was developing between the British and the Congress that would inevitably lead to the Congress, as the party representing the majority of people in the country, inheriting the government of India. As negotiations had led nowhere, the League needed to make a dramatic demonstration of its strength and to force its way back to the centre of the political scene and to reestablish the veto power it had wielded since 1940. The League needed a dramatic show of its strength, a demonstration of the dangers of ignoring the League. That demonstration was Direct Action Day.

On 29 July the League Working Committee met in Bombay and withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan and announced that it planned a 'day of action'. Jinnah announced that the day was a momentous one for the League as it had always operated through constitutional methods and constitutional talks in the past but now the time had come to demonstrate its authority and strength through non-constitutional means.<sup>23</sup> This would be done through a universal day of *hartal* (strike). That day was planned for Friday, 16 August. Meetings of League followers would be held and processions would be taken out. The aim was to demonstrate League strength throughout the country and to protest the Government's action which amounted to the denigration and the boycott of the League. While protests took place all over India, the biggest League rally took place in Calcutta and led to a large number of clashes between Hindus and Muslims and enormous loss of life.<sup>24</sup> It became known as the 'great Calcutta killing'. The Day of Action served its purpose. The British became fearful that India would degenerate into civil war unless the League was brought fully into the central government. Accordingly, in a remarkable failure of nerve, on 8 September Wavell sent to Pethick-Lawrence a 'Breakdown Plan' whereby the British would withdraw from India before independence due to the collapse of law and order.<sup>25</sup> In the meantime Wavell worked feverishly to make the League change its mind.

On 24 August Wavell broadcast to the nation that he would form the Interim Government with Nehru and thirteen others making up the Cabinet.<sup>26</sup> He stated that the offer was still open to the League to nominate five members. This was considered a great breach of faith by the League as the Congress had not accepted the long-term aspects of the Cabinet Mission Plan which called for the setting up of sections.

The worst fears of the League had come to pass with power now in the hands of the Congress. On 26 August, Jinnah called it 'a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India.'<sup>27</sup>

While the League had demonstrated that it was central to any peaceful constitutional settlement in India it was clear that as long as it remained outside the Cabinet its position would continue to weaken. Many Muslims were angry and felt betrayed that the government, which had not allowed the League to assume the mantle of government during the war when the Congress was boycotting the government and in prison for illegal activities, was now handing over the cabinet to the Congress while the League was boycotting it.<sup>28</sup> It was a clear case of a double standard. The League was angry but as long as it remained outside the government its influence was limited and its following would fade. It needed to continue its fight for Pakistan inside the government.

Wavell sent his Deputy Private Secretary, Ian Scott, to talk with Liaquat on September 1 to ask him what it would take to bring the League into the cabinet.<sup>29</sup> Liaquat told him, *inter alia*, that in the long run the Congress had to accept the setting-up of sectional assemblies where provincial constitutions would be written and that opting out of the sections would only take place after the first elections under the new constitution had been held. Further, the Union Assembly would have no power to alter group constitutions. In the short run, he said a Nationalist Muslim should not be nominated and that no major communal issue should be decided except in agreement with the majority of each community.

The government went ahead with its plans and the new Interim Government was sworn in the following day; the League had been sidelined. Congress was gloating and League followers were furious that the British had allowed the Congress to assume office without committing themselves to the statement of May sixteenth and accepting the sections and the development of constitutions for these sections.

The British still wanted the League to enter the Interim Government and the League realized that it was in a weaker position outside the Interim Government than inside. Accordingly, Jinnah accepted Wavell's invitation to meet and they parlayed on 16 September,<sup>30</sup> again nine days later,<sup>31</sup> and finally on 2 October<sup>32</sup> after which Jinnah agreed to call the League Working Committee to discuss the situation. The day after his last meeting Jinnah sent Wavell a nine-point note containing his proposals for resolving the deadlock. Wavell agreed to most of

them.<sup>33</sup> Jinnah had meetings with Gandhi and Nehru before meeting with Wavell again on 12 October when they discussed the conditions of the League's acceptance of office.<sup>34</sup> Both Liaquat and Jinnah met Wavell the following evening<sup>35</sup> and the upshot was that Jinnah sent Wavell the list of five League representatives to the Interim Government the following day.<sup>36</sup> The aim of the League would be to fight for Pakistan within the government.<sup>37</sup>

During the autumn there were continued communal disturbances between Hindus and Muslims, especially in Bihar, Bengal, and the United Provinces. This confirmed the British in their belief that there would never be communal harmony in India, and the British would be unable to grant independence and leave India, unless the League and the Congress could agree on a constitution for an independent India. To achieve this the British invited leaders of the Congress, the League, and the Sikhs to London for further negotiations hoping that the new venue would lead to a breakthrough.

The parties accepted the invitation and on 30 November Liaquat left New Delhi with Baldev Singh<sup>38</sup> and Nehru along with Wavell for Karachi. The following day they departed for London with Jinnah. They arrived in London at 9 a.m. on 3 December for four days of talks, beginning immediately with a luncheon with Woodrow Wyatt and then meetings the following day with the Secretary of State for India, Pethick-Lawrence,<sup>39</sup> members of the Cabinet Mission, and with the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee. The British pressed relentlessly to get the League to enter the Constituent Assembly asking Jinnah that if the Congress could be persuaded to accept sections and groups and if the Federal Court agreed with the British government's and the League's interpretation of the Cabinet Mission Plan rather than the Congress's would the League agree to enter the Constituent Assembly? Jinnah said no; only the creation of a sovereign Pakistan would safeguard Muslim interests.

Nehru had rushed home to attend the opening of the Constituent Assembly on 9 December, but Jinnah and Liaquat did not return to India until 21 December. Their hand had been considerably strengthened not only by demonstrating that no agreement could be reached without the creation of Pakistan, which the British were now conceding was an option if not a desirable one, but also by a speech given by Winston Churchill of the Conservative Party opposition party in a debate in the House of Commons on 12 December which echoed Jinnah's words in saying that the Muslims in India were not simply a minority people.<sup>40</sup>

Jinnah and Liaquat listened attentively to the debate and returned home heartened with the results of their talks. Their hand had been strengthened and their fight for the creation of Pakistan would continue unabated.

\* \* \* \*

— 17 March 1946 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>41</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
March 17, 1946.

Dear Sir,

As you are aware the British Cabinet Mission is arriving in Delhi on the 24th inst. Their programme is not known yet but a meeting of the Working Committee may be convened at a very short notice and the members may be required to stay in Delhi for an indefinite period.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly keep yourself in readiness to come to Delhi at the shortest possible notice and prepared to stay here for as long as it may be necessary.

Yours sincerely,  
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah,  
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.  
For information.  
L.A.K.

\* \* \* \*

— 17 April 1946 —

Press statement by Liaquat Ali Khan.<sup>42</sup>

Rashtrapati Abul Kalam Azad has issued a long statement to the Press opposing the Muslim demand of Pakistan. There is nothing new in the reasons and arguments that he has advanced. All these and many more were trotted out

by the opponents of the Muslim League in the last general elections and after examining the whole question carefully the Muslim nation has given its verdict in favour of Pakistan.

The Rashtrapati, sitting comfortably in the lap of Hindu Capitalism, is shedding crocodile tears for the future of 100 million Indian Muslims if they succeed in getting an Independent Sovereign State of their own in the vast sub-continent of India.

Thank God, the Muslim nation has reached political manhood and it is not likely to be taken in by such devices. Everybody knows that he is but an echo of his masters' voice. No single individual has done greater harm to the cause of the Muslims in India during the last nine years than Rashtrapati Abul Kalam Azad.

He has done everything that human ingenuity could think of, including the use of Hindu black-market money, to create disruption amongst the Musalmans and destroy their unity and solidarity.

This Muslim 'divine' has been used by the Hindu Congress to weaken the Musalmans in every way possible. His latest achievement, as every one knows, is the imposition of a non-Muslim regime in the Punjab, thereby cheating the Muslim majority of its rightful position in the Province.

He should realize by now that Musalmans are not going to be deceived by his sham show of concern for their future. They have after mature consideration determined their goal and will march on fearlessly till they reach their destination—Pakistan, which they know means their freedom and salvation.

The Congress Rashtrapati claims that the new Congress formula whereby Provinces are to be given full autonomy and residuary powers secures all that the Musalmans hope to get under the Pakistan Scheme.

No amount of jugglery with words can hide the fact that under the proposed formula there will be a Central Government dominated by the Hindus dealing with subjects such as presumably defence and foreign policy which are the life blood of a nation's freedom.

The demand for Pakistan today is not based only on the fear of the Hindu majority at the Centre but it is the urge of

a nation to mould its national life in accordance with its own ideals and culture and cannot be satisfied without having full sovereignty which necessarily implies full control over all departments of State without exception.

A realist will appreciate that the question today is not why there should be Pakistan but how it should be established. Those who honestly desire the independence of the country and freedom of both Hindus and Muslims should devote all their time and energy to finding ways and means of establishing Pakistan peacefully.

It is the solution of India's problem, and the only way in which India can achieve its independence at the earliest.

\* \* \* \*

— 2 June 1946 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>43</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
2.6.46.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been trying to ring you up but your telephone has been out of order.

The Viceroy had another engagement at 10 a.m. tomorrow which he put off till 11 o'clock to suit your convenience, as I had told the Viceroy's Secretary that I think you will be able to see him tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock. The interview is fixed for 10 o'clock and I hope under the circumstances, it will suit your convenience.

Kindly let me know so that I may confirm it.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*



— 18 August 1946 —

Gul-i-Raána<sup>44</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
August 18, 1946.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I beg to confirm the following telegram which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has sent you to-day:-

'Continuation my telegram yesterday suggest following Names Abdurrah Nishtar Mumtaz Daultana Ismail Khan Khaliquzzaman Abdulmatin Choudhry Nazimuddin or Chundrigar and myself if you think proper.'

Yours sincerely,  
Shafaat Ahmed.  
Secretary to Liaquat Ali Khan

Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah,  
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

\* \* \* \*

— 24 August 1946 —

Gul-i-Raána<sup>45</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
August 24, 1946.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I beg to confirm the following telegram which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had sent you to-day:-

'Have I your authority to direct all Muslim league members central legislature not to attend any meetings convened by new government of standing committees select committees etc. Wire reply.'

Yours sincerely,  
Shafaat Ahmed.  
Secretary to Liaquat Ali Khan

Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah,  
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

\* \* \* \*

— 26 August 1946 —

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>46</sup>  
8B Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.

Your telegram twenty-fifth I agree with course you propose regarding league members central legislature with reference to various committees of which they are members

Jinnah  
26th August 1946.

\* \* \* \*

— 3 September 1946 —

8B, Hardinge Avenue<sup>47</sup>  
New Delhi.  
3.9.46

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much better now though I have still to be in bed for the greater part of the day. The progress has been slower than was expected. I hope you have been keeping well.

I suggest that we send Altaf Husain to England immediately for about a month or six weeks. To send any official delegation would to my mind not be the right thing to do. He can go ostensibly in connection with *Dawn's* work and while he is there he can organize a campaign for our propaganda. Can have some pamphlets prepared, printed and distributed putting the Muslim League case. Letters and contributed articles can also be arranged to be published in some of the newspapers. Our case is not known and to my mind it is absolutely necessary that our case should be put across before the Parliament reassembles on the 8th of October. Yusuf Haroon<sup>48</sup> is going to England on the 10th of September and I propose that he should go to England on the same day. Yusuf's presence there will be instrumental in providing certain facilities to Altaf Husain. It would cost us about five thousand rupees or so. As Yusuf will be in England he has offered to bear the expenses of Altaf Husain's stay in England. I hope you will agree with this proposal of

mine. To me it seems absolutely necessary. Altaf Husain will be able to organize the Muslim League which I must say has been doing good work. If you agree with this proposal please tell Yusuf 'Yes.' He will telephone me and then I shall send Altaf Husain to Bombay for a few hours to take directions from you. The time is short and immediate steps have to be taken.

I have a called meeting of the Committee of Action on the 8th and have invited Presidents and Secretaries of Provincial Leagues to meet the Committee. We are likely to be in session for about a week after which it may be necessary to meet you and discuss certain matters.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 26 October 1946 —

Press conference held by Liaquat Ali Khan in New Delhi.<sup>49</sup>

#### LIAQUAT ALI EXPLAINS LEAGUE POLICY IN INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, League Member of the Interim Government, at a Press Conference in New Delhi on the 26th October attended by his three colleagues (Messrs. Nishtar, Chundrigar and Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Mandal being still away in East Bengal), explained the Muslim League's intentions and ideals in entering the Interim Government.<sup>50</sup>

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said: 'We are aware of the great responsibility which we have undertaken and I can assure you that it is not with a light heart that we have decided to enter the Interim Government. The Muslim League has decided to enter the Interim Government in the interests of Muslim India and the peoples of this vast sub-continent.'

India, Mr. Liaquat Ali said, was not a nation: it was a land of nationalities. 'Unless you have a Government which has in it the representatives of all the nationalities that inhabit this vast sub-continent, you cannot have either peace or goodwill among the peoples of India. In India, to my mind, it is not possible nor is it advisable to have one-party-Government. No Government, especially at this time when there are so many serious problems which we have to face, can tackle successfully these problems unless it can claim to represent all the nationalities of the country.' Referring to Press reports that the League had entered the Government after giving assurances and undertakings, Mr. Liaquat Ali said: 'We are a responsible organization. We know what our duty is and there is no question of giving any assurance to anybody. We have entered this Government to look after the interests of the peoples of this land of ours. We know what our responsibility is and we know how to discharge that responsibility. I want to make it clear that it is our intention and determination to work in harmony with our colleagues in the Executive Council. We have no desire that this Government should become an area of strife. We have enough strife outside in the country and we want that that strife outside should end. We want that there should be peace in the country; we want that all this ill will which exists to-day should disappear. I do not think that there is any Indian who can be proud of what is happening throughout the length and breadth of India during the last few months.

'We feel that our entry into the Government may establish, and we hope it will establish, a peaceful atmosphere outside. India needs a peaceful atmosphere more today than it ever did, because there are so many problems which have sprung up, problems that always follow in the wake of war which have got to be dealt with.' Mr. Liaquat Ali went on: 'It will be the determined effort of my colleagues and myself of the Muslim League, it will be our first duty, to take steps to ameliorate the conditions of the masses, whose interests have been criminally ignored in the past. Every action that we take, every policy that we follow, will have that

background, will have that desire of improving the lot of the man in the street.

## FINANCIAL POLICY OF NEW GOVERNMENT

'With regard to my particular portfolio of Finance, the policy that I shall follow will be not to make the rich richer and the poor poorer but to bring down the rich and raise up the poor.

The future of India, he believed, could only be secured if there was complete freedom for the two major nations, the Hindus and Muslims, and complete security and justice guaranteed to the minorities in this land. 'Whatever shape or form the future constitution of India may take, if it is not based on this fundamental principle, I fear that our troubles will not be over. Our troubles can only be over when every nationality feels that it is free to develop itself in accordance with its own ideals, its own culture, and its own ideology. We can only have peace when every minority can feel that its interests are safe and secure and the future rule of India is not based on numbers but is based on equality, justice and fairplay.' Mr. Liaquat Ali went on: 'This Government has been formed under the present constitution and as such there is no such thing as joint collective responsibility. But at the same time it should be the desire and determination of every member of the Government to work in harmony and in co-operation for the good of the man in the street. We should work not for the purpose of our party gains or party losses but for the good of the general mass of the people and I feel that if all the Members of the Government who are responsible for their own departments work in that spirit of co-operation and harmony, this Government should be able to achieve substantial success. This is indeed a novel a novel experiment which we are trying here. Nowhere in the world does a Government like the present Interim Government of India exist and I hope it will succeed.'

## INTENTION TO WORK IN HARMONY

Mr. Liaquat Ali had several times been asked by his friends whether this Government would be able to function in a proper atmosphere. 'My reply to that is: We have come into the Government with the intention of working in harmony with our other colleagues. But as you know, you cannot clap with one hand. The success or failure of this Government will depend on its various component parts. Let us hope in the interest of this country which is dear to every one of us, that this experiment which we are trying will prove successful.' The Muslim League, said Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, was desirous of the Independence of India and freedom of its peoples as much as anyone else. 'I challenge, I deny, that one particular party has a monopoly of patriotism. We are as anxious, as keen and as desirous as anybody else of having complete Independence and freedom, and doing away with foreign domination at the earliest possible moment. Referring to the Commerce portfolio allotted to Mr. Chundrigar which indirectly affected his own Department, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said: 'As far as our relations with the outside world are concerned, every policy that we follow will be for establishing friendly contacts with all countries. We shall adopt policies which will establish economic and cultural co-operation between the various nations of the world. We feel that the world is large enough to find a place for every nation.

'We feel that if there were more co-operation and more friendly relations and less exploitation by the West of the East, the world will be a happier one. I would like to take this opportunity of appealing to the Western Countries that they have exploited the East enough. The East is awake now and if they want to avoid all the carnage that has taken place during the last two world wars, they must give up this policy of exploitation of weaker countries. They must adopt a policy of friendly co-operation; they must adopt a policy of economic co-operation as equal partners and on an equal footing.

## QUESTION OF EQUALITY OF TREATMENT FOR ALL

There were some people who believed that everyone should be treated equally, that every community should have equal treatment and no favours. He did not subscribe to this view. 'I feel that those communities or those elements which are in a weaker position are not only deserving but it is their right to have a better treatment so that you could bring them up to the level of the other communities or elements in the country which are economically, socially and educationally more advanced. It may sound and read very well on paper to say that everybody must be treated equally. I say that no injustice should be done to anybody but those elements in the country which are weak and depressed must be raised up to a higher level and therefore they are deserving of special consideration and more favourable treatment. It is a very heavy burden which we have undertaken and we hope that we shall not disappoint our people who have sent us to this Interim Government. We hope that we will be able to do something during our tenure of office. I cannot say how long it will last. We hope that we will be able to do something which will really ameliorate the condition of the masses, really establish peace in the country and better understanding and goodwill among the various nationalities of this land.'

Asked why he had not mentioned the demand for Pakistan in his speech, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said: 'In my speech I have defined what Pakistan is. Pakistan is a concise name for what I have placed before you just now. Pakistan means freedom both for Hindus and Muslims and security and justice for the minorities. As long as we believe in the real independence of India in orderly progress and peace and tranquility in this land we cannot give up Pakistan.'

Questions relating to the joint responsibility of the members of the Interim Government and the nomination of Mr. J.N. Mandal as the League's nominee were answered by Mr. Liaquat Ali.

One correspondent asked: On the one hand you desire co-operation and on the other you shirk joint responsibility,

which is another name for co-operation as against the Viceroy's veto. How would you reconcile this?

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: Joint and collective responsibility is a constitutional law and practice. There is under the present Government of India Act no such thing as collective or joint responsibility. I have said that we want to work in harmony and co-operation with other colleagues and at the same time, I have explained the constitutional position. I may tell my friend that I am willing to co-operate with him but co-operation does not mean that if my friend wants to drown himself in the sea I am going to follow him there (laughter).

Q: If someone tries to push me down into the water, will you stand by me?

A: As a human being I will pull you out (more laughter).

Q: Does this mean you will not accept the leadership of Pandit Nehru?

A: As I said, the Government has been formed under the present constitution. There is no such thing as leadership of the Government by one individual. In the Government there are nominees of the two major parties—the Congress and the Muslim League—and the representatives of the three minorities—the Sikhs, Indian Christians and the Parsis. The Congress Party have a leader of their own. That means that the Congress Bloc in the Government have a leader of their own. As regards the Vice-Presidency of the Executive Council, the Vice-President's functions as laid down in the constitution is to preside at meetings of the Council in the absence of the Governor-General. He enjoys no other privileges which other members of the Government do not. We are colleagues in a common enterprise to advance the good of the people of India.

Replying to another question, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said: 'We believe in industrialization of the country not for the good of a few capitalists but for the good of the peoples of India.'

Asked whether Mr. Jogendranath Mandal's nomination was a departure from the League's policy, he said: 'The League has always championed the cause of not only the Musalmans but all the down-trodden peoples of this country.'



Q: Does the League's entry into the Government imply that it will come into the Constituent Assembly.

A: I can only answer that question as Secretary of the League and I am not addressing this Press Conference in that capacity.

\* \* \* \*

— 31 October 1946 —

Gul-i-Raána<sup>51</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
October 31, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall be obliged if you will kindly send a cheque for Rs.50,000/- (Rupees fifty thousand only) in *Dawn* account to enable us to make payments in connection with Printing Machinery ordered for *Dawn*.

Yours sincerely,

Liaquat Ali Khan  
1st Nov 46 Paid Cheque—  
Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah,  
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

\* \* \* \*

— 10 December 1946 —

Gul-i-Raána<sup>52</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
10.12.46.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending the copy of Syed Zahir Ali's<sup>53</sup> Report regarding the Burhanpur affairs. There is no doubt that the allegations that were contained in the telegram of Mohammad Asghar<sup>54</sup> were correct and it is difficult to understand how the Defence Secretary could deny these in face of the mass of evidence that is available on the

point. You might send a copy of the report to the Defence Secretary with a covering letter. I have not yet released the report to the Press for publication, but I think it should be made public. I would like to know what is your view about its publication.

I was surprised to read Fazlul Haq's statement in the Press regarding the convening of a meeting of the Working Committee to consider some proposal which he has got for opening negotiations with the Congress. We have never said 'no' to any negotiations with the Congress and your statement in the Assembly is there to remove any doubts. In face of this one does not know what Fazlul Haq has up his sleeve. Statements such as this can only do harm by creating misunderstanding regarding the attitude of the League in this connection. If he had any definite proposal to make he should have written to you privately instead of rushing to the Press. 'God help us from our friends!'

I went to Aligarh last weekend and had two very interesting days there. I think the heart of Aligarh is sound.

When are you going to Karachi?

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit.

With our kindest regards to both of you & love from Ashraf.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

\* \* \* \*

— 31 December 1946 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>55</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
31.12.46

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you are feeling rested and have had [a] little peace.

I am herewith sending copies of certain papers with regard to Rotary Printing machine which is immediately available in America. The make of the machine is one of

the most famous ones and from all accounts it seems to be a good proposition. The price is higher by a few thousand dollars than of the one for which we have placed the order. I am told that the order that we have placed can be cancelled without any loss of deposit that we have made. The advantage if [we] get this machine is that it is available immediately whereas the other machine we are not likely to get before two years. Four linotypes out of the six that we had ordered from America have already arrived in Calcutta, the other two will be arriving shortly. If we get this Rotary machine we can start our own press within about three months. In any case we have got to make our own arrangements for printing '*Dawn*' by next March. As Latifi Press where the paper is being printed at present has given us notice that it will not print *Dawn* after March 1947. We are likely to get a plot of land in New Delhi for putting up a building for *Dawn* before the end of January. All the newspapers are being given land by the Government. The premium fixed for each plot is about sixty thousand rupees.

If we can get the Rotary machine and are able to set up our own press there will be quite good saving in printing charges and we will make good the extra cost of the Rotary machine which is offered to us in two years and also some savings. If we decide to get this machine we will have to find rupees four lakhs immediately. I should like to have immediately your orders about it as the firm wants a reply in a couple of days. There are a number of offers for the machine, I am told.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

Copy.<sup>56</sup>

The Printers House Ltd.,

Scindia House,  
Connaught Circus,  
Post Office No. 273,  
New Delhi 30th December, 1946.  
The General Manager,  
The '*Dawn*',  
Delhi.

Dear Sir,

With reference to our interview with Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and our meetings with you, we now enclose herewith copies of the cables we have received regarding a twinned Unitubular which may be used as 2 — 16 page machines.

As submitted to you personally, we have another customer who is prepared to buy one 16 page set and the other is offered to you with complete stereo plant for delivery within the month of January if you confirm this transaction immediately. It is estimated that dismantling, packing and inland freight to New York will cost about 10% of the total cost of the machine.

In view of the importance of this transaction as will be clear from another cable, a copy of which is also enclosed, I am proceeding to Bombay to finalize this transaction and since a cable reply has to be sent by mid-day tomorrow, our above offer is subject to the sale of the machine to another customer in Bombay.

The copy of the second cable enclosed, will also clarify to you the position in regards to the assessment of the prices of the twinned Rotary Machine, the arbitration of which is left in the hands of the Duplex Printing Press Co.

Since however, the machine with four double reversible colour units and one quarter size folder etc. etc. has more value, we think that the second unit containing only one double reversible colour unit will enable you to secure the machine within \$100,000.00 as it stands plus the cost of a new Matrix Roller referred to in the first cable.

This machine as stated above was purchased in 1942, but is of the latest model and has all the improvements introduced in the machine by the Duplex Printing Press Co. According to our Engineers and Duplex Printing Press Co. the machine has not been used for more than 3 months according to the running standards of the machine in New York. It should therefore be considered as good as new.

We may add that a new machine with the above advantages and including the above equipment will cost you approximately \$142,000.00. This machine should be considered as absolutely new and has the additional advantage of being ready for shipment within the next 30 days. You are aware that the new shipments cannot be guaranteed within a year or 18 months.

Awaiting your esteemed order with interest,

Yours faithfully,  
for The Printers House Limited.

copy.<sup>57</sup>

\* \* \* \*

## NOTES

1. The votes polled by the Congress and other parties in the Assembly elections are found in *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, January-June 1946, pp. 229-231.
2. As Frank Mudie recorded in a note dated 16-17 July 1945 on the Simla Conference. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 5, p. 1269.
3. See Ian Talbot's fine study *India and Pakistan* (London: Arnold, 2000), chapters 1-6.
4. The long, colourful, and controversial life of Winston Churchill (1874-1965) is best examined in the multi-volume work of Martin Gilbert: *Winston Churchill, the Wilderness Years* (London: Macmillan, 1981); *Road to Victory: Winston S. Churchill, 1941-1945* (London: Heinemann, 1986); and *Never Despair: Winston S. Churchill, 1945-1965* (London: Heinemann, 1988), and in the single volume study, *Churchill: A Life* (London: Heinemann, 1991).
5. Clement Richard Attlee (1883-1967) was the leader of the Labour Party from 1935 until 1955, serving as Prime Minister from 1945 until 1951. Educated at Haileybury School and Oxford University he spent a short period of time in a law office before devoting his life to working with the poor in the East End of London. He joined the Independent Labour Party in 1907. Volunteering to serve in the First World War he ended it as a major, became mayor of Stepney Council in 1919, and was elected to the House of Commons in 1922. He became Deputy Prime Minister to Winston Churchill in 1942. See Trevor Burridge. *Clement Attlee: A Political Biography* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1985). He also penned an autobiography, *As it Happened* (London: Heinemann, 1954) in which he deals with the independence of India in a disappointing and non-informative manner (pp. 177-192). Perhaps this is because of the shabby and shameful manner in which Attlee relieved Wavell of his duties as Viceroy in 1947. See also R.J. Moore. *Escape from Empire: The Attlee Government and the Indian Problem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).
6. The Simon Commission was the informal name for the Indian Statutory Commission which was a committee made up of Simon as Chairman, six members, and two secretaries. Due to a provision of the Government of India Act of 1919 it was sent to India to investigate the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions. Indians protested the fact that there were no Indian members of the Commission and it was widely boycotted. Its two-volume report was issued in 1930.
7. There was, nonetheless, a connection between India and Ireland going back to the nineteenth century. See S.B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland* (New Delhi: Sage, 1993).
8. Many commentators in India to this day cannot accept that Gandhi, Nehru, and the Congress had been brilliantly outmanoeuvred by Jinnah and the League. They continue to state that the British desired the creation of Pakistan for *divide et impera* reasons and the maintenance of British influence and power in Asia. Such is not the case. When the time came for the British colonies in Africa to become independent the British failure in India to prevent partition was uppermost in British minds. They were determined that their failure to prevent partition in India would not be repeated in Africa.

9. The *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, January-June 1946, pp. 192-199 offered a summary of the Convention while *Dawn* carried fuller reports on 9, 11, and 12 April.
10. Margaret Bourke-White made two trips to India and Pakistan reporting and, more importantly, taking photographs, which have become renowned images of the time. Her book, *Halfway to Freedom: A Report on the New India in the Words and Photographs of Margaret Bourke-White* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1949), includes a photograph of Jinnah which became his favourite image of himself. Her writing, however, is sensational and exaggerated; this includes the chapter on Jinnah.
11. *Dawn*, 9 April 1946, p. 1.
12. Four of Wavell's nominees were members of the Muslim League. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 5, pp. 1215-1216.
13. Volume 7 of the *Transfer of Power* (1977) is dedicated to the mission. For a summary of the Cabinet Mission activities in India as well as statements by the leading figures involved see *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, January-June 1946, pp. 129-191.
14. Woodrow Lyle Wyatt (1918-1997) was educated at Oxford University and became a major during the First World War. He volunteered for service in India and he was elected to the House of Commons as a member of the Labour Party in 1945. He was a member of the parliamentary delegation that visited India in 1946 and on his return recommended to the Prime Minister that a Cabinet Mission be sent to India to negotiate independence. He was also a journalist and an editor of a journal for young writers at the same time that he was a politician.
15. Frederick Pethick-Lawrence (1871-1961) was the Secretary of State for India from 1945 until 1947. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge and called to the Bar at the Inner Temple. He owned and edited several newspapers in the years before the First World War when, along with his wife Emmeline, he played a leading role in the suffragette movement. He was first elected a Labour member of parliament in 1923. He visited India in 1926 and served on the Round Table Conference in 1931.
16. Albert Victor Alexander (1885-1965) was the son of a blacksmith who left school at the age of thirteen to contribute to the family earnings of his widowed mother. He became a clerk at the Bristol school board before leaving for the school management department of Somerset County Council where he remained until 1920. He had married in 1908 and became a lay Baptist preacher. He also became active in the National Association of Local Government Officers and the Co-operative Society. He served in the Artists' Rifles in the First World War ending with the rank of captain. In 1920 he became the secretary to the parliamentary committee of the Co-operative Congress and in 1922 was elected Member of Parliament as Labour and Co-operative Party candidate in the Hillsborough division of Sheffield. He held that seat, apart from a break between 1931 and 1935, until 1950. Between 1929 and 1931 he served as First Lord of the Admiralty and was reappointed to that position by Churchill in 1940 serving, with a break during the short caretaker government before the general election of 1945, until 1946. In 1946, the same year he was elevated to the House of Lords, he became the Minister for Defence and held that position until 1950. From 1950

until 1964 he served as Deputy Leader and Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords.

17. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 1, January-June 1946, p. 56.
18. As Wavell noted in his diary. See *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal*, pp. 278-279.
19. As Jinnah stated in a conversation with Woodrow Wyatt on 9 December when Wyatt noted that Jinnah said that if the British remained in India for a considerable length of time, 'Congress would have entrenched themselves into so many officials and would have prepared their organization in the country so elaborately that the Muslim League would be unable to stand up against them' *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 9, p. 313.
20. Volume 7 of *Transfer of Power* covers the period of the Interim Government.
21. *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal*, p. 322.
22. Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, pp. 287-289.
23. *Ibid.*
24. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 8, pp. 293-304 for an account of League activities in the city.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 454-465. The British already had a plan for withdrawing from India in order to protect British lives but this new plan called for withdrawal as a tactic to pressure the Congress and the League into an agreement. If no agreement could be reached the British would still depart from India. The plan was rejected outright. See *ibid.*, pp. 550-555.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-308 has the text of his broadcast.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
28. See, for example, Sir Evan Jenkins' account of Muslim attitudes in the Punjab in *ibid.*, pp. 371-374.
29. He reported his interview to George Abell, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, the following day. See *ibid.*, pp. 387-388. It became part of a telegram from Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence on 9 September. *Ibid.*, pp. 470-471. Sir Ian Scott (1909-) grew up in Scotland and Trinidad before entering Balliol College, Oxford University, in 1927. He also studied for a year at the London School of Economics. He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1931 and was posted to Karachi in 1932. In 1935 he was transferred to the North West Frontier Province and in 1942 became principal of Islamia College in Peshawar. In 1945 he became Wavell's Deputy Private Secretary on the basis that he was knowledgeable on Muslim affairs. He was one of the few British officials who took the Pakistan demand seriously: 'In my earliest conversation with the private secretary, he said that I surely did not really think that the demand for Pakistan was serious. He was surprised when I replied that I did and that it would be pursued, even if it meant, as Jinnah once said, that Muslims got a piece of the Sindh desert to themselves.' Dennis Judd (ed.), *A British Tale of Indian and Foreign Service: The Memoirs of Sir Ian Scott* (London: The Radcliffe Press, 1999), p. 145.
30. For Wavell's note of this meeting see *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 8, pp. 524-527.
31. Wavell's summary of the meeting is in his telegram of September 26 to Pethick-Lawrence. See *ibid.*, pp. 587-588. A fuller note of the same date, which Wavell wrote to Abell, is found in *ibid.*, pp. 589-592.
32. See *ibid.*, pp. 643-644 for Wavell's note of the meeting.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 650-651 and 654-655.
34. See *ibid.*, pp. 703-705 for Wavell's note of the meeting.

35. See Wavell's note of the meeting in *ibid.*, pp. 712-713.
36. They were: Liaquat, I.I. Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and Jugendra Nath Mandal, who was a minister in the Bengal Government. Mandal was the most controversial nomination as he was a Hindu. He had been appointed because the Congress insisted on the right to nominate a Muslim to the Cabinet.
37. As Ghazanfar Ali Khan explicitly stated in a meeting at Islamia College, Lahore on 19 October when he said, 'We are going into the Interim Government to get a foothold to fight for our cherished goal of Pakistan', *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 8, p. 756. This statement greatly upset the Congress.
38. Baldev Singh (1902-1961) was born in Dumna village in Ropar District, Punjab, and educated at Ambala and at Khalsa College, Amritsar. His father had been a government official in the Central Provinces before becoming a contractor and then a steel magnate at Jamshedpur in Bihar. Baldev Singh joined his father's company as a director and then returned to the Punjab for the 1937 general elections where he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly as a Panthic (Akali) Party member. In 1942 he entered into the Sikandar-Baldev Pact with the premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, which allowed for a coalition government. He was sworn in as the Punjab's Development Minister. The same year he was chosen as a member of a delegation to meet with the Cripps Mission. In the Interim Government of 1946 he became the Defence Minister. He continued as Defence Minister when India became independent and he remained in his post until 1952. He was elected to the Lok Sabha in 1952 on the Congress ticket and reelected in 1957.
39. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 9, pp. 246-268, 274-285, 287-303, 309-310, 312-313, 317-320, 332-337, 344-348, 353-356, 358-364, 366-367, 371-379, 383-388, 391-395, and 397-401 for accounts of the various meetings between the principals and for notes, memoranda, minutes of meetings, and British plans for the future, and Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, pp. 297-305 for an account of the entire visit.
40. See Robert Rhodes James (ed.), *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches 1897-1963* Vol. VII 1943-1949 (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1974), pp. 7410-7417.
41. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
42. Reported in full in *Dawn*, 18 April 1946.
43. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Yusuf A. Haroon was born in 1918 in Karachi and attended St. Patrick High School and S. M. College in Karachi. He became a member of the Sind Muslim League National Guards in 1937 and the Karachi Municipal Corporation in 1940 before being elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1941. He served in the Assembly until 1947. From 1942 until 1947 he was a member of the All-India Muslim League Council. Both before and after 1947 he occupied a number of official positions. See *Muslim India*, pp. 339-340.
49. This account is taken from *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 2, July-Dec. 1946, pp. 270-271.



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50. That is Abdur Rab Nishtar, I.I. Chundrigar, and Ghazanfar Ali Khan. The fourth League nominee, Jogendra Nath Mandal, was still in Bengal.
  51. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
  52. Ibid.
  53. Syed Zahir Ali is not listed in *Muslim India*.
  54. Mohammad Asghar was a member of the Legislative Assembly for the Central Provinces and Berar where he served as League General Secretary.
  55. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
  56. Ibid.
  57. Ibid. The copy is not included here. It provides details of the technical features of the printer, its provenance, and the cost.

## 1947: The 'Poor Man's Budget', Pakistan

**T**he year began with the League, especially Liaquat as Finance Member, fighting for Pakistan inside the Interim Government, and both Jinnah and Liaquat and the League Committee of Action, continuing to argue for Pakistan and working with provincial League parties, especially in the Punjab, Sindh, and Bengal, to establish or consolidate League power. Jinnah was exhausted and ill after his trip to London, and upon his return to India rested in and around Karachi until 24 February, when he left for Bombay by ship. It was not until 4 April that he returned to Delhi by airplane. Thus, it was League officials who mostly carried on the fight in the provinces although Jinnah continued his voluminous correspondence from his sick bed and attended a number of receptions and meetings in Bombay.<sup>1</sup>

The League began a civil disobedience movement in Assam, the North-West Frontier Province, and in the Punjab in an attempt to wrest power away from non-League ministries so the League would control the governments in the six provinces they were claiming as Pakistan: Assam, Baluchistan, Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, and Sindh. This would be crucial if votes in the provincial legislatures were going to determine whether a province would opt for joining the proposed constituent assembly of either India or Pakistan, which was one of the possibilities being considered.<sup>2</sup> In the Punjab, the League was so effective in mobilizing Muslims in public demonstrations behind the party and against the Unionist ministry that they put the Unionist Party very badly on the defensive.<sup>3</sup> At the end of January, the prime minister of the Punjab, Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, took action against the League by ordering the arrest of the Punjabi leaders of the All-India Muslim League Guards and banning the Guards in the province. By this action Khizar set off a storm of protest as the

League responded with vociferous protest demonstrations and marches. He was forced to rescind the ban. None of these attacks against Khizar and the Punjab government were more effective than a harangue in the mosque after Friday prayers. Not only did Khizar reverse policy but the League had weakened his position so greatly that at the beginning of March he was forced to resign.

However, instead of the League being invited to form the provincial government Glancey,<sup>4</sup> the Governor, highly partial as he was to the Unionist party, invoked Section 93 and took over the reins of government himself. This was regarded by the League as an affront to the party and a betrayal of the constitutional principles by which the British were governing India. It was certainly an object lesson in the realities of power. It was a clear signal, if one more was needed, that the League could be ignored in the constitutional arrangement for a post-independence India.

All over the country, as in the Punjab, the League was keeping the pressure on provincial governments through establishing itself as the defender of Muslims and Muslim culture. This kept communal tension high which was the League's most effective tactic and its greatest asset. It was so effective that in the New Year there was the almost constant talk of the breakdown of law and order and even civil war. Wavell had fed into this atmosphere with his defeatist and alarmist 'Breakdown Plan' whereby the British, in the face of disorder and the threat to British lives, would withdraw from India province by province.<sup>5</sup> Not only was the plan criticized by a number of British officials both in India and in Britain, most notably Foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin<sup>6</sup> but it led to the British Prime Minister, Attlee, finally losing all patience with Wavell. He was unceremoniously dumped and replaced by Louis Mountbatten. Wavell, for all his personal faults of taciturnity and lack of social graces was, along with Claude Auchinleck,<sup>7</sup> the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, the League's best friend among leading British officials. Wavell was determined to see that fairness and honesty prevailed in political dealings between the League and the Congress although in this endeavour he was undermined by Attlee and, especially, by Stafford Cripps, who was highly partial to the Congress and regarded Nehru a personal friend. Cripps saw himself as Wavell's successor and bent over backwards to please the Congress.

Wavell, believing that he could convince Indians the British were serious about leaving India, and arguing that this would force the League and the Congress to negotiate a settlement, had wanted the

British government to make a public declaration that they would withdraw from India by a set date. This is precisely what the government finally did in its statement of 20 February<sup>8</sup> when it announced that Britain would withdraw from India no later than June 1948 and the Indian parties needed to reach an early agreement on the constitution.

Eight days after the British government's historic announcement, Liaquat, in the Legislative Assembly of India in New Delhi, gave one of the most important speeches ever given in the chamber. It was the Budget speech for the following fiscal year. As the first Budget speech given by an Indian Finance Member in British India it was not only a historic moment but it also had dramatic political effects. Dubbed the 'Poor Man's Budget' it proposed special taxes on wartime profiteering that mostly impacted rich Hindu businessmen. Consequently, Hindus interpreted Liaquat's budget as an attack on them by a Muslim Leaguer. For many of them being challenged by a minority Muslim was the last straw; it convinced them that they would be better off by allowing Pakistan to be created and Liaquat, and many Leaguers along with him, migrating to Pakistan. The result was the mood among some important Hindu leaders changed and they began to accept the idea of partitioning the country and the creation of Pakistan. By 14 March, Nehru, one of the staunchest opponents of both the Muslim League and partition, was acknowledging that Pakistan was inevitable.<sup>9</sup>

Liaquat's Budget was an important factor in helping turn the tide of opinion among Congress leaders. To make matters worse for the Congress, Liaquat, as Finance Member could, and did, veto Congress ministers' spending plans. They had to receive Liaquat's approval and he made fools of them by denying their spending requests. It infuriated them and also served to convince them that cooperation with the League was impossible and the creation of Pakistan was the only solution to the political impasse.

Throughout March, more and more Congressmen came to accept the idea of Pakistan as the only solution to the peaceful achievement of freedom. On 2 March, Khizar resigned in the Punjab but the Sikhs would not join in a coalition government with the League in the Punjab and so Section 93 was invoked and the Governor ruled the province. Violence increased and while this could be controlled with a strong display of force on the part of the government, the British were looking for a way out of India as soon as possible and rather than responding in a firm manner sought to place all blame for the breakdown of law

and order on the Indians themselves. This fed into the lawlessness of certain elements in society and led to an increasing feeling of uncertainty.

It was amidst this sense of urgency that the new viceroy, and the last of British India, Louis Mountbatten, was greeted at the airport in Delhi on 22 March by Liaquat and other members of the Interim Government. He was to stamp his personality indelibly on the events of the period and on the history of South Asia with devastating consequences. Related to the British royal family, he was an intellectual nonentity but a master showman who was quite brilliant at personal manipulation and public relations, which was his forte. Many people were taken by his personal exhibition and tireless self-aggrandizement but others saw through him immediately, including some ordinary soldiers who could recognize a 'glib and self-serving adventurer', when they saw one.<sup>10</sup> He came to India with an enormous personal staff, the 'Mountbatten machine'<sup>11</sup> and with his millionairess wife, Edwina, who ceaselessly worked on his behalf.<sup>12</sup> Both of them were highly partial to Congress with Edwina, in characteristic behaviour, even carrying on an affair with Nehru which became common knowledge.<sup>13</sup> Mountbatten's career in the Royal Navy had mostly been one disaster after another where he was responsible for damaging or sinking three ships but because of his royal connections and his sponsorship by Churchill, who liked Mountbatten's upbeat, even reckless, attitude, he avoided court-martial, which many believed he deserved, and he was promoted from one position to another.<sup>14</sup>

He had an inferiority complex which he covered up with bombast and non-stop self-promotion. He was a magnificent mountebank and charlatan who never read a book.<sup>15</sup> He was also bisexual, if not completely homosexual, and would sunbathe in the nude, much to the shock of Indian servants.<sup>16</sup> His nicknames were 'Pretty Dickie' or 'Tricky Dickie'.<sup>17</sup> His authorized biographer and staunch defender, a man who is married into the British royal family himself, whitewashed his many actions and faults but, in order to maintain any credibility at all, was constrained to write, 'His vanity, though childlike, was monstrous, his ambition unbridled. The truth, in his hands, was swiftly converted from what it was to what it should have been. He sought to rewrite history with cavalier indifference to the facts to magnify his own achievements.'<sup>18</sup> The constant in his life was his self-aggrandizement and his love of dash and splash, and speed and haste for its own sake, and his total lack of scruples.<sup>19</sup>

Mountbatten had been sent to India with the twin aims of ending British rule by June 1948 without loss of British life and loss of face and prestige and with establishing good relations with independent India so that Britain could maintain its ties with the sub-continent for the sake of British geopolitical and military interests.<sup>20</sup> While he had already discussed the possibility of partitioning India with the British Cabinet he was committed to a united independent India and blithely believed that through a charm offensive he could persuade the League to accept a united India. He began this personal campaign with a series of meetings with Liaquat on 12 March <sup>21</sup> and with Jinnah on 5 and 6 April.<sup>22</sup> At the first meeting with Jinnah, Mountbatten reported he refused to discuss the political situation in the beginning because he merely wanted to make Jinnah's acquaintance, as if a personal campaign could change the historical forces that had brought the Muslim League to demand a separate state for the Muslims of South Asia. Mountbatten simplistically believed he could usher the League into the Constituent Assembly.<sup>23</sup> He was blissfully ignorant of the real feelings and views of Jinnah, Liaquat, and League followers and mistook or interpreted their innate politeness and aristocratic sense of good manners as acquiescence to his views and perceptions. In his profound intellectual ignorance he was, as late as 18 July, even writing that the title 'Quaid-e-Azam' meant 'The great law-giver' when it actually meant 'Great Leader'.<sup>24</sup>

His series of meetings with the Congress leaders went much more smoothly, especially with Nehru. Congressmen appreciated Mountbatten's social activities and openness, his bias for the Congress position, and for the manner with which he courted them. With Jinnah, the situation was different. Jinnah responded to Mountbatten's blithe arguments for a united India with a rationale for the creation of Pakistan. The Congress had countered the demand for the partition of India with calls for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, a measure which the League opposed. Mountbatten, along with the Congress, thought that faced with the partition of these two provinces, Jinnah would back down and accept the union of India. They had, once again, vastly misjudged and underestimated Jinnah and the League. Mountbatten was becoming increasingly aggravated that he could not manipulate Jinnah. After some half a dozen meetings with Jinnah in the space of one week, Mountbatten became totally frustrated with him. By mid-April he had becoming dismissive and insulting, writing in his third personal report, 'I regard Jinnah as a psychopathic case.'<sup>25</sup>

Jinnah, for political reasons, and because he was the dignified man that he was and would not openly denigrate people, 'did not lose his friendly attitude.'<sup>26</sup> Mountbatten, in an attempt to create the atmosphere of control and confidence in himself, went around saying that Jinnah was his friend and had full faith in him. It was common knowledge, however, that Jinnah had little regard for Mountbatten.<sup>27</sup> His real feeling was shown at one of Mountbatten's social events when Jinnah was encountered, unusual for him, arriving some thirty minutes late. When queried by a League follower, he responded, 'My boy, do you think I would come to this damn man's party in time? I purposely came late to show him that I despise him.'<sup>28</sup> Jinnah, however, knew that great harm could be done to the League position and he could not really afford to antagonize Mountbatten. The greatest danger was that the British would ignore all League claims, as they had done at the time of the failure of the Cabinet Mission when Wavell refused to hand over the central government to the League, and in the Punjab, when Section 93 was invoked rather than appoint a League ministry. Jinnah was very successful in delaying this open break with the Viceroy. Even then, Mountbatten exacted his revenge several times over.

The political stalemate came to an end when the British finally acknowledged, as had many Congress leaders earlier, that India should be partitioned. This was envisioned in the 3rd June Plan.<sup>29</sup> The plan was taken to London on 17 May for the approval by the British Prime Minister and Cabinet by Mountbatten and his constitutional adviser, the Hindu, V.P. Menon.<sup>30</sup> After receiving the government's authorization of the plan, they returned to India on 31 May. Mountbatten met with seven Indian leaders including Jinnah, Liaquat and Abdur Rab Nishtar from the League<sup>31</sup> on 2 June when he gave them a detailed outline of the plan. In principle the plan was agreed to although Jinnah informed Mountbatten that he could not accept it on behalf of the League, as it needed the approval of the League Council. Mountbatten, however, insisted on meeting the group again the following day to receive what he trumpeted as formal approval for the Plan. The British Prime Minister Clement Attlee also announced the Plan in the House of Commons a few hours later.

The Plan called for the existing Constituent Assembly to continue its work but the constitution framed by the Assembly would not apply to those parts of India unwilling to accept it, which would form their own constituent assemblies; Bengal and the Punjab would be partitioned and the legislative assemblies of each province would decide which

constituent assembly they would join except for certain areas which would have referenda (NWFP and Sylhet in Assam) or Mountbatten would consult provincial leaders to ascertain their wishes (Baluchistan). In the evening, Mountbatten, Nehru, Baldev Singh, and Jinnah broadcast to the nation over Air India radio their views of the Plan and the future of India.<sup>32</sup> The former accepted the Plan but Jinnah was non-committal as he could not accept it without the authority of the All-India Muslim League Council. The Council convened on 9 June and passed a resolution accepting the Plan but it did so 'under protest' due to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab.<sup>33</sup> The end result, however, was that the Muslims of South Asia had achieved a state of their own, Pakistan.

The following day in a press conference attended by some 200 representatives of the press, Mountbatten was asked when the transfer of power would take place. He gave the sudden and thoughtless reply of '15 August'.<sup>34</sup> There had been no previous discussion of this date. In fact, October 1947 had previously been regarded as the target but now 15 August became the official date. When asked later why he had chosen this date he replied that it was the anniversary of his appointment as Supreme Allied Commander South East Asia. He had, in fact, been appointed on 25 August!

By bringing the date of independence forward Mountbatten had deliberately created the kind of situation that he loved so much, one of haste, breathlessness, and non-stop action. Dozens of meetings were held to discuss the handover of authority and power over the next ten weeks, all in an atmosphere of rush, even panic.<sup>35</sup> What was missing from this hastiness was careful, considered thought and action. Given Mountbatten's personality this was impossible. Typically, the result was a great deal of confusion, even chaos. This occurred most tragically in the area of law and order. With the obvious reduction or loss of central authority, various elements in society took advantage of the situation to commit actions of lawlessness and crime. A strong response from the government would have considerably reduced this state of affairs but the British were more concerned with British lives and holdings than they were with Indian lives and property. Even military personnel were ordered not to intervene in fights or skirmishes between Hindus and Muslims in case the British became involved and suffered reprisals.<sup>36</sup> The prime consideration of the British was to leave India without loss of British life. This was another gross misjudgment on the part of the British as they were left alone while their Hindu and



Muslim servants were murdered around them. A number of British officials protested this policy but Mountbatten would not be moved.<sup>37</sup> Mountbatten even boasted of his ruthlessness and disregard for others when he informed two of his staff members who looked surprised at one of his decisions which they thought were unscrupulous, 'I know what you are thinking: Wavell wouldn't have done this, but I will.'<sup>38</sup>

Having had to concede partition, Mountbatten was also forced to admit failure over the governor-generalship issue. Mountbatten desperately wanted to be joint Governor-General of both India and Pakistan. Jinnah, however, had fully got the measure of the man and knew that he would not be evenhanded in his dealings with Pakistan. It would also have been unacceptable to have a non-Muslim as the head of a state created in the name of Islam. Consequently, Jinnah decided he would become the Governor-General of Pakistan himself. Mountbatten was devastated and accused Jinnah of misleading him<sup>39</sup> and warned him that there would be serious consequences for Pakistan in thwarting him. He berated Jinnah, 'Do you realize what this will cost you...It may well cost you the whole of your assets and the future of Pakistan.'<sup>40</sup> Having said this, Mountbatten, with his masque of suavity and *sang-froid* fallen, abruptly and rudely left the room.<sup>41</sup>

Independence came on 15 August amidst a great deal of relief that the long struggle for freedom was over even if the jubilation was subdued in some areas as anarchy, violence, and bloodshed prevailed in small parts of the country.<sup>42</sup> As a magistrate stated at the time, 'The British are a just people. They have left India in exactly the same state of chaos as they found it.'<sup>43</sup> He had no idea of exactly how much mayhem Mountbatten had left behind. Through his disreputable and immoral behaviour of quitting India without regard to Indian lives, but with utmost consideration given to putting all the blame for any disorder on Indian hands and for refusing to allow British troops a full role in maintaining law and order, the blood of numberless Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims lay on Mountbatten's hands. His actions also caused harrowing and life-searing ordeals to be experienced, especially by women. He also had a great deal of blood on his hands with regard to Kashmir when he engineered accession to India rather than Pakistan. It would be the cause of numerous wars and incidents over the next half century.<sup>44</sup> In the new millennium nuclear-armed Indian and Pakistani troops would be facing each other in the Himalayas and along the India-Pakistan border. In 1947 this disorder, as devastating as it was to the victims, lasted just a few weeks before civil authorities restored

complete law and order.<sup>45</sup> It could easily have been prevented, if not in its entirety, then certainly reduced to a great extent. As Churchill told Mountbatten to his face the British withdrawal from India had been a 'scuttle' of the most disgraceful kind.

Jinnah was sworn in as Governor-General of Pakistan and he appointed Liaquat Prime Minister who was sworn in immediately after him. What a remarkable story it had been for the Muslims of South Asia. It was one of the most brilliant political campaigns in history. In 1937 the League had been a borderline political party with few elected officials calling themselves Muslim Leaguers; it was a political party without a mass following, with a moribund organization, few funds, even without a widely recognized leader and program. Ten years later Pakistan was created!

\* \* \* \*

— 16 February 1947 —

Aligarh Muslim University, Convocation Address, 16 February 1947.<sup>46</sup>

I am deeply conscious of the honour that you have done me today. As an old student of Aligarh it is for me not only a privilege but also a pleasure to be with you on this occasion, when a number of our young men, who have spent some of the best and most fruitful years of their life in this great institution, are going out in the world to seek fresh fields of useful endeavour for themselves. As I stand before you my mind goes back to the old days and a host of pleasant memories comes to me across the years. Aligarh was then, as it is now, and as it will be in the years to come, a symbol of Muslim strength, and emblem of pride in our past and of faith in the greatness of our future. The Muslim Nation cannot be sufficiently grateful to Aligarh and to its great founder for the part that this great institution has played in the educational and cultural renaissance for our people. In fact the history of the revival of the Muslim Nation after its downfall in the 19th century begins with the Aligarh Movement, and it is to that movement and to Syed Ahmad Khan, its great leader, that we owe in a large measure the strength that we possess today.

At the time of the downfall of the Moghul dynasty the Muslims in this country had experienced more than a century of decadence and decay. The fall of the Moghul Empire was followed by an era of great depression and despondency in which indeed it seemed doubtful whether the Muslim Nation as such would survive at all. Then came Syed Ahmad Khan and his self-less and untiring co-workers. These great men, to whom Muslim India owes a lasting debt of gratitude and whose work will live and continue to be a source of inspiration to us, realized that the existence of the Muslim Nation depended on the extent to which Muslims appreciated the importance of modern education, particularly the study of science, and the dangers inherent in its neglect by them. At that time Muslims were naturally suspicious of the British who have supplanted them in the Government of this country and who had generally been pursuing an anti-Muslim policy. This distrust of the British was unfortunately reflected to a very large extent in the Muslim attitude towards Western education, particularly the study of science, which the Muslims regarded as an imposition by their conquerors aimed at undermining their religion and culture. Such an attitude, while it could be understood, could hardly be justified, as it ignored the Prophet's injunction to every Muslim to pursue knowledge to the best of his ability. The task that Syed Ahmad Khan set himself was to make the idea of Western and scientific education acceptable to his generation and to dispel their doubts and fears in regard to the supposed evil effects of that education. Unfortunately, however, our educational system was for a long time mainly concerned with equipping Muslim young men with the qualifications necessary for securing jobs under the British Government. This undoubtedly had the advantage that Muslims secured admission into the administration of the country, whose doors hitherto had been barred to them. The disadvantage, however, was that our best young men went into the Government services, and although a number of them achieved positions of importance and discharge their duties with credit their services were largely lost to the Muslim Nation. With the supreme power in the hands of the British rulers their servants could hardly do anything effective for

the good of their own people. As our great poet Iqbal has expressed it:

The master cannot share his power with the slave;  
he only buys his intellect at a price.

Unfortunately our educational system, in spite of having become Westernized, has in the main continued to stress general education to the detriment of specialization in the sciences and the technical professions. This may partly be due to the fact that the large majority of Government jobs for which our educational organization was working did not require a scientific and technical education, but it is also due to sufficient emphasis not having been placed on the importance of scientific and technical studies. In the consequences we have been suffering from an acute shortage of qualified manpower in the fields of science and technology and the position today is that we do not possess a sufficient number of scientists, doctors, technicians, mechanics, engineers and other experts. This has seriously hampered our national life and will continue to do so unless we adopt effective and expeditious measures. The lack of front rank Muslim scientists is particularly deplorable when we remember the great and glorious tradition set up in all branches of science by Muslims in their better days.

The phase through which the Muslim Nation is passing at present is the most critical in our history in this sub-continent and demands that we take full stock of the situation in which we find ourselves in order that we maybe better able to appreciate our present position and future requirements. Let us cast a look around us. The British who have been masters in this sub-continent so far are losing the predominant position and the power they have held in the past and the end of the long subjection which the Muslims have suffered in this country is in sight. What happens on the departure of the British from India is of the most vital importance to us. Are we to live in a free and independent nation living our life in accordance with the ideals of Islam, or are we to submit to a new master? As you all know, the majority party in this country is doing its

best to monopolize for themselves the power that is being surrendered by the British. We cannot, however, allow such a monopoly. We want to live in this sub-continent as an independent and self-respecting people and are in no way interested in, or prepared to submit to a change of masters. We shall live our own life as a nation in our own way and we do not want that anyone should have the power to prevent us from doing so. This can be possible only if we have a free and independent State of our own. Our objective is such a State. We want Pakistan. In order to achieve that goal we need all the discipline, all the effort and all the energy that we can command. We have to make ourselves strong and to organize for the great endeavour that is and will be required of us, and should be prepared to make all sacrifices. All our policies and programmes must be modified if necessary to meet the needs of our national objective.

In order to make the Muslim Nation fitter and better prepared for the great struggle that lies ahead our educational institutions have a most important and vital responsibility. It should be the aim of every institution that every Muslim in this sub-continent should know and love the national ideal and that the education, up-bringing and practical training of every individual Muslim should be so designed and directed as to enable him or her to make the maximum possible contribution to the achievement of that ideal. And it should be their duty to teach their students to strain every nerve and to use every moment of their lives for the work that is entrusted to them. We must all remember that nothing of any value has ever been achieved without hard and persistent labour.

There is one very important question that will be asked. We say we want to live in our own way and in order to be able to do so we want to have a free and independent State. What is that way of life and what are the principles on which our State will be based? Such a question for a Muslim has only one answer. The ideal which a Muslim has before him is and can be none other than the ideal that was set before the world by Muhammad of Arabia over 1300 years ago. The message that Muhammad brought is still with us, preserved for the whole of humanity in the

greatest of all books, the Quran. In the language of the Quran:

Every Muslim should live and die for God.  
God is the only king, the only sovereign.

According to Islam no one can wield authority in his own right, as all authority is derived from God and can be exercised only on His behalf. Islam aims at building up a society in which all possibility of exploitation of man by man will disappear, in which all distinctions of birth, colour, and geographical origin will be wiped away. Islam sets its face resolutely against any disabilities which arise from the accident of birth. In the society of Islam all men are the equal of each other be they white, black, red, yellow or brown.

The society of Islam is not a mere creation of the human imagination, but did in fact exist on the face of this earth in concrete shape and form and still lives in the minds of men. The greatest evils of the modern world have been perpetuated in the name of nation and race, nations which are made by geographical boundaries and races which are made by the accident of birth. In such a world Islam has a very great contribution to make, and I feel that if the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent are able to establish an independent State they will be helping humanity to build a better and happier world order.

As Iqbal has pointed out, the Quran repeatedly lays emphasis on history and nature. These should be subjects of the deepest and most abiding interest for Muslims. We should study the history of peoples and nations to derive lessons for ourselves for the future. And we should also build up an army of men and women engaged in the study and conquest of Nature. Science has a most vital connection with the Islamic Movement. The Prophet said that 'the pursuit of knowledge is the duty of every man and woman among Muslims' and again 'Seek ye knowledge even if you have to go as far as China for it'. And the most vital part of knowledge is knowledge of Nature which gives man power over her.

It is true that the detailed picture of the State which we Muslims seek to establish in this sub-continent is still to be drawn out but what I have said above is enough to show the direction in which our efforts should lie and the type of training that is essential for our people if we are to succeed in reaching our goal. Our educational institutions need a new orientation. The Muslim University which has so far been the main spring of our educational and cultural life has the duty of imparting that training to our younger generation on whom the whole of the future depends. There must, in the first place, be a concentrated effort to infuse the teaching of the Quran into the mind of every young man and woman. I would emphasize the need to keep prominently in view the essential principles of Islam, and to avoid sectarian detail. In the second place, there ought to be a thorough and intelligent study of the life of the Prophet. Here again I would sound a note of warning. Muhammad is the greatest man that has so far been or that shall be hereafter. But we should never lose sight of the fact that his greatness lies essentially in the fact that he was a man. Any attempt at making a supernatural being of him can only serve to obliterate the real significance that attaches to his great life.

The third essential of our new educational system is to emphasize the supreme importance of the study of science and technology. As I have already said, we are sadly lacking in scientists and technical experts. No society whatsoever can in the modern world ever hope to be able to survive unless it devotes itself to the study of the sciences. I would say once again at the risk of over-repeating myself that science is power, we are in the direst need of this power, and that this power cannot be won without hard and incessant work. I do not deny the value of the liberal arts, but we are at present fighting against time and have therefore to choose things which are of greater advantage to our national life as a whole and from this point of view there can be no question that what we need badly is more and more of scientific and technical education. I need hardly say that the Muslims of India look to this great university for setting an example to the other educational institutions.

Through the length and breadth of this country the Muslim Nation today stands facing a battle on the issue of which depends the whole question of their life and death. Victory in this battle depends not so much on numbers as on faith in our hearts, the discipline in our ranks and the use that we make of the resources at our command. Many a time before this a small band of men fired with zeal and faith in God have scattered like ashes in the wind hordes of enemies confronting them. Today again we need such men. We need them everywhere, in fields and factories, in schools and laboratories, in commerce and industry, in administration and in politics.

God give us men, a time like this demands,  
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands,  
Men whom the lust of office will not kill,  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,  
Men who have opinions and a will,  
Men who have honour, who will not lie.

\* \* \* \*

— 28 February 1947 —

The conclusion of Liaquat's budget speech as Minister of Finance it became known as the 'Poor Man's Budget'.

An important question which I might mention at this stage is the nationalization of the Reserve Bank of India. Hon'ble Members will remember the recent debate in the House which disclosed that there was general consensus of opinion in favour of nationalization. I said at the time that I would be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to the proposal for nationalizing the Bank if this was found to be in the best interests of the country, after considering all the relevant aspects of the question, I have since given further thought to the matter and I am convinced that the advantages of nationalization outweigh any possible disadvantages. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the Reserve Bank should be nationalized, the time and matter of effecting the



change being a matter for separate consideration in due course.

There is another matter which I should also like to mention, namely, the question of control over speculation on the Stock market and on the Commodity and Bullion Exchanges. The House will, I am sure, agree with me that in recent years speculative activity has tended to increase, particularly on the Stock Exchanges, with serious consequences on the banking system and credit structure of the country as a whole. Unbridled speculation has been a serious impediment to the growth of proper investment which is an essential condition of economic development. I regard speculation of this kind as a social evil indistinguishable from gambling, and its greatest mischief lies in the fact that it aggravates economic inequalities in a country where such inequalities are already serious. The question of regulating Exchanges has been the subject of a special enquiry by the Economic Adviser of my Department, and the views of Provincial Governments have also been elicited. I hope to place before the House, after the necessary examination is completed, the measures that may be necessary in this behalf.

The proposals that I have to place before this House, whether they involve the levy of fresh or the abandonment of existing taxation, are related, not to purely financial purposes, but to certain social objectives which, I am sure the House will agree, must be kept prominently in view by all those who have the good of the countless millions of this vast sub-continent at heart. India is a land of glaring contrasts and disparities; we have here on the one hand a class of multi-millionaires rolling in wealth and holding the economy of the country in their grip by exploiting for their own profit the labour of the poorer classes, and on the other the vast multitudes who eke out, somehow or other, a miserable existence precariously near the starvation line. The conditions created by the last year served to accentuate these disparities; the rich became richer and the poor poorer. This meant the concentration of wealth in fewer hands and, inevitably, the use of that wealth for the purpose of tightening the stranglehold of Big money over the economic life of the country as a whole by the acquisition of businesses, public

utilities, and the press. A set of conditions which the few are able to wield such vast power over the many can hardly be regarded as anything but a negation of the principles of social justice. And although I am not one of those who consider the abolition of private property and the complete equalization of incomes as the only remedy for these ills, I do believe in the Quranic injunction that wealth should not be allowed to circulate only among the wealthy, and the stern warning given against accumulations of wealth in the hands of individuals. It is against this background that my budget proposals have been formulated, although I am afraid I cannot claim that they represent anything more than the first stage of a policy of social justice and development which it will require years to bring to full fruition.

My first proposal in implementation of the policy I have indicated is the setting up of a Commission to investigate that aspect of the great private accumulations of wealth in recent years which is concerned without direct taxation. We have heard a great deal for some years past about the enormous amount of income which is alleged to have escaped taxation either owing to deliberate evasion or to the inadequacy of the Income-tax Department or to both. We have also heard of the huge sums that are said to have been made in black market operations. And I must say that support for these opinions, which have been voiced in the press and elsewhere, is found in the numerous reports of transactions in which businesses and properties of various kinds have changed hands for vast sums of money. The way in which some of these profiteers have flaunted their newly acquired wealth has been something of a public sensation. And when one considers that out of an annual income of Rs.30 *lakhs* for the five years 1941-42 to 1945-46 inclusive, and I would point out that an annual income of Rs.30 *lakhs* is a very exceptional income, i.e., out of a total income of a *crore* and half for those five years, having regard to the fact that excess profits tax was in force during those years, only Rs.21 *lakhs* would have been left after the correct amount of taxation had been paid, one is entitled to ask how the *crores* of rupees which have figured in many recent transactions were accumulated. There may be

a good explanation but, if so, we are entitled to have it. I therefore propose to set up a special investigation Commission with full powers to get to the bottom of the latter and to make recommendations to Government in regard to such action as may be found necessary.

I come now to my taxation proposals. Between the total estimated expenditure, both civil and defence, of Rs.327.88 *crores* and the total estimated expenditure revenue, at the existing level of taxation, of Rs.279.42 *crores*, there is a gap of Rs.48.46 *crores*, which will be further enlarged by the withdrawal of the salt tax which I am proposing. This Proposal will mean a loss of Rs.9.25 *crores* of revenue, to which must be added a further Rs.1 *crore* for refunds of duty on stocks. The expenditure on salt administration will be met by adjustment of the selling price of Government salt and of the cess on salt manufactured under licence, thus leaving a net loss of Rs.8.25 *crores*. My problem then is how to fill a total gap of Rs.56.71 *crores*. I have come to the conclusion that the greater part of this gap should be filled by direct taxation and my proposals for new or increased taxation are therefore designed to yield Rs.44 *crores*, of which Rs.4 *crores* will go to the Provinces as their share.

In regard to the Salt tax, the objections are well-known, the most valid being that it is laid upon a prime necessity of life and that it is regressive, the poor man paying as much as the rich man and perhaps, if he is a manual worker, even more. On the other hand, the incidence on the individual consumer is light, while the annual yield in revenue amounts to more than Rs.9 *crores*. Until recent years, the yield from the tax formed a substantial part of the revenue budget and previous Governments have felt unable to dispense with so large an individual contribution. At the present time, however, the proportion which it bears to the total revenue is comparatively small so that this objection has considerably less force now than before. After careful consideration, it has been decided that the tax should now be withdrawn. At the same time, we are impressed with the necessity for maintaining close control over the production of salt in India so as to ensure the maintenance of a high standard of quality and the provision of adequate

supplies throughout the land, and to secure the country against periodical shortage due to the cutting off of external supplies. Until now Government's interest in the salt industry has been largely confined to the raising of revenue, hereafter it is intended that its interest should be entirely positive and constructive and should be directed towards developing India's salt resources to their full potential, improving the quality of the salt and making sufficient grades to provide for all classes of consumers, encouraging increased consumption by individuals and cattle, providing adequate supplies for industrial uses, keeping prices at a minimum and ultimately making India fully self-supporting in this important commodity.

The excise duty on indigenous salt and the customs duty on imported salt will accordingly be withdrawn with effect from 1st April 1947, but Government will continue its own production of salt and will retain control over organized manufacture and will also purchase or control all imported salt. Individuals will, however, be allowed to make or collect salt for their own purposes and those who wish to manufacture salt for sale will be allowed to do so subject to certain limitations which will be prescribed by rules.

In order to provide that as far as possible the full benefit of the remission of duty is passed on to the consumer, maximum wholesale and retail selling prices will be prescribed and failure to observe these maxima will be liable to penalty.

A Bill giving effect to these decisions and setting up machinery for the future control of the manufacture, import and distribution of salt will be introduced during the course of this session.

In September last year, in order to avert a salt famine which was then threatening owing to the reluctance of wholesale dealers to purchase salt in face of the possibility that the duty might presently be abolished, the salt trade was assured that it would not be put to loss in respect of substantial stocks of salt held at the time when such a change, if decided upon, should take place. In fulfillment of this promise dealers will be granted refund of duty on all bagged sticks of 30 *maunds* or more held in their possession on the 1st April 1947.

I would like to remind the House that the abolition of the Salt Tax is not only of direct relief to the poorer classes. A further, and even more effective form of assistance is the expenditure of Rs.17.35 *crores* on the subsidization of imported food, and the indirect subsidization of food produced within the country in the form of 'Grow More Food' grants, to which I have referred in an earlier part of my speech. The corner-stone of our economic policy is to maintain strict control over the prices of the basic necessities of life, food and cloth, so as to stabilize them at reasonable levels and keep them within the purchasing power of the poorest sections of the population. I am determined to take all steps in my power in furtherance of this policy.

In the field of direct taxation, I propose to raise the minimum exemption limit for income-tax, which is now Rs.2,000 to Rs.2,500. This raising of the limit will give relief to a considerable number of assesseees who are hard hit by present conditions. In proposing this relief I am not unmindful of the feeling in its favour expressed by many members of this House in proposing amendments to former Finance Bills. The cost of the relief will be about Rs.25 *lakhs*.

Coming now to proposals of additional taxation my most important contribution is a proposal to levy a special income-tax of 25 per cent of business profits exceeding one *lakh* of rupees. The proposals for this tax are contained in a separate Bill and I do not desire to anticipate here the explanation which will be given when the Bill is being considered by this House. But I should like to point out that this proposed tax is very much fairer, in its incidence than the excess profits tax. It also embraces professions and vocations which were exempt from the excess profits tax. To prevent hardship in the case of moderate incomes a limit of exemption of one *lakh* of rupees had been fixed. This in substance corresponds to the 'standard profit' under the Excess Profits Tax Act and only the excess above one *lakh* will be subject to the tax. The yield of the tax is estimated at Rs.30 *crores* for next year.

My next proposal is a tax on capital gains. Honourable Members must be well aware of the extent to which capital gains have been made in recent years and are still being

made owing to prevailing conditions. The profits are, as the law stands, outside the scope of the Income-tax Act. I feel very strongly that this lacuna in our legislation should be filled. There is stronger justification for taxing these profits than there is for taxing ordinary income since they represent what is properly described as unearned increment. The U.S.A. taxes such profits. I am well aware that possibly the chief reason why many countries do not seek to tax them is the fear that losses claimed may exceed the profits declared. I am proposing to deal with this contingency, as the U.S.A. have dealt with it, by allowing capital losses to be set off only against capital gains. This at least will secure us against a net loss under this head in any particular case. The proposals also distinguish between gains made from the disposal of capital assets held for two years and those held for more than two years. In the case of the former, the usual rates of income-tax and super-tax will apply, while in the case of the latter super-tax will not be levied. This distinction, however, does not apply to graduated rates of super-tax. The proposals further provide for ignoring profits and losses not exceeding Rs.5,000 in a year. There are two reasons for this exemption. In the first place, we do not want to harass assesses or waste the time of our officers by investigating petty capital transactions, and secondly, we want to exclude the great majority of cases in which assesseees dispose of personal possessions. The proposal is expected to yield Rs.3 *crores* next year.

These proposals for taxing capital gains are contained in a Bill, already mentioned, to amend the Income-tax and Excess Profits Tax Acts which is being placed before the House. The part of the Bill which deals with Excess Profits Tax implements an undertaking previously given to provide for terminal losses. It recognizes the fact that some expenses and losses incurred after the 31st March 1946—the date on which the excess profits tax ceased to have effect—should in fairness be treated as relating to the Excess Profits Tax period. It is proposed therefore to allow as a deduction from the profits of the chargeable accounting period ended on that date terminal expenses incurred after

it and losses from the subsequent realization of trading stocks held on that date.

My next proposal is to raise the rate of corporation tax from one *anna* to 2 *annas*. This is expected to raise Rs.4 *crores* next year.

No change is proposed in the rates of income-tax but I feel that our present rates of super-tax are not sufficiently in accordance with modern trends in the taxation of high individual incomes. It seems to me that the maximum rate of 10 *annas* should be reached at points much lower than the present, which are 3 *lakhs* for unearned income and Rs.5 *lakhs* for earned income. In the scale which I am proposing the maximum rate is reached at Rs.1.2 *lakhs* for unearned income and Rs.1.5 *lakhs* for earned income. This will, in effect, mean, that, in these reaches of income the total of income-tax and super-tax taken together will amount to 15 *annas* in a rupee. This proposal is expected to yield Rs.2 *crores* next year.

I come to the dividend tax which was imposed last year, not for the purpose of raising revenue but in order to discourage the dissipation of a company's resources in excessive dividends. The idea underlying the scheme is that a company should be penalized if it distributed roughly more than one-half of its profits left after taxation. So far as we have been able to ascertain from completed assessments, the policy which this tax seeks to enforce has been followed in the great majority of cases. But in order to discourage further those who still persist in distributing what we consider excessive dividends in present circumstances, I propose to tighten up the provision by making the rates of tax more penal. As the proposal will yield no tax if it fulfills its object and as its object and as that is my hope, I am estimating no yield under this head.

In the field of indirect taxation, I propose to raise the existing export duty on tea from two *annas* per pound to four *annas* per pound. This is estimated to yield additional revenue to the extent of Rs.4 *crores* in the next year. I should emphasize that this duty is of a temporary nature and if circumstances arise which indicate that there is danger

of curtailment of our exports of tea, it maybe necessary to reduce the rate.

The effect of my proposal is to increase Central revenues by Rs.39.75 *crores* which will leave a final deficit of Rs.16.96 *crores*. But I must warn the House that the actual deficit may be much larger as the budget does not include any provision for the additional expenditure that may be incurred as a result of the orders that may be passed on the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission. Some losses in customs duty due to reductions in tariffs may also arise as a result of the international trade discussions which are shortly to be held and in which India is participating. But we might reasonably hope that any such losses resulting to the Public Exchequer will be counterbalanced by the advantages accruing to the people of this country as a result of the tariff concessions which we hope to receive from the other countries in exchange for the concessions made by us.

Sir, I have done. We are passing through an exceedingly difficult phase. The transition from war to peace present the economy of every country with problems of great magnitude and difficulty. In our case there is, superimposed on these problems, the still greater problem of the transfer of power from British to Indian hands. The problem of India's political emancipation with which is linked up the economic well-being of the country is intricate and the task ahead of us difficult. But if we tackle it with wisdom and courage and arrive at a peaceful, just and honourable settlement we will have succeeded in ensuring the future progress and happiness of the peoples of this vast sub-continent. The eyes of the whole world are upon us. May Providence help and guide us during the most crucial year of our destiny.

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— 13 March 1947 —

Gul-i-Raana<sup>47</sup>  
Hardinge Avenue,  
New Delhi.  
13.3.47.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry I have not written to you for some time. Mumtaz will tell you something of the troubles that I have been facing here inside the Government. But it is alright. I have got the Congress fellows in a tight corner and I am going to fight to the last ditch. Don't worry about it. It means a great strain but the cause is too great to think of these little matters. One comes to this world only once and one must do his duty irrespective of what it costs him.

I have sent you the keys which you wanted. I hope you have received them. When are you coming to Delhi? I think you should come here as soon as the new Viceroy arrives. It is necessary in my view that you should be available in Delhi as soon as the new Viceroy arrives on the 22nd of this month. Lord Wavell is going away on the 23rd. I think we should call a meeting of the Working Committee early in April. In view of the recent serious developments I think a meeting of the Working Committee at an early date is called for. Things are happening all over and the Working Committee should, I think, meet. Your presence here is also necessary because as soon as the new Viceroy arrives I am sure there will be a number of matters in which your advice and guidance will be necessary.

I got a letter from the Secretary of the Congress sending me the copies of the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee and requesting that the Muslim League should appoint a Committee to confer with the Committee that maybe appointed by the Congress as resolved by the Congress Working Committee. I have replied saying that the letter will be placed before the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League when it meets.

You must have read in the papers about the movement in the N.W.F.P. They will need some financial help. I just want to know if Pir Saheb of Manki Sharif<sup>48</sup> can help them

financially. He wants to know. You know what I mean. You can send me a message saying just yes or no.

There are difficult times ahead. May God help us and may he give you health and strength to guide us! I hope you are feeling fit. With our kindest regards to both of you and love from the children,

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat

\* \* \* \*

— 24 May 1947 —

New Delhi<sup>49</sup>  
24.5.47.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here are two more letters from Mr. Suhrawardy. They arrived today.

I am leaving for Lahore this afternoon and will be back either Monday or Tuesday morning.

Yours sincerely,  
Liaquat Ali Khan

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## NOTES

1. The remarkable Jinnah correspondence is found in the equally remarkable multi-volume series *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers* (Islamabad: National Archives of Pakistan, 1993-) edited by Z.H. Zaidi and his team of editorial assistants. Zaidi, in partnership with his wife, Parveen Zaidi, has spent his career collecting and studying materials on Jinnah. Now, he has created his *magnum opus* with these indispensable volumes. Through the thousands of pages of letters and commentary it is possible to appreciate the enormous range and number of Jinnah's contacts. The series begins with the British announcement of a definite date for the withdrawal from India (June 1948) and the replacement of Wavell as Viceroy by Mountbatten.
2. This was one of the proposals formally tabled for discussion on 21 April 1947. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 10, pp. 354-358.
3. See Ian A. Talbot, 'The Role of the Crowd in the Muslim League Struggle for Pakistan', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 21, 2 (1993):

307-333, and *Freedom's Cry: The Popular Dimension in the Pakistan Movement and Partition Experience in North-West India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996) for the way these demonstrations and rallies mobilized Muslims behind the League. Talbot's volume focuses on both the Punjab and the NWFP but most of the book deals with the Punjab.

4. Bertrand James Glancey (1882-1953) was educated at Exeter College, Oxford University, entered the Indian Civil Service in 1905, and transferred to the Indian Political Service in 1909. He served in Kashmir 1921-1926 and 1931-1932. Between 1938 and 1941 he was Political Adviser to the Viceroy before being appointed Governor of the Punjab in 1941. He resigned in 1946 and retired to Kenya where he passed away in Nairobi in 1953.
5. While the Breakdown Plan was defeatist and events proved it to be based on a false premise that British lives were in danger, Wavell's reputation suffered unjustifiably because of it, mostly due to the fact that Mountbatten was obsessed with his reputation and a veritable Mountbatten industry to present Mountbatten's view of events and personalities developed. It was encouraged and sponsored by Mountbatten. H.V. Hodson's *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan* (London: Hutchison, 1969), for example, was commissioned by Lord Ismay and Mountbatten at a time when there was some talk that Mountbatten was to blame for the massacres that took place at the time of partition. Hodson's book was intended to be a whitewash of his actions. It certainly depicted Mountbatten as blameless and for the remainder of Mountbatten's life he was always pleased to refer to the book for an account of his viceroyalty. For a very mild defense of Wavell's reputation see Penderel Moon's introduction to *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal*. Mountbatten was exceedingly lucky indeed that those whom he disparaged, such as Auckinleck and Wavell, refused either to write their memoirs or remained silent about Mountbatten and his viceroyalty. They were loyal old soldiers with a Victorian sense of duty who held to a certain code of honour. Mountbatten was instead ruthless and dishonest and had no such scruples. Another reason for his success was that he was always quick to recommend or to support recommendations for people such as Wavell, Auckinleck, and Radcliffe to receive titles. In addition, Mountbatten, as the uncle of the Queen's husband, Prince Phillip, was a member of the royal family itself, an institution that was still held in high regard throughout Mountbatten's life. Any criticism of Mountbatten would be seen as a criticism of the royal family.
6. See Hugh Tinker, 'Wavell: Nearing Journey's End' in his *Viceroy: Curzon to Mountbatten* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 219-220 for Bevin's, and other members of the Cabinet's, views. Ernest Bevin (1881-1951) had a remarkable life. He was the illegitimate child of an agricultural worker and lived his childhood in poverty and insecurity. His mother died when he was eight years old and his formal education ended at the age of eleven. He worked on farms before moving to Bristol and beginning the union work for which he became renowned. He founded the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1922 and became a prominent figure in the Labour Party in the 1930s. He was appointed Foreign Secretary in 1945 and held the position until 1951. See Alan Bullock's, *The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin*, 3 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1960-1983). A single volume abridged version was edited by Brian Brivati and published as *Ernest Bevin: A Biography* (London: Politico's, 2002).

7. Claude Auckinleck (1884-1981) had served in the North-West Frontier Province, spoke Pushto, and was very fond of the Pathan people. Congress wanted him removed as they believed he was pro-Pakistan. See Robert Bruce Osborne, 'Field Marshal Sir Claude Auckinleck: The Indian Army and the Partition of India', Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 1994, and E. W. Robinson-Horley, *Last Post: An Indian Army Memoir* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1985) for an appreciation of Auckinleck and his contribution. Auckinleck's refusal to write his memoirs was a great disservice to his own reputation as well as to historical scholarship.
8. The text of the statement of 20 February is found in *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 9, pp. 773-775.
9. In a conversation with the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 9, p. 953.
10. This was the father of the historian David Cannadine. See Cannadine's *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 184.
11. As described by his press attaché, Alan Campbell-Johnson in his hagiographical *Mission with Mountbatten* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1953), p. xiii.
12. This was acknowledged in the House of Lords during the debate on the Indian Independence Bill when Lord Listowel said, 'The gratitude and affection he has earned from Indians in so short a time are also felt for Lady Mountbatten whose tireless energy and unfailing tact have been a far from negligible factor in his success', *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 12, p. 725. This sentiment was also shared by Lord Samuel: 'I think those who are acquainted with the course of these events will join with the noble Earl, Lord Listowel, in thanking Lady Mountbatten for the share she has had in fostering that atmosphere of friendship and good will which has largely contributed to the results that have been achieved', *ibid.*, p. 726. Lady Mountbatten gave her husband informal counsel on a constant basis. She sat in on numerous meetings between Mountbatten and Indian political leaders and penned personal letters to them. She was also used to lessen opposition to British rule by setting up meetings between her and the wives of Indian political leaders. See volumes 10-12 of the *Transfer of Power* for a large number of references to her activities both formal and informal.
13. On 12 June Shahid Ahmad wrote in his diary, 'Frankly I do not know what Nehru finds in her [Edwina]', "Disastrous Twilight: A Personal Record of the Partition of India". (London: Leo Cooper, 1986), p. 186. Mountbatten's two daughters as well as the Nehru family have refused to release the Edwina Mountbatten-Nehru correspondence to the public. The relationship was such a salacious one that it was even made into a novel by Catherine Clément, *Edwina and Nehru: A Novel* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1996) which was first published in French in 1993. A 'wanton' woman, '[w]hen Lord Louis Mountbatten was viceroy of India, negotiating the terms for Indian independence, the sessions went much more smoothly because the vicereine, with her husband's resigned knowledge, was sleeping with Jawaharlal Nehru. Earlier she had been even more headstrong. At one point she vanished from London society for four months. Friends in Park Lane found Louis extremely vague when asked about his wife's whereabouts. Actually, he didn't know. Later he learned that Edwina had shipped aboard a fifty-ton trading schooner, bound for the South Seas, as an ordinary seaman. Night after

night, as they cruised among the lush islands, she gratified herself with her fellow crewpersons', William Manchester, *The Last Lion, Winston Spencer Churchill: Visions of Glory 1874-1932* (Boston: Little Brown, 1983), p. 87.

14. On Mountbatten's first fiasco, Ziegler wrote, 'He was lucky to escape as lightly as he did' p. 127. See also pp. 132-133. At best, Ziegler wrote, Mountbatten was 'no better than second-rate', p. 146.
15. See Judd, *The Memoirs of Sir Ian Scott*, pp. 150-153. Scott is one among a long list of people who have testified in a similar manner to Mountbatten's personality.
16. This is recounted in Karan Singh, *Heir Apparent: An Autobiography* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 48.
17. Ahmad, *Disastrous Twilight*, p. 155.
18. After he sank the destroyer Kelly, which he was captaining at the time, there was talk that he should have been court-martialled. He also organized the disaster at Dieppe, one of the worst Allied tragedies of the Second World War, where some people believe he exceeded his instructions. See Brian Loring *Unauthorised Action: Mountbatten and the Dieppe Raid* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). The argument of Charles Whiting in 'The Canadians at Dieppe' in Samuel A. Southworth (ed.), *Great Raids in History: From Drake to Desert One* (New York: Sarpedon, 1997), pp. 186-200, is that Mountbatten was acting with Churchill's knowledge and under his direction. The authorized biography of Mountbatten is by a man married into the British royal family himself, Philip Ziegler. See his *Mountbatten* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985). A Pakistani attempt to counter the pro-Mountbatten propaganda regarding the partition of India is found in Hashim S. Raza (ed.), *Mountbatten and Pakistan* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1982). Andrew Roberts also offers a mild corrective to Ziegler in 'Lord Mountbatten and the Perils of Adrenalin' in his *Eminent Churchillians* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994). For a list of writings on Mountbatten, a great many of them hagiographical, see Eugene L. Rasor, *Earl Mountbatten of Burma, 1900-1979: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).
19. This lack of scruples is seen in Judd, *The Memoirs of Sir Ian Scott* when Scott and another British official questioned one of Mountbatten's decisions which they thought was unethical; Mountbatten told them, 'I know what you are thinking: Wavell wouldn't have done this, but I will' (p. 147).
20. Anita Inder Singh discusses Britain's geo-political aims in *The Limits of British Influence: South Asia and the Anglo-American Relationship, 1947-56* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).
21. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 10, pp. 13-14.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-139. Other meetings were held between Mountbatten and Jinnah on 7 April, *ibid.*, pp. 149-150; 8 April, *ibid.*, pp. 158-160; 9 April, *ibid.*, pp. 163-164; and 10 April, *ibid.*, pp. 185-188.
23. See *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 10. This volume, like the previous volumes in the series, is invaluable for a record of the period. However, due to Mountbatten's penchant for outright lies to rewrite the record or to put his own personal spin on events, whenever Mountbatten gives a personal judgment or opinion, the record must be treated with a great deal of caution and his version must be checked against others. Sometimes this is difficult if not impossible. Mountbatten was especially lucky that those who could have corrected the record either chose not to

- pen their thoughts or could not do so. Jinnah, out of his own highly developed sense of personal honour and personal dignity, never corrected Mountbatten publicly. Jinnah did not want to embarrass Mountbatten as Liaquat informed him at their first meeting on 24 March. Mountbatten had no such conscience. Later, Liaquat Ali Khan, for example, was about to give his version of events to Hector Bolitho, whom Liaquat had asked to write the official biography of Jinnah, when he was assassinated. The biography was completed without Liaquat's help and is still the basis for any study of Jinnah, especially his early life. It would undoubtedly have been much richer with the addition of information emanating from Liaquat's recollections. See Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: John Murray, 1954).
24. Z.H. Zaidi (ed.), *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, First Series, Vol. 3, *On the Threshold of Pakistan, 1 July-25 July 1947* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 1996), p. 953.
  25. *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 10, p. 300.
  26. *Ibid.*
  27. Ahmad, *Disastrous Twilight*, p. 210.
  28. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
  29. Volume 11 of the *Transfer of Power* deals with the period 31 May to 7 July 1947. See the 'Introduction', pp. x-xxxiii, for the official view of events.
  30. *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 10, pp. 876-1041. Menon's own account of this period is found in his *The Transfer of Power in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957). Menon kept Congress leaders fully informed of the results of all discussions and confidential information that came to his attention.
  31. The other leaders at the meeting were Nehru and J.B. Kripalani of the Congress, and Baldev Singh representing the Sikhs.
  32. The text of their speeches is found in *Transfer of Power*, Vol. 11, pp. 86-88 for Mountbatten's speech, pp. 94-97 for Nehru's talk, pp. 97-98 for Jinnah, and pp. 99-101 for Baldev Singh.
  33. Zaidi, *Jinnah Papers*, 1st Ser., Vol. 2, p. xiii-xiv.
  34. Hugh Tinker, *Viceroy: Curzon to Mountbatten* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 245-246.
  35. Ajit Bhattacharjee recounts this in his *Countdown to Partition* (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 1997). See *Transfer of Power*, Volume 11.
  36. The Commander-in-Chief, Claude Auckinleck, gave direct orders to his staff not to become involved in any conflicts for fear of British involvement.
  37. One of them was Francis Tuker (1894-1967), General Officer Commanding, Eastern Command. His memories of this period are found in *While Memory Serves* (London: Cassell, 1950). While he cited chapter and verse the breakdown of law and order, like most British officials he sycophantically pulled his punches when assigning blame, and exonerated Mountbatten.
  38. Judd, *The Memoirs of Sir Ian Scott*, p. 147.
  39. In a note to Attlee on July 5, 1947, *Transfer of Power*, p. 921. Mountbatten even claimed that 'Jinnah begged me to stay with the Dominion of India in the interests of Pakistan!' This was typical Mountbatten hyperbole; Jinnah was not the kind of person to beg anyone.
  40. *Transfer of Power*, pp. 899-900.
  41. *Ibid.*, p. 900.

42. This has been the subject of a number of autobiographies, short stories, novels, poems, diaries, eyewitness accounts. Forty-two examples were collected by Mushirul Hasan in his edited *India Partitioned: The Other Face of Freedom* Vols. 1-2 (New Delhi: Lotus, 1995). See also Gyanendra Pandey's work on this theme, *Remembering Partition: Violence, Nationalism and History in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
43. Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (London: Faber and Faber, 1950), p. 74.
44. There are numerous studies on the Kashmir dispute but see Joseph Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966); Alastair Lamb, *Birth of a Tragedy: Kashmir 1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994); and *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Robert G. Wirsing, *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute: On Regional Conflict and Its Resolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).
45. On the successful integration of refugees in East Punjab see Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia* (London: Routledge, 2000), chapter 5.
46. The address was printed at the Muslim University Press, Aligarh, *Liaquat Papers*.
47. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.
48. Mohammad Aminul Hasanat, Pir of Manki Sharif (1922-1960) joined the League in 1945 and played a prominent role in the referendum of 1947 in the North-West Frontier Province. His correspondence with Jinnah is found in the *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 7, 2 (1986), pp. 49-57. On the role of the pirs in the Pakistan movement see Sarah F.D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
49. *Jinnah Papers*, F. 335.

## Conclusion

**T**he achievement of Pakistan had been truly remarkable. Pakistan had been created due to the working of historical forces especially the development of the nation-state and modern means of communication, in short, a combination of primordialist sentiments and the modernization process that created a concatenation of contemporary events favorable to the League. Some of the events were the result of deliberate planning, such as the implementation of an electoral system in India, which had the unintended effect of dividing even further the two great communities of India, the Hindus and the Muslims, while others came about through accident, as a consequence of the occurrence of the Second World War. Egregious blunders on the part of the Congress greatly changed the political landscape. Above all, a man came forward to match the needs of the hour. In fact, two men stepped forward: Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan. The two men that led the movement were equally extraordinary to the times in which they lived.

What the correspondence between Jinnah and Liaquat reveals, as does the selected speeches of Liaquat, is the close and careful relationship between these two men. Jinnah was a great man but he was not a man who welcomed informal relationships even with those who were close to him, and no man was closer to Jinnah than Liaquat. It is clear from a number of sources that Jinnah invited and took part in free and open debate in meetings of the League Working Committee and in private meetings about issues, personalities, and strategy, and from time to time invited people to give him their advice and opinion in writing, but there was one and only one leader, one spokesman, of the All-India Muslim League, and that was Jinnah. In 1945, the Viceroy, Wavell, once asked if he could meet with Liaquat as he did not know him very well as yet. Jinnah said no. He was the only person who would speak for the League. It was only in 1947 when Jinnah's health became worse and his energy was reduced considerably that he asked Liaquat to take initiatives in the Punjab, Sindh, and the North-West Frontier that he formerly reserved for his own jurisdiction.



Nonetheless, while he delegated more work to Liaquat and the Committee of Action he always made sure he was kept fully informed of their activities.

Jinnah was a very private person who kept his personal life to himself and his sister. The nature and extent of his illness was one of those topics that he did not share with anyone else, apart from, presumably, his sister. Liaquat usually knew when Jinnah was ill and when he was indisposed but that was the extent of his knowledge. Jinnah was also not always very forthcoming about his travels. Numerous times Liaquat had to ask Jinnah what his travel plans were so that he could coordinate his own activities with those of Jinnah's. This was especially important as Liaquat planned welcoming parties for Jinnah every time he arrived in Delhi or other destinations by train. These would be portrayed as indicating Jinnah's support throughout the nation and would be reported in *Dawn*. Liaquat sometimes had to ask Jinnah more than once for his itinerary and he would sometimes learn where Jinnah was from the newspapers.

Such was his secretiveness that it also led him to keeping Liaquat in the dark about his last will and testament. In 1939, Jinnah appointed Liaquat as one of the executors of his will but he did not inform Liaquat that he had done so and Liaquat did not learn about this until Jinnah's death. Jinnah also did not inform Liaquat of his last illness nor when he would travel down from Quetta to Karachi on his last journey.

Jinnah was also sparse in his praise for others, including Liaquat. Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, in a short written but undated assessment of Jinnah's personality and Liaquat's relationship with him, wrote, Jinnah 'had no time for self-seekers and it was very seldom that he praised anyone. It was a red letter day when at the Annual Muslim League Session in Patna he called Liaquat his right hand man and more than his right hand.'<sup>1</sup>

Liaquat was clearly devoted to Jinnah, both politically and personally. Numerous times in his letters Liaquat praised Jinnah for the wisdom of his decisions, and Liaquat would constantly refer to Jinnah in the speeches and statements he gave. Liaquat obviously held Jinnah in the highest regard. This was stated explicitly when Ra'ana wrote, 'Liaquat was very attached to Mr. Jinnah. Honesty and integrity were the two qualities that drew him closer and closer to the Leader. There is no parallel in History where a great Leader has had as great and faithful a follower.'<sup>2</sup> This devotion even led to Liaquat arranging

for a biography of Jinnah to be written. He originally asked Beverly Nichols to write the biography but he declined and recommended Hector Bolitho,<sup>3</sup> one of the leading biographers of his day.<sup>4</sup> Bolitho was looking forward to discussing Jinnah's life and personality with Liaquat but Liaquat was assassinated before Bolitho arrived in Pakistan.<sup>5</sup> Liaquat, as far as is known, never sat down and wrote his appreciation of the man he followed so devotedly, although in his speeches between Jinnah's death in 1948 and 1951 he expressed nothing but admiration for Jinnah. The thoughts expressed by Ra'ana on Jinnah were in some measure, we know, shared by her husband. Ra'ana wrote:

He was a man of high principles and there was no bluff in him. He had nothing in common with the masses and yet they acknowledged him as their leader and followed him...Mr. Jinnah was reserved and aloof and gave the impression of being haughty and conceited, but once you got to know him, he was human. He could sit for hours and relate amusing tales of his school and college days...He knew the value of money since he had earned every penny of it. He spent generously on his clothes, carpets, furniture, etc., but refused to subscribe to any funds—a peculiar trait indeed!...He was not given to entertaining and was not very social at parties, but whenever we invited him, he let himself go and got into the spirit of the function—he even cracked jokes with the guests. All by himself he was human—but that wasn't very often!...His eyes were sharp and searching and only the honest could look him straight in the eye or even to attempt to argue with him...He was a dictator to his fingertips—dare anyone disagree with him...He was very secretive and suspicious and hence could not make many friends...He was very English in his manner and way of living. Breakfast meant marmalade!...He was very fond of an oriental fruit called guava—he swore that it purified the blood! Whenever he stayed with us, I made it a point of having guavas in the house...He didn't know much about food and often what he termed good, I thought was rather poor...He was most dramatic in his speech and the monocle helped to give him the necessary atmosphere to put it across. The long tapering index finger often pointed at the guilty, the bang on the table, the monocle put on and taken off, the voice raised and lowered all helped to spice it up...Such was this man who could talk for hours at a public meeting to crowds and crowds of people who didn't know a word of English in pin drop silence.<sup>6</sup>

Such a man led this great movement to create a nation-state for the Muslims of South Asia. Jinnah never lost his late-Victorian,

Gladstonian liberal mores. Liaquat was a man chosen to be and became his closest associate. Liaquat was a man who was born into the landed aristocracy, educated at the finest Muslim college in India, the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, at Exeter College, Oxford, and at the Inner Temple, London. Liaquat shared Jinnah's liberal views but he was in many ways the opposite of Jinnah. Jinnah was austere and reserved with little taste or concern for food, either in quality or quantity. His tea parties, at least in the last decade of his life, hosted by his equally austere sister, Fatima Jinnah, were correct, proper, and quiet affairs, with polite conversation, much to Liaquat's quiet despair.<sup>7</sup> In his meetings with British officials Jinnah was, likewise, reserved and proper although with his sharp legal mind he was a match for anyone. Liaquat too was sharp and it was difficult to pull the wool over his eyes as is revealed in his numerous parliamentary speeches beginning in 1927 and in his reported discussions with British officials, especially Wavell.<sup>8</sup>

Liaquat liked good conversation and his wife Ra'ana was an exceptionally energetic and lively person with an educated mind and wide interests, which included a steady diet of bridge with a variety of lady partners. Jinnah was very careful with his money and was concerned with his investments until the very end of his life. Liaquat was generous with his money, even cavalier, and when he migrated to Pakistan refused to accept property in Pakistan in exchange for his landholdings in India. He was scrupulously honest. He died penniless and his wife and his two sons had to live in a house donated by the government on a government pension.

Liaquat was a shy and self-effacing man, who, according to his wife, turned down Jinnah's initial invitation for Liaquat to become the All-India Muslim League General-Secretary in 1936 because 'Liaquat was not given to intrigue neither did he like to be in the lime-light and told Mr. Jinnah that he would work heart and soul for the League, but he should look for another secretary.'<sup>9</sup> Liaquat consulted with his wife who told him without hesitation that it would be a lot of hard work and it would be a financial burden but that he should accept.<sup>10</sup>

As reserved as he was, Liaquat was also very warm-hearted and, after he became prime minister, could be induced to play the drums at diplomatic parties and join in the revelries. He had a broad smile always on the verge of breaking out. He liked to take photographs, owned several cameras, and always knew where the cameras were; conscious of the art of photography he was usually looking at the

photographer when pictures were taken whereas Jinnah was often photographed, though indifference, modesty, or displeasure, in group meetings looking away from the lens. Liaquat enjoyed luxury, comfort, and good food and was exceedingly generous with his money, especially to his family, both the family of his first wife, but especially with his second wife, Ra'ana, a remarkable woman in her own right, to whom he was devoted. Liaquat's correspondence to her was warm and affectionate. She was devastated when he was murdered in 1951. He adored his two youngest sons, Ashraf and Akbar, and had a happy family life.

Whatever the personal differences between Jinnah and Liaquat they had also experienced a number of similarities in their personal life and political careers. Both had an early traditional arranged marriage. Jinnah's first wife died before he really knew her; Liaquat had a son with this first wife but then divorced her causing a great deal of dissension in the family. Jinnah became estranged from his daughter when she married a Parsi, Liaquat's relationship with his eldest son became a very strained one, especially after Liaquat divorced his mother. Both married a modern second wife from a different faith who converted to Islam upon marriage. Jinnah married a Parsi, Rutenbai Petit, Liaquat a Christian, Sheila Irene Pant. Of the two men, Liaquat's marriage was the longest and the happiest. Jinnah dominated his wife and was the more guilty party in the estrangement between he and his wife; Liaquat was highly solicitous to Ra'ana and they exchanged almost daily letters and telegrams when he was on his travels. It would not be entirely inaccurate to say that Liaquat was a uxorious husband.

Both Jinnah and Liaquat were lawyers and educated at the Inns of Court in London, although Liaquat did not establish a law practice. Both attempted to stand for elections which, if successful, may have dramatically changed their lives and careers. Jinnah attempted to be adopted as a Labour Member of the British House of Commons from a constituency in Leeds, England. If Jinnah had been successful in being adopted by the constituency party his life, and the history of the sub-continent, may have been very different. Liaquat ran for the Legislative Assembly of India in 1923 from a constituency in his native Punjab. If he had been successful, he would have been associated with the Punjab rather than with the United Provinces. As an agriculturist he was in sympathy with the Unionist Party in the Punjab and would have been drawn into the vortex of Punjabi politics;

he would undoubtedly have made a mark in the Punjab and have ended as one of the leading figures of the province.

Both began their careers in political parties that were not exclusively Muslim, Jinnah in the Indian National Congress, and Liaquat in the cross-communal party he created in the United Provinces Legislative Council, the Democratic Party. Liaquat was also associated with another cross-communal party, the National Agriculturist Party, in the United Provinces led by Nawab Chhatari. It was only after the implementation of the Government of India Act of 1935 that both Jinnah and Liaquat identified exclusively with the All-India Muslim League, as did other Muslim political figures who became League followers.

In the ultimate analysis, what Jinnah and Liaquat shared was their single-minded devotion to the Muslims of South Asia. Jinnah was wealthy due to his own legal brilliance and dedication, Liaquat because of inheritance. They both could have lived in comfort and ease, but they devoted their lives to the service of India, and after the Pakistan Resolution of 23 March 1940 to the creation, and later, to the preservation, of Pakistan. Jinnah may have shortened his life though his strenuous activities on behalf of Pakistan. Liaquat certainly did when he was assassinated in October 1951 at the age of fifty-five by corrupt political opponents. As the political situation changed after 1935 so too did their lives. For the last decade of British India they dedicated almost all of their time to the creation of a state for the Muslims of India, although Jinnah continued his legal practice during these years and Liaquat was heavily involved in educational activities. If Jinnah was the architect of Pakistan, the *Quaid-i-Azam*, the Great Leader, Liaquat was certainly the builder, the *Quaid-i-Millat*, the Leader of the People. Together, in one of the most remarkable political stories in modern history, they guided, organized, and often funded a movement that led to the creation of a new state: Pakistan.

## NOTES

1. Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan Papers, p. 4.
2. Ibid., p. 3.
3. Jalil Ahmad Kidwai (ed.), 'Extracts from Prof Brelvi's Letter', *When India was Divided and Other Writings* (Karachi: Ross Masood Education and Culture Society of Pakistan, 1987), p. 140.
4. Hector Bolitho (1897-1974) was a New Zealander who had been living in England since 1922. A prolific writer, he had established his reputation as the author of a number of biographical studies.
5. As it is, without Bolitho's exhaustively researched book, information about much of the early life of Jinnah may have been lost. Stanley Wolpert, in his magisterial and unparalleled volume, had to rely on Bolitho for a great deal of his information on Jinnah's life in Bombay and England.
6. Ibid., pp. 2-4.
7. As is revealed in one of his letters to his wife, Ra'ana.
8. Reports of Liaquat's discussions with Wavell can be found in *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal* and in *Transfer of Power*.
9. Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan Papers, n.d., p. 2.
10. Ibid.

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