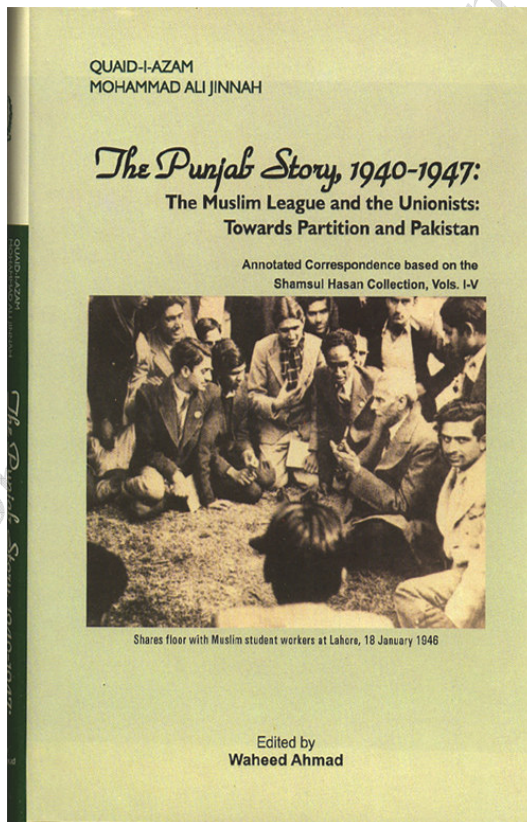


Shamsul Hasan Collection, Vols. I-V
The Punjab Story, 1940-1947:
The Muslim League and the Unionists:
Towards Partition and Pakistan



Sahmsul Hasan document series (Pakistan) — 1
Shamsul Hasan Collection, Vol. I-IV, — *The Punjab Story, 1940-1947:*
The Muslim League and the Unionists: Towards Partition and Pakistan
Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annotated Correspondence 1940-1947

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**Quaid-i-Azam
Mohammad Ali Jinnah**

The Punjab Story, 1940-1947:

The Muslim League and the Unionists

Towards Partition and Pakistan

**Annotated Correspondence based on the
Shamsul Hasan Collection, Vols. I-V**

Edited by

Waheed Ahmad

Ph.D. (Cantab.)

National Documentation Wing
Cabinet Division, Government of Pakistan
Islamabad
2009

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Abbreviations and Glossary

Abbreviations

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
AP/API	Associated Press/Associated Press of India
b.	born
C.P.	Central Provinces
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief
CID	Central Intelligence Department
cr.	created
CWC	Congress Working Committee
D.G. Khan	Dera Ghazi Khan
D.I. Khan	Dera Ismail Khan
d.	died
ed.	Editor/edited
educ.	education
HE	His/Her Excellency
HEH	His Exalted Highness
HM	His/Her Highness
HMG	His/Her Majesty's Government
Ibid.	In the same book or passage
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INA	Indian National Army
KCIE	Knight Commander of the India Empire
KCSI	Knight Commander of the Star of India
MBE	Member of (the Order of) the British Empire
ML	Muslim League
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament
NAP	National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad
NDW	National Documentation Wing, Cabinet Division, Islamabad
N.-W.F.P.	North-West Frontier Province
n./fn.	Note/footnote
op. cit.	In the work already quoted
p./pp.	page/pages
PCC	Provincial Congress Committee
QAP	Quaid-i-Azam Papers
RIAF	Royal Indian Air Force
RIN	Royal Indian Navy
RSS	Raqshtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
TP	<i>Transfer of Power</i> volumes
U.P.	United Provinces
U.N.O.	United Nations Organization
Vol.	Volume
WC	Working Committee

Glossary

<i>Akali</i>	principal Sikh political party
<i>Akhand</i>	united
<i>Anjuman</i>	association
<i>Ashram</i>	a place of religious retreat for Hindus
<i>Azad</i>	free
<i>Bande-Mataram</i>	Indian national anthem
<i>Bhangi</i>	sweeper
<i>Gaddi</i>	seat/throne
<i>Harijans</i>	children of God – name given by Gandhi to untouchables
<i>Id</i>	a Muslim festival
<i>Inshaallah</i>	God willing
<i>Jai Hind</i>	glory to India, Indian way of greeting
<i>Jumma prayer</i>	Friday Muslim prayer
<i>Khall</i>	subgroup
<i>Khidmat</i>	service
<i>Khidmatgar</i>	servant
<i>Khilafat</i>	deputyship to Holy Prophet
<i>Khuda Hafiz</i>	Muslim way of saying goodbye
<i>Lathi</i>	cudgel, wooden stick
<i>Marhoom-o-Maghfoor</i>	blessed departed soul
<i>Masjid</i>	mosque
<i>Mazdoor</i>	labourer
<i>Millat</i>	nation
<i>Nawabzada</i>	son of Nawab (titled landlord)
<i>Panchayat</i>	a meeting of elders of a community
<i>Prachar</i>	preaching
<i>Purdah</i>	seclusion
<i>Quran</i>	Muslim Holy Book
<i>Qurbani</i>	things given as a sacrifice in the name of God
<i>Raj</i>	British sovereignty in India
<i>Raja</i>	Ruler of a small Princely State
<i>Ramazan</i>	month of mandatory fasting for Muslims
<i>Riwaj</i>	custom
<i>Roza</i>	fast
<i>Salar</i>	Commander
<i>Salar-e-Ala</i>	Chief Commander
<i>Salar-e-Suba</i>	Commander of a province
<i>Shahenshah-e-Pakistan</i>	Emperor of Pakistan
<i>Shariat</i>	Islamic law
<i>Swaraj</i>	complete self-government/independence
<i>Zamindar</i>	landlord
<i>Zamindari</i>	a piece of land held by a <i>Zamindar</i>
<i>Zindabad</i>	long live

INTRODUCTION

It is conventionally considered creditable for a historian to write historical narrative, interpreting and analyzing events. Thus as a chronicler, one can demonstrate intellectual depth, command of diction and facility of the pen; whereas no such opportunity allegedly exists when printing mere documents. The logic of this argument is tempting, but any written account represents only a writer's own version, which may give only a partial story and will sometimes leave debatable statements. As against this, publishing documents has a special purpose and utility. Here, events can speak for themselves, and event-makers can speak through their own writings.

Reproducing the original text of papers, especially of a person of Jinnah's stature, has a distinct value. Many titbits and half-baked stories about him as well as his deeds and actions, remain afloat even to this day, some advanced by journalists who advocate their theories through tabloids. Many such anecdotes are distortions which present "a picture of the Quaid different from what he really was".¹ It was Jinnah's wish that the bunch of his personal papers which he had given over to Syed Shamsul Hasan for safe keeping should remain closed for twenty years, and then be published, so that "the Musalmans must know the difficulties we faced in organizing them and the details of how the battle for Pakistan was fought and won".² Shamsul Hasan testifies to the fact that "the Quaid never destroyed any papers; he preserved each one of them".³ Jinnah himself stated in a public address in November 1946, on the eve of his journey to London at Prime Minister Attlee's invitation, how much he cared for his correspondence as a means of knowing the views and sensibilities of his people:

I am staying in Delhi, waiting and watching. What is going on all over India is day and night in my mind. I welcome criticism because that is your right. I spend most of my time reading, listening and studying. I read every line of every letter that

¹Syed Shamsul Hasan, *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, Royal Book Company, Karachi, 1976, p. 5.

²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

³*Ibid.*, p. 4.

reaches me. My body and soul are devoted to the Muslim nation, and God help me, I will not fail you.¹

It is, therefore, pertinent that — even though forty more years have elapsed since Jinnah's deadline of twenty years — this treasured Collection of documents should be brought to public knowledge in its original form and in entirety without further delay. It can give an authenticated account of how Jinnah's mind worked, of how the people responded to him, and of the nature of the interaction between the common man and their leader. Thus here one witnesses the evolution of a nation and the founding of a state exactly as they occurred.

The Jinnah papers passed on to Shamsul Hasan were stacked in gunny bags.² The latter designated them as the "Shamsul Hasan Collection" in order "to differentiate them from other collections" of Jinnah papers.³ Shamsul Hasan himself wrote about them: "They relate to both the Quaid's personal as well as political life. They comprise his personal letters along with his correspondence with Indian Muslims, workers and leaders of the Muslim League. These letters roughly cover the period between 1942 and 1946. The Collection, however, does not contain the Quaid's entire correspondence of that period. The correspondence with the leaders of the Indian National Congress, representatives and officials of the British and Indian Governments, etc., was not in the bags which were handed over to me."⁴ A large number of such documents are available in the Quaid-i-Azam Papers (nearly 150,000 sheets)⁵ and also in the All India Muslim League papers,⁶ both

¹Address, *Id* gathering, New Delhi, November 5, *Dawn*, 7 November 1946. Reports of the address also appeared in *Leader* and *Hindustan Times* both 6 November and *Morning News*, 7 November 1946.

²See Syed Shamsul Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

³*Ibid.*, p 4.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁵From Syed Shamsul Hasan's book one gathers that these papers came from Delhi separately as part of the luggage of Miss Fatima Jinnah and they remained in her custody at *Qasre-i-Fatima* until, after her death, they were given over to Karachi University temporarily, and thence to the National Archives of Pakistan at Islamabad. The Karachi University retained Jinnah's group photographs with students at Agra, Aligarh, etc. (about 25 in number), a good number of Muslim League propaganda posters, 1135 printed books, mostly on law, literature and novels, some of the law books were signed by Jinnah, in one case dated 1911, some (novels) signed by Rutty D. Petit and one such novel by Dina Jinnah dated "summer 1935". The remainder of the book collection was made over to Jinnah's birthplace in Kharadar, Karachi, where it presently stays.

⁶The shifting of the Muslim League papers from Delhi to Karachi was arranged by Liaquat Ali Khan through the Pakistan High Commissioner at Delhi. The papers remained at Karachi with the Pakistan Muslim League in a rented office in Shikarpur Colony until October 1958 when the Martial Law authorities sealed the office. These

now housed in the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad. They do not form part of the National Documentation Wing present publication programme. Thus the papers in the Shamsul Hasan Collection leave substantial gaps, yet they vividly explain the history of the Pakistan movement.

The bulk of the papers in the Collection comprise incoming mail, all in English except a few in the Indian vernacular and Jinnah's brief replies. There are also a number of press clippings from contemporary Indian newspapers dealing with relevant contemporary politics and reports sent to him by his correspondents. All these, about ten thousand documents¹, survive in the original. Some are in good condition, others in a state of decay and are fading due to age and the poor quality of paper and ink used in the period of scarcity during world war; hence they need urgent archival attention. Their value as historical source material can hardly be overstated. However, they are all ill-arranged and bound haphazardly, so they need to be properly organized, catalogued and indexed to make them easily usable for research.

The Jinnah papers have remained in considerable demand by researchers; copies of some of them have even reached India.² Quite a number of them were likely removed³, and some were probably even lost

records were transferred to Karachi University on 7 October 1966 on the orders of President Ayub Khan "stuffed in 113 gunny bags and 46 large steel trunks, besides loose published materials". At Karachi University a cell was created called "The Archives of Freedom", with Professor Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi as its Director. This cell did the onerous job of repairing, organizing, annotating and binding the records in over six hundred volumes. See Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi, (ed.), *A Handbook of Archives & Material on Pakistan Freedom Struggle*, University of Karachi, 1988, p. xxx. A few years later, these volumes, together with the remaining unsorted League papers, were transferred to the Islamabad National Archives where they joined the lot of the Quaid-i-Azam Papers already mentioned.

¹See note on the dust cover of *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, op. cit.

²See Amarjit Singh's (of Department of History, Kurukshetra University, Haryana, India) letter to Zahid Shamsul Hasan, 13 December 2005, seeking Zahid's permission to publish copies of the Collection in his possession. Amarjit Singh published in India in 2007 whatever he possessed of the Shamsul Hasan Punjab volumes under the title *Jinnah and Punjab, 1944-47* with an Indian purpose.

³For example, see Rizwan Ahmad, (ed.), *The Quaid-i-Azam Papers, 1941-42*, East & West Publishing Company, Lahore-Karachi, 1976, in which 146 letters have been printed in facsimile. The editor in his "Preface" to the book says: "Here is the second volume of the Quaid-i-Azam Papers for the years 1941 and 1942 on the pattern of the previous publication.... I do hope that other individuals who are in possession of such valuable documents would come forward so that the record may be completed." In his "Foreword" to the book, Matlub Saiyid says: "The compiler of the papers is himself a research student on the life and achievement of Quaid-i-Azam. His gesture to make public the documents in his possession...is an example of generosity which will be highly appreciated." As to how these letters fell into the hands of the editor is not mentioned

in the disturbed conditions of Delhi where they had been kept. In the aftermath of Partition, the modest Muslim League office in Daryaganj was vandalized by angry Hindu and Sikh mobs several times with the connivance of the Congress-controlled Delhi administration.¹ Further, despite Jinnah's careful supervision, a good number of his papers could not possibly be kept because of the hectic political environment. Therefore, the documents that are printed here are only a part of the huge Jinnah records.

This brings us to key questions: Who Syed Shamsul Hasan was? How these papers were brought from Delhi to Karachi? What happened to them at Karachi, and how did they permanently move to the National Documentation Wing in Islamabad?

Syed Shamsul Hasan

Shamsul Hasan's importance and role in organizing the Central Office of the All India Muslim League was crucial, and much more than his junior position in the organization would suggest. This can be seen in the existence of over six hundred volumes of Muslim League records, much of which was assembled by him or created under his signature. Hence a brief survey of Shamsul Hasan's person and career is necessary for understanding the working and continued survival of the League.

Founded in Dacca, the All India Muslim League established its headquarters in Aligarh, thence shifted to Lucknow and finally to Delhi in 1927.² At Delhi, it set up its office in a rented premises in the slum area in Balimaran and later moved to Daryaganj locality. By his own account, Shamsul Hasan joined the service of the League in July 1914³ as a junior functionary. Later, he was designated as its Assistant Secretary in charge of the Central Office till December 1947 when the All India Muslim League was wound up as it had achieved its objective. In its place, two separate organizations were created known as the All Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League, with Liaquat Ali Khan and Mohammad Ismail, President of the Madras Provincial Muslim

¹For details, see Appendix VI, *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. VII, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 2003, pp.620-25.

²Syed Shamsul Hasan, op. cit., p. 65.

³Ibid., p. 5.

League, as their respective Conveners'.¹ Shamsul Hasan stayed in charge of the All Pakistan Muslim League Office [in Karachi] till the Martial Law of October 1958 when all political parties including the League were banned, and their records sealed.² Shamsul Hasan thus remained glued to the League through its shifting fortunes "from a politicians' club into a mass organization"³, moving along with it from place to place and devoting to its cause his entire life and resources.

Hence Shamsul Hasan's own graphic account of the shift of Jinnah papers from Delhi to Karachi, of what Shamsul Hasan was required to do with them, of the saddening effect on Jinnah's declining health of reports of mass killings of Muslims, and of the indifference to the ghastly occurrences of the Viceroy and the Congress leadership:

The Quaid was in Delhi, preparing to fly over to Karachi on August 7, when I received his message from 10, Aurangzeb Road, requiring to see him immediately. On arrival at his residence, I was told by Khurshid [Jinnah's Private Secretary] that the Quaid was waiting for me in his study; I was promptly showed in. Attired in white *kurta and shalwar*,⁴ the Quaid was reclining in an easy chair, engrossed in studying some papers. Seeing me enter the room, he put aside the papers; and removing his monocle with his characteristic gesture, he enquired about the situation prevailing in the city. I told him about the worsening communal tension, and also apprised him of the apprehension of the Muslims that an organized plan for their wholesale massacre was in the offing.

The Quaid was deeply perturbed at this information, and referred to the Hindu monstrosities in East Punjab where a planned massacre of Muslims was deliberately being allowed to continue unabated, despite the assurances given by Lord Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru during their recent talks with

¹See *The Nation's Voice*, Vole VII, pp. 495-504 for proceedings and resolutions at the All India Muslim League Council session at Karachi, 14-15 December 1947, under Jinnah's Presidentship.

²Syed Shamsul Hasan, op. cit., p. 5.

³Ibid.

⁴Shirt and trousers.

him. He also referred to the continuation of the curbs which the Delhi Government had imposed on *Dawn* in July 1947, restraining it from publishing full accounts of Hindu-Muslim riots. The Order was served on me as its printer and publisher in July 1947 by the Delhi Commissioner. I had never seen the Quaid so depressed and agitated....

After a few minutes, the Quaid led me to an adjacent room, and pointing towards a stack of gunny bags, he told me that they contained some of his personal letters and papers, which he asked to take with me. *I enquired whether I had to destroy or preserve them. He replied: "No. I shall like you to see that they are not destroyed in the holocaust. You keep them in your personal custody"*¹. I, therefore, brought those bags to my house. The next day, I left Delhi for Karachi to attend the ceremonies that were to herald the birth of Pakistan on August 14. I returned to Delhi on August 21, where I was arrested under Section 304 I.P.C. I was released after some time on bail.² As it was no longer possible for me to stay at Delhi, I flew over to Lahore with my family in the last week of September. We could not bring any of our personal belongings, but managed somehow to bring the bags containing the Quaid's papers.

Towards the end of October 1947, the Quaid came on a visit to Lahore.³ Khurshid was on leave, and had gone to Srinagar.⁴ The other members of the Governor-General's staff

¹Italics mine.

²There are different accounts concerning his release. Shamsul Hasan's son Zahid told me, it was Rafi Ahmad Qidwai, a Minister in Nehru's government who had intervened; others mention Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Nehru (see Sharif al Mujahid, (ed.), *Muslim League Documents, 1900-1947, Vol I, 1900-1908*, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1990, p. xxvii). Some say it was Liaquat Ali Khan who went to Delhi, met Nehru and secured Shamsul Hasan's release. Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi, op. cit., pp. xxix-xxx. Shamsul Hasan himself does not name his benefactor, even the sponsor of his bail.

³That visit related to the Indian invasion of Kashmir and his meeting with the Indian Governor-General Mountbatten. For details, see *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. VII, Appendix VII.

⁴There, Khurshid was arrested by the Indian invading forces at the behest of V.P. Menon, Secretary, India's Ministry of States. Khurshid was later deported to Pakistan. Menon's tape recorded account to H.V. Hodson at Bangalore in September/October 1964. For details of the tape story, see Introduction, *The Nation's Voice*, Vol.

did not know me. In the circumstances, it was difficult to see the Quaid without prior appointment. It was by sheer chance that I met Miss Jinnah who was coming back to the Government House from somewhere. She saw me outside the gate and took me personally to the Quaid. When I was ushered into the presence of the Quaid, I was shocked to see him. Frail and weak he always was, but during the few weeks following August 14, 1947, he had become a specter of his old self — a picture of utter exhaustion. He enquired about the happenings in Delhi. I narrated the gruesome details. In a voice choked with emotion, he told me that he had not been able to sleep for days, and that he was doing whatever was possible to improve the situation. He was very bitter with the Indian leadership. He accused them of having accepted Partition with reservations, and denounced them for trying to destroy Pakistan at the very outset. Making visible efforts to control his emotions, he added: “The Musalmans of the Subcontinent cannot be destroyed by these tactics. They have now a homeland, and with hard work they shall, *Insha Allah*, make it powerful.” His voice still rings in my ears. Abruptly, he changed the subject and began to talk about the shifting of the Muslim League Office from Delhi and establishing it at Karachi. He directed me to proceed to Karachi and to start working right away.

As I took his leave, he enquired about the papers he had entrusted to me. I told him that they were the only thing that I could bring from Delhi. With a faint smile, he said: “*Do not make use of them for some time, say 20 years. Then publish them. The Musalmans must know the difficulties we faced in organizing them, and the details of how the battle for Pakistan was fought and won.*”¹

I met the Quaid at Karachi quite a few times before he left for Ziarat during his last illness in 1948. It was only once that

VI, pp. lxxxi-ii. Khurshid became President Azad Kashmir 1959-62. He died in a road accident in Pakistan in 1988.

¹Italics mine.

he broached the subject of the papers and enquired whether I had arranged and sorted them. I informed him that I had not done anything with them, as I was busy setting up the League Office. *He told me afresh not to publish them for at least twenty years*¹. I have accordingly preserved these papers as a sacred trust.²

Shamsul Hasan published his memoir in 1976, surveying in it the course of the evolution of the All India Muslim League from its birth in 1906 to 1947, and giving the story of his own association with it. This 350-page printed book also included a large selection from Jinnah's personal correspondence in his possession. He concluded with the following statement:

This selection will prove a great help in the study of various aspects of the Quaid's life, and provide a commentary on, and footnotes to, the historic events preceding the establishment of Pakistan....The letters dealing with the personal matters exceed by far what a book of the size of the present volume could permit. Much as I would have liked to include most of them, I could not for obvious reasons publish more than a representative selection.³

Thus for his part, the sourceless Shamsul Hasan fulfilled Jinnah's wish at least partially. He died in Karachi in 1981 at an advance age of 96, and there he is buried. In 2006, the Government of Pakistan conferred *Sitara-i-Imtiaz* on him posthumously in recognition of his unique services to the nation.

Khalid Shamsul Hasan

Among Shamsul Hasan's siblings Khalid Shamsul Hasan is important; being the eldest he inherited the Shamsul Hasan assets. Khalid started his career as a student at the Arabic College, Delhi, of which Liaquat Ali Khan was the founder-president. In 1946, Khalid

¹Italics mine.

²Syed Shamsul Hasan, op. cit., pp. 1-5.

³Ibid., pp. 66-67 and 292.

became the secretary of the All India Muslim League Students Federation at Delhi. He graduated in Economics from Karachi University and later joined the National Bank of Pakistan where he rose to be its Executive Vice-President. In 1989, when I was the Director of the Quaid-i-Azam Academy in Karachi, I persuaded him to be the Honorary Treasurer of the Academy. Ours grew into a productive partnership.

Khalid had a deep interest in history, especially in the Pakistan movement. He had built himself an ambitious, unique and large personal library comprising books, paintings and manuscripts. The Shamsul Hasan Collection became part of Khalid's personal archives. From bags and packs, he sorted out the papers and bound them in makeshift volumes. He then established the Shamsul Hasan Foundation and initiated a programme of publication based on the Collection. His two books followed, *Quaid-i-Azam's Unrealized Dream*¹ and *Sindh's Role in the Making of Pakistan*²; a third entitled *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists*³ was published posthumously in 2005. These, like his father's *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, included a selection from Jinnah's Shamsul Hasan correspondence, presented thematically.

Khalid set up his holdings in his new house in Gulshan-e-Jauhar in Karachi. There he died of stroke on 30 June 1995. Following his death, the volumes of the Collection were shifted to his junior brother Zahid's home in Giziri for safety reasons, and Khalid's extensive book library to the Sindh Archives at Clifton. Subsequently, when Zahid allowed me access to the Collection, I numbered the volumes (72)⁴ and

¹Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *Quaid-i-Azam's Unrealised Dream: Formation and Working of the All India Muslim League Economic Planning Committee*, Shamsul Hasan Foundation for Historical Studies & Research, Karachi, 1991.

²Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *Sindh's Fight for Pakistan*, Shamsul Hasan Foundation for Historical Studies & Research, Karachi, 1992.

³Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists*, Ushba Publishing International, Karachi, 2005.

⁴See the volumes listed at Appendix A. — It may be noted that in the shift of the Shamsul Hasan Collection from Gulshan-e-Jauhar to Giziri, one volume which dealt with the press was left out by mistake. This accompanied Khalid's books to the Sindh Archives. Later the Cabinet Division acquired this solitary volume from the Sindh Archives and made it a part of the parent Collection at Islamabad, total volumes thereafter numbered 72. I need to point out, however, that in order that the volumes become properly research worthy, not only the volumes need to be re-numbered meaningfully, but the documents be also organized systematically. I do hope due attention will be paid to this aspect in due course.

also described each of them briefly for immediate reference purposes, leaving a more comprehensive description work to a more convenient date later. In 2004, the bed-ridden Zahid agreed to transfer the Collection, along with his holdings of Khalid's remaining research material, to the Cabinet Division in Islamabad.

The Cabinet Division decided to publish the Collection in fulfillment of the Quaid's wish. They created a small cell in their Documentation Wing and asked me to supervise the work. To begin with, I worked out a scheme to take up the volumes province-wise, beginning with the provinces which now form part of Pakistan, Punjab to be the first. This volume of *The Punjab Story* is the result. The next in line will be Sindh, then the N.-W.F.P, and finally Baluchistan and the rest of undivided India.

The Punjab Story

Five volumes in the Collection deal exclusively with the undivided province of the Punjab between 1940 and 1947. They contain altogether 475 items, which include Jinnah's brief replies (88), 28 press clippings (mostly anti-Jinnah and anti-League reports from the Hindu press) and fourteen incoming letters in Urdu.

The Punjab correspondence chiefly relates to matters which concerned the general election of 1945-46. It contains evidence on many important points: Jinnah's refusal to intervene in the allotment of Muslim League election tickets, he even refused to oblige the late poet Iqbal's son, Aftab Iqbal; the pressure of the Punjab Unionist government on Muslim voters to abandon Muslim League candidates and the voters' determination to support them; the Cabinet Mission recommendations; the formation of the Interim Government and inclusion, in the Muslim League quota of Ministers, of a member of the Hindu Scheduled Caste; the concern felt in the Punjab over communal killings of Bihar Muslims and the resolution of Lahore's Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam to assist and embrace the Bihar riot victims. Noticeable, above all, is the trust of the

In citing these volumes wherever required in the table of contents and in footnotes, I have given both the numbers given by Khalid as well as myself with a stroke in between the two numbers, i.e., I/33, II/67, III/8, IV/45 and V/61 to assist researchers, the first in Roman being Khalid's.

Muslim masses in Jinnah's leadership, their adoration for Jinnah and their concern for his health.

The writings of two correspondents, Mrs. Rallia Ram, a Christian, from Lahore, and Lady Firoz Khan Noon, mostly handwritten, are of special interest as regards their devotion to Jinnah and the information about the day-to-day developments that they conveyed to him. We have also letters from Lady Noon persuading Jinnah to buy a property in a hill resort next to hers, and her description about how active her husband Noon was in campaigning for the Muslim League election cause, and her complaint that he was neglected in promotion in the League hierarchy.¹ Among other items of interest are Shaukat Hyat's lengthy communications in which he describes his plight over his dismissal as a Minister from the Punjab government by Governor Glancy. In a curt reply, Jinnah refused to intervene. Shaukat regarded this at the time as a "jolt", but over fifty years later "with the benefit of hindsight" recorded in his memoirs that Jinnah was "correct" as "he (Jinnah) could not have been able to pursue my case politically if he had accepted my brief".² Another significant document is a letter to Jinnah from Ghulam Bhik Nairang on the eve of the Viceroy's Simla meeting, complaining that Jinnah was insufficiently attentive to Muslims, as he had not made a show of response to greetings of the Nairang crowd at the Ambala airport; and in reply we can read Jinnah's expression of sympathy. There are letters from Syed Jamaat Ali (Sialkot) inviting Jinnah to accompany him (Jamaat Ali) on Hajj, offering to meet all expenses. Understandably, Jinnah declined having been involved in political negotiations. There are also letters and telegrams from Begum Shah Nawaz about her

¹Jinnah named a new Committee of Action of the Muslim League as follows on 27 August 1946: Liaquat Ali Khan, Mohammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Abdul Matin Choudhry, Haji Abdus Sattar Is-haq Seth and Mian Mumtaz Daultana, with Liaquat Ali Khan as its Convener and Mohammad Ismail Khan as the Chairman. See reports in *Hindustan Times*, 27 August and *Dawn*, 28 August 1946. In the list Firoz Khan Noon's name did not appear which caused Lady Noon to complain.

²See Sirdar Shaukat Hyat, *The Nation that Lost its Soul; Memoirs of Sirdar Shaukat Hyat*, Jang Publishers, Lahore, 1995. p. 138. In a public address at the Punjab Muslim League Conference at Sialkot on 29 April 1944, Jinnah condemned the Governor's action at length describing it as a "negation of democracy". See report of the address and the Conference proceedings in *Star of India*, 1 May and *Morning News*, 2 May 1944.

lecture visit to the U.S.A., accompanied by Hassan Ispahani, and communications from Malik Barkat Ali and Mumtaz Daultana and Rafi Butt, the last, a Jinnah devotee and an entrepreneur from Lahore, who died young.

Deciphering the writings of the correspondents was found time-consuming in places, and their English composition rather faulty. No attempt, however, has been made to edit the text.

The Punjab province

In appreciating the contents of these documents, it will be helpful to have an explanatory note about the primacy of the province and about the events and political developments concerning it, and India as a whole, preceding Pakistan's birth.

The area covered by the undivided Punjab province had had a peculiar history. With the exception of Mohammad Bin Qasim who entered the subcontinent by way of Sindh, all other Muslim conquerors marched through the Punjab route and ended up capturing Delhi and thence the rest of India. The British, however, sneaked through the north eastern part of India in Bengal and from there spread out westward. Therefore, the Punjab was one of the last areas to form part of the British Empire. Yet Punjab's strategic location, its terrain and its sturdy and large populace gave the province unique importance in the subcontinent.

When the idea of partitioning India was mooted, the Punjab province formed an indispensable part of schemes floated by the Pakistan thinkers. The two principal figures, Choudhary Rahmat Ali and Allama Mohammad Iqbal, who are credited with having pioneered the division idea, came from the Punjab. Also the provincial capital of Lahore was the venue where the Muslim League adopted the resolution for a separate Muslim state. Therefore, whatever happened in this province had its ramification all over India. At a key stage in the Partition history, Jinnah had this to say to the newly-elected Punjab Muslim legislators, following the general elections of 1945-46:

The Punjab has been the sword-arm of India and you have played your part heroically on different battlefields which is

recognized by the world; let now your sword-arm play a more magnificent part in the achievement of Pakistan. You can do it; we shall do it, if Muslims will stand united. Your triumph in the Punjab is all the greater, for you had to face the most unscrupulous methods that were resorted to by your opponents. The power and authority of the government was abused flagrantly, officers were let loose to hinder, coerce and threaten the Muslim League candidates and those who were supporting them. It was almost a criminal conspiracy which you had to face. You have toiled and sweated and after fighting against all odds you have secured a wonderful victory, thereby you have rendered a service not only to the Punjab but to the hundred million Muslims of India and the posterity. Punjab is the cornerstone of Pakistan and such a clear, thumping majority for Pakistan has given me one of the most pleasant shocks that I ever received in my life, and it has stunned our enemies. If you continue this remarkable unity, this discipline by the Muslims of the Punjab of all classes, and maintain your discipline and organize your people for all future contingencies, Pakistan is in the hollows of yours hands.¹

The Punjab population had a hybrid character, both ethnically and religiously. According to the 1921 census, Muslims formed an overall majority in the province. Despite this, however, they suffered from a number of handicaps. First, their population advantage was only marginal. Statistically they constituted nearly 57 percent in the period under review. Hindus were the next, and then came the Sikhs, and the rest, i.e. the Christians and Hindu depressed classes. Secondly, Muslims were economically and socially backward, as compared to Hindus and Sikhs, who monopolized positions in the government hierarchy and possessed property and fertile land. The non-Muslims were also considerably advanced educationally; they owned and ran the principal educational institutions in the province. In the period with which the

¹Address, Muslim League party Punjab Assembly, Lahore, March 20, *Star of India*, 21-22 March 1946. Reports of the address also appeared in *Civil & Military Gazette* and *Morning News* both 22 March 1946.

Shamsul Hasan documents deal, the Punjab was ruled by an overtly anti-League government. Governor Bertrand Glancy (1941-46) oversaw a feudal government in the province, headed by Khizar Hayat Tiwana since December 1942. Tiwana himself belonged to an agriculturalist coalition, called the Unionist Party, founded in 1923 by late Mian Fazl-i-Husain (1876-1936). The motley Tiwana government had a substantial Congress Hindu-Sikh element in it. This government had contributed substantially to the ongoing British war effort and, in return, had earned the latter's full support in retaining power and keeping the Muslim League at bay. Glancy was backed in his designs by the establishment in Delhi and by all levels of the bureaucracy in the Punjab. By means more foul than fair, the Unionist government saw to it that the Muslim League remained effectively in check and the Pakistan scheme unrealized.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, fondly known as the Muslims' "Quaid-i-Azam", had by this time carried the League to an unprecedented level of popularity all over India, including the Punjab. The acid test of the League's popularity was the general elections of 1945-46 when prominent Congress deserters and government office-holders swelled the ranks of the League. The high profile Punjabis among them were Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Begum Shah Nawaz and Firoz Khan Noon. Even though the franchise was restricted and the polling registers were not up to date, the mass mobilization of the Muslim masses had left little choice for the registered voters in casting their votes.¹ The stories of the underprivileged rural Muslim voters trekking to polling-booths in support of the League candidates, despite official harassment, abound in the documents published in this volume. The following letter to Jinnah from one Raja Mohammad Ismail Khan in Lyallpur provides a typical example:

786, Mediabad, Chak No. 353 JB, P.O. same, District Lyallpur.
Dated 5 March 1946. **Brother Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah**
Quaid-i-Azam! In the 1st instance I consider it my sacred duty
to congratulate you and your patrons on the splendid success

¹See Introduction, *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. IV, pp. xci-iv.

achieved in the Punjab. This is all due to your untiring efforts and keen interest evinced by you towards the Muslim League. On 14.2.46 when I had to go to the polling booth to cast my vote with 9 other voters under my sway, my tiny and beloved daughter Amin Akhtar, expired at 11 a.m. It was a keenly contested election, efforts were being made by the Unionist Party to get our votes and in view of the cutthroat competition I preferred the votes to be polled first to cremating [*sic*] my daughter. My wife said [*sic*] eye to eye in my action and said, "Do not care for your dead child, Islam first, temporal affairs afterwards." Being encouraged by these words of my wife, I hastened to the polling booth with 9 others on foot for 9 miles¹ and cast all votes to the Muslim League candidate Mian Nur Allah. It was dusk fall when I returned to my village and attended to my daughter's burial. The passing away of my daughter has at such a premature time caused me an irreparable loss, but it will afford me a good consolation if I received a letter under your signature in response to the act of mine. Yours obediently, Raja Mohammad Ismail Khan, *zamindar*, Chak No. 353 JB.²

Elections having concluded, the Muslim League won overwhelmingly in separate constituencies all over India, including the Punjab where it captured 79 out of 86 Muslim seats in the 175 Member Assembly. Congress had put up altogether eight candidates in Muslim constituencies in the Punjab, and all the eight were defeated convincingly, having lost their security deposits as well.³ The Congress secured a mere .44 percent of Muslim votes as against the Muslim

¹In a public statement in Lahore 18 January 1946, Jinnah had urged: "I say to our workers who want to support the League candidates that if you can't get conveyance, if you can't get petrol, trudge to the polling stations." See reports in *Eastern Times* and *Star of India*, January 19 and *Dawn*, 20 January 1946. See also *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. IV, pp. 210-12 for a detailed report.

²NAP, QAP, F-988/41.

³See *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. IV, pp. xcix-c, n. 2.

League's 65.3 percent.¹ The performance of the Unionists was only a shade better. They had put up 75 candidates in Muslim constituencies and won just twelve seats whereas they were defeated in 63, losing deposits in eight of them. They secured altogether 13.96 per cent of Muslim votes.² This resounding victory, however, did not give the League the magic number required to form government in the Punjab independently. The relevant provision in the Government of India Act, which was based on Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award of August 1932,³ had allowed "weightage" to Hindus and Sikhs, which reduced the number of Muslim seats. As a rule, the Governor should have encouraged the League to find support from the few elected Assembly Members needed to form the cabinet. That, however, did not happen despite the League leader's affirmation to the Governor:

I have no reason to doubt the assurances of support which I have received from various groups of M.L.As. outside the Muslim League Party and I have no manner of doubt that the Ministry which I am proposing will be able to command a majority [*sic*] of at least 90 to begin with. This number comprises the Muslim League Party of 80 plus 3 other Muslim members, 4 members of the Scheduled Castes, 1 European and 2 Indian Christians. This number is most likely to go up to about 100 before the Legislature resumes its session....In view of these observations, I trust your Excellency will permit me to submit immediately for your approval the names of Ministers for the new Cabinet.⁴

Instead, the mongrel Tiwana combination was resurrected, admittedly through the machinations of the Congress President, Abul Kalam Azad, with Gandhi supporting and Nehru opposing. Azad later reminisced:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³See Cmd. 4147, (*Constitutional Reforms*) *Communal Decision* (1932), paragraph 3. In the province of the Punjab where they constituted a 57% majority, the percentage of seats allotted to them was 49.

⁴Letter, Nawab of Mamdot (the Muslim League Assembly party leader) to Evan Jenkins (Punjab Governor), 5 March 1947, TP. Vol. IX, pp. 866-67.

During the meeting of the [Congress] Working Committee at Bombay...Jawaharlal took the line that the policy I had adopted in the Punjab was not correct. He even said that I had brought down the prestige of the Congress. I was both surprised and sorry to hear this. What I had done in the Punjab was to put Congress into the Government despite the fact that the [new] Governor¹ had been working for the installation of a Muslim League Ministry. Through my endeavours, the Muslim League had been isolated and Congress, though it was a minority, had become the decisive factor in Punjab affairs. Khizar Hayat Khan was the Chief Minister through Congress support and he had naturally come under its influence....Gandhiji came out strongly in support of my views....When Gandhiji expressed himself in categorical terms, all other members of the Working Committee supported me and Jawaharlal had to acquiesce.²

As a result, the Muslim Leaguers protested, demonstrated and courted arrests. "A heroic girl [Fatima Sughra]³ braved many injuries to hoist the Muslim League flag on the building of the Punjab government secretariat in Lahore".⁴ Yet the Tiwana government lived, limpingly though, until Tiwana himself, following the 20 February British declaration to transfer power by June 1948, panicked and returned post-haste from Delhi to Lahore. At Lahore, he released the Muslim League detainees, withdrew the ban on the Muslim League National Guard, and, despite the looming Budget session and the Governor's regret,⁵ resigned on 2 March 1947, bringing down the ramshackle Unionist-Akali-Congress coalition.

¹Evan Jenkins who had replaced Bertrand Glancy on 8 April 1946.

²Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative*, Orient Longmans Calcutta, 1959, pp. 129-30.

³For details of the event and Fatima Sughra, see Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement*, Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1969, p. 92.

⁴Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1973 reprint, p. 101.

⁵See Evan Jenkins to Viceroy Wavell, 3 March 1947, in which the Governor gave details of his interview with Premier Khizar on 2 March 1947, TP, Vol. IX, pp. 830-31.

In the aftermath, Congressmen and Sikhs threatened violence in the event of a Muslim League-led government being installed.¹ They preferred the Governor's rule under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, with Evan Jenkins in the saddle. That arrangement lasted until India (and the province too) was partitioned in August 1947.

Meanwhile, attention shifted elsewhere. Seeing that the Indians remained unable to reach a consensus about India's political future, the Attlee Government sent to India in March 1946 a high-powered Delegation of three Cabinet Ministers headed by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence. The policy, purpose and performance of the Delegation are discussed in detail in *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. V. Suffice it to say, that the Delegation stayed and worked in India through March-June 1946, and offered a Plan on 16 May called the "Cabinet Mission Plan". The Plan dismissed the Muslim League demand of partition outright, but proposed a complicated system of grouping of provinces, to be followed, if the parties (principally the Muslim League and the Congress) accepted the Plan, by the establishment of an Interim Government at the Centre. There was also proposed an Indian Constituent Assembly in which the League, the Congress and other Indian stakeholders, including the representatives of the Princely States, would sit and write a Union constitution for free India. That constitution was to form the basis for India's freedom and eventually to lead to British departure from India.

The Cabinet Mission Plan dominated the Indian political scene thenceforth until Mountbatten arrived in March 1947. Because of the incompatible Congress and League attitudes, the Plan had remained virtually moribund. A Constituent Assembly was constituted, but the Leaguers and the other non-Congress elements boycotted it. An Interim Government was also formed, first exclusively of Congressmen in September 1946, but joined by the League a month later. This Government, however, "showed an odd combination of unnatural bedfellows", comprising "two groups of warring Ministers with portfolios

¹Ibid.

and functions interlinked pulling in opposite directions under Viceroy's ineffective umbrella".¹

Amidst much uncertainty and frustration, Attlee invited the top Indian leadership to London in December 1946, in a last-ditch effort to secure an agreement. The London meeting, assembled after much persuasion, also failed dismally. Nehru left the high-powered gathering precipitately, dismissing the League as only "a fly in the balance".² He flew back to Delhi hurriedly to introduce in the Indian Constituent Assembly (comprising only Congressmen) a resolution on 13 December for an "Independent Sovereign Republic". It was adopted by the Assembly on 20 January 1947.³ The event left no further room for negotiation. Helpless, the Attlee government decided on three things: First, it announced the date of the British departure from India unilaterally by June 1948, agreement or no agreement among Indians; secondly, the tenure of Viceroy Wavell, who had supervised the Indian negotiations since he had taken over from Linlithgow in 1943, was terminated following behind-the-scenes Congress manoeuvring⁴; and thirdly, Rear Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, the King's cousin and, through Nehru, with a prior "intimate link in" India's "Congress party",⁵ was designated as India's new, albeit last, Viceroy, allegedly with "plenipotentiary powers".⁶

On 22 March 1947, when Mountbatten took over, he had the resuscitation of the much-maligned Cabinet Mission Plan at the top of his agenda. With the knowledge of events since the Cabinet Mission Plan was announced on 16 May 1946, and public pronouncements of the Congress leaders, Jinnah had already reached the conclusion that the Congress sincerity to implement the Plan was not to be trusted. In a series of meetings with Mountbatten between 5 and 10 April 1947, Jinnah

¹See Introduction, *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. V, pp. xciv-vi.

²See proceeding of the meeting dated 4 December 1946 presided over by Prime Minister Attlee, attended by Secretary of State Pethick-Lawrence, Stafford Cripps, A.V. Alexander, Viceroy Wavell, Jinnah, Turnbull and Abell, TP, Vol. IX, p. 256.

³See Chaudhari Muhammad Ali, op. cit., p. 261.

⁴For details, see Introduction, *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. V, pp. lxxii-vii.

⁵See Introduction, *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. VI, pp. xlv-v.

⁶This is what Lord Listowel, Pethick-Lawrence's successor, told me in our meeting in London on 25 March 1993. Listowel died on 12 March 1997.

refused to reconsider the Plan's future, and demanded a "surgical operation" as the "only one solution" of India's problem.¹ In the event, Mountbatten concluded that the date of June 1948 was too distant and purposeless. With the approval of the home government,² he managed to antedate independence to 15 August 1947.

It would be repetitious to recount events surrounding these historic developments, for I have already explained and documented these in detail in the Introductory notes to volumes II-VI of *The Nation's Voice*. The reader is, therefore, referred to these volumes for fuller information. However, the documents printed on the pages that follow throw fresh light on related events and on the concerns and activities of Muslims of the Punjab just before the birth of Pakistan, and also on Jinnah's remarkable role in leading them to their cherished goal.

One of the constant factors which dominated Muslim politics in the Punjab, as elsewhere in India, was Jinnah's failing health and his frequent bouts of fatigue.³ Prayers offered for his health are touching; he would assure his correspondents that he was well and improving only to put them at ease; his end was only a year and some months away. He was, however, aware of the anti-League activities and the need for his personal presence, especially in the Punjab. But Punjab was only one area of Jinnah's concern in the vast swathe of the Indian political landscape, and, with little energy left in him, he could not oblige his Punjab supporters by visiting the province as frequently as they had desired.

With the publication of this volume of *The Punjab Story*, a step has been taken towards fulfilling Jinnah's wish. Hopefully, the cell will be enabled to work uninterruptedly until the remaining volumes are published. I am thankful to the Cabinet Division for their readiness to

¹See TP Vol. X, pp. 137-39 for Mountbatten's record of his interview with Jinnah in Delhi 5-6 April 1947.

²According to Lord Listowel, the British government was much embarrassed at Mountbatten's suggestion to change the date, but in the end they conceded. Mountbatten had already been allowed "plenipotentiary power which was not allowed at the turn of the century even to Lord Curzon". In Mountbatten's case, Listowel said, the situation worked conversely, Mountbatten dictating and the home government following. Even in his appointment as Secretary of State for India and removal of Pethick-Lawrence, Listowel said, Mountbatten was instrumental. For further details, see documents and footnotes, *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. V, pp. 1099-1104.

³See the postscript in his feeble handwriting on his typed letter to Rallia Ram dated 16 January 1947 (SHC Vol V/61), its facsimile printed at page 492.

acquire the Collection, and also publish the documents. I thank Fazal ur Rahman Rao, Research Assistant, and Jahangir Khan and Majid Mahmood, Composers, for their effort in composing and proofreading the material, and also for preparing an Index. Farah Gul Baqai of the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research vetted the manuscript devotedly and made useful suggestions. I also thank Messrs Printographic, Printers, for taking good care of the printing and binding work of the volume.

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National Documentation Wing

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63. **Forwards Mrs. K. F. Khan's letter dated 10 October 1945** 75
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77. **Master Tara Singh denies that he stated that Jinnah was receiving money from Muslim States and other places to press for Pakistan demand** 89
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