

WILLIAM JENNINGS

HISPANIC CORRESPONDENCE

1936-1940



EDITED BY W.H.

Several studies have appeared which deal with the partition of India. They discuss the policies, political developments and processes involving Britain, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League. Since most studies have concentrated on the All India story, they have neglected the regional and linguistic cleavages which created provincial identities and interests struggling for control of the provincial arena and constituting a challenge to national leadership. In the case of the Muslim League, historians still tend to treat the country-wide Pakistan movement as a unified whole and Quaid-i-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah as the **Deus ex Machina**. The historiographical tendency has been accentuated by the non-availability and use of relevant records and private papers.

Presents to QM Kirpal
Singh with compliments
with best wishes
W. Saiti
14/7/83

Kripal Singh.

M.A. JINNAH —
Ispahani Correspondence
1936—1948



Presented to
my dear father
by his son
M. A. Jinnah
1896

M. A. Jinnah, 1896



M. A. H. Ispahani, 1936

M. A. JINNAH

—

Ispahani Correspondence
1936-1948

EDITED BY

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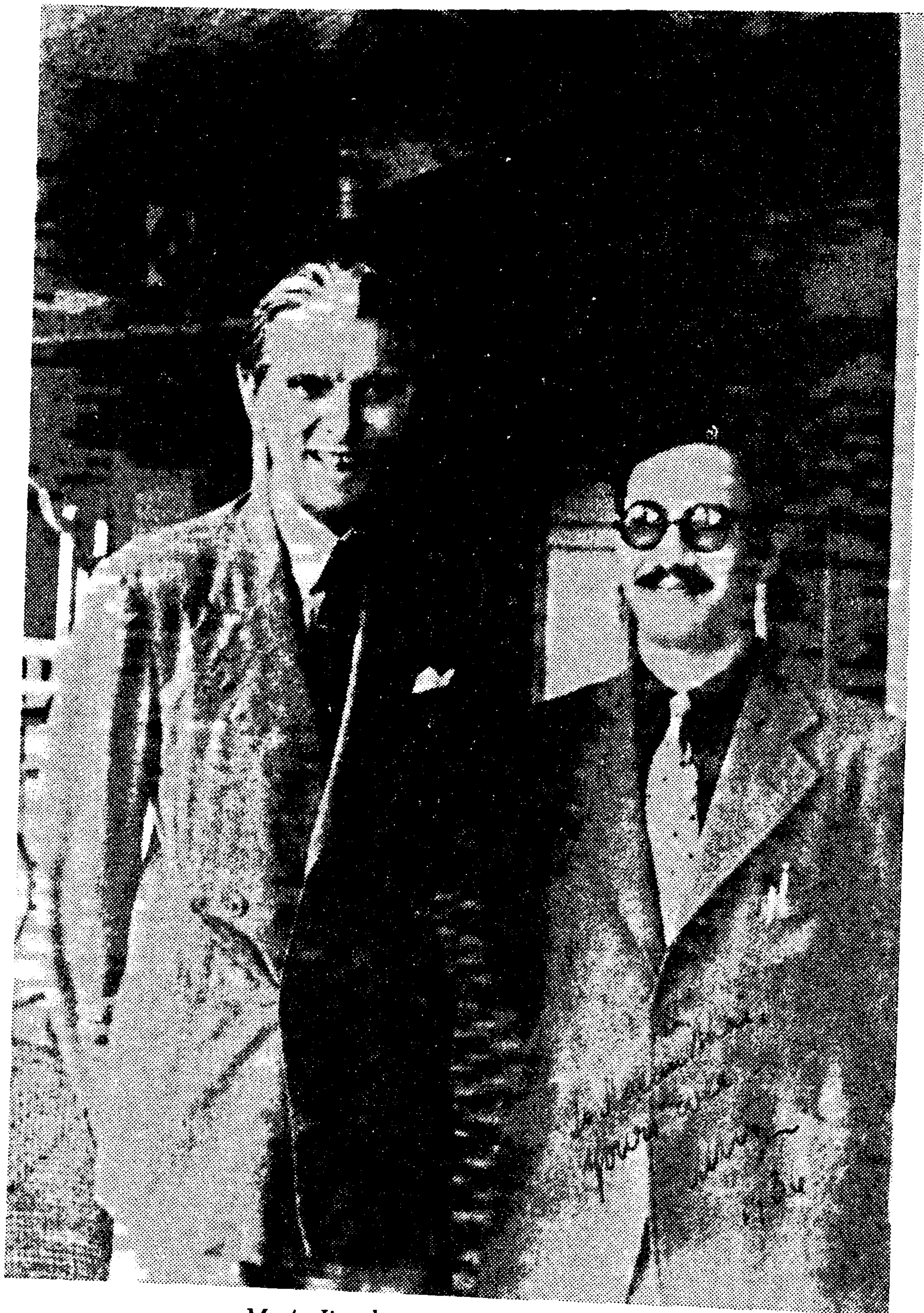
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DEDICATION

*To the memory of Amir Ahmad Khan,
Raja of Mahmudabad, who gave his all to serve
the Muslim Cause and expected nothing in
return.*



M. A. Jinnah, Raja of Mahmudabad

Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani

M.A.H. Ispahani was born in Madras in 1902. After taking his M.A., (Hons.) and LL.B., (Hons.) from St. John's College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1924. In 1925 he joined family business of M. M. Ispahani Ltd. at Calcutta. He was elected to Calcutta Corporation (1933), Deputy Mayor (1941—1942); member, Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937—1947); member of the Working Committee, Bengal Provincial Muslim League (1937—1947); member of the Working Committee, All India Muslim League (1941—1947); member, Constituent Assembly (1946-1948); represented the Muslim League at New York **Herald Tribune** Forum (1946); Pakistan's first Ambassador to U.S.A. (1947—1952); Deputy Leader, Pakistan Delegation to U.N. (1947); Leader, Pakistan Delegation to Havana Conference on Trade and Employment (1947); High Commissioner for Pakistan in the U.K. (1952—1954); Central Minister of Industries and Commerce (1954—1955); resigned August, 1955; Pakistan's Ambassador to Kabul (1973—1974). Publications: **27 Days in China**, (Karachi, 1960); **Leningrad to Samarkand**, (Karachi, 1962); **Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah As I Knew Him**, (Karachi, 1966; second revised and enlarged edition, 1968).

FOOTNOTES USED IN THE VOLUME

No volume or series number has been given in the footnotes for references from Governors' Reports. This is because the authorities at the India Office Library, India Office Records, were cataloguing the collections at the time of the preparation of the manuscript. New numbers were eventually allotted to the series. The series dealing with the Bengal Governors' Reports referred to as **G.R.** in footnotes is to be found in L/P&J/5 followed by volume number. The volumes used for this book are listed below:

All Provinces

R/3/1/1	October 1936 — March 1937
2	April 1937 — December 1937

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147	July	—	December	1940
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151	January	—	December	1944
152	January	—	December	1945

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
Cmd	Command Papers (Parliamentary Papers)
GR	Governors' Reports
INC	Indian National Congress
I.P.	Ispahani Papers
IOL	India Office Library, India Office Records
ML	Muslim League
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
NWFP	North West Frontier Province



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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
1936		
1.	9 August	Jinnah's intervention in Bengal politics.
2.	10	Same as above.
1937		
3.	10 December	Bengal elections; leaders invited from outside.
4.	23 March	Formation of Bengal ministry.
5.	4 April	Jinnah satisfied with ML gains in Bengal.
6.	22 July	Rajendra Prasad-Jinnah formula.
7.	22	Same as above; affairs of Bengal ML.
8.	1 August	Rajendra Prasad-Jinnah formula; AIML session.
9.	11	AIML session; affairs of Bengal ML.
10.	15	Jinnah's refusal to disaffili- ate Bengal ML.
11.	10 September	Affairs of Bengal ML.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
12.	25	Palestine conference; Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act; affairs of Bengal ML.
13.	2 October	AIML session at Lucknow.
14	9 November	ML defeat at Bijnore by-election: affairs of Bengal ML.
15.	22	By-elections at Malda and Moradabad. Liaquat Ali Khan and the National Agriculturist Party.
16.	28	Affairs of U.P. ML.
17.	15 December	Recognition of AIML as representative body of the Muslims.
18.	18	By-elections in U.P.
1938		
19.	13 January	Star of India
20.	18	AIML council meeting.
21.	25	Unionists and the Punjab ML.
22.	28	AIML council meeting.
23.	29	Unionists and the Punjab ML.

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
24.	26 February	Special session of AIML
25.	7 March	As above.
26.	19	AIML council meeting.
27.	7 April	Special session of AIML at Calcutta.
28.	12	As above.
29.	12	As above.
30.	25	Purchase of car by Jinnah.
31.	30	As above.
32.	7 June	As above.
33.	11 July	Chinese Muslim Delegation's visit.
34.	21	AIML council meeting.
35.	24	As above.
36.	11 August	Move of no-confidence motion against Fazlul Huq; concern about lack of Muslim newspapers.
37.	27	Reminder about previous letter.
38.	30	Jinnah's car.
39.	3 September	As above.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
40.	10	Jinnah's health.
41.	24 October	As above.
42.	14 November	Anwar Masood's employment.
43.	2 December	As above.
1939		
44	3 January	Raja of Mahmudabad and family.
45.	19	Re-organisation of Bengal ML.
46.	23	As above; formation of ML. Parliamentary Party in Bengal.
47.	18 February	As above; Bengal Congress' opposition to Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act.
48.	24	Death of Brabourne.
49.	20 April	Jinnah's views on (a) coalition with Muslim parties; (b) madh-e-sahaba agitation.
50.	7 December	Bengal Govt. and War effort.

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
51.	12	As above; criticism on celebration of Deliverance Day.
52.	16	Bengal and Punjab governments and War effort; Fazlul Huq's allegiance to AIML; Deliverance Day.
53.	26	Jinnah regarding Siddiqui's criticism of Deliverance Day.
	1940	
54.	5 June	Calcutta Corporation and the League-Bose pact.
55.	21	Bengal and Punjab governments and War effort, ML policy flouted by premiers of the provinces; formation of War committees.
56.	24	Jinnah's views on above.
57.	3 July	War committees and ML; arrest of Subhas Chandra Bose.
58.	6	Jinnah on War effort; his discussion with the Viceroy.
59.	20	Reported bid of Sikandar Hyat for ML leadership;

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		students' agitation against Huq; Jinnah's talks with the Viceroy.
60.	1 August	Punjab seeks support from Bengal for War effort; Jinnah's talks with the Viceroy.
61.	8	Jinnah's talks with the Viceroy.
62.	27	AIML council meeting at Bombay.
63.	28	Reported views of the Viceroy about the Congress and AIML.
64.	4 October	AIML funds.
65.	11	AIML Muslim countries affected by War.
66.	20 November	AIML funds.
67.	24	AIML and Sind.
	1941	
68.	26 March	Bengal ML affairs; suspension of Pakistan Day celebrations by Huq.
69.	4 April	Affairs of Bengal ML.
70.	12 June	As above.

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
71.	12	As above; Raja of Mahmudabad's views on Bengal situation; League-Bose pact; Jinnah's health.
72.	20 August	AIML and Muslim countries affected by War.
73.	6 September	Nomination of Muslim leaders on National Defence Council and AIML; Ispahani urges Jinnah to remove Huq; support for Dawn and Star of India .
74.	11	Muslim students' agitation against Huq.
75.	11	Huq's derogatory letter against Jinnah; demonstrations against Huq.
76.	17	Jinnah's move against Huq.
77.	17	Bengal ML's move against Huq; Huq's counter moves.
78.	19	Jinnah decides to remove Huq from the Working Committee of AIML; proposes Ispahani in his place.
79.	23	Ispahani advises Jinnah to get unconditional apology from Huq; threatens Huq's expulsion from provincial League.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
80.	24	AIML council meeting.
81.	26	Jinnah's decision to oust Huq from ML; encourages Bengal Leaguers to act.
82.	13 October	Jinnah seeks information about Bengal.
83.	16	Temporary truce between Huq and Bengal ML leaders; Ispahani's appraisal of Huq's future moves.
84.	19	Ispahani sets minimum conditions for peace with Huq.
85.	20	AIML council meeting to decide about Huq; Suhrawardy to attend the meeting.
86.	20	Bengal ML's compromise with Huq; Ispahani's indignation and resignation from the Working Committee.
87.	22	Ispahani seeks clarification from Nazimuddin regarding Bengalis' participation in War.
88.	12 November	Outside leaders bring pressure upon Huq to compromise with Jinnah.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
89.	15	Jinnah awaits Huq's reaction.
90.	17	Jinnah submits to Bengali pressure; Ispahani unhappy about Jinnah's compromise with Huq.
91.	20	Ispahani's report about Huq.
92.	21	Ispahani's report about Bengali pressure for compromise with Huq; his denouncement of Bengali Muslim leaders.
93.	25	Jinnah's views about the compromise.
94.	29	Huq's volte face; his move to form a new Cabinet.
95.	1 December	Huq's Cabinet resigns; formation of Coalition Progressive Party by Huq; rift in Bengal ML; formation of Bengal ML Parliamentary Party.
96.	4	Ispahani's report about the ML Parliamentary Party; contest for leadership of the party.
97.	4	Jinnah approves the formation.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
98.	4	Rift in Bengal ML; Nawab of Dacca joins Huq.
99.	13	Huq's formation of the Cabinet; his expulsion from ML; Ispahani appointed on Working Committee of AIML.
100.	15	Bengal ML's fight against Huq.
101.	16	Ispahani's acceptance of his nomination to the Working Committee of AIML.
102.	17	Meeting of the Working Committee of AIML.
103.	18	As above.
104.	22	Jinnah thanks Ispahani for his periodic reports.
1942		
105.	6 January	Bengal Provincial ML conference.
106.	8	As above.
107.	8	Bengal ML propaganda against Huq.
108.	11	Bengal Provincial ML conference.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
109.	14	Bengal ML propaganda against Huq.
110.	15	Bengal Provincial ML conference.
111.	19	Bengal ML propaganda against Huq.
112.	23	As above.
113.	27	Bengal Provincial ML conference.
114.	30	As above.
115.	29	As above.
116.	30	Jinnah's itinerary about the conference.
117.	3 February	As above.
118.	3	As above.
119.	3	As above.
120.	6	Preparations for the conference; Huq files suit against Star of India .
121.	9	Jinnah's itinerary.
122.	25	Bengal ML Parliamentary Party and Huq; Huq sues Jinnah.
123.	2 March	Huq's suit against Jinnah.
124.	27 April	Huq bans Star of India ; removes ban on Jugantar ; AIML funds.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
125.	29	Ban on Star lifted; Osman Woo's visit.
126.	2 May	Civil Defence Committee of AIML.
127.	2	Jinnah happy about the lifting of the ban on Star ; his proposal to shift the paper to Delhi.
128.	6	Nazimuddin meets Governor and expects to take over from Huq; Ispahani advises him to seek Jinnah's approval; comments on Allahabad meeting of the AICC.
129.	6	Jinnah calls Ispahani and Pothan Joseph for consultation.
130.	7	As above.
131.	7	As above.
132.	6	Jinnah seeks clarification about Anti-Fascist Rally
133.	9	As above.
134.	9	Nazimuddin and the Bengal Cabinet; Huq desires a compromise with Jinnah; Governor's intervention for a compromise.
135.	13	Jinnah's plan to shift Star of India to Delhi.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
136.	20	Ispahani prefers to retain it in Calcutta.
137.	30	Jinnah insistent on his plan for the paper.
138.	3 June	AIML funds.
139.	7	Jinnah encourages investment in shipping company; asks Ispahani to buy shares in Moghul Lines.
140.	10	Ispahani submits legal opinion on the transfer of the Star .
141.	11	Ispahanis willing to invest in Moghul Lines.
142.	17	Ispahani seeks guidance if ML members could join the National War Front Drive.
143.	15	Jinnah asks for financial support from Ispahanis for converting Dawn into a daily in case Star cannot be shifted to Delhi.
144.	20	Ispahani's views about National War Front Drive
145.	22	Ispahanis give financial support for the daily; launching of the Progressive Muslim League by Huq.
146.	25	Jinnah's clarification

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147.	3 July	Huq keen to make peace with Jinnah.
148.	8	Jinnah's programme.
149	7	Huq's move for peace with Jinnah.
150.	10	Jinnah's conditions for above.
151,	13	As above.
152.	15	Ispahani supports peace move on certain conditions.
153.	23	Jinnah calls for Huq's complete surrender.
154.	27	Ispahani seeks clarification regarding Huq's move.
155.	31	Ispahani's nomination on Working Committee of AIML.
156.	1 August.	Jinnah insists that Huq should sever his connections with other parties before he can grant him an interview.
157.	3	Ispahani moves a resolution restraining members of Working Committee of AIML from issuing public statements.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
158.	4	Ispahani thanks for his nomination on Working Committee of AIML.
159.	4	Launching of Morning News ; Quit India Movement and NWFP.
160.	19	Pothan Joseph to join Dawn ; newsprint shortage.
161.	21	Pothan Joseph and editorship of Dawn .
162.	26	As above.
163.	26	As above.
164.	28	As above. newsprint loaned by Star for Dawn .
165.	3 October	Jinnah asks Ispahanis to back up Dawn financially; Raja of Mahmudabad's contribution for the same.
166.	5	Students ask Jinnah to let Huq re-enter ML.
167.	8	Ispahanis support Dawn project.
168.	20	Affairs of Sind ML; Ispahani's estimate of Khuhro
169.	17 December	Contribution for Star of India .
170.	17	Ispahani persuades Raja

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		of Mahmudabad to re-enter politics; Huq suspends publication of Azad ; Bengal hit by cyclone.
171.	26	Jinnah's contribution for cyclone relief; Calcutta deserted because of Japanese attack.
	1943	
172.	6 January	'Slogans of today' — Hit India, Quit India and Split India.
173.	6	Jinnah enquires about Ispahani's welfare.
174	8 January	Star of India Fund.
175	13	As above.
176	12 February	Bengal ministerial situation; M.L. attitude towards Gandhi's release.
177	15	Gandhi's release.
178	16	As above.
179	2 March	Election of Speaker for Bengal Legislative Assembly.
180	3	Election of President for Bengal Legislative Council.
181	13	M.L's strength in the Assembly.
182	17	Huq seeks peace with

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		M.L. High Command; conditions for peace.
183	17	Jinnah acknowledges Is- pahani's letters.
184	20	Huq's re-entry into M.L. on certain conditions.
185	24	Huq's eroded position in the Assembly; celebration of Pakistan Day.
186	24	Jinnah not keen on com- promise with Huq.
187	25	M.L.'s victory in by-elec- tions; Huq's strength in the Assembly.
188	26	M.L.'s victory in by-elec- tions.
189	26	As above.
190	29	Huq's resignation from premiership.
191	29	Jinnah happy at M.L. victory.
192	30	Huq's fall; M.L.'s chance to form a Ministry.
193	2 April	Muslim politicians 'an un- disciplined and unprinci- pled lot'; Nazimuddin's chances of premiership.

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195	3	Huq's desire to seek peace with Jinnah.
196.	5	Huq's party men desert him; Jinnah is invited to guide Nazimuddin in the selection of his team.
197.	8	Nazimuddin seeks support of Bose group; Krishak Proja group may join Nazimuddin.
198.	9	Nazimuddin negotiates with Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Congress; Bulurghat by-election.
199.	9	Jinnah's instructions in case Nazimudin forms cabinet; ML policy and War effort.
200.	10	Constitution of a new Cabinet in Bengal; Azizul Haque tipped for premiership.
201.	12	Ispahani's differences with Nazimuddin.
202.	13	Nazimuddin commissioned to form ministry; Jinnah summoned by Ispahani; Bulurghat by-election result.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
203.	15	Ispahani feels isolated as he is not consulted by Nazimuddin in the selection of ministers; Nazimuddin may not like Jinnah's intervention; Ispahani presses for Jinnah's guidance.
204.	15	Jinnah refuses to intervene unless asked for by Nazimuddin.
205.	16	Forward bloc is divided on the question of joining Nazimuddin.
206.	20	Ispahani's departure for Delhi.
207.	1 May	Calcutta Corporation Mayoral election and League-Bose pact; ML's candidate defeated.
208.	28	Return of money deposited by Ispahani with Jinnah.
209.	16 July	ML's safe majority in the House; criticism launched against M.M. Ispahani Ltd. for food supply.
210.	28	Jinnah's health.
211.	28	Jinnah is attacked by a khaksar; state of Punjab politics.
212.	29	Jinnah's health.
213.	3 August	As above.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
214.	11	ML's success in NWFP.
215.	27	Muslim Chamber of Commerce sets up famine relief, Botawala Charities contribution towards famine relief.
216.	28	As above.
217.	1 September	As above.
218.	3	Formation of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry.
219.	6	Syamaprasad Mookerjee criticises famine relief activities.
220.	7	Ispahani complains about news media.
221.	8	Bengal ML affairs criticised; Jinnah requested to set matters right.
222.	10	Jinnah's comments on 219.
223.	11	Progress of relief work by Muslim Chamber of Commerce; Ispahani's rebuttal of Mookerjee's charges.
224.	16	Suhrawardy defends M.M. Ispahani Ltd. on food grain supply; Mookerjee and Bengal relief.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
225.	17	Jinnah's comments on 220 and 223.
226.	20	Bengal famine.
227.	22	ML's ministry in Bengal maintains majority.
228.	22	Progress of relief work by Muslim Chamber of Commerce.
229.	25	Jinnah and Bengal famine.
230.	5 October	Bengal famine.
231.	18	Relief work by Muslim Chamber of Commerce.
232.	23	Ibn Saud's donation to Jinnah for Bengal relief; Jinnah's concern about the criticism against M. M. Ispahani Ltd.
233.	29	Relief work by Muslim Chamber of Commerce; Ispahani complains about press attacks on his firm, asks ML High Command's assistance.
234.	3 November	Relief work by Muslim Chamber of Commerce.
235.	5	Jinnah unable to provide accommodation to Ispahani in his house.
236.	5 November	Jinnah's comments on 233

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
237.	1 December	M. M. Ispahani Ltd. and the press criticism.
238.	7	Ispahani's suggestions for investment by Jinnah in stocks and shares; Bengal famine and conversion of Hindu women and children.
239.	18	Ispahani's health; affairs of Star of India .
240.	22	Relief work by Muslim Chamber of Commerce.
241.	24	Birthday congratulations to Jinnah.
	1944	
242.	5 January	Ispahani advises Jinnah to liquidate his shares in Osmanshahi Mills, Hyderabad.
243.	22	Ispahani's nomination on the Working Committee of AIML.
244.	23 February	ML Planning Committee and Ahmad Ispahani's membership.
245.	26	Refers to 243.
246.	26	Ahmad Ispahani unable to accept membership of ML Planning Committee; purchase of machinery for Dawn ; building for Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
247.	10 March	Affairs of Star of India ; Bengal ministry.
248.	15	Calcutta Corporation elections.
249.	17	Jinnah's comments on 247; Jinnah unhappy about Bengal's lack of enthusiasm for Planning Committee of ML.
250.	18	Bengal ministry and Fazlul Huq; difficulty in establishing Muslim Chamber of Commerce at Peshawar.
251.	21	Jinnah appeals to Muslims to support League candidates in Calcutta Corporation elections.
252.	24	Planning Committee of ML and Ahmad Ispahani's inability to join it.
253.	27	Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry.
254.	3 April	Machinery for Dawn .
255.	3	Election of President for the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry.
256.	8	As above; Jinnah suggests Adamjee for President.

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SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		ship; printing press for Dawn .
257.	12	As above; Ispahani criticises Punjab ML; Bengal's food situation.
258.	17	Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry .
259.	20	Machinery for Dawn ; ML Planning Committee.
260.	26	Ispahani advises to purge Punjab ML; Calcutta Corporation elections.
261.	20 May	Machinery for Dawn ; Presidentship of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry — competition between Bombay and Calcutta; Jinnah takes rest after 7 years.
262.	22 June	Machinery for Dawn .
263.	22	Bengal ministry and no-confidence motion; machinery for Dawn .
264.	30 August	Jinnah's health.
265.	23 October	Affairs of Bengal ML; Adamjee approached for presidentship of the Federation; A. R. Siddiqui and ML propaganda in USA.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
266.	24	Preparation for the first general meeting of the Federation; Adamjee unwilling to accept presidentship suggests Ahmad Isphahani's name.
267.	21 November	Bengal Muslim Students League invites Jinnah to preside.
268.	13 December	Jinnah unable to accept the above invitation.
269.	18	Ispahani to see Jinnah.
	1945	
270.	10 February	Ispahani's request to stay with Jinnah.
271.	16	Jinnah's health.
272.	27	Affairs of Sind ML; Ispahani criticises Hidayatullah's role.
273.	8 March	Dawn's plagiarism.
274.	12	Jinnah's health.
275.	27	Bengal's ministry and the Opposition.
276.	7 April	Editorship of Dawn .
277.	10	As above.
278.	15	Jinnah's health; Jinnah disappointed over the slow progress of the Federation of Muslim Chambers

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SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		of Commerce and Industry.
279.	16	Editorship of Dawn .
280.	24	First general meeting of the Federation; Adamjee elected president; Nazimuddin's ministry defeated.
281.	6 May	Jinnah's comments on 280; Jinnah's health.
282.	10 May	Reported comments of press on Gandhi - Jinnah talks.
283.	11	Lack of publicity about the Federation; acquisition of a building for the Federation.
284.	14	Jinnah's comments on 282; regarding Federation's progress.
285.	18	Ispahani's comments on 282; Dawn's editorship; Federation's affairs.
286.	24 September	Jinnah appeals for contribution to ML funds; asks for reports on Bengal situation.
287.	25	Formation of Bengal ML Parliamentary Board; ML funds.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
288.	1 October	Struggle for power within Bengal ML—Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy groups trying to capture the provincial Parliamentary Board; Ispahani's exclusion from the Board.
289.	2	Bombay businessmen's response to Jinnah's appeal for ML funds.
290.	9	Jinnah appeals for unity in Bengal; achievement of Pakistan dependent on Muslim unity; Jinnah's health.
291.	12	Working Committee of AIML cancelled.
292.	26	Fazlul Huq keen to re-enter ML.
293.	26	Bengal ML budget for elections.
294.	2 November	Jinnah's appeal to support League candidate 'even if he be a lamp post....'
295.	2	Jinnah sets out conditions for Huq's entry into ML
296.	12	As above; Congress doles out money to Muslim candidates; Nazimuddin plans not to contest in Bengal; Jinnah's proposed visit to Bengal.

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SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
297.	5 December	Jinnah wins his election; ML candidates doing well all round.
298.	11	Jinnah's proposed visit to Bengal.
299.	11	As above.
300.	13	As above; ML's success in elections to Central Assembly from Bengal.
301.	15	Date for nomination for elections in Bengal; Bengal ML Parliamentary Board contravenes rules originally set out by the Board.
302.	17	Jinnah's proposed visit to Bengal.
303.	17	As above.
304.	21	As above.
305.	21	As above.
306.	24	Ispahani corrects Jinnah's statement regarding Congress not setting up Muslim candidates for election to Central Assembly.
307.	25	Birthday congratulations to Jinnah.
308.	28	Jinnah's comments on 306.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
309.	31	Jinnah's proposed visit to Bengal.
	1946	
310.	4 January	As above.
311.	11	As above; Jinnah to fix his own programme.
312.	19	Expected success of ML in Assam; G. M. Sayed's breakaway from ML.
313.	26 February	Jinnah recommends Mamdot as leader of Punjab ML Parliamentary Party.
314.	27	Jinnah's tour programme in Bengal.
315.	12 March	Jinnah's return to Delhi after Bengal tour.
316.	15	Election preparations in Bengal.
317.	19 May	Ahmad Ispahani is considered for Finance or Commerce portfolio.
318.	17 August	Fazlul Huq's suit against Jinnah.
319.	20	Direct Action — Calcutta killings.
320.	4 September	Huq applies for membership of ML and advises

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		other non-Leaguers to join it.
321.	11	Misrepresentation of Muslim point of view by British press; plea for setting up machinery for publicity abroad.
322.	19	Withdrawal of suit by Huq.
323.	27	As above; stabbing cases in Calcutta.
324.	28	Congress propaganda abroad; ML's poor publicity.
325.	2 November	Indian Delegation to UN does not represent Muslim point of view.
326.	8	Ispahani and Begum Shah Nawaz participate in New York Herald Tribune forum and present ML point of view.
327.	8	Jinnah acknowledges report about above.
328.	11	ML publicity by Ispahani and Begum Shah Nawaz in U.S.A.
329.	12	As above.
330.	5	Statement of account on expenses on above.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
	1947	
331.	22 January	Ispahani's health.
332.	5 February	Inauguration of Orient Airways; Ispahani to lead the Indian Trade Delegation to Middle East; Muslim interest to be protected with regard to the establishment of embassies by Govt. of India.
333.	17	Move to establish ML centre for publicity abroad.
334.	19	Jinnah buys shares in Orient Airways.
335.	22	ML centre for publicity abroad.
336.	22	Remittance of money for above.
337.	26	as above.
338.	6 March	Rift within Bengal ML circles.
339.	28 May	ML publicity in London not in good hands; Z. A. Suleri not competent to handle it.
340.	28	Ispahani's report about the sympathetic welcome received in Middle East.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
341.	29	Muslim India Information Centre at London and its unsatisfactory work.
342.	16 June	Recovery of expenses on U.S.A. tour by Ispahani and Begum Shah Nawaz.
343.	18	As above.
344.	11 July	Congratulations on Jinnah's appointment as first Governor General.
345	25	Association of Muslim Students in America.
346.	19 September	Ispahani takes over as ambassador in U.S.A; purchase of building for embassy; Pakistan's admission to U.N; purchase of a Cadillac for Jinnah; presents letters of Credence to U.S.A. President.
347.	27	Cadillac for Jinnah.
348.	1 October	Purchase of cars and special aeroplane for Jinnah.
349.	7	As above.
350.	10	As above; General Motors and assembly plant in Karachi.
351.	14	Purchase of car for Jinnah; Pakistan Delegation to U.N.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
352.	15	Car for Jinnah.
353.	15	As above; American investment in Pakistan.
354.	19	Purchase of aircraft for Jinnah.
355.	20	Professor Brown keen to see Jinnah.
356.	22	Car for Jinnah; Jinnah's comments on 351.
357.	28	Car for Jinnah.
358.	3 November	Purchase of aircraft for Jinnah; Pakistan unable to afford half a million dollars.
359.	7	Jinnah specifies his requirements for the car.
360.	19	Shortage of staff at Pakistan Embassy in U.S.A; Ispahani criticises working of the Pakistan Foreign office.
361.	24	Car for Jinnah.
362.	27	U.N. resolution on Palestine; appreciation of Zafrullah Khan's work in U.N; Ispahani unhappy about allocation of too many portfolios to individual ministers in Pakistan cabinet; suggests train-

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		ign of young men for assuming responsibility in future.
363.	3 December	Pakistan's finances; relief for refugees; criticism of Pakistan Foreign Office; purchase of building for Pak embassy in USA;
364.	4	Pakistan's request for American investment and State Department's reaction.
365.	11	Jinnah's comments on 360 and 362.
366.	11	Car and aircraft for Jinnah.
367.	20	as above.
368.	23	Birthday congratulations to Jinnah.
369.	8 January 1948	Kashmir and the Security Council; anti-Pakistan propaganda by American journals.
370.	8	Car for Jinnah.
371.	n.d.	Car and aircraft for Jinnah.
372.	22 January	as above; Kashmir and the Security Council.
373.		Security Council's draft

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		resolution on Kashmir; plebiscite in Junagadh to be postponed; refugee relief and Church World Service.
374.	8 March	Refugee relief in U.S.A.
375.	11	Acknowledgement of 372
376.	17	Jinnah asks for report on Kashmir.
377.		Britain's volte face on Kashmir; Jinnah asked to bring pressure on Britain and U.S.A. with regard to their attitude towards Kashmir.
378.	30	Refugee relief in U.S.A.
379.	31	Stationery for Jinnah.
380.	31	Ispahani situation; Little Assembly a farce; U.S. policy on Palestine and oil crisis; U.S. red-phobia; foreign investment in Pakistan; Chinese resolution on Kashmir unacceptable to Pakistan.
381.	31	Pakistan emblem.
382.	5 April	Chinese resolution on Kashmir unacceptable to Pakistan; U.K.'s opposition to Pakistan's stand; Pakistan should review the question of its membership of the Commonwealth.

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
383.	20	India's military strength in Kashmir; Kashmir dispute to be settled in Kashmir and not at Lake Success.
384.	20	India to be prevented from Assuming leadership of South East Asia.
385.	29	Pakistan should take steps to set up armament and steel factories.
386.	29	Kashmir refugees and relief work.
387.	6 May	Kashmir dispute.
388.	10	State Department reluctant to supply aircrafts for Pakistan Air Force.
389.	18	Jinnah welcomes periodic reports from Ispahani.
390.	19	Palestine issue and U.N; Truman's recognition of the Provisional government of the State of Israel; U.N's incompetence in international affairs; India, U.S.A. and the Soviet Union; Mediation Commission on Kashmir.
391.	6 June	Kashmir dispute and the U.N. resolution; big powers keen to appease India; Arabs pleased with

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Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
		Pakistan for support on Palestine; Jinnah's health.
392.	10	Jinnah's appreciation of Ispahani's work.
393.	14	Jinnah's health; Ispahani's request for home leave.
394.	19	India and the Kashmir dispute; Zafrullah Khan's request for Mediation Commission on Kashmir to arrange early cease fire.
395.	22	Mediation Commission on Kashmir to visit the sub-continent.
396.	23	As above; Kashmir dispute and the Security Council; India trying to use Council as her rubber stamp; Palestine and the U.S. elections; appraisal of U.S. economy.
397.	28	Ispahani's home leave; pro-Jew stance of the Republican Party.
398.	31	Jinnah's health and illness.
399.	17 August	As above.
400.	13	As above.

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SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Number	Date	Main subject or subjects
401.	17	As above.
402.	25	As above.
403.	1 September	As above.
404.	6	As above.
405.	8	American specialist for Jinnah.
406.	n.d.	As above.
407.	8	Jinnah's illness.
408.	10	Despatch of American physician for Jinnah.
409.	11	As above.
410.	11	Condolence message to Miss Jinnah.
411.	11	Condolence message to Liaquat Ali Khan.

PREFACE

The decade preceding the partition of India was probably the most momentous period of recent modern Indian history. The Transfer of Power and the creation of two sovereign States — India and Pakistan — were the fateful political decisions of the period. Several studies have since appeared which deal with the policies, political developments and processes involving Britain, the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League. However these studies, interesting and valuable though they may be in many respects, have been limited by the non-availability of the type of source material which reveals the development of ideas and policies — that is the sort of private papers which give depth to the finished public documents. Since most studies have concentrated on the All India story, they have neglected the regional and linguistic cleavages which created provincial identities and interests or the personal and group interests which struggled for control of the provincial arena. Historians of Congress have just begun to disaggregate the movement and show the make up of the coalition held together only loosely by the national leadership. In the case of the Muslim League, historians still tend to treat the country-wide movement as a unified whole, Quaid-i-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah is treated as the **Deus ex Machina** who was uniquely able to mobilise the Muslims through the two-nation ideology and the demand for Pakistan. Research has focussed either on Jinnah's personality or his negotiations with the Congress and the British. This historiographical tendency has been accentuated in the past by the absence of most important documents — the **Muslim League Collection** and the **Jinnah Papers**, although

this would be remedied in the future. Nevertheless some of the most significant questions for the historians do concern this question of the means whereby Jinnah exerted or tried to exert his control over the provinces. For it was in the regions, and especially in the Muslim majority areas in East and West, that the local Muslim leaders had to be won over. The Bengal story is particularly interesting because here was a strongly developed cultural region, dominated by Hindus with only a small Muslim majority, where no politician could depend on the pull of Islam alone. In describing the change from the situation of 1935, in which there was virtually no central Muslim leadership till the 1940s, when Jinnah was unchallenged and all powerful, there is danger in ignoring the personality factor and the impact created by the demand for Pakistan, but Jinnah needed advice, information, agents both with government, other Muslim leaders, and Congress, and even, when things were not going well, from a confidant and friend. Some of these roles were filled, at least partially, by M.A.H. Ispahani.

Ispahani had been recruited directly to politics by Jinnah himself in 1936 when the latter nominated him on the Central Muslim League Parliamentary Board. From 1936 until Jinnah's death in September 1948, he remained a devoted adherent of Jinnah, was often in close touch, carrying on regular correspondence with very few interruptions. As Jinnah's main confidant in Bengal, he was a keen political reporter who furnished Jinnah with day-to-day information on the various political developments of Muslim politics in Bengal. Jinnah relied heavily on his reporting and looked forward to receiving his periodic briefings and observations. A devoted disciple, Ispahani allied himself with the All India Muslim leadership and was out of sympathy with insular Bengali Muslim aspirations as such. He, therefore, broke out against those who challenged Jinnah's authority in Bengal — using harsh and uncharitable language — probably the outcome of youthful fervour and fanatical devotion to Jinnah and the League. But there were occasions when even Ispahani was

in serious disagreement with his leader and lodged protests against some of Jinnah's actions in strong language :

The progressive elements in the League who followed you blindly when you actively took up cudgels on behalf of the unfortunate downtrodden Muslims of India, find to their utmost regret and disappointment, that you are gradually drifting more and more into the arms of reactionaries and 'jee hoozoors' [yes men]. Those whom we despised, not many years ago, seem to have lined up in the front rank of your supporters and advisers.¹

The correspondence between Jinnah and Ispahani presented in this volume opens up a whole new perspective of the events of the day and is especially revealing in the matter of Bengal politics. Covering a vital period of history (1936—1948), the correspondence unfolds the various manoeuvrings of the different interests and groups and the process through which Bengal was gradually sucked into the vortex of All India Muslim politics. It also throws light on how Jinnah succeeded in weaving together pockets of promising young and sincere followers like Ispahani and knitting together vastly discordant provinces like the Punjab and Bengal. Many intimate details and personality traits of Jinnah are brought out in this relaxed dialogue with one of his devoted disciples.

The correspondence can be divided into two parts. The first which covers the period upto 1947 deals not only with Bengal politics but also throws light on many other topics which Jinnah considered essential to be proceeded with at break-neck speed in order to build a base for the founding of the new State when it should come into being, including the starting of newspapers like **Dawn**, the Federation of Muslim Chamber of Commerce, the Orient Airways, the founding of Muslim Banks and projects like

1. Ispahani to Jinnah, Dec. 12, 1939, **I.P.**

the Muhammadi Steamship Company. The second is concerned with Ispahani's time as Pakistan's first Ambassador to the United States when such subjects as Kashmir, Hyderabad, Palestine, the question of the continuation of Pakistan's membership of the British Commonwealth are discussed. To Ispahani, diplomacy was an 'unclean game', and 'no one, not even one's closest friend is worthy of full confidence and reliance'.¹ His observations on the United Nations are also worthy of note :

The more I follow international politics and the more I come in contact with it in Lake Success, the greater grows my belief that in international affairs, the Law of the Jungle, holds unquestioned sway. Justice, equity, fairplay and legality are hollow words. Might is right and every question or dispute is judged not on its merits but on the touchstone of expediency and power politics. He who is strong can get what he wants and he who gets hold of anything and is strong enough to keep it, retains it inspite of the inequity and illegality of his act.²

Because of the diversity of subjects discussed in the correspondence, it has not been possible to cover all the numerous themes in the Introduction. Only the Bengal story has been taken up so as to give a connected narrative. In order to put the account in its proper perspective, other sources like the newspapers, private papers like the **Shamsul Hassan Collection** and **Fazl-i-Husain Collection** have been used. The **Governors' Reports** and the **Linlithgow Papers** at the India Office Library, India Office Records have also been consulted. The Appendices to the volume are based on newspapers like the **Star of India** and **The Statesman**.

1. Ispahani to Jinnah, June 23, 1948, **I.P.**

2. Ispahani to Jinnah, May 19, 1948, **Ibid.**

The editor has included the entire correspondence in the volume that passed between Jinnah and Ispahani available in the **Ispahani Papers**. Such enclosures or letters as were not traceable in the correspondence have been identified. Full address from where a letter was written or the address to which it was posted has been mentioned only once, subsequently only the name of the town has been given. M.A.H. Ispahani usually signed his letters as 'Hassan' which has been adopted in the published correspondence. The reproduction of proper names as appear in the original correspondence has been altered as both Jinnah and Ispahani spelled them variously. For example, three different spellings have been used for Fazlul Huq: Fazlul Haq, Fazlal Haq and Fazlul Haque. In this volume the spelling of proper names used are the ones adopted by the persons themselves. Certain letters, especially those received by Ispahani as Ambassador, were in cypher. The office which received them deciphered them through one or two changes. These changes have been recorded as they appear in the originals.

I am indebted to Professor Sir Cyril H. Philips, Vice-Chancellor, London University, who developed my interest in archival materials located in Pakistan. It was at his initiative that my wife Parveen Zaidi and I, together with other friends were able to preserve the records of the All India Muslim League and to retrieve other private papers now deposited with the University of Karachi. While engaged in the preliminary spadework of examining private collections some few years ago, I came across **Ispahani Papers** which are presented in this volume.

I thank Mr. S.C. Sutton, Miss Joan C. Lancaster, Mr. M. Moir and Dr. Bingle of the India Office Library for their assistance. Thanks are also due to my colleagues, Dr. D. Taylor, Miss M.D. Wainwright, Dr. P. Robb and especially to Mr. J.B. Harrison for going through certain parts of the Introduction.

I am grateful to Mr. Syed Wali Ahmed Bilgrami, Lecturer and Journalist, and to Mr. H. Pinto, Secretary to Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani for reading the proofs. They, along with the Director of the Department of Archives, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, found several of the missing documents that now happily form the body of the book. I also take the opportunity of thanking my old teacher, Professor Sheikh Abdur Rashid who has always been a source of inspiration and guidance for me. In conclusion, my thanks are due to the Committee, Central Research Fund, University of London for partly meeting my travel expenses to Pakistan.

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INTRODUCTION

The Government of India Act of 1935 set up a federal system with autonomy first in the provinces. It was this fact which posed such a problem for Jinnah, leader as he was of a party strongest in those parts of India where Muslims were in a minority and could not hope to form Governments. It was essential for him, therefore, to begin to mobilise support in the Muslim majority regions where the Muslim League had as yet made no impact, but this was more easily planned than achieved, at a time when the regional leaders could sense that power, limited perhaps, but real was within their grasp.

Elections were planned for January-February 1937. Jinnah at once began to make his plans to organise the League but he had to reckon with strongly entrenched Muslim leaders absorbed in their region-orientated power games.

The impending elections brought forward a number of Muslim parties in various provinces. Provincial leaders started either to reorganise existing parties like the Unionist Party in the Punjab or the Krishak Proja Samity in Bengal or to find allies and supporters with whose aid to bring into being new organisations. In each province there were numerous contending groups with little ground for compromise or settlement between them. Their disagreements were not necessarily the outcome of conflicting ideologies but rather were the result of differences of a personal nature and a desire for domination in provincial politics. Sometimes desperately disorganised, they displayed a conflict of interest at all levels, provincial, local and personal.

Bengal was no exception. Here, as elsewhere, the schism was 'mostly an unpleasant record of public and private quarrels, squabbles, rivalries and jealousies'.¹ In

1. *Star of India*, May 25, 1936.

this competition for power, two Muslim parties emerged as main contestants. The first of these, led by Nawab Habibullah of Dacca, was the United Muslim Party. Launched in May 1936,¹ the party was an attempt at a 'formal organisation' to unite all Muslims of importance in Bengal. With no widespread popular support and able to set up candidates of its own only in a few constituencies, the party relied upon the allegiance of persons of influence. It was a conglomeration of various interests — landed, commercial and legal — grouped loosely together. Khwaja Habibullah, the Nawab of Dacca, was the president but the real organisers were his two cousins, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, currently member of the Bengal Executive Council and his brother Khwaja Shahabuddin, backed by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy. The Khwajas were influential landlords of Dacca, claiming distinguished lineage. Nawab Sir Mohiuddin Faruqui, another big zamindar of Eastern Bengal, and Nawab Musharraf Hussain with landed interests in Northern Bengal, were also prominent patrons of the party.²

The other main Muslim contendant was the Krishak Proja Samity or Peasants and Tenants Society, founded in 1928 as the Nikhil Banga Proja Samity and now reactivated by Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq for the elections. Huq was a lawyer from Barisal who had first come to public notice after the partition of Bengal in 1905. He had been associated with the Muslim League since its inception in 1906; he had twice presided over its sessions, and in 1936 he was currently Vice-President of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League. However, he had also maintained links with numerous Hindu leaders, under some of whom he had served his political and legal apprenticeship, and he had also been associated with peasant movements which were class rather than communal in nature. Fazlul Huq had thus shown himself ready to be communal or non-

1. *Star of India*, May 25, 1936.

2. Anderson, Governor of Bengal to Linlithgow, Dec. 30, 1936, GR.

communal as circumstances seemed to require. Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, described him as a man of 'uncertain quantity' ... 'devoid of principles and trusted by nobody'.¹ In January 1936, however, he had chosen to play the Muslim card, agreeing with the Nawab of Dacca to form an All Bengal Muslim Federation, of which a provisional committee had been set up, to fight the elections. It was the Nawab, however, who proved to be the uncertain quantity for without consulting 'the foundation members' and without 'the knowledge of the provisional committee', so Fazlul Huq claimed, he had launched his own United Party.² This left Fazlul Huq with no alternative but to re-organise the Krishak Proja Samity and throw it into the fray.

The United Muslim Party and the Krishak Proja Samity then, were the two main rivals in the field. Each issued an election manifesto pledging the introduction of free compulsory education, the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act, debt relief to cultivators, improvement of cottage industries, agriculture and the marketing of jute and so on. There was not much to choose between the programmes of the two, the main difference being that whereas the Krishak Proja Samity was pledged to abolish the Permanent Settlement, the United Muslim Party was silent on the issue,³ because it was encumbered by high personages with large landed interests. However, despite its claim for a somewhat socialistic agrarian programme, the Samity like the United Party drew its support from a limited section of Muslim society. The Samity however also had some Hindu support. Khwaja Nazimuddin used this to attack Huq :

The Proja party, which is not a purely Muslim organisation, has never sought or welcomed the co-operation of prominent Muslims of Bengal, who

1. Anderson, Governor of Bengal to Linlithgow, Dec. 30, 1936, **GR**.
2. **Star of India**, July 2, 1936.
3. **Ibid**, July 23, 1936.

really represent and voice the interests and feelings of the Muslim community.¹

Whereas the United Muslim Party, under the cloak of 'service to Islam' had restricted its membership to Muslims only, the Samity called itself a non-communal organisation. But with an eye on Muslim voters, Fazlul Huq tried to play down its non-communal character and declared that his party could 'no more be called a Hindu-Muslim party than the Congress can be said to represent the Muslims'. For 'all practical purposes' he emphasised, the members were overwhelmingly Muslims, 'the Hindus are practically non-existent in the Councils of the Proja Party'.² However, there was hardly any connection between the economic programme of the parties and their upper and middle class structure.

The tussle for party power and the 'internecine personal conflicts' unleashed by the election campaign caused concern to a number of educated Bengali Muslims who had joined neither party. Appeals for unity appeared daily in newspapers exhorting leaders 'to merge their petty differences and jealousies'. Muslims of Bengal, they warned, should not remain divided. They should end the schism and form only one party and not 'a conglomeration of diverse elements prone to easy temptations'.³ The spectacle of division was a matter of concern not only for Bengali Muslims but also to others outside Bengal, especially Jinnah who exhorted them to compose their differences and offered the League platform as an alternative to local party divisions.

But the League was in no position to command much following, for, both it and Jinnah needed political rehabilitation. Prior to Jinnah's return to India in 1935 when he started reviving that dormant body, other organisations such as the Khilafat Committee and the Muslim

1. *Star of India*, July 23, 1936.

2. Fazlul Huq's statement, *Ibid*, July 7, 1936.

3. *Ibid*, July 20, 1936.

Conference had been politically active. The League had been torn by internal dissensions; in 1928, and again in 1933, rival groups within the League had each held separate annual sessions. For two years after 1933, the League had not been able to hold its annual session; its funds had been depleted and the members on its Council under notice to pay arrears.¹ The division in the ranks of the League had seriously jeopardized its value as an effective political organisation and marred its authority as a central body.

But there were other reasons for the lack of response to its appeal for unity and support. The composition of its Council could hardly evoke enthusiasm especially from the Muslims of the majority provinces. The Council of 310 members reflected neither the subscription-paying membership nor the aspirations of the leaders from these Muslim majority provinces. The Council's composition was based not on representation of Muslim population, but on an arbitrary allotment of seats giving a much larger representation to Muslims in provinces where they were in a minority. Seats on the Council had been distributed as follows :²

Delhi	10
United Provinces	50
Punjab	50
Bombay	20
Sind	10
Madras	18
N.W.F. Province	10
Baluchistan	4
Bengal	60
Bihar and Orissa	30

1. Zaidi, Z. H; 'Aspects of the Development of Muslim League Policy, 1937—1947' in Philips, C.H. & Wainwright, M.D; (ed.), **The Partition of India, Policies and Perspectives 1935 — 1947**, London, 1970, p. 246.
2. **The Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League**, n.d. pp. 3—5.

Assam	12
Central Provinces and Berar	10
Central India and Ajmer	6
Burma	10
Indian States and others	10

The above arrangement for the representation of the various provinces on the Muslim League Council hardly took into account the recent constitutional changes introduced by the Government of India Act of 1935. Under this Act, Sind and North-West Frontier Province each had been constituted as Governor's provinces and the Muslim representation in the legislatures of Bengal and the Punjab, though not allotted according to their population, had been considerably increased by the Communal Award of 1932. But the League's constitution ignored this important development and its Council continued to be dominated by members of the Muslim minority provinces. The Muslim majority provinces had been given a total of 134 seats on the League's Council as against 176 allocated to the rest of the provinces. The Punjab's share was no more than equal to that of the United Provinces; Sind and North-West Frontier Province each had only half the number of seats given to Bombay and fewer seats than either Assam or Madras. Baluchistan, whose case for reform had been vociferously advocated by Muslim leaders, appeared at the bottom with only four seats and even Burma fared better, though it was no longer a part of India. Bengal was the only province which had as many as 60 seats — but even this was only ten more than had been given to the United Provinces. What was represented was wealth, education and government service; the number of seats probably took into account the number of Muslims enfranchised under 1919 or 1935 Act in each province but bore no relation either to League membership or to the Muslim population in various provinces.

Even though the Council consisted of 310 members, the decisions with regard to matters like the election of

the Working Committee, the convening of meetings, the passing of resolutions, controlling of funds, and affiliation and disaffiliation of provincial branches — the functions of the Council — were in practice taken by a very small minority. Only 10 members formed a quorum at all meetings of the Council — a little over 3 per cent of the total members and even this quorum was not necessary for adjourned meetings. The Central Office of the League was located at Delhi and since the members of the Council attending its meetings were required to pay their own fares and subsistence, usually those residing in Delhi or the neighbouring provinces like the United Provinces took part in the deliberations of the Council. It is doubtful if many Bengali representatives attended the Council meetings because of the distance and the expenses involved. This was especially true because the League, at this stage, had little to offer.

A realistic appraisal of the changed political circumstances after 1935 warranted an immediate modification of the League's constitution¹ so as to give adequate representation to the Muslim majority provinces on its Council — a representation which would be commensurate with their total numbers. The arbitrary and unrealistic formula of representation was in fact a betrayal of the stand Muslim politicians had taken while advocating legislative representation on a population basis in provinces like the Punjab and Bengal. It was to act as a damper upon leaders from the Muslim majority provinces. In the circumstances the Muslim League remained an organisation of the few, by the few, and for the few. No wonder that Fazlul Huq, while the Vice-President of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League and a member of the League's Central Parliamentary Board, preferred to launch his own party.

In the past, the Muslim League had concentrated on issues which concerned the few; its programme did not

1. The constitution was changed in 1938.

provide a rallying point for the Muslim community. It was an elitist organisation : items such as representation in the legislatures, reservation of seats and the mode of recruitment to services, constitutional reforms and 'the attainment of full responsible government' were hardly effective issues with which to arouse a popular response. From 1924 to 1936, the League passed a total of 144 resolutions on such issues, out of which only 7 touched upon problems of a socio-economic nature. The last time it debated such an issue had been in 1928.¹

This lack of concern on the part of the League for issues of a socio-economic nature reflects in no small measure the conservative view of the social structure of its members. Its failure to become a dynamic popular organisation in the past was because of the fact that its leadership had been composed of 'careerists' — so Jinnah alleged. Some of the politicians felt no particular dedication to its cause; convenience and not conviction determined their allegiance.² They, like Fazlul Huq in Bengal and Fazl-i-Husain in the Punjab, were members of more than one political organisation which gave them scope to manoeuvre and to improve their positions and of their followers whether through provincial parties or through a central organisation like the Muslim League. On the whole they were prepared to co-operate and coalesce with the League on issues which concerned the community, provided the League walked warily and did not tread on their domain of influence in provincial fields.

But there was little to spur the Muslim leaders in various provinces to cling to the Muslim League. For the Government of India Act of 1935 had decided most of the issues — the mode of Muslim representation, the quantum of representation in provincial and central legislatures, reforms in the North-West Frontier Province and the

1. **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from May 1924 to December 1936**, Delhi, n.d.

2. Zaidi, Z.H; op. cit., pp. 247-50.

separation of Sind from Bombay — issues which kept up the All India feeling of Muslim solidarity and unity and formed the main planks in the Muslim League programme. This was also true of the Muslim Conference, another organisation which had worked on a national level in the late 1920s. Shafaat Ahmad Khan expressed the point vividly when on November 7, 1935, he wrote to Fazl-i-Husain :

The Muslim Conference programme has been exhausted. It is empty of contents. I have been scratching my poor head for the last two years in a vain search for a new programme for Muslim India, but am like a blind man groping in the dark.¹

In some ways, the Act of 1935 itself was an obstacle hindering Muslim central leadership from making inroads into the provincial sphere. Only the provinces were the recipients of self-government. The part of the Act envisaging a federation — spheres more relevant to central organisations or parties — was yet a dream. Naturally the provincial domain which had been the preserve of local or regional leaders contained little room for intrusion from outside. The Muslim leaders in Bengal, therefore, did not seek any guidance from the Muslim League. They had brushed aside Jinnah's call to join the League Central Parliamentary Board formed in May 1936. In this Bengal was not alone. The Nawab of Chattari, Liaquat Ali Khan, Sir Mohammad Yousuf (National Agriculturist Party, United Provinces), Syed Rauf Shah (Muslim Parliamentary Party, Central Provinces), Syed Abdul Aziz (United Party, Bihar), Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat, Punjab), Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi (Azad Party, Sind), though originally nominated to the Board, fought

1. Shafaat Ahmad Khan to Fazl-i-Hussain, Nov. 17, 1935, **Fazl-i-Husain Papers**. The editor is grateful to Dr. Wahced Ahmad and Mian Azim Husain for permission to consult the papers.

the elections under the auspices of their provincial organisations. In fact Bihar, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province did not set up any League Parliamentary Board at all.¹ Sikandar Hyat Khan spoke for many Unionists in the Punjab when he wrote :

I have asked Ahmad Yar to convey to Jinnah to live up to his professed views that he 'wants Muslims to be one united body & to speak with one voice both to the Congress and the British'. His activities during the past few weeks, judging from the press reports, are contrary to his professions. I have also asked Ahmad Yar to strongly press on him the advisability of keeping his finger out of the Punjab pie. If he meddles he would only be encouraging fissiparous tendencies already harmfully discernible in a section of Punjab Muslims, & might burn his fingers; & in any case we cannot possibly allow 'provincial autonomy' to be tampered with in any sphere, & by anybody, be he a nominee of the powers who have given this autonomy or a President of the Muslim League or any other association or body.²

The self-centredness of Muslim provincial politics was the direct outcome of the granting of provincial autonomy. 'Muslims will be exposed', prophetically warned Shafaat Ahmad Khan, 'to the dangers of isolation and provincialism, and will lack that All India feeling of Muslim solidarity and unity which inspired all of us for four long years—1930-1933... We shall all involve ourselves in the internecine struggle for power, ministership, jobs and leadership'.³ It was this claustrophobic struggle for power and leadership which found daily ventilation through press and platform and which was increasingly deplored

1. Zaidi, Z.H; *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49.

2. Sikandar Hyat Khan to Fazl-i-Husain, May 1, 1935, **Fazl-i-Husain Papers**.

3. Shafaat Ahmad Khan to Fazl-i-Husain, May 1, 1935, *Ibid.*

by more independent Muslim leaders in Bengal. Ispahani and his two close associates. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Khwaja Nooruddin of the New Muslim Majlis — a small party concerned with Calcutta Corporation politics — deplored the 'parochial character' of parties like the United Muslim Party and the Krishak Proja Samity. They charged the leaders of these parties with laying 'undue emphasis' on provincial matters leading to a 'total disregard for Muslim solidarity in India'. Championing the cause of the League in the land of its forgotten birth, they reminded their co-religionists that 'we must think in All India terms' and 'for this purpose the Muslim League alone gives us the widest possible scope'.¹

Ispahani's plea that Muslim politics should be lifted from a provincial to the All India level went unheeded. In Bengal neither the Communal Award nor the issue of separate electorates found any place in Muslim campaigning. All turned on provincial and parochial issues, and upon personal squabbles and recriminations. Congress was equally divided, and as Nehru wrote, had become a 'pitiful hotch-potch avoiding real issues ... a magnified edition of that shameful spectacle, the Calcutta Corporation' or 'the society for the advancement of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker ...'.² If the Muslim League did, despite this, find an entry into Bengal politics it was because the Hindu bhadralok, by their actions, pushed open the hitherto inhospitable provincial door.

Each successive constitutional reform, as Broomfield has demonstrated, 'seemed to the Hindu bhadralok to make more certain the ultimate domination of the political system by the Muslims'.³ The Muslim insistence on legislative representation either through universal adult

1. **Star of India**, July 20, 1936.

2. Nehru to Gandhi, Aug. 13, 1934, **A Bunch of Old Letters**, p. 115.

3. Broomfield, J. H; **Elite Conflict in a Plural Society : Twentieth Century Bengal**, California, 1968, p. 288.

suffrage or according to their numbers especially in the Punjab and Bengal, had met with bitter opposition from Hindu leaders (though fiercer from within these provinces than from outside) and had defied solution throughout the protracted negotiations ending with the Round Table Conferences in 1931-1932. The Communal Award of August 16, 1932, made by the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, broke the deadlock and fixed the number of seats in provincial legislatures. In Bengal as in the Punjab, the Muslim majority will was denied legislative representation. In Bengal as against their population of nearly 55 per cent their share of seats had been fixed at only 48.4 per cent. But if the Muslims had only 119 seats reserved to them out of a total of 250, the Hindu bhadralok fared far worse, for, of the 131 remaining seats 20 went to the scheduled castes, 15 to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and 18 to the commercial, industrial, mining and planting interests, leaving only 78 general seats open to them.¹ This was a stunning blow and marked the end of bhadralok political domination.

In the fashion of their agitation against the partition of Bengal, the Hindus set about trying to unsettle the settled fact. A storm of protest and outcry followed with only brief intervals for conferences, such as the Allahabad Unity Conference, and parleys between Rajendra Prasad and Jinnah. When they failed, the Bengal Hindus approached 'the third party'. A memorial addressed to Secretary of State and signed by 120 leading Bengali Hindus — members of the Legislative Council, of municipalities and district boards, newspapermen, eminent zamindars, including Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and the famous man of letters, Rabindranath Tagore — this galaxy of Bengali Hindu celebrities — pleaded that weightage should be provided for Bengal Hindus because of the 'enormously

1. General seats and seats allocated to Scheduled Castes under the Communal Award were subsequently changed by the Poona Pact.

predominant part they had played under British rule in the cultural, the political, the professional, and the commercial life of the Province'. As if the argument they put forward for their being 'overwhelmingly superior culturally' was not enough, they produced facts and figures to support their contention and asserted that the Hindus in Bengal constituted 60 percent of the total literate population, 80 percent of the school going population and that they held 87 percent of the legal, 80 percent of the medical and 83 percent of the membership of the banking and Insurance professions. Perhaps remembering the American colonists' slogan: 'No taxation without representation' and having matched the Boston Tea Party with their bonfires of British cloth in the Swadeshi agitation days, they demanded that legislative representation should not be fixed merely on the basis of their population but be proportioned to taxation' as their contribution to revenue was far in excess of that of the Muslims.¹

The anti-Communal Award agitation proved a useful lash to rouse the spirit of All India Muslim solidarity in Bengal. On their own, the Muslim leaders of Bengal could achieve little if the vexed issue was reopened; they needed Muslim support from outside their province. Not long ago in 1916 Bengali Muslims had given away a share of their rightful representation in order to improve the representational strength of their Muslim brethren in the Muslim minority provinces. In the trying Khilafat days they had stood by the side of U.P. and Bombay men. They had supported the demand for reforms in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province and though their province of East Bengal and Assam had been only short-lived, they had provided adequate equipment for the surgery of the Bombay Presidency in carving out the new province of Sind. Would the Khojas of Bombay, the taluqdars of the United Provinces, the Arains of the Punjab and the Pathans of the Frontier foresake them in combatting the agitation ?

1. *Star of India*, June 29, 1936.

Here was an opportunity for Muslim leaders from outside to forge inter-provincial alliances and thus lift provincial issues to an All India importance. They reached Calcutta to participate at a conference held at the Town Hall on August 2, 1936 where leaders of various parties — the Krishak Proja Samity, the Muslim League, the United Muslim Party, the New Muslim Majlis — and representative Muslims from 'almost every district of Bengal' had assembled to counter the anti-Award agitation.¹ Sir Saadullah from Assam, Hussain Imam from Bihar, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from the Punjab and others assured the Bengali Muslims that they were not alone :

... we all rise and fall together. The pin which may prick your foot will be considered by us a dagger in our own hearts. We will sacrifice our all for your rights and liberties.²

With these assurances, 'the sense of distrust and insecurity' in the minds of Bengali Muslims must have been considerably lessened. They had been heartened at the measure of support and backing they had received. But despite their unanimity on the question of the Communal Award, the division in their ranks otherwise presented a sorry spectacle. Suhrawardy stressed the need of joint and united action on the part of the Muslim leaders in Bengal :

The number accorded to Muslims mean nothing if we are not united, and if we cannot pool our resources together. If we break up into several parties these numbers instead of being a blessing will be a curse.³

In order to compose the differences, another conference was held on August 9, 1936 in which Muslims from all over Bengal, 'as many as six to eight delegates...

1. *Star of India*, Aug. 3, 1936.

2. Zafar Ali Khan's speech, *Ibid.*

3. Suhrawardy's speech, *Ibid.*

from one district' participated in the deliberations.¹ But the old tussle for domination in provincial politics between the Nawab of Dacca and Fazlul Huq militated against any chance of compromise. The cleavage offered Jinnah a 'wonderful opportunity to intervene'.²

The divisions gave the League a foothold in Bengal. 'A dispute' wired Ispahani, 'engineered by us arose resulting in the postponement of the Conference sine die'. Jinnah was to be the peacemaker. Ispahani's telegram of August 9, 1936 — the day the Conference was held — ended: 'Wonderful opportunity created please leave for Calcutta immediately...'.³ Jinnah jumped at the invitation and reached Calcutta within a week of the receipt of the telegram. At the first available opportunity he paid glowing tribute to his reluctant hosts:

The Musalmans of Bengal occupy a unique position not only so far as their own interests are concerned, but all over India. They will be almost a deciding factor in regard to the fortune of the province and are in a position to help in the attainment of freedom of India more than any other province.⁴

But Jinnah found his Bengali clients much less enthusiastic than he had expected. As John Anderson, the Bengal Governor reported:

neither the United nor the Proja Party were anxious to be absorbed into his Muslim League, but each wanted to make the other responsible for the breakdown.⁵

After much persuasion and lengthy negotiations, Jinnah succeeded in launching the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board with 48 members. All the existing

1. *Star of India*, Aug. 10, 1936.

2. Ispahani to Jinnah, Aug. 9, 1936, (Telegram). I.P.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Star of India*, Aug. 26, 1936.

5. Anderson to Linlithgow, Dec. 3, 1936, GR.

parties were to be represented : the United Muslim Party and the Proja Samity were given 15 seats each, the Bengal Muslim League and the New Muslim Majlis 7 each, and there were to be four nominees of Jinnah. But Fazlul Huq and his associates disowned the agreement and decided to sail off on their own tack. Huq was keen to retain the separate identity of his party. He asked that the members of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board should sign the creed of his party.¹ He also demanded that the abolition of Permanent Settlement should be incorporated in the League's programme.² Both these demands were rejected as the former would have impugned the League's claim to be 'the only representative organisation of the Muslims' and the latter was brushed aside, because of the opposition of some big zamindars on the Board, as not being 'practical politics'.³ But Huq's objection to Jinnah's nomination of four non-Bengali speaking businessmen⁴ on the Board seems to have brought about the final rupture.

Huq was never keen to reach an agreement. His objections were just a manoeuvre to destroy the arrangement, for, he feared that he and his party would be outnumbered on the Parliamentary Board. His breakaway, once again, gave rise to a bitter controversy in newspapers between the leaders of the defunct United Party and the Proja Samity on the one hand and between Jinnah and Fazlul Huq on the other.⁵ When asked by Jinnah to explain his conduct, Huq retorted :

You have the impertinence to ask for an explanation from me. Let me remind you that I have been

1. Fazlul Huq's statement, *Star of India*, Sept. 1, 1936.
2. Jinnah's statement, *Ibid.* Oct. 5, 1936.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Mirza Ahmad Ispahani, Ghulam Husain Dossani, Adamjee Haji Dawood and Aziz Ansari
5. See Appendices I and II.

associated with the Muslim League for a longer period than any other Muslim politician in India now living ... You are now the President of the League, but I held this very position so long ago as 1919 and I presided at the Delhi Session of the All India Muslim League in 1918. It was after the Bengali Muslims had been practically driven out of the League owing to the intrigues at Delhi and Simla, that you managed to get yourself pitchforked into this position.¹

Ultimately in September 1936, Jinnah removed Fazlul Huq from the Board for the violation of the policies of the All India Muslim League. All but the Proja members remained on the Bengal **Muslim League Parliamentary Board**.

Jinnah must have thought that he had been successful in imposing his leadership on Bengal. But that was far from true. He had come and gone leaving no permanent mark on Bengal's political landscape. The incompatible aims of leaders and parties, their rhetorical denunciations and the competition for power-sharing had made his gestures towards compromise look illusory and transient. All that he had been able to secure was the devoted allegiance of the small Calcutta-based New Muslim Majlis led by Ispahani and the rather uncertain support of the United Party, both of whom joined the League. Though the parties constituting the Parliamentary Board had merged with the League, in effect the Muslim League in Bengal was 'the United Muslim Party' writ large.

The fluid and shifting pattern of Muslim politics continued as before. Old feuds and dissensions were intensified because of electioneering. The Proja Samity which had decided to remain outside Jinnah's orbit of influence was itself split. In December 1936, a new party calling

1. Fazlul Huq's statement, **Star of India**, Oct. 30, 1936. See Appendix II.

itself the Nikhil Banga Proja Party appeared on the scene — mainly consisting of Fazlul Huq's left wing opponents.¹ Besides the numerous nominees of various parties, there was a very large number of Independents in the field. Indeed they formed a majority of all the contesting candidates. For instance in Narayanganj (East) and Dacca (Rural North Central) Muslim constituencies, there were fourteen candidates for two seats, of whom two fought the election on the League ticket, two on the Proja Samity platform and the rest as Independents.² The preponderance of Independent candidates was on the one hand a reflection of the lack of impact and popularity of the various parties, and on the other, of the opportunistic trends in Bengal politics. As Independents, elected candidates would have a bargaining position which they could utilise in extracting the maximum benefits from the bidders for their votes. If allied with a party, they would be under its discipline and deprived of such freedom for manoeuvre.

The election results failed of themselves to impose clarity and order upon the political scene. No dominant party appeared. The Muslim League and Proja Samity each won about a third of the total number of seats reserved for the Muslims, while the Congress mustered no more than 54 in the new house.³ However, the crushing defeat of Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin by Fazlul Huq⁴ at

1. Anderson to Linlithgow, Jan. 6, 1937, GR.

2. *Star of India*, Jan. 27 & 28, 1937.

3. For the results of the 1937 elections see *Return Showing the Results of Elections in India* (1937), Cmd. 5589. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of April 4, 1937, reported that the League won fifty seats in Bengal. The official *Return* however, puts the League seats at 39.

4. Huq obtained 13,742 votes against Nazimuddin's 6,308. See *Star of India*, Jan. 28, 1936. Nazimuddin entered the Assembly through a by-election.

Pataukhali did enable the latter to emerge as the major Muslim leader, and to secure the creation of a coalition under his leadership which included the League. In bringing about this rapprochement, Muslims elected as Independents had played a decisive role insisting that Huq should be the leader of any Muslim ministry.¹

But Fazlul Huq faced considerable difficulties while forming his cabinet. A number of Muslim politicians, under the cloak of demands and special needs of regions and districts formed groups which cut across party affiliations. The 'Assembly North Bengal Group' organised under the presidentship of Nawab Musharraf Hussain on February 26, 1937, and supported by 25 members of the Assembly put forward the claims of North Bengal to be properly and adequately represented in the cabinet.² Another group was that of the Muslim MLAs from Mymensingh under the leadership of Masood Ali Khan Panni who put the claim for a cabinet post.³ The Scheduled Caste members of the Assembly also formed a separate party.⁴ This was certainly an ominous beginning for party politics in Bengal as these groups made their support to Huq contingent on their securing a seat in the cabinet. Ispahani characterised these disturbing trends in Bengal politics as 'false notions of the village pump' variety :

The mentality which thinks in terms of Bengal or of North or South or East and West Bengal is positively harmful and un-Islamic.⁵

Ispahani's discourse had little effect. For soon, Fazlul Huq found the pressures from various groups too demanding so that, as he said, even 'half a dozen cabinets

1. Anderson to Linlithgow, March 9, 1937, GR.
2. *Star of India*, Feb. 27, 1937.
3. *Ibid*, March 2, 1937.
4. *Ibid*.
5. *Ibid*, March 8, 1937.

would not have satisfied the aspirants of office'.¹ On his own, Huq could hardly have formed a ministry, even with Congress support. In partnership with Nazimuddin but without the support of certain Muslim MLAs elected as Independents, Huq had to turn to Hindu zamindars and look for other allies. The Nationalist Party under J.N. Basu, a Calcutta solicitor, with 14 Caste Hindus, offered support contingent on the extent of Hindu share in the Cabinet.² The European Group swallowed 'their contempt for Fazlul Huq' and the Scheduled Castes also joined. Thus with a mixed bag, Huq was at last able to take office on April 1, 1937. He, perforce, had teamed up with those whom he had not long ago criticised :

Their interests are not the interests of the Projas, for their position and prestige, their very livelihood and their importance are based upon their denial of fundamental rights to the masses, whom they have so long exploited.³

The instinct of self-preservation and the charm of office had brought the strange bed-fellows together. The 'Dal-Bhat' issue on which Fazlul Huq had fought the elections was shelved; the old adversaries became friends. The Dacca Nawab family alone occupied three important positions, the Nawab was the Minister for Local Self Government, his cousin Nazimuddin had the Home portfolio, Nazimuddin's brother, Shahabuddin was later on taken as the Chief Whip of the coalition party. Nawab Musharraf Hussain, a big landlord from Ratnapur, who had recently formed the 'Assembly North Bengal Group' became the Minister for the Judicial and Legislative Department. Nawab Mohiuddin Faruqui, the Industries Minister, Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Kasimbazar the Communications and Works Minister, Sir Bejoy Prasad

1. **Star of India**, March 10, 1937.

2. Anderson to Linlithgow, March 9, 1937, **GR**.

3. **Star of India**, Sept. 1, 1936.

Singh, the Revenue Minister were all zamindars. Even Prasanna Deb Rajkut, a scheduled caste Minister for Forest and Excise had large zamindari interests in Jalpaiguri.¹

By his rapprochement with and accommodation of his old adversaries who had dubbed him as 'the inconsistent' and 'the face-turner',² Huq had nullified the value of his previous confrontation. His hasty reconciliation and sudden change of front had an adverse effect on his public image. It cost him the support of some of his own party men. Led by recalcitrant elements like Nausher Ali and Shamsuddin, the party was soon split.³

Deserted by some of his followers, Huq was faced with Hobson's choice. The League MLAs constituted the single largest Muslim group in the Assembly. In his anxiety to stay in office, he had to depend on their support. But in striking the bargain, Huq had become their captive. In his profession of loyalty for the League, he even outdid some of his Bengal colleagues. His outburst at the League's Lucknow session in October 1937, surpassed Jinnah's condemnation of the Congress rule :

If the Hindu Congress Ministers continue to follow a policy of repression in the other provinces, I declare from this platform that I shall retaliate in Bengal even if it means my life.⁴

Huq had to woo the central leadership of the League in order to ensure continued support from his League colleagues. When, for instance, in April 1938, Tamizuddin Khan along with 12 MLAs formed an independent group against the Coalition Party, Jinnah came to Huq's rescue. He appealed to every Muslim to accord 'whole-hearted

1. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, the Finance Minister was a big merchant of Calcutta.

2. **Star of India**, Jan. 16, 1937.

3. **Ibid.** Aug. 20, 1937.

4. **The Pioneer**, Oct. 19, 1937.

support' to his ministry.¹ It was because of Jinnah's intervention that Tamizuddin and his group returned to the party.² In the circumstances, Huq had to identify himself publicly with the policy and programme of the AIML :

...let me make it clear that no problem worth the name connected with any question relating to the administration of India can be solved without reference to the All India Muslim League.³

Thus Huq seemed to champion the Muslim cause without reservation. Some of his volatile utterances bore the mark of an undaunted fighter for their cause. At the Calcutta session of the League, held in April 1938, Huq referring to the role of the British and the Congress stated:

Let us prepare to fight, if need be, on a double front, with our backs to the wall. If Panipat and Thaneswar must repeat themselves, let the Muslims prepare to give as glorious an account of themselves as did their forbears.⁴

In December 1939, Huq issued a pamphlet, **Muslim Sufferings Under Congress Rule**, containing 'the most convincing details of oppression committed on Muslims in the provinces ruled by the Congress'.⁵ When Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, after the resignation of the Congress ministries in October 1939, criticised Jinnah for the observance of 'Deliverance Day', Fazlul Huq attacked

1. Resolution No. 1, April 1938, **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from October 1937 to December 1938**, Delhi, 1944.
2. Brabourne to Linlithgow, May 5, 1938, **GR**.
3. **The Indian Annual Register**, 1938, vol. i, pp. 377-87.
4. **Ibid**.
5. **Muslim Sufferings Under Congress Rule . Being the Reprint of a Statement issued to the Press by the Hon'ble Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq**, Dec. 1939, p.1.

Siddiqui for his unfortunate and unwarranted statement against Jinnah 'whom by common consent the Muslims of India had chosen as their accredited leader...'.¹ In March 1940, Huq championed the League cause by moving the famous Lahore Resolution which formed the basis for the creation of Pakistan.

Moreover, if coalition with the League had brought Huq the premiership in Bengal, the alliance with the central leadership had won him a seat on the Working Committee of the AIML. He had secured his position both in the province and the All India Muslim hierarchy. He had succumbed to the dictates of the League and had to espouse its cause. In doing so, Huq was not necessarily following his own inclinations but had to swim with the growing current of the League's influence :

Just as boatmen in East Bengal while crossing the mighty Padma trimmed their sails to the passing wind, so, also he trimmed his sail when occasion demanded...²

The League-Proja coalition was a patchwork like the Sikandar Hyat-Jinnah Pact which showed signs of cracking under the least stress. This was not surprising as men of divergent views and doubtful party affiliations had been brought into the fold. To some of Jinnah's ardent followers the Bengal compromise did not appeal and Ispahani raised a chorus of protest :

I honestly feel that self interest has once again proved to be a greater interest than the interest of the community. I felt that we were in for progressive and better times. I felt that the Musalmans of Bengal had at long last got back a portion of their lost self-respect. I was mistaken.³

1. **Star of India**, Dec. 9, 1939.

2. **Ibid**, Oct. 25, 1937.

3. Ispahani to Jinnah, March 23, 1937, I.P.

Ispahani was of the view that the League was hopelessly disorganised, its leaders in Bengal were office-seekers and opportunists and cared little for the organisation :

In Bengal, self preponderates over community. Our friends, the Ministers, shouted while it united them; shouted League as long as it served their purpose, but the moment the Ministry was formed, the League was shelved. No meeting of the League Board or Party, no League Whips, leaders or other office bearers.¹

And yet Jinnah allowed the Muslim League Party in Bengal to form a coalition with Fazlul Huq whom he had recently expelled from the League Parliamentary Board !

In the formative phase of the League, a time of loud disputes and weak convictions, Jinnah had no choice if he was to retain even the nominal adherence of Nazim-uddin group. He could do no more than persuade the uncommitted politicians or willing partisans to come within his fold. Among the few books he liked was Morley's brilliant treatise **On Compromise** which set for Jinnah, as he himself admitted, 'the limits of compromise'. Compromise was the key to the situation confronting him in Bengal. He realised that the shortest and easiest route to Muslim unity, on which he laid so much stress, was through alliance and compromise.² Ispahani, perhaps, did not appreciate the complexity of Jinnah's dilemma. His protest ignored the fact that of all the Muslim majority provinces, Bengal was the only province where the League had won a substantial number of seats : in the Punjab it had gained only 2 out of 84; in Sind and the North-West Fron-

1. Ispahani to Jinnah, July 23, 1937, I.P.

2. Jamiluddin Ahmad; **Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah** vol. i, p. 78.

tier Province it had even failed to set up a Parliamentary Board.¹ Jinnah could ill-afford to fritter away the Bengal gains. He was therefore determined to make full use of this newly acquired strength and planned his moves as 'one has to play one's game on the chess-board'.² In balancing the political expediencies, he must have concluded that the advantages of retaining the new entrants of doubtful allegiance in his party were far greater than imposing strict party discipline :

You cannot expect everything to go on the footing of a highly developed standard of public life as these are only the beginnings that are being made. You must not mix up the aims we have, with achievements. The aims are not achieved immediately when they are laid down. But I think, on the whole, Bengal has done well and we must be thankful for small mercies. As you go on, of course with patience and tact, things are bound to develop and improve more and more in accordance with our ideals and aims.³

But Jinnah's explanation did not satisfy Ispahani who even urged him to disaffiliate the Bengal Presidency Muslim League — a 'dead organisation' composed of 'old Congressites'.⁴

Jinnah was in no hurry. Strategy demanded that the initial gain should not be sacrificed at the altar of party discipline. This was not the time to purge but to merge :

You see, it is not easy for me to disaffiliate the Bengal Provincial Muslim League unless there are

1. **Return Showing the Results of Elections in India** (1937), Cmd. 5589. The Return puts the seats won by the League in Sind as 3, which is wrong.
2. Jamiluddin Ahmad; *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 78.
3. Jinnah to Ispahani, April 4, 1937, **I.P.**
4. Ispahani to Jinnah, Aug. 11, 1937, **Ibid.**

some categorical charges against them. . . . After all I have no power as President to disaffiliate. But before I put the matter before the Council I must have definite charges against the Bengal Provincial Muslim League or its executive. So far, even according to you, it has been a dead organisation, and a vague charge that it is pro-Congress is hardly enough. What have they done ? Or, what are they doing which you people complain of ? I agree with you that there are certain elements in this dead organisation who are undesirable. But that sort of general allegation is not enough. I will therefore beg of you and your friends there to capture this organisation which you can easily do and make it your own, if the public opinion is behind you and if you can enrol large number of members, it is very easy to accomplish the task.¹

The outbreak of war in September 1939, opened new opportunities for Jinnah. He planned his moves masterfully. By a series of successive resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the AIML, he had armed himself with authority as the Chief spokesman and Whip of the party. The former lent full credibility to his position as a negotiator; the latter strengthened his hands in imposing party discipline amongst League members. Whereas in 1937, he had accepted a coalition with the Proja Samity in Bengal, in April 1939 such a course seemed inappropriate to him :

...the time has come when there should be only one party and that is the Muslim League so far as the Musalmans are concerned, and I cannot imagine of a coalition between the Muslim League Party and any other Musalman, individual or group of Musalmans or a party of Musalmans, so far

1. Jinnah to Ispahani, Aug. 15, 1937, I.P.

as the political life of the Musalmans of India is concerned.¹

Jinnah was speaking from a position of strength. He had penetrated into provincial realms which had considerably strengthened his bargaining position. When, therefore, after the declaration of war, Linlithgow, the Viceroy, had consultations with him regarding Muslim participation in the war effort, Jinnah, knowing the British predicament, refused to commit the League unless the British Government were prepared to examine the future constitution *de novo* and to give an assurance that no constitution would be imposed without the consent and the approval of the League.² Thus he made the Muslim support contingent on the acceptance of his demands by the British.

But Bengal and the central leadership were divided on the question of war efforts. The Muslim ministers in Bengal stood for unequivocal declaration by the League of support for the war,³ whereas Jinnah had made the support contingent on certain conditions. When, therefore the Bengal Assembly in December 1939, resolved to support the war efforts, it had also to draw the attention of the Government to the necessity for examining the constitutional position from the view-point of the Muslims.⁴ Since Huq, while pledging Bengal's support for the war effort, had also declared that in case the League were to ban Muslim participation, he would abide by the League mandate and even resign his premiership,⁵ Jinnah

1. Jinnah to Ispahani, April 20, 1939, I.P

2. Resolution No. 1, Oct. 1939, **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from December 1938 to March 1940**, Delhi, n.d.

3. Woodhead to Linlithgow, Sept. 5, 1939, GR.

4. **Star of India**, Dec. 19, 1939.

5. *Ibid.*

acquiesced in the pledge of support for the war. As he wrote to Ispahani :

...on the whole I am glad that Bengal has done fairly well, at any rate, in getting the statement from the Premier....¹

But in June 1940, the League moved fast and called upon Muslims not to serve on provincial or district War Committees.² Jinnah had detected that the Government was keen to win over provincial leaders by associating them actively with the war effort. In fact, the Punjab and Bengal were already co-operating with the Government. Both the provinces had sought a modification of the League's June resolution.³ But that Jinnah could not allow. The provinces would have drifted out of the League's control, and Muslim politics would have reverted to the provincialism against which Jinnah had fought so hard. In the meantime, Jinnah had kept the pressure mounting; the League in March 1940 had already passed the famous Lahore Resolution and defined its goal. Its ban of June 1940 forbidding Muslims to participate in War Committees was therefore both a challenge to provincial leadership, and, if successful, a challenge to Government.

The League won its first major concession when on August 8, 1940, the British Government announced that they could not contemplate the transfer of their responsibilities to 'any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into admission to such a Government'.⁴ In this statement was implied the British recognition of the

1. Jinnah to Ispahani, Dec. 26, 1939. I.P.

2. Resolution No. 2, June 1940, **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from April 1940 to April 1941**, Delhi, n.d.

3. Herbert to Linlithgow, June 4, 1940, GR.

4. Gwyer, M. and Appadorai, (ed.), **Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution, 1921-1947**, vol. ii, pp. 503-4.

League and its leaders as 'powerful elements'. It was a considerable advance towards the point of view of the League, so at least Jinnah interpreted it:

...the British Government on the whole had practically met the demand of the Muslim League for a clear assurance to the effect, that no future constitution, interim or final, should be adopted ... without their approval and consent.¹

But this was not by itself enough to win Muslim co-operation. That co-operation would be given only if the British Government would associate 'Muslim leadership' as 'equal partners in charge of the Government in the Centre and in the Provinces'.² 'Politics means power', Jinnah had explained at his presidential address at the Lucknow session in 1937.³ He now demanded 'authority and power' for 'Muslim India leadership' as a price for co-operation. But already in five provinces — Bengal, Assam, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab — there were Muslim Premiers. It was, therefore, the centre which was to be the linch-pin of 'authority and power'. The accommodation of the League in the central government would have accorded it 'the authoritative and representative' status on behalf of Muslim public opinion. Having failed to achieve his demands from the Government, Jinnah used the provinces towards that end.

As pointed out earlier, Huq had offered whole-hearted co-operation in the prosecution of War. In this, he saw a chance of personal advancement, hoping that 'a national All Party Government with himself as supreme head' might be set up at the centre.⁴ He was already in

1. Resolution. No. 2, Sept. 1940, **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from April 1940 to April 1941, Delhi, n.d.**

2. **Ibid.**

3. Jamiluddin Ahmad; **op. cit.**, vol. i, p.30.

4. Herbert to Linlithgow, July 10, 1940, **GR.**

touch with Sikandar Hyat who was also keen that Jinnah should remove the ban upon Muslim Leaguers serving on War committees. This attitude on the part of two Muslim premiers disturbed Ispahani. He resented the open flouting of the League's authority and pressed Jinnah to take disciplinary action against them — Jinnah's 'two spoilt children' as he called them. In a letter of June 21, 1940, Ispahani wrote :

Had you and your Cabinet acted with firmness when Sikandar and his counterpart in Bengal began to take advantage of the League, we would not have become the laughing stock of our political opponents. The progressive element which has been fighting for a re-orientation of the League policy.... met with no success ... The reactionary forces seem to have gained the upperhand once more You, instead of taking strong action against these two for indiscipline, actually condoned their offence ... This hesitation in the beginning and condonation later on, jettisoned the authority of the League into a bottomless pit.¹

Ispahani in his protest was not alone. He was joined by his two close associates — Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Khwaja Nooruddin. The 'Calcutta trio', as Herbert, the Governor called them, were 'on the private line' to Jinnah, pressing him to force Huq to abide by the League's mandate.² Although Huq dismissed the trio as 'these up-countrymen in Calcutta', he was nevertheless conscious of their influence on Jinnah and on certain members of his Cabinet especially Nazimuddin. Huq was even prepared to cause a split in the Bengal League as a way to break away from its domination. But this would have resulted in 'setting up of the Calcutta trio as mouthpieces of Jinnah', which the Chief Minister resented. However, the Governor prevailed upon Huq to avoid a split and urged

1. Ispahani to Jinnah, June 21, 1940, **I.P.**

2. Herbert to Linlithgow, July 10, 1940, **GR.**

Huq and his Muslim colleagues to bring enough pressure to bear upon Jinnah to remove the ban, thereby curtailing the influence of the troublesome trio.¹ Jinnah also did not press the issue. In September 1939, he had already obtained in writing from Sikandar Hyat and Fazlul Huq a promise that they would resign the premierships whenever called upon by him to do so.² For the time being this seemed an adequate insurance for Jinnah and he decided to watch the situation.

But Ispahani was not happy. Possibly to stop Huq and his colleagues from co-operating with the Government, he looked for support from other quarters. He was friendly with Subhas Chandra Bose. The League group in the Calcutta Corporation of which Ispahani was the leader, had formed a coalition in March 1940 with the Forward Bloc against the European, right wing and the Mahasabha groups.³ This collaboration of the League and Bose had opened the way to a possible new era in Bengal politics but that was not to be. In July 1940, Bose, supported by students started an agitation for removing the Holwell monument which had been built by Curzon in commemoration of the Black Hole tragedy. Throughout July, police were called upon on several occasions to deal with student demonstrations. Subhas and a number of students were arrested. The Muslim Students' League joined in the demonstrations possibly with the connivance of Ispahani, though he denied this in writing to Jinnah.⁴ According to the Governor, Ispahani visited Subhas in the Presidency jail and was present when a demonstration took place in front of Fazlul Huq's residence. When the police arrived to disperse the crowd, Ispahani 'offered himself for arrest'.⁵ Ispahani might have been influenced to join Bose in the agitation in an effort

1. Herbert to Linlithgow, July 10, 1940, **GR**.
2. Jinnah to Ispahani, June 24, 1940, **I.P.**
3. Herbert to Linlithgow, April 22, 1940, **GR**.
4. Ispahani to Jinnah, July 20, 1940, **I.P.**
5. Herbert to Linlithgow, July 22, 1940, **GR**.

to embroil Huq in trouble and to pressurise him into submitting to the League mandate.

However, these tactics did not unnerve Huq. Nor did Ispahani's persistent protests to Jinnah have any immediate effect. Jinnah was in no hurry to stage a trial of strength between himself and Huq. As a matter of fact, the League's resolution of June 1940 calling upon Muslims not to serve on War committees had been allowed to lapse. Jinnah had not taken any drastic action to deal with continued defiance of its provisions. This was because Huq was not alone; he had the backing of other Muslim ministers especially Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy and as Ispahani informed Jinnah 'the people in Bengal were not prepared to throw out Fazlul Huq just yet, we should not force the issue but wait for another opportunity'.¹ If Jinnah had forced the issue, it was almost certain that Huq would have been joined by other colleagues :

Fazlul Huq will either openly revert to the Proja Party and join hands with the Hindus to cause a rift amongst the Musalmans in Bengal, or will go round saying that he has been victimised and thrown out of the League and will start a bogus League to run parallel to ours, following in this instance, the footsteps of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose who is running a parallel 'Congress' organisation in the province.²

Ispahani's explanation looked rather strange especially when he was ready to incite League students to join Hindus in toppling a Muslim government, in which the League was a major party. But Jinnah got the message for it would have been a tactical mistake if he tried to trip Huq up. Jinnah could not risk a situation in which his authority would have been challenged not only by Huq but also by other Leaguers in Bengal. This would have left the League high and dry. Jinnah's tactics were, therefore,

1. Ispahani to Jinnah, June 12, 1941, I.P.

2. Ibid.

to wait for the right opportunity or as Ispahani had previously suggested, to give Huq 'a long rope ... to hang himself'.¹

The opportunity came when in August 1941, the Viceroy nominated Mohammed Saadullah, Sikandar Hyat Khan and Fazlul Huq, Premiers of Assam, the Punjab and Bengal respectively as members of the National Defence Council.² Jinnah had been confidentially informed of the nomination on July 20, 1941, and, although he had lodged a strong protest against the Viceroy's overtures to League Premiers 'over the head of the President and the Executive of the League',³ he had refrained from making a fuss publicly. But he was no longer prepared to swallow the bitter pill and called upon the Premiers to resign from the National Defence Council or face disciplinary action. All but Huq complied. When pressed, Huq addressed an offensive letter to Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the AIML in which he cast serious aspersions on Jinnah. He protested 'against the manner in which the interests of the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab are being imperilled by Muslim leaders' of the provinces where they were in a minority. He complained against the manner the League treated provincial leaders and the way

...the principles of democracy and autonomy are being subordinated to the arbitrary wishes of a single individual who seeks to rule as an omnipotent authority over the destiny of 33 millions of Muslims in the province of Bengal who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim Politics.⁴

1. Ispahani to Jinnah, June 12, 1941, I.P.
2. Other Muslims nominated on the Council were Nawab of Chattari from U.P., Begum Shah Nawaz from the Punjab and Malik Khuda Baksh from the N.W.F.P.
3. Jamiluddin Ahmad, vol. i, pp. 301—5.
4. Quoted in Resolution 2, Oct. 1941. **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from April 1941 to April 1942**, Delhi, n.d. Also see Appendix III.

Huq's letter which was published on September 11, 1941, led to an immediate protest by the Calcutta Muslim League and the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League followed by hostile demonstrations and student strikes on a large scale.¹ Huq retaliated by tabling a resolution of no confidence in the Assembly against Suhrawardy, his minister and Secretary of the Bengal League whom he thought chiefly responsible for the Working Committee's resolution. Ispahani, as we have seen, was sore about Jinnah's hesitancy to punish Huq. He once again urged him to get rid of Huq :

When those in our file betray us, when those in our midst sell the community for a mess of pottage, then they have to be seeded out. A healthy plant requires systematic pruning — so does a healthy political organisation ... God has given you this opportunity and I am sure you will utilise it.²

Jinnah made up his mind to remove Huq and proposed Ispahani as his substitute on the Working Committee of the AIML.³ His patience had been tried. On September 26, 1941, Jinnah wrote :

In my opinion he [Huq] is a source of danger to the vital interests of not only the Musalmans of Bengal but of the whole of India. It is humiliating for the Musalmans to acknowledge a man of this type to be one of their leaders. The whole world is laughing at this issue. It is entirely up to you all in Bengal to stand united and put an end to this agony.⁴

But Jinnah did not find enough support for his move in Bengali quarters. Despite his stand that Huq

1. Herbert to Linlithgow, Sept. 21, 1941, **GR**.

2. Ispahani to Jinnah, Sept. 6, 1941, **I.P.**

3. Jinnah to Ispahani, Sept. 19, 1941, **Ibid.**

4. Jinnah to Ispahani, Sept. 26, 1941, **Ibid.**

'must unconditionally, with apology, withdraw his letter',¹ he had to bow to provincial pressures and reach a compromise. He could not remain oblivious to the strong feelings of Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy and Tamizuddin, Huq's ministers, who were keen to reach a settlement with Huq.² On October 20, 1941, at their instance, the Working Committee of the Bengal League passed a vote of confidence in Huq after seeking certain clarifications from Huq to the effect that his communication to Liaquat was neither meant to drive 'a wedge between Muslim Bengal and the rest of India' nor intended to defy the authority of the AIML.³ The provincial League also called upon the members of the Council of the AIML from Bengal to attend the meeting of the Council scheduled for October 26, when Huq's case was to be discussed. The move was a clear indication of their intention of forcing Jinnah into accepting the Bengali point of view. Herbert had also played a part in bringing the factions together and was pretty sure that Jinnah would not be unmindful to the pressures :

If Jinnah takes a different line, and sponsors a resolution to the opposite effect, the onus of splitting the Bengal Muslims will rest on him.⁴

In seeking a rapprochement, Huq's colleagues had been motivated both by self interest and a feeling of provincial loyalty. They were trying to avoid a crisis in the Bengal Cabinet caused by Huq's Proja supporters who were pressing Huq to dismiss Suhrawardy.⁵ A concession by Jinnah would have mended matters for them. At the same time they were expressing their concern that due regard should be given to their point of view by the central

1. Jinnah to Ispahani, Sept. 26, 1941, **I.P.**
2. **Star of India**, Oct. 18, 1941.
3. **Ibid.** See Appendices IV & V.
4. Herbert to Linlithgow, Oct. 21, 1941, **GR.**
5. Herbert to Linlithgow, Nov. 10, 1941, **Ibid.**

leadership. This concern was expressed by Shahabuddin some time later when he told Ispahani that the Bengal League should press Jinnah to reach an understanding with Huq and 'make the Working Committee see reason and to act on our advice as the whole dispute related to our province'.¹ But Ispahani was sore and bitter. He resented the compromise for it had been arrived at without Huq withdrawing his letter of September 8. In protest, Ispahani resigned from the Working Committee of the Bengal League² and urged Jinnah not to yield on the question of the withdrawal of the letter :

Nothing short of a withdrawal, I hope, will satisfy the elders when they meet in Delhi. Disrespect to the head of an organisation is disrespect and insult to the organisation itself and this cannot and must not be tolerated if discipline is to be maintained. Further, Allah will not give us a better opportunity to squeeze the neck of this spoilt child of Muslim Bengal.³

In spite of Ispahani's remonstrance, Jinnah played cool.⁴ On November 16, 1941 the Working Committee of the AIML finally considered Huq's reply in which he had assured the Committee that 'nothing was further from his intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions' on Jinnah. Huq had already resigned from the National Defence Council and quoted this as proof of his loyalty to the League.⁵ Pressed by Huq's colleagues or perhaps moved by a desire not to split the Bengal Muslims as

1. Quoted in Ispahani to Jinnah, Nov. 17, 1941, I. P.
2. Ispahani to Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, Oct. 20, 1941, *Ibid.*
3. Ispahani to Jinnah, Oct. 19, 1941, *Ibid.*
4. Resolution No. 2, Oct. 1941, **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from April 1941 to April 1942, Delhi, n.d.**
5. Resolution No. 1, Nov. 1941, *Ibid.*

Herbert had earlier suggested, Jinnah accepted Huq's explanation¹ even though Huq had not withdrawn his derogatory letter.

Through a shrewd move, Jinnah had averted a challenge to his authority and leadership. He had succeeded in gaining from Huq an effective withdrawal of the letter to Liaquat, at least so far as it criticised Jinnah, and Huq's resignation from the National Defence Council. But Ispahani's insistence on the form of a defeat for Huq — demanding a withdrawal of the letter to Liaquat — would have given Huq no choice but to resist the substantial concessions Jinnah was able to extract. It would have also split the Bengal League, a course which Jinnah was keen to avoid.

This decision of the League and the hesitancy on the part of Jinnah to punish Huq came as a shock to Ispahani who rightly predicted that Huq would not abide by the compromise. Ispahani had a very low opinion of Huq and regarded him as 'more slippery than an eel'.² His relations with Huq had never been good. More than once he had advocated Huq's exit as he thought him to be 'a deadly poison in the system of the League'. He was more in line with the central leadership than with the course of Bengal's politics. He felt hurt and isolated and in a scathing criticism against the Nazimuddin group which had promoted the deal, he wrote to Jinnah :

I have ... often expressed the opinion that the whole batch of Muslim Ministers in Bengal are all tarred with the same brush. One is as bad as the other. If Fazlul Huq is a devil, the others are

1. Resolution No. 1, Nov. 1941. **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from April, 1941 to April, 1942**, Delhi, n.d.
2. Ispahani to Jinnah, Nov. 12, 1941, I. P.

no better, although some of them may, to camouflage, cover themselves with the cloaks of saints.¹

Within a fortnight, on November 27, 1941, with the help of Sarat Bose and Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Huq had formed the Progressive Coalition Party in opposition to his present Ministry. There were reports that Huq supported a plan of Sarat Bose to table no confidence motions against six of his colleagues especially Suhrawardy. On December 1, at Huq's suggestion, the Ministry resigned.² His colleagues — the Nazimuddin group — now woke up to counter Huq's new venture. On December 2, they formed the Bengal Legislature Muslim League Party. Rather belatedly, they renewed the controversy over Huq's letter of September 8, — even though it had been they who had forced Jinnah's hands in accepting Huq's explanation. Apparently to win Jinnah over to their side and to bring his influence to bear upon the fast deteriorating situation in which their own positions were threatened, they now accused Huq of creating :

... a serious division in Muslim ranks by raising the Bengali and non-Bengali question in relation to All India politics and threatening to dissociate the Muslims of Bengal from the All India Muslim League.³

On the same day, the Bengal Legislature Muslim League Party, under the chairmanship of the Nawab of Dacca 'expressed its want of confidence' in Huq.⁴ This coincided with Jinnah's appeal to Bengal's Muslims to stand by the Muslim League Assembly Party.⁵ On December 7, Huq telegraphically informed Liaquat that the Cabinet crisis

1. Ispahani to Jinnah, Nov. 21, 1941, I. P.

2. Herbert to Linlithgow, Dec. 5, 1941, GR.

3. *Star of India*, Dec. 5, 1941.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

was solely the result of personal differences between him and a few members of the Provincial League. He affirmed his loyalty to the League but pointed out that in Bengal he could not follow the dictates of certain colleagues who were utilising 'their position to cloud the issues and invoke the name of the League in order to serve their private ends'. Huq also requested an enquiry before he was 'branded as being disloyal to the League'.¹ Huq's telegram which he got published in the newspapers was more of a clever device to win support from wavering Muslim MLAs than a pledge of loyalty to the League. He wanted to appear in public as less a sinner than one sinned against. He was President of the Bengal Provincial League and his formation of a new party was a violation and betrayal of the party which had so far supported him. It was after the *fait accompli* — the formation of the new coalition — that he was pledging his loyalty to the League. He was, therefore, informed by Liaquat that an enquiry as had been suggested by Huq 'could only be held if he resigned forthwith from the leadership of the newly formed Coalition'.² Jinnah accused him of 'treachery' and called upon him to explain his conduct within 48 hours.³ But the last minute intervention by Jinnah did not unnerve Huq who had moved fast to be sworn in as Chief Minister on December 10, 1941.

Huq had successfully captained the revolt against those who had helped him into power. He had made peace with his chief antagonist, Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Working President of Hindu Mahasabha — a strange bed-fellow for the mover of the Lahore Resolution — by including him in the Cabinet.⁴ He had enticed the Forward Bloc of Sarat Bose into partnership by appointing two of

1. Huq's telegram, Dec. 7, 1941. See *Star of India*, Dec. 10, 1941.

2. Liaquat Ali Khan to Fazlul Huq, Dec. 8, 1941 (Telegram).
Ibid.

3. Jinnah to Huq, Dec. 8, 1941, (Telegram). Dec. 9, 1941, *Ibid.*

4. Herbert to Linlithgow, Dec. 20, 1941, *GR*.

their members (S.K. Basu and P.M. Banerjee) as ministers. Sarat Bose would have also become the Home Minister had the Governor not proceeded to arrest him a day after the Ministry was sworn in.¹ He even won over the Nawab of Dacca, according to Government reports, 'wholly untrustworthy' and a 'potential Quisling' whose sole objects were 'money and influence'.² After having figured so prominently in the attacks on Huq, he now chose to desert his cousin and hitch himself to Fazlul Huq's star. Shamsuddin, who had been in and out both as a minister and a Proja leader previously, once again sat as a minister. Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan, who had attacked Shamsuddin in August 1937 for heading a revolt against Huq became a colleague. The Scheduled Caste Party could not resist the temptation of office. It was split when two of their members were accommodated in the Ministry. Thus with this mixed mosaic of slippery elements, Huq headed the Ministry. All seemed to have been gained by Huq. In fact all was lost.

The League had undermined Huq's political foundations and future. His popularity amongst his own supporters was on the wane. Because of his alliance with Syamaprasad Mookerjee he could no longer be treated by the Muslims as the champion of their interests in Bengal. He lost the Presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and the membership of the Working Committee of the AIML. Jinnah expelled him from the League for 'his treacherous betrayal of the Muslim organisation and the Musalmans generally'. On December 17, 1941 the Working Committee endorsing Jinnah's decision, called upon the Muslims of Bengal not to 'rest content' until Huq's Ministry was overthrown.³ Helped by Jinnah,

1. Governor-General to Governor, Bengal, Dec. 11, 1941, (Telegram). Linlithgow Collection, MSS. F. 125/41.
2. Notes on Ministers (Half-Yearly Report), Enc. to Secy. Govt. of Bengal to Secy. to Viceroy, Aug. 4, 1942, *Ibid.*
3. Resolution No. 3, Dec. 1941. **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League From April 1941 to April 1942**, Delhi, n.d.

Huq's critics became active. The conflict for power between Huq and his ex-colleagues, which could now be given a communal colour, since Huq had allied himself with Hindus like Syamaprasad Mookerjee put the breath of life into the League and provided it with the most potential cause for its popularity in Bengal. Whereas previously the competition was limited to individuals and the Assembly, presently Huq's opponents carried the Assembly battle into the mofussil. In the Assembly, they had to count on the support of no more than a few; outside it, they could rely on the strength of the many. The discontented spirits girded themselves for political action. Huq's erstwhile colleagues became his ardent enemies. They accused him of sabotaging the Muslim cause¹ and 'wrecking unity and solidarity of Muslim Bengal'.² They dubbed him a 'fox with all the traditional hypocrisy and timidity associated with that cunning beast of the jungle'.³ They called him a 'prize-boy' selling the political status of Muslim Bengal to 'Hindu Raj' for a reward.⁴ 'The Muslim public', wrote Ispahani to Jinnah, 'are being, for the first time, told of the real facts and are beginning to realise the sale that Fazlul Huq has made of their interests'.⁵ The strident voices of his opponents reached Huq's rural base:

Arrangements are being made to start our activities in the districts Students . . . will tour the whole province, delivering speeches and telling the Muslims of Bengal how Fazlul Huq has let them down and how the combination between Huq and Syamaprasad Mookerjee will affect them.⁶

In partnership with Huq, the League had existed on paper; in opposition to him, it acquired a vigorous reality. Huq's

1. *Star of India*, Dec. 13, 1941.

2. *Ibid.* Dec. 15, 1941.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Ispahani to Jinnah, Dec. 15, 1941, I.P.

6. *Ibid.*

opponents had at last long discovered that only with the support of the masses aroused by constant promptings could they have any hope to fighting and conquering.

In no time, Bengal's countryside was humming with activity. Suhrawardy, Tamizuddin, Abdul Momin, Nazimuddin and Akram Khan organised extensive tours. They addressed public meetings and maintained a steady barrage of attacks on Huq and his Ministry. Students were commissioned for hostile demonstrations. Newspapers like the **Azad** and the **Star of India** kept on whipping up anti-Huq feelings. Hostile demonstrations awaited Huq and his ministers everywhere they went. On some occasions the Government took action, as in the case of Feni College, when the Principal expelled seven students on January 18, 1942, or when the League office bearers of the town were arrested for demonstrating against Huq¹ on the occasion of his visiting Lakhimpur. But such moves were countered by further protests in other towns. Within a month of taking over as Chief Minister, Huq found himself in a precarious position. His popularity was eroding fast.² But the opposition kept up the pressure and when Huq decided to muzzle the **Azad** and the **Star of India**, the two League papers, Suhrawardy replied by organising an 'Anti-Repression Day' against the various 'repressive and oppressive measures' of the Government.³

Jinnah also threw his influence behind the Opposition. He visited Bengal in February 1942. This visit was quite different to the one he had made in August 1936. Then he had found his Bengali hosts cool and indifferent and his Malabar Hill brief inadequate for their requirements. But now he was received with great acclamation and fervour. He had successfully transformed Muslim politics and generated an All India feeling amongst his constituents, as Suhrawardy explained :

1. **Star of India**, Jan. 26 & 27, 1942.
2. Herbert to Linlithgow, Jan. 22, 1942, **GR**.
3. **Star of India**, Jan. 24, 1942.

We have need of an All India organisation to which we must cling, for the destinies of all Muslims in India hang together. We cannot attain our goal without the help and sacrifice of our brethren in other parts of India and they cannot attain theirs without our support and sacrifice.¹

Jinnah was sure that he had isolated Huq and felt that to defeat Huq would be 'as easy as falling off a log'. He attacked Huq on his home ground for the betrayal of the Muslim cause and assured his audience that Muslim India was awake and determined to stand by them :

Prepare yourselves, Muslims of Bengal, and I assure you that victory will be yours.²

Huq was well aware of his eroded position. The attacks upon him in the press, the propaganda carried out by the Muslim League in the districts and the Muslim students' hostility to his Ministry began to tell upon him. The by-election in Natore in April 1942 when his candidate lost the security against the League nominee had convinced him of his deteriorating position.³ Within a month of taking over power, he decided to quit politics and approached the Viceroy to save him from his fallen position by taking him on his Council.⁴ Huq realised that sands were running out and he was trying to prepare a good get-away. Herbert who was keen to find a nest for him reported:

It seems to me that the only solution is for Huq to retire from politics, and I have little doubt that if he were offered a post which would save his face and be reasonably remunerative, he would be glad to get out of a difficult position.⁵

1. *Star of India*, Feb. 14, 1942.

2. Jamiluddin Ahmad; *op. cit.*, pp. 339—54.

3. *Star of India*, April 22, 1942.

4. Herbert to Linlithgow, Jan 22, 1942, *GR*.

5. Herbert to Linlithgow, April 21, 1942, *Ibid*.

In May, Huq approached the Governor for help, grandiloquently proclaiming:

I consider loyalty to my King and country of greater importance than considerations of personal interest.¹

In May 1942 he was prepared to quit the Chief Ministership and made it clear that he would like to 'have the Speaker's job with special allowances';² later he wished to be considered for the post of Indian High Commissioner in Canada and finally for that of an 'Envoy Extraordinary' to the Middle East.³ But nothing materialised despite the efforts of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State⁴ and Huq was left in the firing line of Muslim politics.

In April 1942, while he was hopeful of being kicked upstairs by the Governor, he had made a public statement of his intended resignation:

For the sake of my country, for the sake of preserving Muslim solidarity, for the sake of satisfying the clamour of my political enemies ... I declare most solemnly that I shall be prepared to tender resignation ...⁵.

While angling for British patronage, he also sought simultaneously to reach a reconciliation with Jinnah. On May 9, Huq approached Ispahani, who reported that Huq was 'prepared to eat the humble pie' in order to make up with Jinnah. However, he soon retraced his steps. Instead,

1. Fazlul Huq to Herbert, May 8, 1942, Enc. to Herbert to Linlithgow, May 8, 1942, **Linlithgow Collection**, MSS. EUR. F 125/42. Also see Appendices VII, IX & X.
2. **Ibid.** **Linlithgow Collection**, MSS, EUR. F. 125/42.
3. Herbert to Linlithgow, July 28, 1942, **Ibid.**
4. Herbert to Linlithgow, July 28 & Aug. 4, 1942, Also see Linlithgow to Herbert, Aug. 4, 1942, **Ibid.**
5. **Star of India**, April 30, 1942.

in June, he made an unsuccessful bid to launch another party — The Progressive Muslim League — whose ideal was to be 'Islam first, and Islam throughout' but nothing was heard of this paper organisation, beyond the bewildering news of its inception.¹

By July when all his attempts to open escape routes had failed, Huq was driven to accept that his only hope of political rehabilitation was by way of a reconciliation with Jinnah. Accordingly, he made new and more serious efforts to reach a rapprochement. But Jinnah well understood his difficult and slippery customer and was not prepared to be trapped by Huq's moves. Jinnah, therefore, made it a *sine qua non* of his meeting with Huq that Huq should (a) give it in writing that he had dissociated himself from the Progressive Party and the Progressive Muslim League (b) withdraw his allegation against the Muslim League and (c) submit himself to its discipline.² When pressed by Ispahani to forgive Huq, Jinnah was not prepared to yield. Jinnah thought that if he met Huq without the latter fulfilling the conditions, it would create an impression that Jinnah was keen to woo him because Huq had threatened to form a parallel League:

How can you expect me to start negotiations with him so long as he remains associated with that party? You may as well imagine Lord Haw Haw

1. **Star of India**, June 21, 1942. Huq explaining the need for the new party branded the AIML as 'unIslamic and undemocratic' and stated: 'It is the will of one man that ... prevails ... and this man is more haughty and arrogant than the proudest of the Pharoahs. To add to our miseries, this superman has been allowed to exercise irresponsible powers which even the Czars in their wildest dreams might have envied'. Also see Appendix VIII.
2. Note of conversation between Jinnah and Ispahani, July 13, 1942, **I. P.**

asking Mr. Churchill for an interview to negotiate on behalf of his German friends.¹

Huq, however, was very anxious to recover Muslim support. On November 13, 1942, he wrote to Jinnah assuring him to 'abide by the discipline of the Party and the instructions of the President' of the AIML. He was even prepared to 'leave the interest of Bengal Muslims' in Jinnah's hands provided he could be readmitted to the League.² It was only after Jinnah had obtained in writing a pledge of loyalty from Huq that he granted him an interview.

The interview which took place in February, served not to reconcile the two men, but to emphasise the irreconcilability of their positions. Jinnah's aim was to demonstrate his authority as supreme commander of Muslim India, Huq's to maintain his independence as a provincial leader. The interview served only to emphasise that Huq had no desire to give up his Chief Ministership. Rather, he hoped by a reconciliation with Jinnah to strengthen his own position in Bengal. Re-admission to the League would put him in a stronger position to influence men such as Suhrawardy whom he had been wooing with offer of a cabinet post ever since July.³ But he had no intention of paying the real price for League's backing — submission to Jinnah's leadership. Rather, he sought to preserve Bengal's independence of the centre, clearly setting out his claim in a letter of February 5, 1943 to Jinnah :

If I come back to the League, it will be a matter of party politics in Bengal for Muslim members and Muslim leaders to determine as to who should be

1. Jinnah to Ispahani, July 23 & Aug. 1, 1942, I. P.

2. Huq to Jinnah, Nov. 13, 1942, *Star of India*, Feb. 17, 1942.

3. Herbert to Linlithgow, July 7, 1942, GR.

the Chief and what should be the composition of the Bengal Cabinet.¹

Jinnah's response was to remind him of his extraordinary powers which empowered him 'to advise, guide and issue instructions to Muslim League parties in various provincial legislatures in the event of some sudden emergency arising' and which the League parties were required to put into effect.² This was a clear indication to Huq that the most Jinnah could allow was to let Huq remain an ordinary member of the League but not to let him use the League as a prop for his personal ambitions. Huq was living on borrowed time :

Fazlul Huq looks a picture of misery. Do not be surprised if the ministry falls sooner than anticipated.³

His parleys with Jinnah had been counter-productive. His correspondence released in February 1943 to the press by Jinnah made Huq look like a beaten man, anxious to appear befriended by the League leader so as to rescue himself from his political troubles. In March 1943 the League had defeated all the six candidates (including K.B. Abdul Karim, Education Minister) put up by Huq for the Bengal Legislative Council elections.⁴ Huq's camp was being deserted in favour of the League benches; his ministry was tottering waiting for a knock-out blow.

This was provided by the Governor who had no further use of him and regarded him a 'sheer liability'.⁵ Their relations had long been deteriorating, firstly because

1. Huq to Jinnah, Feb. 5, 1943. For details see Appendix XV.
2. **Star of India**, Feb. 17, 1943.
3. Ispahani to Jinnah, March 26, 1943, **I.P.**
4. Ispahani to Jinnah, March 26, 1943, (Telegram), **Ibid.**
5. Herbert to Linlithgow, Feb. 11, 1942, **GR.**

of the lack of interest shown by Huq's ministry in the prosecution of the War and secondly because of the Ministry's unwillingness to take a strong stand against the Quit India movement. As far back as June 1942, Herbert had commented disgustingly that Huq continued 'to be ridden' by Syamaprasad Mookerjee, and in October that Huq's was 'a Ministry practically acknowledging the paternity of Sarat Bose'.¹ Herbert was clearly on the look out for an opportunity to be rid of him. Huq on several occasions as has been seen, had publicly offered to tender his resignation. On March 27, 1943, Huq repeated his offer in the Assembly. Next day the Governor asked him if he was prepared to implement his assurance. He presented him with a draft letter of resignation which Huq signed. When the Assembly met on March 29, a series of questions were put to Huq in reply to which he stated that he had been summoned by the Governor and made to resign. Thereupon the Speaker ruled that the Cabinet was *functus officio* and adjourned the Assembly.²

Huq accused the Governor of manoeuvring his resignation — an accusation not without truth and substance. Herbert himself admitted to having 'blundered into the right solution';³ he was pretty clear that the 'blunder' was pre-meditated. In February he had suggested that Huq be sent as High Commissioner to Canada and to bring Sir Hassan Suhrawardy in his place.⁴

Herbert had always had 'a hankering after Section 93' and he used Huq's announcement of resignation for this purpose.⁵

1. Herbert to Linlithgow, Oct. 9, 1942, **GR.**
2. Herbert to Linlithgow, April 7, 1943, **Ibid.**
3. Herbert to Linlithgow, April 19, 1943, **Ibid.**
4. Quoted in Amery to Linlithgow, March 2, 1943, **Linlithgow Collection**; MSS. EUR. F. 125|12.
5. Linlithgow to Amery, March 30, 1943, **Ibid.**

In April, after the deed was done, he declared categorically that Huq and his ministry had been 'a menace to good Government and security'.¹ The Viceroy and the Secretary of State were both furious at Herbert's unconstitutional handling of the situation and for hurrying Huq out of office. They even discussed the Governor's recall but decided to let bygones be bygones once Herbert was able to usher Nazimuddin into office.² Huq had been placed in a position in which he was able to contend with plausibility that he had been dismissed by the Governor when he had a majority in the House, but in fact the Governor had delivered a *coup de grace* and had cut short Huq's death throes.

Huq was dispatched into the wilderness as a result of a local power struggle whose outcome was predetermined, once it was absorbed into the politics of the AIML. It required over a year's patient propagandising in the *mofussil* and the strained relations between the Governor and Huq before he could be ousted from power. Once he was off the scene, the voice of Muslim Bengal was articulated by the Muslim League. In fact now Muslim politics was the Muslim League.

It was mainly after 1941 when Huq relying on Hindu allies, formed a new Ministry and threw his erstwhile colleagues into opposition, that the Muslim League started making serious inroads into Bengal. Prior to the breach, its activities had been limited to Assembly politics; its organisation and appeal had lacked any wide basis of support. The behaviour of its leaders and their response to the organisational needs of the party had been determined

1. Herbert to Linlithgow, April 19, 1943, GR.
2. Linlithgow to Amery, April 2, 8 & 16, 1943. Also see Amery to Linlithgow, April 20, 1943. **Linlithgow Collection, MSS. EUR. F. 125|12.**

by their hopes of ministerial appointments. Those who might have been expected to build the party — Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy — had secured for themselves important offices and therefore had been content to keep the League as an appendage of the Ministerial party.

They had been neither enthusiastic nor serious to recast the party machine. Indeed they had seemed positively reluctant to transform the party into an active and lively organisation, for this would have disturbed the **status quo** of mutual dependence and support which they were keen to retain in partnership with Huq. As for Fazlul Huq himself, he had been the President of the Krishak Proja Samity as well as of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. But since his main concern was with the maintenance of his position as a Chief Minister, he had used the authority of the two presidential offices for the purpose, neglecting the organisational side of the parties. Suhrawardy had similarly been more concerned with his position as a minister than with his duties as Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League. The League had received only lukewarm support from its office bearers. Its development as a free, independent and virile party had thus been badly retarded. It was perhaps no wonder that the affiliation of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League to the AIML had been delayed as late as August 1939.¹ But just how far office was put before party, received its clearest demonstration in March 1941. In pursuance of the AIML directive 'Pakistan Day' was to be observed on March 23, 1941 when the Lahore Resolution was to be explained, reiterated and passed at public meetings all over Bengal.² But on March 22, a statement was issued in the name of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League requiring branches not to hold 'Pakistan Day', as the

1. Resolution No. 3, August 1939, **Resolutions of the All India Muslim League From December 1938 to March 1940**, Delhi, n.d.

2. **Star of India**, March 22, 1941.

communal situation might deteriorate if meetings were held by Muslims.¹ This brought protests and criticism, and Fazlul Huq and Suhrawardy had to soothe injured feelings. In a joint statement they reaffirmed their deep conviction in the Lahore Resolution and assured everyone that 'Muslim Bengal solidly stands by the Pakistan demand', but reiterated that they had cancelled the arrangements for the celebration in view of the deteriorating communal situation in the province.² What they did not state, but what was later revealed, was that neither Suhrawardy nor Fazlul Huq had even consulted the Working Committee of the Bengal Muslim League.³ They had consulted, instead, the needs of their coalition ministry and the requirements of office. Besides those needs, the claims of party had proved weak indeed.

The fillip to the League, which made it for a while a real political force in the province, was provided by Huq's formation of a new ministry, from which his old League allies were excluded. It was when his erstwhile colleagues realised that only with a strong base and popular support they could successfully challenge Huq that they utilised the League to mobilise and organise Muslim public opinion.

The Muslim League in a brief period of six years, 1941-1947, was transformed from 'a mere banner of Muslim solidarity' into 'the biggest political body' Bengal had ever seen.⁴ How was this transformation achieved? The one dominant factor which brought about the great upsurge was the slogan of Pakistan, with its emphasis on the cultural, social, economic and political emancipation of the

1. **Star of India**, March 24, 1941.
2. Joint statement by Fazlul Huq and Suhrawardy, **Ibid**, March 26, 1941.
3. Statement by Joint Secretary, Calcutta Muslim League, **Star of India**, March 26, 1941.
4. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Council of **Bengal Provincial Muslim League** held on November 6 & 7, 1943, (hereafter referred to as **Proceedings**), n.d.

Muslims. It was a great rallying cry for all and meant something or other to everyone. The goal of Pakistan, said Suhrawardy:

... will benefit Bengali Muslims far more than Muslims in any other part of India and hence it is here more than in any other province that the Muslim League must be strongest.¹

The League employed a variety of techniques and resources to win supporters. Pamphlets and literature in Bengali, newspapers like the **Morning News** and the **Star of India** in English and the **Azad** in Bengali embarked on a ceaseless propaganda portraying a rosy picture for the common man in the promised land. Public meetings, demonstrations and special sessions and periodic visits by League leaders to rural and urban areas alike facilitated the broadening of its base. School and college students were commissioned as emissaries for transmitting its message. These bands of voluntary workers served its cause with devotion and zeal, especially during the elections of 1945 and 1946. In addition a number of propagandists, preachers, and speakers were especially trained, while on publicity work they were to take into account the audience which was classified into educated, literates, uneducated, urban, rural, industrial, trade and tribal groups. The distinct needs of these groups was taken into account while publicising the League's message. Some of the whole-time workers were paid propagandists provided with Party houses.

To support the propaganda drive an improved Party structure was required. A vigorous campaign was therefore launched to organise the League at various levels throughout the province. The Constitution of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League improvised in 1940 provided for the establishment of provincial, district, sub-divisional

1. **Star of India**, Feb. 14, 1942.

and primary Leagues. The Primary Leagues were the smallest units and consisted of Leagues in Union Boards, Towns and Municipalities.¹ Membership was open only to a Muslim resident of Bengal of not less than 18 years of age and the membership fee was fixed at two annas a year. The Council of the League consisted of 520 members elected annually by the District Leagues from amongst the members of the Primary Leagues. The Council, in turn, was to elect the office-bearers of the Provincial League, frame rules for the conduct of the provincial sessions, pass resolutions and put them into effect, affiliate and disaffiliate Branch Leagues, and control and regulate the expenditure. There was a Working Committee which was the principal executive and consisted of 24 members (besides the President, Secretary and the Treasurer) out of whom 14 were elected by the Council and 10 nominated by the President.²

Full details of the Provincial League's membership are not available. However, it is possible to have some idea of the growing strength of the organisation. In February 1942, Suhrawardy claimed that more than 3,000 Union Leagues out of a total of 5,000 had already been constituted.³ The 1944 Report of the League refers to its 'phenomenal development' with a membership exceeding 500,000 drawn from all classes of Bengal's Muslims.⁴ By

1. Leagues in municipalities with more than 10,000 Muslim inhabitants were known as City Leagues and those with less than 10,000 were called Municipal Leagues. Town Leagues comprised Leagues in sub-divisional headquarters without a municipality. The smallest unit of a City League was called Ward League. See **Constitution and Rules of Bengal Provincial Muslim League**, Calcutta, 1940.
2. **Ibid.**
3. **Star of India**, Feb. 14, 1942.
4. **Report, Council of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Annual Meeting**, November 1944. Also see **Star of India**, Nov. 14, 1944.

that year at least 18 District Leagues had been established. Bakerganj with 160,000 members was at the top, followed by Dacca with 105,500 members and Faridpur with 60,000. Abul Hashem, the League's Secretary bragged that no 'other political organisation — not even in their heydays [sic] of glory — could claim for itself the organised and enrolled following' which the League had created in Bengal. But the League had yet to dig deep, especially in the Eastern and Northern districts where 'vast oceans of Muslim humanity, of the millions of unlettered peasants ... as yet remain completely untouched'.¹ However, by September 1945, the Secretary claimed that there were more than a million members of the Bengal Muslim League.²

Even if these figures may require to be discounted somewhat, the League's achievement by the mid 1940s had clearly been most impressive in its mobilization and organisation, of support. It is necessary, to ask, however, to what uses the new machinery was put, and by whom. We have seen Fazlul Huq using League office and League causes in his climb to power. We have seen Jinnah, with increasing authority, using the Muslim League as an instrument of central control, and joining with local League leaders to bring Huq down when he sought to discard the League. Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy in particular had greatly strengthened the provincial League structure in the process of ousting Huq and creating their own ministry in 1943. But once the unity forged in that struggle had led to victory, the victors could and did turn to a new struggle — for mastery over the machine they had created.

This struggle, as in earlier days, took two forms, the one for mastery between rivals within the province, the

1. **Report, Council of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Annual Meeting, Nov., 1944.** Also see *Star of India*, Nov. 14, 1944.

2. *Star of India*, Sept. 8, 1945.

other between provincial and national levels of politics. Naturally enough the two conflicts often overlapped and intertwined. The internal tussle was between Suhrawardy, who until 1943 occupied the key organisational position of Secretary, and thereafter operated with and through his successor Abul Hashem on the one hand, and Nazimuddin, Fazlur Rehman and Fazlul Qadir Chowdhury on the other. The renewal of rivalries and factionalism is signalled by the constant talk of 'splits' and 'disunion' in the organisation.¹

When after Huq's fall, Nazimuddin became the Chief Minister, he found that the assumption of office was far from smooth sailing. He had to wait for about six weeks tortuously building up his following before he was installed as Chief Minister on April 24, 1943. Though Herbert, the Governor was favourably disposed towards him,² and this may have influenced some MLAs to defect to Nazimuddin's side, the fact that the Chief Minister had to expand his cabinet to a record number of thirteen, reflects in some measure the price extracted by his new colleagues. Even then Nazimuddin had a hard time to keep his flock together. His difficulties were increased by the devastating famine which bedevilled his administration and strengthened the Opposition in its tirades against him. His own party was constantly threatened by disappointed elements prepared to change sides, and lacking the cement of any deep allegiance it clearly started showing cracks. Ispahani constantly complained to Jinnah about the way in which yearning for office determined the party affiliations of Muslim politicians — 'an undisciplined and unprincipled lot'.³ Within three months of taking over the premiership, Nazimuddin was reported to be thinking of resigning.⁴

1. **Star of India**, Nov. 18, 1944.

2. Herbert to Linlithgow, April 19, 1943, **GR**.

3. Ispahani to Jinnah, April 2, 1943, **I. P.**

4. Herbert to Linlithgow, July 21, 1943, **GR**.

In the event he held on to power until the spring of 1945, though the kaleidoscopic nature of party affiliation and grouping had often put him in danger. However, in the effort to maintain themselves in office, the Ministerial Party became increasingly indifferent to the accepted standards of parliamentary life. They tempted MLAs by offering all sorts of baits; 'adventurers and opportunists' prone to defect were weaned back through 'patronage, appointments and contracts'. This was a reprehensible practice which had serious repercussions for the League. On the one hand, it disillusioned honest Leaguers, on the other, it encouraged the tendency on the part of certain elements in the Legislature to put a price upon their support. There was bitter complaint at the Provincial League annual meeting in November 1943 that 'unscrupulous careerists find that the only way to rise to the top is by always holding out the threat of desertion and blackmail'.¹

Nazimuddin was able to stay in office, while League members busied themselves in playing the game of floor crossing and ministry building, confident in the belief that they could ignore not only critical public opinion but also control by the Provincial League. The Nazimuddin ministry in fact by-passed the League:

With their entourage of agents, and henchmen spread over the entire province, the Ministry is practically running a parallel show completely ignoring the League Council and the District organisations. They raise funds in the name of the League without any reference to the Provincial office. They distribute the patronage at their com-

1. 'Review of Muslim League Organization in Bengal submitted by the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League to the Secretary, All India Muslim League' July 30, 1944; Enc. to Abul Hashim to Jinnah, Nov. 25, 1944 (hereafter referred to as **Review**), **Shamsul Hassan Collection**.

mand . . . just as they please, without any reference to efficiency . . . They issue their own ukase and orders without reference to Provincial—centre and enforce them over the heads of the District units. It is this perpetuation of a parallel show which pays more consideration to undisguised favouritism and unblushing nepotism rather than to efficiency and democratic functioning that is not only going to hinder the democratic growth of the League but is soon going to seriously tarnish the honoured banner of our great organisation.¹

Nazimuddin was able to act in this way, in part at least, because Jinnah in his search for central control over provincial politics had tipped the balance in favour of Ministers and party bosses and away from the rural and city Leagues, and even from the Provincial Council. The control and authority of the AIML and its various organs in certain spheres of provincial life reduced the Provincial Muslim League almost to a non-entity. The Provincial League was constantly flouted, its directives ignored, its influence exploited. It could neither exercise control nor generate discipline within the various bodies under its jurisdiction. When at the annual meeting in November 1943 the Provincial League asserted its authority over the Parliamentary Party, and the Council declared that it was the supreme body and the Parliamentary Party 'a mere offspring of the Council', Nazimuddin rejected the claim² and proceeded in practice to ignore it. The Parliamentary Party could remain 'blissfully oblivious' to any responsibility to the Provincial League, because they were conscious of being 'under the protecting wings of the Central Parliamentary Board' of the AIML.³

Abul Hashem, Suhrawardy's ally against Nazimuddin, and Secretary of the Provincial League, lodged a pro-

1. *Review*, op. cit.

2. *Star of India*, Nov. 8, 1943.

3. *Review*, op. cit.

test against such central control in terms of Fazlul Huq's earlier denunciation of Jinnah's interference in Bengal politics. He asserted that it was not the Central League or its organs to which they should be responsible but the Provincial League 'which alone is the only competent authority to check up their day-to-day activities and guide' them.¹ He similarly criticised the anomalous working of the Defence Committees. The Central Defence Committee had its branches in Bengal but had no links with the Provincial League. The provincial functionaries of the Committees were appointed by the centre while the provincial committees appointed district functionaries. The Provincial League was by-passed with the result that the Defence Committees were run practically as a parallel organisation to the Provincial League. In the same way, the All Bengal Students Muslim League was a part of the All India Muslim Students League — the controlling body — and owed its allegiance to it. The Secretary demanded that the direction, control and superintendence of all matters connected with the organisations like the Parliamentary Party, the Defence Committee² and the Students League should be in the hands of the Provincial Muslim League:

The time has come when...the Provincial League should be made the actual focal point of all sectional activities carried on in the name of the League.³

But Abul Hashem and Suhrawardy were themselves to use the centre against the province and to exploit for

1. **Review, op. cit.**

2. The All India Civil Defence Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of Nawab Ismail Khan. Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin was the Chairman of the Bengal Committee. The Defence Committee was a social service organisation to provide shelter, put out fires, give first aid and render voluntary work in times of emergency.

3. **Review, op. cit.**

their own purposes the changes in the constitution of the League which the AIML had introduced in 1944, in order to strengthen the chain of command from the centre.¹ They did so in pursuit of a factional struggle with the Chief Minister. Suhrawardy's ambition and his jealousy of Nazimuddin were no secret.² The factionalism between the two men offered opportunities to break down Nazimuddin's control over his party which the Opposition were quick to seize. They adopted Suhrawardy 'as the best line against the "Khwajas"'.³ But it was the skilful exploitation of Jinnah's new constitution for Provincial League by Suhrawardy which most effectively weakened the Chief Minister's grip upon power.

Suhrawardy had first used his position and influence to manipulate the election and co-option of 24 members of the Working Committee at the 1943 annual meeting of the Provincial League. His scheme became even more obvious at the Council meeting in November 1944 when instead of the Council electing the majority part of the Working Committee, as the constitution required, Suhrawardy submitted a list of members for the Council to adopt. Fazlur Rahman and Fazlul Qadir Chowdhury opposed the proposal, and pandemonium, several times, broke out. Thus, with Abul Hashem's assistance Suhrawardy assured himself a majority in the Working Committee and in the Council, in the name of unity in the ranks of the League.⁴ In 1944, he had appealed to the members of the Council to accept his proposals for membership of the Working Committee saying: 'Next year you will be free to choose anybody whom you like'.⁵ But when, next year, elections were to

1. **Model Constitution & Rules for Provincial Muslim Leagues**, Delhi, n.d.

2. Casey to Wavell, Nov. 13, 1944, **GR**.

3. **Ibid.** Casey wrote that Suhrawardy and Nazimuddin because of their non-Bengali origins were regarded as 'foreigners'. See Casey to Wavell, March 26, 1944, **Ibid.**

4. **Star of India**, Nov. 20, 1944.

5. **Ibid.**

take place to the various bodies, the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League at its meeting held on August 27, 1945, suspended all elections for the Union, Sub-divisional, District and Provincial branches of the League till the declaration of the results of the central and provincial legislatures.¹ In 1946 all elections were again postponed by the Committee of Action of the AIML.

The usurpation of power by a small clique in Bengal had proceeded in 1943 and 1944 by a sheer manipulation, in violation of the rules. From 1945, however, the concentration of authority was institutionalized. Towards the end of 1944, the central League issued a model constitution to be adopted by all provincial Leagues throughout India. Accordingly, the constitution of the Bengal Provincial League was also amended to bring it in conformity with the directives of the central body. One major effect of the change was that whereas previously out of 24 members of the Provincial Working Committee, 14 had been elected by the Council, and the rest nominated by the President,² in the new constitution, by which the strength of the Committee was reduced to 21, the Council was deprived of their power to elect, all the members being nominated by the President. Again, whereas the previous constitution had provided for the co-option of 20 members to the Council by the elected and ex-officio members of that Council acting jointly, now the number of possible co-opted members was doubled and their nomination was entrusted to the President alone.³

This concentration of power in the hands of the President of the Provincial League at the expense of the elected Council members was matched by a growth of

1. *Star of India*, Sept. 8, 1945.

2. *Constitution and Rules of Bengal Provincial Muslim League* op. cit.

3. *Model Constitution & Rules for Provincial Muslim Leagues*, op. cit.

authority at the expense of the primary provincial bodies. All members of Bengal Provincial Legislature and of the Central Legislative Assembly representing Bengal automatically became members of the Council provided they belonged to a primary League. Finally, the new constitution, having fixed the number of elected members of the Council,¹ arranged for the distribution of their seats by the Provincial Working Committee to the various District and City Leagues in proportion to the Muslim population of the area covered by these Leagues.² Thus neither the total number, nor the local allocation of Council seats had any relationship to actual League membership.

With Suhrawardy's group strongly entrenched in control of the party machine, and with 'a large amount of flotsam and jetsam that drifts about with the political tide from one side of the house to the other',³ Nazimuddin was in no position to face the Opposition. On March 28, 1945 when the Agriculture Minister put the demand for agriculture before the House, the Opposition threw out the entire demand. Nazimuddin claimed that the Opposition had secretly and dishonestly manoeuvred him into the position and had even brought members from their sick beds to vote.⁴ Then, knowing their strength, they had gagged all discussion of the demand so that voting might take place without delay. The Government side was keen to drag out the debate by moving cut motions till their full strength was in the House. But there was spectacular crossing of the floor by some of the supporters of the Government, because they had been purchased, so Nazimuddin claimed :

1. **Model Constitution & Rules for Provincial Muslim Leagues, op. cit.**
2. Minimum enrolment required for affiliation of a District or City League entitling the League a seat on the Council was 1,000.
3. Casey to Wavell, Nov. 13, 1944, **GR.**
4. **Star of India**, March 29, 1945.

The corrupt element amongst M.L.As were all bought over in a couple of nights and locked up in a house and taken to the Assembly to register their votes. They were paid very large sums of money provided mainly by the Marwaris and Hindu Mahasabha. Our action against the hoarders and profiteers of cloth brought them out in the open and they thought that if by spending money they could have their nominees in the Cabinet they will have an easy time. An investment of a few lakhs was nothing to born speculators where the prospect of return was ten-fold.¹

In the event, Government was defeated by 97 to 106 votes. Nazimuddin insisted that the voting on the demand should be taken as a snap-division² but the Speaker ruled that the refusal of the demand was tantamount to a vote of censure. He adjourned the Assembly. Bengal was once again put under Section 93³ and continued to be under the Governor's rule until April 1946, when Suhrawardy took over as the Chief Minister.

Nazimuddin's reaction to the fall of his Ministry was not without its parallels with Fazlul Huq's actions when he lost control of the League organisation. In a lengthy letter to Jinnah, Nazimuddin explained the position of party alignments and pressed his claim for a renewed Chief Ministership. In view of the forthcoming general elections it was urgent that the League should be in power, for, he argued, if 'Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Party are in office there is every danger of our losing a number of seats'.⁴ He then set out the possible ways of forming a

1. Nazimuddin to Jinnah, April 14, 1945, Shamsul Hassan Collection.
2. **Star of India**, March 29 & 30, 1945.
3. **Ibid.**
4. Nazimuddin to Jinnah, April 14, 1945. Shamsul Hassan Collection.

new and stable ministry. One means would be to persuade one of the three Hindu groups — the Mahasabha, the Bose Group and the Official Congress Group — to join him. He ruled out the Mahasabha for they were 'neither disciplined nor bound together by any allegiance to the Party'; the Bose Group was unlikely to join on its own. As for the Official Congress Group, this was the ideal combination provided they could get permission from their High Command to join forces with him. But Nazimuddin went on, if that was not possible, 'I will have to try and get back the corrupt elements'. Nazimuddin, after this analysis, appealed to Jinnah for guidance:

I see no light. I am between two alternatives : either try to run the Ministry with the help of the corrupt element or get a Hindu Group to coalesce. The former is undesirable, and the latter is not easily possible.¹

Jinnah was incensed at the suggestion of having a coalition with the corrupt group. He was not the man to allow it. Reports received by him from other quarters had confirmed the prevalence of malpractices and favouritism in League circles. When Ispahani drew his attention to the Bengal situation, Jinnah replied:

Corruption is a curse in India and amongst Muslims especially the so-called educated and intelligentsia. Unfortunately, it is this class that is selfish and morally and intellectually corrupt. No doubt, this disease is common, but amongst this particular class of Muslims it is rampant.²

As for Nazimuddin's proposition, Jinnah's reply was clear and straightforward:

1. Nazimuddin to Jinnah, April 14, 1945, **Shamsul Hassan Collection**.
2. Jinnah to Ispahani, May 6, 1945. **I. P.**

...I would not, under any circumstances, have anything to do with the corrupt element and as regards coalition with the Hindu group, yes, but on honourable terms. I would rather be in opposition with honour than run a precarious Ministry...and would certainly not be afraid, if I were in your place, of 93. Let it be so.¹

It was all very well, however, for Jinnah to take a noble line from his national position of strength, but Nazimuddin had the problem of forming a League Ministry in the face not only of corruption among his possible followers, but the skilful use against him of the provincial machinery of the League. Towards the end of September 1945 when the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board was formed, Suhrawardy redoubled his efforts to secure a majority on the Board as Ispahani reported:

The game of pull baker pull devil is being played by Sir Nazimuddin and his henchmen on one side and Suhrawardy and his lieutenants ... on the other. Each wants to be the next Leader and Premier of Bengal. Those of us who have refused to be partisans in this shameful fight, have been left out in the cold by both. Neither of the groups has selected men who would see that only first rate candidates are selected by the Board. Each is out to secure for his own group a majority on the Parliamentary Board so that he may select candidates good, bad or indifferent, who in return would implicitly vote for his leadership.²

As Secretary of the Board and with the help of Abul Hashem, entrenched in the key position of Secretary of the Provincial League, Suhrawardy had successfully tricked his more docile colleagues Akram Khan, the President

1. Nazimuddin to Jinnah, April 4, 1945. **Shamsul Hassan Collection.**

2. Jinnah to Ispahani, Oct. 1, 1945, **I.P.**

of the Provincial League and Nazimuddin in securing a majority on the Board.¹ That achieved, the loading of the dice in favour of Suhrawardy's group had made Nazimuddin's return to power virtually impossible. Nazimuddin was so much shaken by this second defeat that he even decided to give up politics:

It is now almost a certainty that Nazimuddin will not be seeking election to the Legislature Of course Nazimuddin is very sore over the result of the election to the Board by the Provincial Council. There was some dirty play and bogus votes were recorded in fairly large number.²

Ispahani gloomily portraying the dangers of such divisions wrote to Jinnah :

Bengal is an unfortunate province indeed. Whereas Muslims are closing their ranks in other provinces to meet the Congress Mahasabha challenge, we are fighting within our own camp and are providing an excellent weapon for our enemies to wield against us.³

Ispahani's pessimistic prognostications did not unnerve Jinnah for national events were giving him and the League a new authority and appeal, however divided the League might seem to be in Bengal. In August 1936, when Jinnah had first set foot on Bengal's soil, he was received at Howrah Railway station by only three lonely hosts.⁴ In March 1946, when he visited Bengal on his election tour, there were virtually millions to welcome him. In 1936 he had faced difficulties in setting up a League Parliamentary Board and had to improvise an

1. Casey to Wavell, Nov. 5, 1945, **GB**.

2. Ispahani to Jinnah, Nov. 12, 1945, **I.P.**

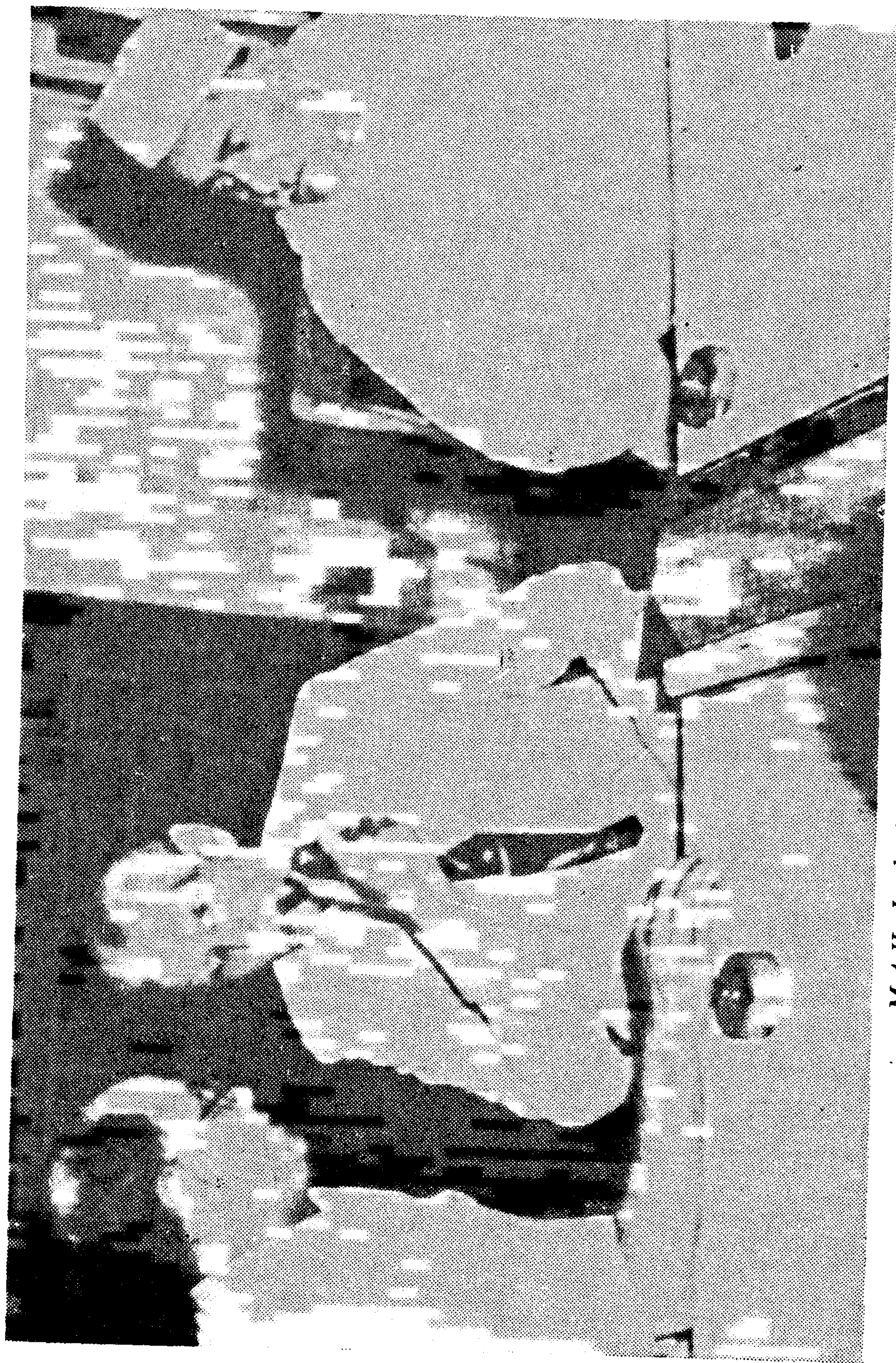
3. Ispahani to Jinnah, Oct. 1, 1945, **I.P.**

4. Ispahani's communication to the editor, Oct. 3, 1974.

alliance with the United Muslim Party; in 1946, the Muslim League had won every single seat in the Constituent Assembly and the Bengal Legislative Assembly except one in each of the Assemblies — that of Fazlul Huq. In 1936, objections had been raised against his nomination of four non-Bengali members on the Parliamentary Board; in 1946, seven non-Bengalis including 3 non-residents were elected to the Constituent Assembly from Bengal.

This sweeping victory vindicated, it would seem, all the efforts Jinnah had made to curb particularism and faction in Bengal, and to strengthen and streamline League organisation in this and other provinces. But the new Chief Minister swept so convincingly into power was not Nazimuddin, Jinnah's man in Bengal, but Suhrawardy. The 1946 elections were his victory too, no less than Jinnah's. He had successfully used the League Constitution of 1944 and the Parliamentary Board of 1945 to entrench himself in power and he was now in such firm control of the League machinery in Bengal that he had destroyed Nazimuddin who under the 'protecting wings' of the centre quitted Bengal and became the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Central Assembly. More than that, Suhrawardy was now in a position to act independently even of the triumphant and the victorious AIML. If his sweeping victory greatly strengthened Jinnah's bargaining hand at the national level, it also made possible the dream of a Sovereign Bengal. But the dream remained a dream because Bengal, a part of United India, was also partitioned and, as a result Suhrawardy lost his majority in the East Pakistan Legislature with the result that Khwaja Nazimuddin assumed charge of the new province of Pakistan as its first Chief Minister. But that is another chapter in Pakistan's history.





M.A.H. Ispahani, M.A. Jinnah, Maulana Akram Khan

1936

Jinnah invited to mediate between Fazlul Huq and Nawab of Dacca—United Muslim Party's Conference—Leaders of All India fame come to Bengal to espouse the cause of the Muslim League—Donations for the League.

Telegram

5, Camac Street,
Calcutta,
August 9, 1936.

Jinnah,
Little Gibbs Road,
Bombay.

United Muslim Party much publicised three days Convention began today at the Calcutta Town Hall **Stop** A dispute engineered by us arose resulting in the postponement of the Conference **sine die Stop** It was agreed between the United Muslim Party leaders and Fazlul Huq's group to invite you to settle same **Stop** Wonderful opportunity created please leave for Calcutta immediately advise date departure thanks.¹

Hassan Ispahani

1. Ispahani and Nooruddin persuaded Fazlul Huq to go to the Conference Hall with his followers and create confusion by demanding that Huq should also be allowed to speak. Huq's intervention supported by his followers made the conduct of business impossible. Thereupon, Ispahani suggested that the meeting should be postponed and that Jinnah should be invited to compose the differences amongst various leaders.



2

Telegram

Bombay,
n.d.

1. Ispahani,
 2. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy,
- Calcutta,

Leaving fourteenth morning arriving¹ Fifteenth
Delhi Calcutta Mail.

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

3

5, Camac Street,
Calcutta,
December 13, 1936.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

When the Central Parliamentary Board met at Simla, it was decided to call the next meeting of this Board in Calcutta, before the forthcoming elections.

The elections are almost on us. Nominations have to be filed by the 18th instant. Electioneering propaganda and campaign are brisk everywhere.

It is essential for the success of our Party in Bengal

1. In response to Ispahani's invitation, Jinnah reached Calcutta in the second week of August 1936. He succeeded in constituting the Bengal League Parliamentary Board.

that leaders of All India fame should come here. I request you to fulfil your promise and visit Calcutta within the next fourteen days. Maulana Shaukat Ali too must come. Mufti Kifayetullah will also be welcome. The best time for your arrival is the 3rd week of December.

In Calcutta, I am facing a tough opposition. Your presence will lighten my task

Confidentially, several of those who promised large donations have not paid a copper into the Party Fund. We hope that, when here, you will exercise your magic influence on these people and force them to fulfil their promises.

A line from you in reply will be appreciated. I trust this finds you and the family in the best of health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Hassan



1937

Nazimuddin and the Progressive Leaguers at odds—Rajendra Prasad-Jinnah formula—Jinnah asked to disaffiliate Bengal Provincial Muslim League—Jinnah asks for definite and categorical charges against the said organisation before taking any action—Bengal League, 'a dead organisation'—Wazir Hassan invited to preside at the meeting of Bengal Provincial Muslim League—Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act—the Palestine Conference—Liaquat Ali Khan's credentials challenged—Muslim League's victory in by-elections—Jinnah patronises Star of India.

Calcutta,
March 23, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My brother forwarded to you, before he left for Europe, Sir Nazimuddin's arguments and asked you to express your views in the matter. I may tell you that there is a group within the League who are violently opposed to these views and I am one of them. I am enclosing herewith copy¹ of a letter written to the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, which speaks for itself. I honestly feel that self interest has once again proved to be a greater interest than the interest of the community. I felt that we were in for more progressive and better times. I felt that the Musalmans of Bengal had at long last got back a portion of their lost self-respect. I was mistaken. Even the Great Knight who declared that His Excellency should be told that if the ratio were anything above 6 Musalmans to 4 Hindus, he, for one, would refuse to be a member of such Cabinet. The bugbear of Faruqui and Musharraff Hussain however, knocked him off his stand.²

I am very sorry I was unable to attend the meeting of the League at Delhi on March 21, as I am now saddled with the burdens of my business. Having the whole weight of the responsibility on my shoulders, I feel I shall not be able to give as much time as politics need. I am also sure that it will be impossible for me to leave Calcutta until the return of my elder brother. I am trying to follow in your footsteps, as I too have no ambition to aspire for office. May God keep me on this right path throughout my life.

1. Missing.

2. Ispahani, Nazimuddin and the Nawab of Dacca were of the view that there should be 6 Muslim ministers to 4 Hindus. But because of the pressure of Faruqui and Musharraff Hussain, Huq constituted a cabinet with 6 Muslims and 5 Hindus.



M.A. Jinnah with his daughter Dina

The Congress session in Delhi that has just concluded has its own humorous side. Mahatma Gandhi has once again hypnotised the brilliant Nehru and has made him surrender the line of action for which he has so bravely fought. All the same, Nehru still remains a great fellow.

I hope this finds you in the best of health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Hassan

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5

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay,
April 4, 1937.

May dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd. I just caught your brother before his departure for Europe and had a long talk. Of course, you cannot expect everything to go on on the footing of a highly developed standard of public life as these are only the beginnings that are being made. You must not mix up the aims we have with the achievements. The aims are not achieved immediately they are laid down. But I think, on the whole, Bengal has done well and we must be thankful for small mercies. As you go on, of course with patience and tact, things are bound to develop and improve more and more in accordance with our ideals and aims. I am sorry that the extra weight of responsibility on your shoulders will not allow you to play as active a part as you have done hitherto for the next few months until the return of your brother. But

I would like you to keep me informed from time to time as to what is happening in Bengal.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

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6

Telegram

Calcutta,

July 22, 1937.

Jinnah,
Bombay.

In our opinion Rajendra Prasad's¹ offered ratification of your formula regarding Hindu-Muslim differences should be given best consideration **Stop** Kindly wire opinion.

Hassan Ispahani, Khwaja Nooruddin

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7

Calcutta,

July 23, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have wondered at my sudden re-appearance in the field of politics after a forced retirement of

1. In January 1935, Jinnah entered into negotiations with Rajendra Prasad to bring about an understanding between the League and the Congress. The talks remained inconclusive. In July 1937, Rajendra Prasad, reportedly, offered to get the formula for the settlement of Hindu-Muslim question ratified by the Congress.

four months. To tell you the truth, I feel restless in keeping out. I am making a start again as my brother will soon be back from Europe.

Our hearts were filled with joy when we read of the victory of the League at Jhansi. The Congress were beaten fair and square and acknowledged the League as the representative of Muslim opinion in India by re-opening the discussion and by undertaking to ratify the now famous Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad formula. Nooruddin and I, as individuals, and as your devoted followers, telegraphed you our opinion in the matter yesterday as under:

In our opinion Rajendra Prasad's offered ratification of your formula regarding Hindu-Muslim differences should be given best consideration **Stop** Kindly wire opinion **Stop** Hassan Ispahani—Khwaja Nooruddin.

I hope you will agree with our submissions. I am not an advocate of 'surrender' or of 'settlement at all costs with the majority community', but I will certainly welcome a settlement that is honourable and dignified. I feel convinced beyond doubt that Swaraj will remain a myth unless there is definite understanding and equitable adjustment of political and civic rights between the Hindus and Muslims. I await your decision and opinion with interest.

I am told that the Muslim Ministers in Bengal have got rather unnerved at Congress' overtures for unity. Shaheed Suhrawardy told me that he was telegraphing you that you should not come to any decision without hearing your Bengal representatives. In Bengal, self preponderates over community. Our friends, the Ministers, shouted while it united them; shouted League as long as it served their purpose, but the moment the Ministry was formed, the League was shelved. No meeting of the League Board or Party, no League Whips, leaders or other office bearers. Now with this Rajendra Prasad—Jinnah formula in the limelight, our noble Ministers are re-awakened into action — not for the sake of the community but for their own

sake. I must admit that although the Proja Party is a smaller party than the League, it is a better organised party and is really what a Parliamentary Party should be like. My retirement from politics coupled with Nooruddin's retirement, due to the management of the Mohammedan Sporting Club of Calcutta affairs for three months, along with Abdur Rahman Siddiqui's departure for Europe, removed three of the thorns from the side of our so-called leaders. They got an opportunity to sleep and to gloat over the glory of being appointed Ministers with the result that we are hopelessly disorganised just now. We three will be returning to politics, as per our mutual agreement, on August 5, at the latest.

I trust this letter finds you and Miss Jinnah in the best of health.

With kind regards from the family and self,

Yours very sincerely,

Hassan

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8

Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay,
August 1, 1937.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter. I am glad that now that your brother is returning, you would have more time to devote to the affairs of the Muslim League. I have been in correspondence with Suhrawardy and other leaders and it is suggested by various people that the Session of the All India Muslim League should be held at Calcutta somewhere about the end of October. I have also written to some other prominent leaders. You and Nooruddin can

give me all the information with regard to this proposal, and can let me know what is the exact situation and the feeling about this proposal. The work of the All India Muslim League so far as the Centre is concerned is going on very satisfactorily all over India. Please let me know how things are going on and keep me in touch and do write to me regularly.

With regard to Babu Rajendra Prasad's offer, you must have seen my reply,¹ and I am going to send a further statement to the Press tomorrow. That will give you some idea as to how the matter stands.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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9

Calcutta,
August 11, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your kind letter. My brother returned to Calcutta last Wednesday and is looking quite fit.

With regard to the holding of the Annual Session of the League at Calcutta, the party leaders have been consulted and they have expressed their view which has been communicated to you by Shaheed. October will be too late and Members of Legislature once having returned to their constituencies, would not find it convenient to return.

I received a telegram from the Raja of Mahmudabad reading as under:

Wire details of Bengal Muslim League and circums-

1. For Jinnah's statement see Jamil-ud-din Ahmad, **Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah**, vol. 1, pp. 19-24, (6th ed.).

tances of Wazir Hassan's Presidentship **Stop** He deserted League actively creating breach.¹

I have replied as follows:

'Bengal League' and our Parliamentary Board are different **Stop** Former composed of old Congressites and is a dead organisation **Stop** Have repeatedly urged Mr. Jinnah disaffiliation imperative immediate action—Ispahani.

You are fully aware of the existence and activities of this defunct organisation in Bengal. Faruqui, one of the discontented cast-offs, is the moving spirit in that quarter. He wants Wazir Hassan here — a traitor to the League! Yes, birds of the same feather must flock together.

I suggest that you, without delay, disaffiliate this branch. Otherwise, we shall be forced to attend the annual meeting of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League and shall capture it lock, stock and barrel. The former suggestion seems the better one.

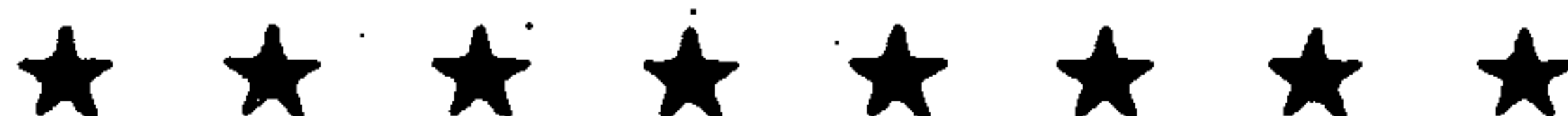
The progressive element in the League Party have managed to persuade the Ministers to accept Rs 500/- to Rs. 600/- per month less as salary. We think this acceptance will wear down much of the opposition that was beginning to show itself in the rank.

With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Hassan

1. Sir Wazir Hassan had been invited by a dissentient group of Leaguers led by Nawab Sir K.G.M. Faruqui to preside at the annual general meeting of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League. The rival group held another meeting of 'the reconstituted Council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League' with Maulana Mohd. Akram Khan as President. See **Star of India**, Aug. 23 & 25, 1937.



Bombay,
August 15, 1937.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of August 11, 1937.

With reference to the Session of the All India Muslim League, the general opinion is very strongly in favour of adhering to our decision, that the Session of the All India Muslim League should take place in Lucknow in October, and therefore the only thing that remains now for me is to ascertain and fix the date in consultation with the Lucknow Reception Committee which has already been formed, as you know, and I will announce the date without delay. I hope that Bengal will bring a very strong contingent to it.

But we can hold a special session of the League in Bengal, and if so desired by you, by the end of December. I want you to carefully think over this thing, put your heads together and let me know.

With regard to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, in my opinion the course would be for you people to capture it, enrol as many members as you can, attend the annual meeting, or call a meeting by a special requisition and appoint your own office bearers and executive.

You see, it is not easy for me to disaffiliate the Bengal Provincial Muslim League unless there are some categorical charges against them, and even now if you will let me know definitely as to what they have done exactly—either the President, the Secretary or the Executive—then I can place the matter before the Council of the All India Muslim League. After all I have no power as President to disaffiliate. But before I put the matter before the Council I must have definite charges against the Bengal Provincial Muslim League or its executive. So far,

even according to you, it has been a dead organisation, and a vague charge that it is pro-Congress is hardly enough. What have they done? Or, what are they doing which you people complain of? I agree with you that there are certain elements in this dead organisation who are undesirable. But that sort of general allegation is not enough. I will therefore beg of you and our friends there to capture this organisation which you can easily do and make it your own, if the public opinion is behind you and if you can enrol large number of members, it is very easy to accomplish the task.

I am glad that you have come back to your activities. Please keep me in touch as to what is happening in Bengal now by writing to me regularly.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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11

Grand Hotel,
Simla,
Sept. 10, 1937.

My dear Ispahani,

I have received your letter¹ of September 4. I am glad that you are going to clarify the matter at the next meeting of the Board. At present I find that things are done in a haphazard manner in Bengal. There is no method even as far as I can see. I received only recently some telegrams and some letters even from the responsi-

1. Missing.

ble leaders, who do not quite agree with each other; and some suggestions were also made. I do beg of you to tell Nazimuddin, Nawab of Dacca, Fazlul Huq and Suhrawardy to organise in such a way that when the decisions are taken or suggestions are made, they should be such as would be implemented. Various suggestions were made to me to come to Bengal and as you very rightly say in your letter, a telegram was sent to me in the name of Fazlul Huq, Nawab of Dacca and yourself and that your name was used without your permission; and as the cause was a good one you did not protest. I do not even get answers to my letters which I have written to Nazimuddin; and in reply to the telegram to Fazlul Huq some body else wrote acknowledging my telegraphic replies and letters. These are the few things which make me feel that there is no organisation and no co-ordination amongst the leaders, and you are without a single responsible and administrative office. At present I really do not know how the matters stand in your province, but I do urge upon our leaders that they should not now allow any further time to pass but organise the Provincial Muslim League and the District Muslim Leagues in Bengal.

With regard to Faruqui's move and few others, I think we shall be able effectively to deal with it at Lucknow in a most authoritative manner: it is not very far off. I might tell you that Nawab Faruqui had wired to me promising to send the full details of the meeting which was broken up, but I have not yet heard from him. Please give me the address of Dr. R. Ahmad, Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League and also of Nawab Faruqui as I am going to call upon them to explain as to what happened to that meeting.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah



Calcutta,
September 25, 1937.

Mr dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 10th instant.

We are in the midst of the Palestine Conference and we sincerely hope that good will come out of this expression of Indian Muslim opinion. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui's presidential address is a literary masterpiece and can be well preserved as a historical document. Your message was read to the Conference and was much appreciated. In all probability, a deputation on behalf of the Indian Muslims will soon be leaving for Europe to make strong representations on behalf of the Palestine Arabs.

In the Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act¹ is almost through and in another three days the first session will finish and the Ministry along with the Governor will go up to Darjeeling for a rest while we shall have to carry on our labour on the plains.

I have not had the opportunity of asking Nazimuddin as to why he has not replied to your letter. When I meet him I shall do so. I am looking forward to meeting you in Lucknow next month.

I wrote to the Secretary of the Muslim League at Delhi asking him to furnish me with the names of Muslim Leaguers from Bengal who are on the General Executive. Over two weeks have elapsed and I am still without a reply.

1. The Act abolished the landlord's right of pre-emption. It reduced the rate of interest on arrears of rent, and conferred occupancy rights on some raiyats and under-raiyats, enabling them to transfer or surrender their land. The aim of the Act was to alleviate the condition of tenants.

Nawab Sir K.G.M. Faruqui's address is 8, Ripon Street, Calcutta, and Dr. R. Ahmed's address is 12|1, Esplanade East, Calcutta.

You have very correctly gauged the situation here. We are very badly organised. Decisions are taken and suggestions are made without one person knowing what the other is about to do. You are quite correct in saying that there is no organisation nor co-ordination amongst the leaders and we are without a single responsible and administrative office.

More when we meet. With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

13

Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay,
October 2, 1937.

My dear Ispahani,

I received your letter of September 25 and thank you for it. I am so glad that you are coming to Lucknow.¹ Bring as many as you can from Bengal.

More when we meet,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. To attend the 25th session of the AIML held in Lucknow on October 15-18, 1937.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,

November 9, 1937.

Mr dear Mr. Jinnah,

The lady who interviewed you when you were last here is pestering me for some more facts about you. Will you oblige her? If so, the following are the questions:

- (1) How long were you in the Congress? Please give the dates.
- (2) When did you sever connections and why?
- (3) For how long have you been connected with the Muslim League?
- (4) Who are your present day lieutenants?

I hope you are now taking your much needed rest. You have worked very hard and are deservant of peace and quiet for a few weeks, at least.

The expected has happened at Bijnor.¹ The Congress are intoxicated with their victory, forgetting totally that it was the Muslim green banners and inscriptions from the Holy Quran and the Fatwas of the Pirs and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema — a band of unscrupulous and irreligious rogues and rascals — that gave them the victory.

To me this defeat is a victory, for, it will egg us on to better work and knit us all the more together.

Bengal: You left and we all fell asleep again! The meeting of the Organising Committee has not yet been called.

I am still waiting and hoping. I shall telephone Nazim today and remind him.

I had occasion to address a gathering at Mohammed Ali Park the other day and I quite enjoyed myself. The

1. In a by-election, Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim (Congress) defeated the League nominee at Bijnor.

only newspaper that reported the proceedings was the **Star of India**. How can we fight with such tremendous handicaps? No money and no press! Still, our cause is just. We are convinced. We must fight on.

With my salams to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

15

Calcutta,
November 22, 1937.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It gave us all great pleasure to receive your telegram informing us that you had fully recovered from your recent indisposition.

We in Bengal are just showing signs of waking up. The Organising Committee has met three times and rules have been framed and our line of action in approaching the Muslim masses in Bengal has been chalked out.

You are no doubt aware that the first by-election of the Bengal Legislative Assembly was decided in Malda and the League's candidate who was also the Coalition nominee, secured a majority of almost 5000 votes against his prominent and influential rival.

From reports received, I am sorry to inform you that the Moradabad by-election in the U.P. is not going too well for the League candidate. This is a great pity and unless proper candidates are set up and the League works very actively in their support, repeated defeats will have a bad effect on the political morale in our camp. I,

therefore, request you kindly to keep the U.P. people up and doing.

I received a Circular alongwith the Constitution and Rules and the Resolutions passed at Lucknow over the signature of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A., U.P. I fail to understand how this gentleman still remains the Secretary of the Muslim League. If I remember aright he is guilty of the same offence as the Nawab of Chattari and Sir Mohammed Yousuf.¹ By his attitude on the eve of the last election, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali has forfeited the confidence of the staunch Muslim Leaguers, and I am sure I am not the only one who feels that the proper treatment for this gentleman is either dismissal from the Party or the demanding of an unqualified apology for his past attitude.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Hassan
Yours sincerely,

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

16

Bombay,
November 28, 1937.

My dear Hassan,

I am so glad to hear that Bengal is up and in earnest in organising. The United Provinces has its difficulties

1. Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab of Chattari and Sir Mohammed Yousuf had been nominated by Jinnah on the AIML Central Parliamentary Board. But they deserted in favour of the National Agriculturist Party on whose ticket they fought the elections. It was after the elections that they joined the League.

because they have not got a band of leaders who could work together and keep up sustained efforts, and unfortunately there is not a single man of outstanding position there who could command the respect and the confidence of the people generally. Anyhow, this movement will throw up men and United Provinces will soon come into its own. There is nothing to despair. Loss of one or two elections is not going to make the slightest difference. It seems a temporary disappointment, and we cannot always win.

With regard to Liaquat Ali, the matter is under consideration. Have a little patience. I am glad you write to me every now and then. Please keep me informed. I am quite all right now.

With kind regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

17

Calcutta,
December 15, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Id Mubarak and Moradabad Mubarak! Long live the League! Long live Jinnah! We smarted under the pain of our defeat at the hands of the Ulema in Bijnor. God was merciful and did not allow us to bear this humiliation for long. The tables are now reversed and I should like to know what the Pandits and the High Gurus of the Congress now feel about their influence and control over the Muslim masses. If India wants freedom and if there is to be salvation for the downtrodden hundreds of millions of people,

then the Congress should realise without further delay that such freedom can only be achieved by co-operation and by gaining the goodwill of the largest minority in India. The accredited representative of this large minority today is the All India Muslim League and the sooner the Congress come to their senses and meet the League on a basis of equality — climbing down several steps from their high pedestal — the better will it be for national unity, progress and happiness.

I am told that you will be presiding at the All India Muslim Students Conference at Calcutta at the end of this month. Is this correct information?

With my best regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

18

Bombay,
December 18, 1937.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 15th instant.

I was away at Hyderabad and I returned only this morning.

Yes, I am glad that you have bucked up. We have come out alright from Moradabad and also at Saharanpur, and my information is that Bulandshahar is a certainty.¹ So buck up.

1. Refers to the League victory in the by-elections at Moradabad, Saharanpur and Bulandshahar.

What is your committee doing in Bengal? I hope it is working and not gone to sleep.

Yes, I am coming to Calcutta to preside over the All India Muslim Students Federation on the 27th. I shall be reaching Calcutta on the morning of the 26th, arriving at 10.30 via Jubbulpore, via Cheoki.

More when we meet.

With best regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to all of you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah



1938

Emerson's misgivings about the Muslim League Session at Lahore—Muslim Unionists attend Special Session of the Muslim League at Calcutta—Purchase of Packard car for Jinnah—The Chinese Muslim goodwill delegation—Move of a No-confidence motion against Fazlul Huq—Compilation of Muslim grievances under Congress Rule—Jinnah declines to recommend Sir Syed's grandson, Anwar Masood—Maulana Akram Khan starts organising the Muslim League in Bengal.

19

Calcutta,
January 13, 1938.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you reached Bombay in perfect health after your trying, yet successful tour. I see that you will be in Aligarh on the 25th instant. I am confident you will be able to eradicate the prevailing viewpoint amongst the students of that University.

I am enclosing herewith copy of your letter received from Atkinson¹ and shall be very grateful to you if you will put me in possession of the required information as early as possible.

Your recommendations will also help this Daily greatly. I know you are doing your best for the **Star**.

We are working. We have taken an office [for **Star of India**]; rather a belated beginning — is it not?

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

20

Calcutta,
January 18, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have today received a notice from Liaquat Ali Khan of a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League to be held at Delhi on January 30.

1. Editor, **Star of India**.

As we have recently met, and as you are fully posted with the situation in Bengal, I do not think it will be necessary for anyone of us to attend this meeting.

Faruqui is out for six years.¹ Honesty in politics, like honesty in life, does pay in the long run.

According to the decision at Lucknow, I am under the impression that a meeting of the Council will be held in Lahore sometime in April when all the provincial legislatures will have finished with their Budgets. Is my presumption correct?

After attending the Lahore meeting, Inshallah, I hope to leave India for four months.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

21

Extremely Private & Confidential.

Calcutta,
January 25, 1938

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I feel that things are not moving as well as they should in the Punjab. The Unionist Group that came and

1. In January 1938, Nawab Sir K.G.M. Faruqui, Industries Minister, was disqualified by the Calcutta Election Tribunal from standing for election to any provincial legislature for a period of six years.

swore allegiance to the League in Lucknow¹ is apparently trying to slip away from the bargain that it had struck. Ever since the return to the Punjab, the leaders of the Unionist Party have made no attempt whatsoever to try and to spread the gospel of the League to the people of the Punjab. The Congress on the other hand is moving very fast. I am confident that the hand of Emerson [Governor of the Punjab] is busy in pulling the string of these marionettes. Apparently, he does not look with favour on the advanced policy of the League which has almost come in line with and in some instances gone further than the Congress itself! He wants reaction to remain and this can only be done by discouraging the spread of Muslim League ideals and principles. I have it on good authority, and this is in absolute strict confidence between you and I, that attempts are being made and excuses are being devised whereby the promised session of the League Council at Lahore in April may not be held. I respectfully submit to you that whether the Unionists want it or not, the true Leaguers in Lahore should be got in touch with from now to see that there is no shelving or postponement of this session. The Punjab needs a good and successful session to get the League running on its own motive power. Once it gets going, then, Inshallah, not all the King's Horses and not all the King's Men will stop the Muslim League again!

You must really forgive me for writing on questions that are not directly the concern of my province, but knowing you as I do, I feel confident that my sincere communications will not be misconstrued.

1. In October 1937, Sikandar Hyat Khan concluded a pact with Jinnah (Sikandar Hyat — Jinnah Pact), which provided that Muslim Unionist members in the Punjab Legislature would become members of the Muslim League.

I am addressing this letter to Delhi to await your arrival there and I shall be much obliged if you will let me know whether you intend moving in the matter reported above, or whether you will just wait for the present.

With my salams,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

22

Calcutta,
January 28, 1938.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As I have not heard from you, we presume that there will not be any special discussion of importance at the meeting of the Council on January 30; hence none of us will be travelling up to Delhi. A few members of the League, however, desiring to come into the lime-light, have intimated their intention to attend the meeting, although they have not received notices from the Secretary of the All India League. These two youngmen, namely Habibullah and Shamsur Rahman, were extreme Proja even after the election and did not think twice before abusing you and the League in public. Now that the current of the League is running very fast, they want to swim with it.

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

23

Calcutta,
January 29, 1938.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Better news from Lahore today; hence this letter.

Once again, in strict confidence, I have to inform you that a meeting of the Muslim members of the Unionist Party was held on the 26th instant, and at this meeting Begum Shah Nawaz asked the Party to stand by the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact of Lucknow. There was discussion at great length and eventually with Sikandar Hyat's support the cause was won and the Muslim Unionists are now joining the League. This puts entirely a different complexion on the situation as it stood a few days ago.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

24

Calcutta,
February 26, 1938.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

At a meeting of the Organising Committee held at the Nawab Bahadur's house last night, it was unanimously agreed to invite you to hold the Special Session of the League here during the coming Easter vacation.

Shaheed will officially issue the invitation.

During Easter, the Nor'Wester will not permit the erection of a pandal.

The session can only be held in the Town Hall, upstairs and downstairs. It can accommodate 10,000 people.

I am happy to read of the League's success in the N.W.F. Province's first by-election.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

25

Calcutta,
March 7, 1938.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Apparently you are very busy these days as you do not reply to any of my letters.

I received a notice from Liaquat Ali Khan dated February 26 of a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League that has been called for Sunday, March 20, 1938. The agenda is to fix the date and place for the Special Session of the League. I do not know what the decision will be. From the Press reports of this morning I find that Punjab is very anxious to hold the Special Session at Lahore during the Easter. On the other hand, if it is your desire to hold the Special Session during the same time in Calcutta in preference to Lahore, we should be given ample notice to make the necessary arrangements. The 21st of March leaves very little time for proper arrangements. Will you, therefore, favour me with your reply as to whether the Session will be held here or not?

With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

26

Telegram

Calcutta,
March 19, 1938.

Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Regret budget prevents our attendance Council meeting.

Hassan Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

27

Calcutta,
April 7, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Reception Committee is now seriously busy. We have decided to erect an open air stadium in Mohammed Ali Park with galleries around and chairs between the galleries and the dais. The place will be tastefully decorated. The open session will be held at night when working people will have the opportunity of attending. The indoor oppressive and suffocating atmosphere will be avoided. The Town Hall will be kept in reserve in case of rain and storm.

I hope the provincial organisations will let us know without delay the approximate number of members of the Council and delegates that will attend the Special Session and what arrangements they require us to make for them.

I suggest the Central Office should issue a communique to the Press asking all the Provincial Leagues to give the Reception Committee the required information.

Please let me know when the Central Office staff will reach here. Also let me know your plans, the day and time of your arrival. Arrangements must be made to give you a fitting reception and this takes time.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

28

Bombay,
April 12, 1938.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of April 7, and am very glad to see that great preparations are going on in Calcutta for the Special Session.

I think the Central Office staff must have reached Calcutta by now. I shall be arriving on the 16th morning with Miss Jinnah by the mail via Jubbulpore reaching Calcutta at 8.30 in the morning of the 16th. As to my reception, please see that some proper order is kept and that I get home within a reasonable time, because these long processions, taking hours and hours, have a tremendous strain on one's nerves and physical endurance. Therefore you must try and see that I get home by 12 O'clock and have some rest at any rate in the afternoon. You must have read in the papers how during my tours to Aligarh and Meerut, and other places, I suffered, which was not because there was anything wrong with me but the irregularities and over-strain told upon my health.

I am looking forward to seeing you all.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

29

Telegram

Bombay,
April 12, 1938.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Arriving sixteenth morning eight thirty via Jub-
bulpore with sister.

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

30

Telegram

Bombay,
April 25, 1938.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Can't do better close offer Packard.¹

Jinnah

1. Jinnah purchased Packard Eight through Ispahani.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
April 30, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your telegram of the 25th instant, and in compliance with your instructions, have closed the deal with the Khaitan Motor Works.

I am also enclosing herewith copies of letters exchanged.

I have also signed the contract in my name. You shall have to pay the registration charges in Calcutta and the transportation charges to Bombay from here.

The terms are cash on delivery.

I wish you the best of luck and long life to enjoy the smooth running of your new [Packard] 'Eight' and many more 'Eights' to come!

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosures: two

Enclosure: 1.

Khaitan Motor Co., Ltd.
25-B, Park Street, Calcutta.
April 29, 1938.

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

Dear Sir,

We confirm having offered you one Packard Eight

Convertible Sedan for Rs. 7,000/- net for delivery in Calcutta by the end of June next. The above car will have the following equipment:

- Right Hand Drive
- Leather Upholstery
- 6 Wheels Equipment
- Trunk Rack
- De Luxe Emblem
- Rear Curtain
- Cigar Lighter
- Lacquered Fender Lights
- Flexible Steering & Knob
- Wheel Trim Rings
- Chromium Exhaust Extension
- Custom Radio & Running Board Antenna
- Guest Speaker

We may further add here that only 3 colours are available on the cars which are expected to arrive about the 3rd week of June next i.e. T, G and F as per Shade Cards sent herewith. We would recommend you to choose any colour of the said three shades as in case you should decide to take some other colour it might cause delay in the delivery of the car.

We shall really feel thankful if you will kindly place your firm order with us for the above car for delivery by the end of June 1938 in Calcutta.

Assuring you of our very best services, we remain,

Yours faithfully,
Managing Director.
Khaitan Motor Co. Ltd.

110

Enclosure: 2.

Calcutta,
April 30, 1938.

Messrs. Khaitan Motor Co Ltd.,
25-B, Park Street,
Calcutta.

Dear Sirs,

Packard Eight Convertible 1938 Model.

I thank you for your letter of the 29th instant and confirm its contents.

Kindly note that I require the car to be painted in Shade T. You may, therefore, cable your principals immediately accordingly.

I am returning you herewith your contract duly signed.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. H. Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

32

Legislative Assembly,
New Delhi.
June 7, 1938.

My dear Hassan,

I am sorry I was not able to write to you earlier as I was very very busy. I thank you very much for your letters, which I have received, and when the time comes

for giving me delivery of the car, please let me know the amount that I have to pay, and I would send you the money.

Thank you for your kindness. With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

P.S. I am sure that you will be glad to know that everything went on most successfully in Bombay. You will hear more details from your Bengal members when they return to Calcutta.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

33

Bombay,
July 11, 1938.

Dear Mr. Ispahani,

This is just to inform you that the Chinese Muslim Goodwill Delegation is likely to arrive in your province, and I hope that you will do all you can to see that they meet the leading Musalmans of your place, and, if possible, to arrange a public meeting where they can address and explain the situation in China and other parts where they have been travelling, particularly with reference to the Muslims. They are a responsible delegation and they want also to study the Indian situation, especially with regard to the position of the Musalmans. I therefore hope that you will give them every opportunity and welcome them.

They are going to Lahore to-night and from there they propose to go to Lucknow, Patna and Calcutta. Accor-

ding to their present arrangement, they will be leaving Lahore on the 16th or the 17th for Lucknow, and continue their tour as indicated above.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

P.S. They will reach Calcutta by July 25 or 26, 1938.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

34

Calcutta,
July 21, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I regret I have not been able to keep in touch with you for some time, the reason being the transference of my concentration from politics to business.

I am writing to you in order to inform you that you should not expect any members of your Council who are members of the Bengal Legislature to be present at the meeting that is to be held on the 30th instant, because the Assembly meets on the 29th and there are rumours that a vote of no-confidence in the form of a Bill for the reduction of the salaries of Ministers may be introduced. As every vote is valuable, members of the legislature cannot leave Calcutta.

The 'Packard' has not arrived yet.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

35

Bombay,
July 24, 1938.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of July 21. I am sorry that you people will not be able to attend the Council meeting owing to your Assembly programme. You also say that the 'Packard' has not arrived yet. I am leaving for Delhi, and from there I shall be going to Simla and not returning perhaps till the middle of September. Please keep me in touch. My Simla address will be, Cecil Hotel, Simla.

With kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

36

Calcutta,
August 11, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The dark clouds that covered the political horizon of Bengal have at last cleared, leaving the present Cabinet and its supporters victorious. The opposition was so mercilessly battered and beaten that they did not even venture to call a division on the remaining 9 motions of no-confidence. Those who were interested in keeping this Government living had to pass through restless days and nights. The relief is very great this morning to such people. I, for one, did not care so much about the fate of the Ministers

themselves if they were defeated but worried almost to madness about the effect that such defeat would have on the Musalmans in the other provinces of India. This victory by us in Bengal should strengthen the hands of the Muslim League both in Sind and in the North-West Frontier. I feel that with a little more propaganda coupled with serious work, these two provinces can be regained from the Congress. I find from the newspapers that the Muslim leaders of Sind are seeing reason after so many months and years of utter blindness to it. It is good that good sense has dawned upon them even at this late hour and I do hope that they will carry the propaganda on behalf of the League with all the sincerity and strength that they have at their command.

Mr. Fazlul Huq expressed to me yesterday in the chamber of the Legislative Assembly that he has made several representations to you that materials collected by the Sub-Committee appointed to enquire into the atrocities committed in the Congress provinces should be clearly sifted and published¹ officially by the Muslim League. I agree with him that this type of propaganda will be very useful. Such type of propaganda Congress has always taken full advantage of and will take advantage of, in the future.

Our greatest sorrow and our greatest weakness is that we have not the Press behind us. What we do is not reported. The good that we do is not advertised. The truth that we tell is not applauded. The wrongs that we right are not appreciated. This is our most serious handicap. The daily newspapers in Calcutta blackguard us day in and day out. They misrepresent facts without an iota of shame. They suppress important happenings and utterances and give prominence to happenings and doings in Congress provinces which are so insignificant in our opinion that

1. Finally published as **Pirpur Report, Shareef Report** and **Muslim Sufferings Under Congress Rule.**

we even do not worry about, or appreciate even if our Government does five times better.

I, however, console myself with your words which always come back to me when I am worried in mind, 'We are not yet organised. We are poor but being sincere we shall organise in half the time that others have taken, and eventually unite to the man to demand and receive our fair share in the administration and the freedom of this country'.

I hope you will forgive me for taking so much of your time. I gave up politics for some months until the recent crisis that we had to face.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

37

51, Ezra Street,
Calcutta,
August 27, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I refer you to my letter of the 18th¹ instant and await your instructions in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

Hassan

1. Missing.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

38

Telegram

Simla,
August 30, 1938.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Your letter posting cheque¹ Stop Letter follows.

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

39

Calcutta,
September 3, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter² of August 31, enclosing your cheque on the National Bank for Rs. 7,100/-.

I took delivery of your Packard and had same registered. She is ivory outside and is upholstered in green leather. I am having a special cover stitched in order to protect the entire car from dust. She will, of course, be kept in one of our garages and will be taken out once a week for runs of 20 or 30 miles in order to keep her parts in use and to keep the battery alive.

I hope you will give me the necessary instructions to send the automobile to Delhi by the middle of next month.

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter addressed

1. For the purchase of Packard car.
2. Missing.

to the Commissioner of Police transferring my brief ownership of the car to you.

I am also enclosing the Radio Licence for one year, the Police Registration book, road tax having been paid for one year and the two invoices received from Khaitans.

I am also enclosing copy of letter written to and reply received from Khaitans with regard to the guaranteeing and servicing of your Packard.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

40

Telegram

New Delhi,
September 10, 1938.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Many thanks kind inquiry am better.

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

41

Calcutta,
October 24, 1938.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I expect you are back from your tour in Sind and

hope you are taking complete rest before resuming your activity.

I shall thank you kindly to let me know as to when I should despatch your 'Packard' to Delhi.

I am once again giving politics a holiday.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

42

Calcutta,
November 14, 1938.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to make of you a request and I sincerely trust you will not be annoyed.

I have had the pleasure of meeting a young man named Syed Anwar Masood. He is the son of the late Dr. Sir Syed Ross Masood and as you know, the great grandson of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Anwar Masood went to a Public School in England and on the advice of the Nawab of Bhopal was sent into the Metropolitan Police College in London to be trained as an Officer. He is the only Indian there and did very well. Unfortunately, before getting the promised job in Bhopal, his father who was serving in the State, died suddenly. On Anwar Masood's return to India he was offered a job in the Bhopal State Police on a small salary for a start and poor prospects. Naturally he was unable to accept the post.

Although only 22, he is the eldest of his family and has, therefore, much responsibility to shoulder. He is an intelligent and refined young man seething with patriotism. Nothing in the world will give me greater happiness than to see this young man fixed up in life. He is on the look-out for a job. I am told that a letter from you to Mr. A. R. Dalal, I.C.S. (Retired), Managing Director of Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., whom I am told you know well, will mean a covenanted post in the Steel Co. for the boy. Of course, I shall do all I can with Mr. Dalal and with Mr. J. C. Mahindra, the Chief Sales Manager and Mr. M. K. Pawalla, his immediate junior.

Sir Syed rendered a service to the Musalmans of India that will remain unequalled so long as civilisation remains. You will therefore, agree with me that a young and worthy descendant of his who is willing to work for his living, should not be allowed to knock from pillar to post searching desperately for employment. Confidentially, I know that Dr. Ross Masood left nothing, hence my increased anxiety.

Believe me, I consider nothing more hateful than asking favours from others, but knowing you as I do and liking the young man and respecting his family for the service that they have rendered to the Musalmans, I have set my own feeling aside and have decided to bother you to get the necessary letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Hassan

P.S. I shall be grateful if you will send me the letter as early as possible because I am told there is a job going at Tatas at the moment.

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10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

December 2, 1938.

My dear Hassan,

I received your letter of November 21, 1938 and I could not reply earlier as I was not really quite well although I left Bombay for Delhi. I think I did drop you a line from Bombay with regard to Anwar Masood saying that I could not help in the matter. I hope you are well and I am waiting to hear from you with regard to your promised political letter acquainting me with the present situation in your province.

With kindest regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah



1939

Formation of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Bengal Legislature—Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill—Tubarra and Madeh-e-Sahaba agitations—Deliverance Day—Fazlul Huq and Muslim Ministers in Bengal support War efforts—Sikandar Hyat and War efforts—Vote of No-confidence against Nalini Ranjan Sarker—War Resolution by Huq's Ministry—Jinnah's remark about Abdur Rahman Siddiqui: 'a wise enemy is better than a foolish friend.'

Calcutta,
January 3, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Amir Ahmad¹ and Haider² were with us but had to cut short their stay due to urgent telegraphic and telephonic calls from Lucknow. They left by the first train today. The Maharanee Saheba³ has suddenly taken ill. Her pulse has sunk very low and she is being given oxygen since last evening. The first news of her indisposition was received here yesterday. The whole thing was so sudden that all have been shaken.

With salam to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Yours affectionately,
Hassan

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Calcutta,
January 19, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Nawab of Dacca has left for Bombay today. He will call on you when he is there. He is one of the few people now who have awakened from their slumber to realise that if they are not up and doing they will be left completely out of the League. He will tell you a lot of tales. You should haul him over the coals mercilessly and put the fear of Moses into him. Then and only then will he be more serious than he is today.

1. Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan, Raja of Mahmudabad.
2. Mohammad Amir Haider Khan, his younger brother.
3. Of Mahmudabad.

I may inform you that Maulana Akram Khan has been attending to the work of re-organising the League here, ever since our return from Patna and this work has progressed satisfactorily.

I have called a meeting of the Parliamentary Board on the 29th instant and there it will be definitely decided to form a Parliamentary Party in the Legislature without further delay.

I have not been keeping good health for the last ten days with the result that I have not been able to give my share of the time to the re-organisation of the League, as promised. I am, however, keeping in daily touch with Maulana Akram Khan.

I trust you are in better health than you were at Patna.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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46

Bombay,
January 23, 1939.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of January 19, 1939. I am glad that you are organizing the Muslim League along with Maulana Akram Khan. I wish you all success. Yes, I talked with Nawab of Dacca and whatever may be the reason but, he, now is strongly in favour of forming Muslim League Parliamentary party in your Legislature. I am going to see him again and will do all I can in the matter.

With kindest regards to you all from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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47

Calcutta,
February 18, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

My long silence must have given you rest and relief.

I have been extremely busy with political and commercial work for some days and have therefore not found the time to have my usual chat with you.

Since I last addressed you, I am pleased to inform you that much progress has been made in the re-organisation of the Muslim League in the interior. The Parliamentary Board met two weeks ago and realised that without funds nothing could be done. On the spot, Rs. 3,000/- were raised, half of which amount comes from our firm. We shall, without difficulty, raise a further Rs. 3,000/- or Rs. 4,000/- shortly, and with Rs. 5,000/- Maulana Akram Khan feels confident that the Leagues in the interior will be established. We meet weekly and sometimes bi-weekly.

I am enclosing herewith a circular¹ published under my signature, as a result of which, Members of the Legislatures met on the appointed date. I am pleased to inform you that the following Resolutions were passed:

- 1) That a Bengal Legislatures Muslim League Party be formed.

1. Missing.

- 2) That a committee consisting of the following members be appointed to draft Rules and Regulations of the Party and to place same for the consideration of the Party at a meeting to be convened within a week:

Members:

1. Maulana Akram Khan, M.L.C.
2. Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani (Convener)
3. Mr. Fazlur Rahman
4. Mr. Abdul Karim
5. Khan Bahadur Muazammudin Hussain, M.L.C.
6. Maulvi Abdul Bari
7. Maulvi Mafizuddin Ahmed
8. Mr. K. Nooruddin
9. Mr. Ahmed Hussain
10. Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali
11. Maulvi Masud Ali Khan Panni

And, in compliance with the Resolutions, I have sent out a Draft of the Rules and Regulations, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith for your information. The Drafting Committee meets tomorrow at Camac Street, and after making any amendments that may be considered necessary to the Draft Rules, will fix a day for the meeting of the Members within the appointed time.

The response so far is very encouraging indeed because, without any effort, we have been able to secure 65 signatures in the Lower House and we hope to secure almost 85 per cent of the Musalmans in the Upper House. The Lower House canvassing is not yet complete and I shall, therefore, be surprised if the figure does not approach 75. Of course, threats had to be used in order to secure the formation of the Parliamentary Party. Nooruddin and I made it very clear that whether we got any encouragement or not, we would form a Party consisting of even 3 Members of the Legislature. The so-called High Command lost nerve and could not ward off the formation of such a Party with sufficient safety to themselves any longer.

You may have read of Shamsuddin's resignation¹ from the Cabinet before this letter reaches you. The reasons that he has given in his letter of resignation are, of course, utter tripe. The real reason is that when Shamsuddin was brought in he gave an undertaking that he would bring with him 6 to 7 of his followers but the poor man could not bring even one with the result that he had to go out because not even the most idiotic Member of the Coalition Party would allow the gaining over of one man from the Opposition at the cost of a single portfolio. Poor Shamsuddin — he goes back once again to where he belongs.

I consider the Coalition Party to be stronger than ever this Session and there is not the least likelihood of any censure being attempted or any cut being carried against the Cabinet.

Confidentially, I am told that there is a lot of money being thrown about by the Congress and Birla; whether this will be beneficial to the Opposition seems extremely doubtful.

The Calcutta Municipal (Amendment)² Act will come before the House on the 24th instant and the Spea-

1. Shamsuddin was a left winger and along with Nausher Ali continued to express bitterness at Fazlul Huq's betrayal of the Proja cause. His inclusion in the Ministry was resented by 'the party whips' who were anxious not to have left wing followers inside the fold...'. See Brabourne to Linlithgow, Feb. 17, 1939, G.R.
2. The principal features of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill were the re-introduction of separate electorates and a provision by which officers of the Corporation were to be appointed by the Public Service Commission. But according to the Governor, the real issue was 'how far Muslims will succeed in ousting Hindus from their strongholds of political power, among which the Calcutta Corporation is one of the most important'. Brabourne to Linlithgow, Dec. 19, 1938, GR.

ker has assured us that no further Adjournment Motions will be permitted on that day as the Congress have employed the tactics of continuously moving the Adjournment Motions with a view to postpone the consideration of the Municipal Bill. I shall speak on that day. A public meeting has been organised today by a few unknown Muslim hirelings to support the system of Joint Electorate. You shall read that this attempt proved abortive because arrangements are being made in that direction.

I shall be obliged if you will send me a copy of the Muslim League Central Legislature Party [rules].

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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48

Calcutta,
February 24, 1939.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a letter¹ received from the Khaitan Motor Co. Ltd. and also copy of my reply to them. I shall let you know again on hearing from them.

The death of Lord Brabourne² has cast a gloom all over the city and those who were associated with him in some form of work or other, feel his loss deeply.

1. Missing.

2. Brabourne after a brief illness died of cancer of the colon on Feb. 23, 1939.

The Corporation (Amendment) Act will come before the Legislative Assembly on Monday, the 27th instant.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure: One.

Enclosure: 1.

New Delhi,
March 2, 1939.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of February 24, 1939 with the circular from the Khaitan Motor Company Limited and I am expecting to hear from you whether the car can be sent to local agents in Delhi for the Export Springs for Front and Rear and Special Economiser Valves to be fitted as per their circular letter. Also please let me know whether my Packard Car was insured by you and, if so, whether you have got the insurance policy. If not, I must get it insured.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah



New Delhi,
April 20, 1939.

Private & Confidential.

Mr dear Hassan,

I have received your letter¹ of April 11, and I really do not know why you are annoyed. I really thought that it was not possible for me to follow the various complications mentioned in your letter, and I, therefore, gave you a very clear reply, and that was that. In my opinion, the time has come when there should be only one party and that is the Muslim League Party so far as the Musalmans are concerned, and I cannot imagine of a coalition between the Muslim League Party and any other Musalman, individual or group of Musalmans or a party of Musalmans, so far as the political life of the Musalmans of India is concerned. How this is to be brought about in your province, and particularly in the Assembly, it is very difficult for me to advise.

With regard to 'the Madh-e-Sahaba row in Lucknow',² I do not know what the Muslim League can do, as the disputants are led by Maulana Husain Ahmad on behalf of the Sunnis and Sir Wazir Hassan on behalf of the Shias, both prominent Congressmen, and the U. P. Govt. is a Congress Government. Both these leaders are not only hostile, but inimical towards the Muslim League. Until the Shias and the Sunnis realise that they should appeal to the Muslim League to find a solution to this question, which after all is a controversy between the Musalmans and a domestic matter for the Musalmans to adjust, what move can the League make? Further, so long as the leaders of the movement do not approach the Muslim League Working Committee or the President, and show any sign

1. Missing.

2. In early 1939, Lucknow was the scene of Tubarra (despising the Caliphs) and Madeh-e-Sahaba (praising the Caliphs) agitations organised by the Shias and Sunnis respectively.

of giving us an idea that they would listen to our advice, but, on the contrary, are the strongest opponents of the League, may I know again what the League can do in the matter in the circumstances? I cannot see why any honest, true Muslim Leaguer should show his wrath against the Muslim League instead of against those who are responsible for the situation. Their answer to the mischief-makers should be that we are not going to follow them, but appeal to both Shias and Sunnis to refer this matter to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

I wonder whether you will be halting at Bombay in the first week of May. I hope you will let me know as I shall be glad to have you at lunch or dinner, which ever may suit you. I have to attend the Sholapur Conference, and may leave for Sholapur on May 4, for two or three days.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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50

Calcutta,
December 7, 1939.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My brother has informed you of my arrival in India.

Abdur Rahman Siddiqui has read to me the letter that he has addressed you, over the telephone. I absolutely agree with every word that he has written. There are many other faithful Leaguers who also hold the view that Abdur Rahman has placed before you.¹

1. A number of Leaguers were opposed to the support which the Bengal Ministry extended to the Government with regard to War efforts. Rahman's letter referred to the Ministry's policy towards War.

I shall be grateful if you will, on receipt of his letter, give us your guidance in this very important matter, for, if we vote against the Government Resolution, the Cabinet will find itself in serious difficulty.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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51

Calcutta,
December 12, 1939.

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th instant.¹ I am grateful to you for sending me your opinion in good time. We shall act on it.

The War Resolution, a copy of which I enclose herewith, will come up before the Assembly on the 13th instant. We have tabled an amendment, worded as under:

In view of the fact that His Excellency the Governor-General has not yet been pleased to clarify and explain certain points regarding Muslim interests as demanded by the Resolution of the Muslim League held on the 22nd October, 1939, in Delhi, this Assembly is of the opinion that discussion on the Government Resolution proposed by the Hon'ble Chief Minister be postponed until the Muslim League has come to a final decision on the subject.

1. Missing.

This amendment has been admitted by the Speaker. It will be moved by Abdur Rahman and a division will be called. I know we shall be defeated but that does not matter. Some of us are one hundred percent Leaguers and shall, as before, continue to place the League point of view before everything else, irrespective of consequences.

With regard to the Resolution that is to be moved by Mr. Fazlul Huq, we have decided to remain neutral in the event a division is called.

Yes, Abdur Rahman Siddiqui's statement¹ caused hurt not only to you but to many others including myself. No one regrets it more than I do that Rahman so hastily rushed it to the Press. He committed a wrong; he acted wildly. To say the least, it is most unfortunate that the statement was released for publication particularly at a juncture like the present one when it is essential for Muslims of all shades of opinion to close up their ranks and to put up a united front in order to get a respectful hearing of their case and to secure their full demands. I have had some very frank talks with Rahman and have told him that he has acted foolishly.

I shall, however, be doing my conscience wrong if I do not state that your direction for the observance of the day of rejoicing for deliverance from Congress rule gave me a rude shock. I did not expect such a command from you, because you have all along kept politics on a very high and strong pedestal. The order was bereft of your fighting spirit. I, however, felt that some strong reason must have driven you to issue your command for the observance of this day. I was thinking of writing to you and requesting you to let me know what prompted you to take the step.

1. Rahman in his statement criticised Jinnah's call for the observance of Deliverance Day.

I have one more submission to make and this too, I do with the utmost respect. Please do not misunderstand me. The progressive elements in the League who followed you blindly when you actively took up cudgels on behalf of the unfortunate down-trodden Muslims of India, find to their utmost regret and disappointment, that you are gradually drifting more and more into the arms of reactionaries and 'jee hoozoors' [yes men]. Those whom we despised, not many years ago, seem to have lined up in the front rank of your supporters and advisers. As a result, the League's policy in general is being based on Sir Sikandar's and Fazlul Huq's dictation.

I was dumbfounded when I read the War Resolution moved and carried in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Sir Sikandar should not have taken such a step when your talks and negotiations with the Viceroy had not been concluded. His action was high-handed and was nothing short of flouting your position and dignity. It was a direct challenge to the potency of the Muslim League. What pained some of your admirers most was that you as President of the Muslim League had chosen to keep silent. Sir, is it not time that you take stock of the whole situation and put down your foot with firmness?

The above lines are written in a spirit of devotion to my leader who, I have always held, will carry us higher and higher from day to day.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure: one

GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION**(Bengal)**

Enclosure: 1.

December 12, 1939.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq to move that:

This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Governments in Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator-ridden states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity.

This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war.

This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that in consonance with the aims of the present war, as declared by that Government, and understood by India, and consistent with the accepted ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations, the attainment by India of the status of a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster which is the declared policy of the British Government, should be implemented immediately on the termination of the war and the New Constitution formulated should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and interests and should be based upon their full consent and approval.



Calcutta,
December 16, 1939.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since my letter of the 12th instant, we have had to modify our line of action.

The Government War Resolution was opposed tooth and nail in the Coalition Party meeting by some of us, led by Abdur Rahman. We were, however, overwhelmed. As a result, Abdur Rahman's amendment was tabled. We asked permission of the Party to move our amendment. At first we stood unsupported. Permission was refused. Then came the matter of Nalini Ranjan Sarker's attitude towards the Government Resolution.¹ We pleaded that there could not be two laws — one for Ministers and the other for non-Ministers. Feeling and support veered round in our favour and the majority of the members agreed with our submission. They told the President that if action is not taken against Nalini and if he is allowed freedom, we too should be given the same liberty. The whole atmosphere changed and Government found themselves in a very uncomfortable position. All night and all yesterday morn-

1. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Finance Minister disagreed with the last part of the resolution which stated that 'the New Constitution formulated should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and interests and should be based upon their full consent and approval'. Sarker said that such a demand amounted to giving a Minority the 'power of veto to all proposals for political advancement' — a proposition which he could not acquiesce in. Sarker refrained from voting with the Government party. The Coalition Party retaliated by passing a vote of no-confidence in Sarker. **Star of India**, Dec. 19, 1939.

ing the Muslim members of the Cabinet were busy in appealing to Rahman & Co. to abstain from moving the amendments. We, of course, refused, as we maintained with all sincerity and justification that such a Resolution should not have been moved by Government as it lowered your prestige and the dignity of the League and prejudiced your negotiations with the Viceroy. Thus Fazlul Huq & Co. were cornered and brought to their knees. The outcome of our tactics was an unequivocal and clean declaration by him in his speech that he stood ready to receive and act on the command of the League. Having achieved a part of our desire and not wishing to bring about an open split in the Party, we decided not to move the amendment. Had Rahman & Co. not disturbed the hornet's nest, the Chief Minister and his colleagues would not have committed themselves as they have done but would have followed in the footsteps of their comrade in the Punjab, who in his speech did not, in his wisdom, consider it necessary even to admit the authority of the Muslim League, to which he owes unqualified allegiance.

Sikandar Hyat has done the League injury and I submit that you should take early steps to see that he makes a statement, similar to Fazlul Huq's, in the Punjab Assembly. Such a declaration from him will add strength to your elbow.

Your statement issued yesterday is what all expect of you. I wish it had come in the place of the 'Day of Deliverance' **firman**, or at least before it. Your Deliverance **firman** dropped on us like a bolt from the blue and upset many a mental equilibrium. Still this is not an excuse for any public outburst against you. We know that Rahman has done wrong. I am sure that he too realises that some portions of his statement shot the bolt and were not in good taste. His unfortunate outburst has shaken me because I know him to be a sincere man, a thorough Musal-

man and a real champion of the League. He has been the sheet anchor of progressive Muslim opinion here. His influence has kept the Cabinet here in perpetual dread. Had it not been for him, many acts detrimental to the position and honour of the League would have been committed by Ministers who are intoxicated with their power and hollow glory.

I am enclosing herewith an extract from the Assembly Report of Mr. Fazlul Huq's speech.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure: One

Enclosure : 1

Extracts from the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq delivered on December 13, 1939.

This is the second part of my resolution and here, Sir, let me make one point absolutely clear. I am a Member of the Muslim League. The Muslim League has not finally declared that the Muslims of India should offer its co-operation, nor has the Muslim League said anything to the contrary. The final decision of the Working Committee has been that the President of the League be authorised to interview the Viceroy and have certain points cleared, and if as a result of that Conference, the President is satisfied, the Muslim League will call upon the Muslims of India to come and offer their co-operation in the fullest measure. It may be asked if that is the position, why do I at this moment move this resolution. I reply in two short sentences. In the first place, besides being a Member of the

Muslim League, I happen to be connected with a provincial organisation, and it is time that the Government of Bengal would declare itself and declare its policy, and as a Member of a provincial Government, which is a unit of the British Government, I cannot possibly take any other course but declare myself emphatically that in my opinion, we should co-operate and I also take the liberty of asking my colleagues in this House to take up that attitude towards the War. If, however, at any time it so happens that the President of the Muslim League were to declare for any reason that the Muslims of India ought not to co-operate with Great Britain, I can make the position absolutely clear that when there is a conflict between my position in the Cabinet and my Membership of the Muslim League to prevail (Hear, hear from the Coalition Benches), I would not be for a single moment in the Cabinet if I were asked by my community to come out. But at the present moment, so far as the Muslim League is concerned it has not decided against co-operation, and I am therefore free as a Member of the Muslim League to declare the policy of the Government and still retain my loyalty to the Muslim League.

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53

Bombay,
December 26, 1939.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letters of December 12 and 15. I am afraid that it is very difficult for me to present to you, in correspondence, the background of the entire picture that logically culminated in my announce-

ment to observe December 22, as the Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving. Had you followed the various events and my statement which I issued explaining the position which led to this move on our part, I am sure you would agree with me that it was the only right course for us to adopt.

With regard to Siddiqui, the less I say about him the better. The proverb that a wise enemy is better than a foolish friend is the only answer I can give. Of course, I do not doubt his sincerity, nor do I wish to defend anyone of your ministers. But on the whole I am glad that Bengal has done fairly well, at any rate, in getting the statement from the Premier, a copy of which you have enclosed with your letter. Well, when we meet, we shall thrash out the matter further. In the meantime, may I request that you should really follow more critically as to what is actually going on behind the stage.

I wonder whether Ahmad has pursued further the matter of a newspaper for Bengal. Please remind him about this matter and tell him that I am waiting to hear from him on the subject.

With kindest regards to you all and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah



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1940

Ispahani elected leader of Muslim League Party in the Corporation—Bose-Ispahani Pact—Nazimuddin's role in trying to gain acceptance of War Committee Resolution by Jinnah which the latter turned down—Muslim National Guard Corps—Holwell Monument agitation—Khaksars-dispute and Sikandar Hyat's stance—Amjad Ali in Calcutta to canvass support for the Punjab regarding War efforts—British Government statement of August 8, 1940—Muslim League's Resolution in support of Muslim countries in the Middle East, gripped by gathering clouds of the War.

Calcutta,
June 5, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for thinking of me.¹ I am alive and very busy with Corporation affairs. I have been elected leader of the Muslim League Party in the Corporation, and this job means much hard work. So far, the League-Bose Pact² is working satisfactorily. I have gained much and lost nothing. Let us see how long we shall be able to continue our good work together.

I am leaving for Darjeeling tonight. I require a week's rest.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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Calcutta,
June 21, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I regret I have been unable to reply to your letter earlier than today as I have been terribly worried over

1. Jinnah wrote to Ahmad Ispahani enquiring about Hassan Ispahani.
2. According to the Pact entered between Subhas Chandra Bose, Leader of the Forward Bloc and M. A. H. Ispahani, Leader of the Muslim League group in the Calcutta Corporation, a fairer share in the Corporation's services was fixed for the Muslims. The Mayor was also to be elected by rotation between Muslims and Hindus.

the situation that has arisen consequent upon the fiasco in Bombay.

Some of us had been feeling for a long time that Sikandar Hyat and Fazlul Huq were taking too much liberty with the Working Committee and the President of the League, and decided to draw your pointed attention to this fact by issuing a warning to these two spoilt children of yours. You must by now have realised that our repeated representations made year in and year out were not without reason. Had you and your Cabinet acted with firmness when Sikandar and his counterpart in Bengal began to take advantage of the League, we would not have become the laughing stock of our political opponents. The progressive element which has been fighting for a re-orientation of the League policy and for creating a batch of sincere and active, young, though tireless workers, met with no success. The League Cabinet today savours of the element that made the old League so undemocratic and moribund. The reactionary forces seem to have gained the upperhand once more. The progressives will wait patiently until such time as existing conditions change or until you feel that the salvation of the Muslim nation does not lie in the hands of such indisciplined and undependable colleagues. The Premiers of the two favoured provinces were allowed to torpedo the War policy of the Working Committee by having War Resolutions passed in their respective legislatures. We protested to you and also in the Party meeting here. We forced the statement from Fazlul Huq on the floor of the Assembly that if there was a clash between the League and the Government of Bengal, he and his colleagues would resign unhesitatingly.

What did you do, Sir? You, instead of taking strong action against these two for indiscipline, actually condoned their offence and confirmed it in the speech you delivered at Hubli. This hesitation in the beginning and condonation later on, jettisoned the authority of the League into a bottomless pit. Sikandar felt that he was a law unto himself. He thought that he could challenge with

impunity both you and the Muslim League High Command. He saw the Congress President, in direct opposition to the general instructions of the Working Committee and its President. He is now attempting obviously to bring about a compromise with the Congress for the administration of his province. His counterpart in Bengal perhaps means to do the same. They do not care two brass buttons whether they go over anyone's head or throw the Muslims in the minority provinces to the wolves. If a halt is not called even now, it is best that Sikandar and his counterpart in Bengal are made the dictators of the Muslim League.

Another jumble has been made. Sikandar and Fazlul Huq are striking on their own, against the direction of the Working Committee in the matter of the formation of War Committees. This is indeed tragic and intolerable. Statement after statement has been issued to the Press by you and others. They are all so contradictory that none of us knows what actually took place in the Working Committee on the 15th June.¹ Our so-called leaders here, Members of the Cabinet, took it for granted that they would secure the permission of the Working Committee for Leaguers of the province to join the Provincial and District War Committees. On this assumption, names were submitted to the Governor for the various sub-committees and also for the General Committee. Then came the invitation from the Private Secretary of His Excellency to attend a meeting on the 20th instant in the Legislative Assembly Hall. This was followed by your statement clearly calling upon the

1. Jinnah in his statement of May 27, 1940 said that the 'provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government' pending the declaration by the Government not to impose any constitution without the consent of minorities. But at its meeting held in June, the Working Committee of the League resolved that Muslims should not serve on War Committees and should await further instructions from the President.

Muslim Leaguers to abstain from participating in the War Committees until such time as you asked them to do so. Those of us who believe in discipline and love the League more than our lives, immediately wrote to His Excellency expressing regret at our inability to attend the meeting or to serve on the Committees, in view of the direction of the Muslim League High Command and its President in the matter. A meeting was held. Many Muslims attended and many Muslims did not. The list of members of the various committees prepared and printed a week ago, notwithstanding the many withdrawals from them, was not altered. You will thus find many names on the Committees that should have been struck off.

The Chief Minister is reported to have excelled himself in demonstration and emotion at the meeting. His heart bled and he shed tears for the misfortunes of the world.

The Working Committee of the Bengal League met on the night of the 20th instant to consider the awful situation that had arisen in view of your statement on the one hand and the previous commitment of the Ministers here on the other. We argued for two and half hours. Among the Ministers present were Mr. Fazlul Huq, Sir Nazimuddin and Tamizuddin Khan. Suhrawardy, although in Calcutta, was absent. Sir Nazimuddin told us that Ministers had been exempted. We contended that your statement was clear and categorical, and made no exceptions. It was suggested that the Bengal Working Committee should pass a Resolution asking the Central Working Committee to reconsider its decision, failing which to requisition a meeting of the All India Council. These were opposed and finally decided that no resolutions be passed as that would have been worse than the disaster at Bombay. Fazlul Huq went so far as to declare that the Working Committee was all wrong. He had a right to his own view and if it came to that he would have no hesitation in resigning from the League and the Working Committee, for, he felt convinced that in helping Britain unreservedly lay the salvation of the Musalmans in India.

Abdur Rahman agreed with him in the matter of his resignation but it was not forthcoming.

May I beg of you to clarify the position and tell those that are still loyal to the League what to do.

Forgive me for the length of this letter but my heart is full and I must tell you what is in it.

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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56

Private & Confidential

Bombay,
June 24, 1940.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st instant. The Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League asking the Musalmans and certainly the Leaguers not to join the proposed War Committees is quite clear and my contradiction of Sir Sikandar Hyat's statement also leaves no doubt in the matter. The question was discussed at great length and finally the Resolution was adopted without a dissent.

What you say in the rest of your letter is receiving my very close attention and I agree with you that the position is intolerable.

My only regret is that Sir Nazimuddin, according to the Press report should have said that ministers were exempted. That is not correct. After the Resolution was passed Sir Nazimuddin asked me what will be the position of the ministers, and I said to him that they must tell the Governors, or through the Governors it must be conveyed

to the Viceroy that pending our communication with the Viceroy, they should not proceed with the formation of the War Committees. Sir Nazimuddin then said: 'supposing we are forced to go on with it, which will leave no alternative than to resign', to which my answer was that if it comes to that we may ask them to resign and that they should communicate to me when that stage is reached. As a matter of fact, Fazlul Huq telegraphed to Sir Nazimuddin that if the Working Committee does not resolve to support the British Government unconditionally we shall have no alternative left but to resign from the League. The Working Committee seemed to regret the telegram and the threat conveyed by Fazlul Huq and entirely disapproved of it. Wherefore Sir Nazimuddin thought that this telegram may have been sent by some mischief-makers, and withdrew it to get his confirmation and to put it before the Working Committee; but it was not placed before the Committee again, although it continued its sitting for two more days.

I am fully alive to the situation. You ask me: 'May I beg of you to clarify the position and tell those that are still loyal to the League what to do'. I say: 'Do faithfully and fearlessly what the Resolution of the Working Committee enjoins you to do'. I feel also that time is coming when the League must be purified at all cost.

I am very glad you wrote to me a frank letter and I thank you for it. I may inform you that I had forwarded the Resolution to the Viceroy with a covering letter that if he desired to discuss it any further I will be glad to meet him. In response, I received his letter acknowledging the Resolution and the covering letter, and asking me to meet him on June 27. Accordingly I am leaving tomorrow night. After my return it would be for all of us to consider the position seriously both with regard to Sir Sikandar Hyat and Fazlul Huq and all other matters.

You know that last September at the meeting of the Working Committee, both Sir Sikandar Hyat and Fazlul Huq had given me in writing that they would resign

the premierships, whenever I called upon them to do so. How far they would abide by their solemn word and pledge, I do not know.

There is one sentence in your letter which is not quite correct:

You, instead of taking strong action against these two for indiscipline actually condoned their offence and confirmed it in the speech you delivered at Hubli.

I did not deliver any speech at Hubli, neither did I refer to any one of them in my message to the Hubli Conference. But I think you may be thinking of my statement which I issued on May 27.

If you read it carefully, you will find that it was merely intended to show that the Muslim League so far had not embarrassed the British Government, pending our negotiations with the Viceroy.

The last letter from the Viceroy was written by him on April 19, and was placed by me before the Working Committee at Bombay on June 15, and after consideration of all these matters, the final decision was taken up as indicated by the Resolution of June 17.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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57

Calcutta,
July 3, 1940.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith copy of letter addressed to Sir Nazimuddin which speaks for itself.

He has acknowledged receipt and has added that he will reply to it after hearing from you and the members of the Working Committee.

Yesterday, the United Press splashed the news that Sir Abdullah Haroon, one of our prominent leaders in Sind along with another comrade of his, named Gazdar, had joined the War Committee of Karachi city.

Again, another mischievous statement was issued from Simla by the United Press to the effect that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has sent copies of the proceedings of the Working Committee to the members of the Council, and it is reported that the Ministers in the Muslim Provinces were exempted from the application of the ban on joining the War Committees by Muslim Leaguers.

It is time that such mischief was stopped, because such statements are harmful to unity in the League.

Your statement to which I referred in my last letter as your speech at Hubli, has been traced. I shall send you a copy of same shortly. The statement was issued by you from Matheran in which you stated that it was not the desire of the Muslim League to embarrass the British Government in the provinces where the Muslim League are responsible for the carrying on of the administration. This statement apparently gave our friends both shelter and courage to act as they have done recently.

Your conversation with the Viceroy has terminated and we are all waiting anxiously for your final directions. We have to make up our minds, one way or the other.

Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested under the Defence of India Act yesterday afternoon. The good work that we are doing together in the Corporation will suffer a temporary set-back. However, I hope that his arrest has been in connection with his threat to break the Holwell Monument,¹ because Government will very soon remove

1. Constructed by Curzon in commemoration of the Black Hole tragedy of Calcutta.

that eye-sore and thus remove the cause of his grievance and threat.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Enclosure: One

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

Private & Confidential

Enclosure : 1

Calcutta,
June 29, 1940.

My dear Sir Nazimuddin,

At the last meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, called to consider the attitude of the members towards the War Committees constituted by the Governors of the Provinces, you stated that the All India Muslim League Working Committee had decided on the 15th instant at Bombay that Muslim League Ministers in non-Congress Provinces were exempted from the application of the general Resolution which was passed without dissent calling upon Muslim Leaguers not to participate in the work of such Committees until further notice. To some of us present at the meeting, this decision of the Central Body seemed absurd and highly mischievous, for it established two laws, one for the Muslim League Ministers and the other for the ordinary members of that body. Such a decision, we felt, rang the death-knell of the League as it created a serious breach of unity and discipline. We accepted your report but in order to discover the reason for the differentiation, wrote to the President and asked him to explain to us the grounds that had necessitated the adoption of such an unheard of principle by the League.

The President has been pleased to communicate to me the actual decision of the Working Committee. I quote him as follows :

My only regret is that Sir Nazimuddin, according to the Press report, should have said that Ministers were exempted. That is not correct. After the Resolution was passed, Sir Nazimuddin asked me what will be the position of the Ministers and I said to him that they must tell the Governors, or through the Governors it must be conveyed to the Viceroy that pending our communication with the Viceroy, they should not proceed with the formation of the War Committees. Sir Nazimuddin then said: 'Supposing we are forced to go on with it, which will leave no alternative but to resign'; to which my answer was that if it comes to that we may ask them to resign and that they should communicate to me when that stage is reached.

You will admit that the decision of the Working Committee is clear and unambiguous and is opposed to the statement that you issued to the Press on your return from Bombay. The statement issued by the President on the 28th instant made it absolutely patent that no special privileges were granted to Muslim League Ministers.

A copy of the proceedings of the Working Committee meeting held in Bombay also confirms Mr. Jinnah's assertion that no exception of any sort or kind was made in favour of the League Ministers.

In view of the above, some of us feel, and feel very strongly, that the time has come for us to take stock of the whole situation without delay. We should not, at this critical juncture, when the fate of the Musalmans of India is in the melting pot, allow internal disruption; and indiscipline should be put down mercilessly. If those to whom we look for a proper lead and correct guidance, are themselves busy smashing the unity that has prevailed so long

— the unity that has been brought about by such sacrifice and labour, — we feel we must, without fear or favour, cry a halt. If necessary, those who do not respond to the directions of the League may have to be turned out, lock, stock and barrel, irrespective of the immediate consequences. In our opinion, it is far better to lose the so-called power in one or two provinces now, rather than continue putting the telescope to the blind eye and court insurmountable trouble later on.

The position in Bengal is going from bad to worse daily. You will not deny that ever since the day Mr. Fazlul Huq assumed the premiership of the province, Muslim Leaguers have rallied round him and have given him unstinted support in every matter. His staunchest supporters, on the other hand, deserted him right from the beginning. Mr. Fazlul Huq stated this fact from the platform and on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. Power, however, does not mean and should not mean riding rough-shod over national decisions. Discipline is for all and all must be for discipline, if anything is to be achieved by a political party. In this connection I shall place before you certain definite charges. I am confident no fair-minded person can repudiate them. They are:

1. The flouting of the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League in regard to the War. The mandate of the Working Committee was definite. What did Mr. Fazlul Huq and those in the Cabinet do? You took no notice of it. On the contrary you tabled a War Resolution. This, in spite of opposition by those who stood by the League, was carried in the Party meeting and in the Assembly. This was the first slap in the face of the parent body. Our political opponents ridiculed the League and joyfully declared how important the body that claims to speak for the Muslims of India was in actual fact.

2. The Working Committee of the All India League directed that no individual other than the President was

empowered to negotiate with the Congress in the matter of a settlement between the Hindus and the Musalmans. Mr. Fazlul Huq, in direct opposition to this mandate, responded to the invitation of Mr. Abul Kalam Azad and went to Delhi to attend the conference that this Muslim representative of the Hindus had called. Apparently while in Delhi, courage failed him and in accordance with his established practice, he left Delhi before the other Muslim Ministers arrived.

3. The mandate of the Working Committee in regard to War Committees was also flouted. As I have dealt with this subject at length in the first few pages of this letter, I shall not repeat.

4. Mr. Fazlul Huq had the hardihood to telegraph to you in Bombay that unless the Working Committee gave unqualified and unstinted support to the British Government in the prosecution of the War, he would resign from the League. You placed this message before the Working Committee and are aware of the reaction this meaningless indisCIPLINED challenge created. You asked for time, because you felt that the telegram may have been the work of a mischief-monger and so desired to have confirmation from the Premier before you placed it formally before the Working Committee. Time was given. After this the Working Committee sat for two days, but the telegraphic message was not placed again before the meeting in Bombay. This is no secret any longer, for, I have received the information from the Punjab.

I ask you if this is not the limit of indiscipline, and flouting of the parent body.

You will no doubt agree that there cannot be divided loyalty — loyalty to the Party and loyalty to Government as a Minister. Where a clash occurs, the choice must be made. Otherwise indiscipline must result and do incalculable damage to the Muslim cause.

I have written to you what was in my heart. It

may appear brutally frank but I felt that the friendly relations between us demanded that I should utter the truth. Please rise to the height of the occasion and let us be loyal to ourselves and to our cause.

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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58

Bombay,
July 6, 1940.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of July 3, and also the copy of the letter addressed to Sir Nazimuddin dated June 29, enclosed. The matter is receiving my attention.

With regard to the other reports about Sir Abdullah Haroon, I cannot believe because from the very beginning he announced having declined to join the War Committee. It is really the Congress Press mischief as they are doing their utmost to show that there is a serious split in the Muslim League. The report that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has sent copies of the proceedings of the Working Committee to the members of the Council stating that the Ministers in the Muslim Provinces were exempted from the application of the ban is equally incorrect.

With regard to my statement that I issued from Matheran and not my speech as you thought, it is quite clear. In fact, it has been embodied in the Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, and the point of the statement was that so far we have put no difficulties in the way of the Government.

I would like you to read carefully the statement underlined in blue pencil. And we in our Resolution¹ say that we are not satisfied with the reply of the Viceroy dated April 19, with regard to the assurances we had asked for.

You need not bother to send the copy but I do not think there is any room for any such inference or conclusion as it is suggested, compatible with honesty.

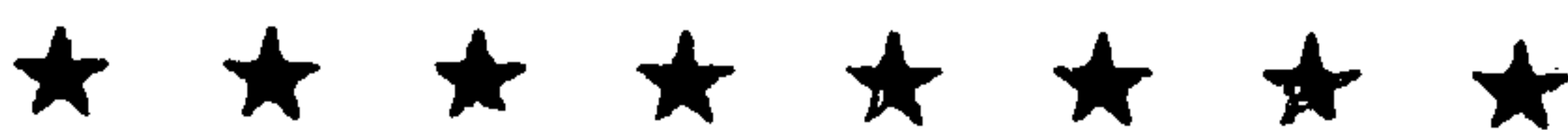
With regard to my conversation with the Viceroy, the talks are still continuing but my final directions are that the Resolution of the Working Committee must be adhered to, irrespective of what may happen as a result of my talks with the Viceroy, and the Provincial Muslim League (Bengal) must call upon every member of the Muslim League to resign from the War Committees. In the meantime, please go on with the organisation of the Muslim National Guards all over Bengal.²

As regards the arrest of Mr. Subhas Bose, I do not know what is really the true reason or cause. I should like to have more facts before I can express any opinion.

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

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Resolution 1 of the Working Committee of the AIML passed at its meeting held on June 15-17, 1940.
2. In June 1940, the AIML resolved to organise the Muslim National Guard Corps with a view to 'train and discipline Muslims to co-ordinate activity for social, and physical uplift ... and to maintain peace, tranquillity and order in the country'.



59

Calcutta,
July 20, 1940.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your telegram¹ to Abul Kalam Azad in reply to his simple looking but highly mischievous enquiry has caused a flutter in the dovecots and has given some others opportunity to take unnecessary advantage of the language used by you. You will have seen before the receipt of this letter, that Abdur Rahman has justified your action in a statement to the Press.

It seems that Sir Sikandar Hyat is attempting to take advantage of the situation that has arisen. We are advised that he has requested you to call a meeting of the All India Muslim League Council to consider various matters. I see in this move of Sikandar Hyat an attempt to bid for the leadership of the League and break-up of the organisation into two; and an inspired leading article in the **Statesman** supports the idea. The attempt must be frustrated or crushed in such a manner that it will be a lesson to those of his way of thinking. If you are calling a meeting of the Council in response to this requisition, you should select a place that you think most suitable and give us all an opportunity to marshall our forces in support of the existing Working Committee and the President. I assure you here and now that so far as Bengal is concerned, those of us who are loyal to you to the core will leave no stone unturned to see that every supporter of yours attends such a meeting.

It was a pity that you agreed to permit Sir Sikandar Hyat to negotiate with the Congress President in regard to the Punjab affairs. That would give Fazlul Huq also a chance to negotiate for Bengal and that is exactly what the League Working Committee should avoid.

1. Jinnah called Azad 'the show-boy' of the Congress.

You are aware of the turn the Holwell Monument agitation has taken. Muslim students are very much agitated. You are also aware that Mr. Fazlul Huq's strongest pillar of support throughout his political career has been the Muslim student community. Signs of revolt are now patent. Government are taking rigid steps to crush the Satyagraha movement in more than one way. Ordinances are the order of the day and such activities instead of smoothening matters are increasing the bitterness amongst the student community with the result that as if by an act of God, Mr. Fazlul Huq, the idol of the students of Bengal, is being shown up to those very students as having feet of clay! I need hardly mention that Mr. Fazlul Huq is very much worried over this sudden and unexpected unpopularity with the result that he is blaming me for being responsible for turning the students against him. I may inform you that I have no hand in the matter and the allegation of Mr. Fazlul Huq is absolutely baseless and malicious.

We have noted with great pleasure that you are actively negotiating to bring about a settlement in the existing disputes between the Khaksars and the Punjab Government. I hope you will bring this affair to a successful conclusion. In my opinion, God has given you a wonderful weapon to strike Sir Sikandar down with. It is, of course, for you to decide whether you will use it or not. I may, however, mention that Muslim sentiment in this province seems to be definitely in favour of the Khaksars and opposed to the bureaucratic manner in which Sir Sikandar is handling the whole affair.

There are whisperings here that your last interview with the Viceroy failed because you insisted on Liaquat being the representative of the League on his expanded Council. Needless to say, such mischievous rumours are set afloat by people out to serve their own ends. They want to impress upon the simpletons that agreement failed because of your obstinate stand for a person who

is considered unfit to represent the League on the Viceroy's Council. This too is for your information.

I hope you are enjoying the best of health.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan.

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60

Calcutta,
August 1, 1940.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Night before last, I received a notice of an emergent meeting to be held last night, to consider the following agenda:

1. Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and the War efforts.

Mr. Amjad Ali, M.L.A., the son of Maratab Ali has come here from Lahore to canvass support for the Punjab. Our meeting was called merely with the object of giving Amjad Ali an opportunity to convince us here that the Punjab were really the aggrieved party and had to be supported in the stand they have taken up.

You are aware that there are some fellows here who will be only too happy to join hands with Sikandar and his company.

We heard Amjad and after dinner the Working Committee met to discuss the points raised. It was with much tact that another catastrophe was averted and those who wanted to do the mischief were stayed from doing it. The Working Committee passed no resolution in support of sending a requisition on the lines of the Punjab. Some

members pressed the view that Leaguers in their individual capacity, in exercise of their rights as laid down in the Constitution, may table a requisition on the lines of the Punjab. I objected and said that such a move would be suicidal to the wider Muslim interests and that we should see that none from Bengal followed the lead of the Punjab. By their doing so, they would throw this province in the trap prepared by Sikandar Hyat.

I must say that Sir Nazimuddin rose to the occasion and spoke in support. Briefly, by peaceful persuasion we managed to keep the pro-Sikandar party at bay. Fazlul Huq, at whose house this meeting was held, kept out of the room almost the whole time on the excuse of attending to the comforts of his guests. He was dragged into the room in the concluding stages of our deliberations. Between you and I, I feel that he and Shahabuddin [Nazimuddin's brother], with the tacit support of Shaheed, had engineered the whole show. They counted on a pro-Punjab feeling. It turned out otherwise.

However, we left with the feeling that you as the constitutional head of the League will fix a date for the meeting of the Council — a date that you think to be most suitable from every consideration. Of course, if before then, conditions demand the calling of a meeting of your Working Committee, I am sure you will do so. It will be better if you do so.

Siddiqui is away in Madras. I missed him last night.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan



Bombay,
August 8, 1940.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letters of July 20, and of August 1. I was not well, therefore, I could not reply to them earlier.

I was very pleased to hear the account of the meeting and specially to note that Sir Nazimuddin rose to the occasion.

I hope you are following how quickly the events are developing. If the people will have only a little patience and give us some peace and chance at least for a reasonable period and stand united, I feel that we shall immensely benefit.

As regards all sorts of rumours, there is absolutely no truth that my last interview with the Viceroy failed for the reasons mentioned in your letter. The negotiations are still proceeding so far satisfactorily.

Yes, the meeting of the Working Committee is going to take place very soon.

You must have by now read the statement of the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government.¹ Please let me know what Bengal thinks of it.

1. The statement was to the effect that the British Government 'could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government, whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into admission to such a Government'. The Government also undertook the setting up of 'a body, representative of the principal elements in India's national life, in order to devise the framework of the new Constitution'. See **India and the War: Statement issued with the authority of His Majesty's Government by the Governor-General on August 8, 1940, Cmd. 6219.**

With kind regards to all of you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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62

Calcutta,
August 27, 1940.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am grateful to you for the kind invitation that you have extended me through the Secretary of the Provincial League. I very much regret that my commitments here, political, civic and business, do not permit me to go to Bombay for the present.

I sincerely trust the mammoth meeting that is being organised for the 31st instant, will meet with unqualified success. The whole of Muslim India is looking to you for a definite lead and I sincerely trust that it will not be long before it is forthcoming. The Congress have definitely said 'no' to the Viceroy's proposal¹ and every other Hindu party seems to require further clarifications and assurances. I am quite confident that unless you have the fullest assurances and are thoroughly satisfied, you will not throw the whole-hearted support of the community in the prosecution of the War.

The Raja of Mahmudabad has also asked me to go to Bombay for a few days. I am writing to him to express my regret at not being able to do so.

1. The proposal was for the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the setting up of the War Advisory Council on which Indians were to be represented.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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63

Calcutta,
August 28, 1940.

Private & Confidential

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am reliably informed that in his conversation with the Mullah Saheb (Sayedna Saifuddin) of the Bohras, the Viceroy told him that the Congress was obstructing the War efforts and so was Mr. Jinnah, but he did not care whether the Congress or the League supported the Government or not, as he got all the support from India that he required, and also he expected that in the future he would get similar assistance from the people and Princes of India.

As the Working Committee meeting will be held shortly, I thought this information, which is absolutely reliable, will be of assistance to you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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Bombay,
October 4, 1940.

Dear Sir,

With reference to our conversation at Delhi, let me in the first instance thank you for having agreed to make a contribution of Rs. 2,400 - for the purpose of our maintaining and strengthening the Secretariat [of the League], which is now badly wanted as the work is increasing every day.

I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me have your cheque at your earliest convenience.

I shall keep the amount specifically earmarked for the purpose referred to above.

M. A. H. Ispahani Esq.,
Calcutta.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. Jinnah

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Bombay,
October 11, 1940.

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that in accordance with the Resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League passed on September 29, 1940, I have, as authorised by the said Resolution, fixed November 1, 1940, the last Friday of the month of Ramazan, as the day for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating the deep feeling of sympathy and concern of Muslim India with the Muslim countries at this critical juncture when war flames are spreading, against any possible design or aggres-

sion upon the sovereignty and independence of these countries.

I am enclosing a copy of the Resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League herewith, which should be supported and confirmed in public meetings throughout every province on that day, and also I hope that during the Friday prayers special prayers will be offered in all the mosques throughout all the provinces for the safety and integrity of the sovereignty and independence of Muslim countries.

I hope that this earnest appeal of mine will receive the fullest support of Musalmans generally and of the Muslim Leaguers in particular and that this day will be observed in a manner worthy of Islamic traditions.

M. A. H. Ispahani Esq.,
Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Enclosure : One

Enclosure : 1.

Copy of the Resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League, dated September 29, 1940.

Resolved that in view of the repeated reports that have reached India recently that there is a probability of war flames spreading and of aggression by foreign powers against the independence and sovereignty of the Muslim countries such as Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Turkey, the President is hereby authorised to fix a day for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating deep sympathy and concern of Muslim India with Muslim countries and also conveying to those who have any such design that in the event of any attack upon Muslim countries, Muslim India will be forced to stand by them and give all the support it can.

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All India Muslim League.

New Delhi,
November 20, 1940.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of November 13, and your promised donation of Rs. 2,400/- and thank you very much for it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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Telegram

Calcutta,
December 24, 1940.

Jinnah,
President, Muslim League.
Karachi.

In wishing you many happy returns of the day, we congratulate you on the success achieved in Sind. You have once more demonstrated us all and Sind Muslims by upsetting the apple cart of Abul Kalam Azad. **Stop** Have confirmed that the redemption of Indian Muslims lies in holding fast to the rope of Allah and gathering together under the banner of the League so courageously held aloft by the Quaid-e-Azam.

Hassan Ispahani
Khwaja Nooruddin

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1941

Fazlul Huq's dual Presidentship of Bengal Provincial League and of Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity—Fazlul Huq and the National Defence Council—Fazlul Huq stops observance of Pakistan Day celebrations—Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and the Bengal politics—Fazlul Huq and Begum Shah Nawaz defy Jinnah—Fazlul Huq deserts Muslim League—Fazlul Huq's tirade against Jinnah—'Star of India's' campaign against Fazlul Huq—Bengal Leaguers resent Jinnah's control—Ispahani on the Working Committee of AIML.

Calcutta,
March 26, 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith copy of letter addressed by me to the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, who happens to be Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy. The letter speaks for itself. You must help us to get rid of the incubus of the Government which has been playing with the League. All these years I have kept quiet, fearing the bogey of a rift in the Muslim ranks.

It will perhaps come to you as a surprise that the President of the Bengal Provincial League is also the President of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity. In view of the coming election, this gentleman has circulated notices to all Districts, Sub-divisions, Towns, Thanas and Unions to gird up their loins and prepare themselves to fight for the rights of the peasants. It is also rumoured that the President of the Nikhil Banga Krishak Proja Samity is carrying on secret negotiations with the rump of the Congress Party which calls itself the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party led by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. You have got to put your foot down and demand a clarification forthwith, as in my humble opinion, allowing Mr. Fazlul Huq to tow two boats at the same time is to give him an opportunity to ruin the Muslim cause in Bengal at this critical juncture.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. H. Ispahani

Enclosures : Three

Enclosure: 1

Calcutta,
March 26, 1941.

The Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I was surprised to read a statement published in the **Star of India** on Saturday, March 22, purporting to be a telegram sent by the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League calling upon the Musalmans throughout Bengal not to observe the Pakistan Day. It said:

In view of possible misunderstanding and danger to communal harmony owing to recent riots, [in Dacca] Provincial Muslim League has decided not to hold Pakistan meetings twenty-third. Request you to comply.

This statement, as you will observe, overrides the mandate issued by the Council of the All India Muslim League and, therefore, is not only **ultra vires** but constitutes a definite and direct challenge to the authority of the parent body.

None knows when and by whom the supposed decision to abandon the holding of the meeting was arrived at. Had there been a meeting of the Working Committee to decide this point, I would have received its notice and agenda. No such agenda reached me, for if it had, I would have attended the meeting to record my protest against

any interference by the Provincial League with orders from the centre.

Opinion has been gaining force that the Muslim League of Bengal has been losing in dignity. It is now being said openly that the League has become the tool of the Government, to be ordered about as it pleases. Steps should be taken not only to check such a view spreading any further but also to liberate the League and to make it function as an independent and free organisation of the Musalmans.

The fact that the Musalmans of Calcutta observed the Pakistan Day, in spite of the orders issued by the Provincial President, is significant and indicates the direction towards which Muslim public opinion is being driven. Any repetition of such dictatorial attitude will mean disaster. This must be averted.

I have therefore to request you to be good enough to call an urgent meeting of the Working Committee at an early date, so that the members may consider the seriousness of the situation created by the ill-advised action of the President.

I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Mr. Jinnah for his information, in order that he may know that however small and ineffective the voice of some may be in Bengal, they will, as they have always done, stand and fight for the honour and prestige of the All India Muslim League.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. H. Ispahani

Enclosure: 2

The Bengal Provincial Muslim League

Wachel Molla Mansions,
8, Dharamtolla St.,
Calcutta,
March 27, 1941.

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated March 26, 1941 regarding the postponement of Pakistan meetings on March 23 by the President and to state that the Secretary is consulting the members of the Working Committee with a view to fix early a suitable date for the Working Committee meeting, to discuss the points raised in your letter under reference.

Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, M.L.A.,
5, Camac Street,
Calcutta.

Yours faithfully,
Farmuzul Huq
Asst. Secretary.

Enclosure : 3

The Bengal Provincial Muslim League

No. 22649-63|40|41.

Calcutta,
April 3, 1941

Dear Sir,

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League will be held on Monday, April 7, 1941 at 8 p.m. at the Chamber of Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq in the Assembly House.

You are requested to attend punctually.

M. A. H. Ispahani Esq.,
Calcutta.

Yours faithfully,
Farmuzul Huq
Asstt. Secretary

Agenda:

1. Postponement of the celebration of the Pakistan Day on March 23, 1941.

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69

Bombay,
April 4, 1941.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 26, and the copy of the letter also dated March 26, addressed to the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. I should like to have a copy of the notice circulated by Mr. Fazlul Huq to the Districts and Sub-Divisions.

In the meantime, don't you think it is for the Bengal Musalmans to put their foot down and demand clarification of the dual position that Mr. Fazlul Huq has taken up?

I shall, however, await further developments from the Working Committee, the meeting of which you have requested the Secretary to call at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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70

Telegram

Bombay,
June 12, 1941.

Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Awaiting your joint report with Amir¹ as promised by telegram wire Amir's programme.

Jinnah

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71

Calcutta,
June 12, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your telegram received half an hour ago. Not knowing your whereabouts, I was awaiting your return to Bombay which fact was published in the newspapers only yesterday.

Last week Amir went back to Lucknow, and from his telegram received today, I find that he is at present in Nainital with his family. When he was here I afforded him several opportunities of meeting the so-called Muslim 'big guns' in the political world of Bengal. He had several long talks with Shaheed, Nazim, Shahabuddin, Dacca, [Nawab of Dacca], Siddiqui and even Fazlul Huq, and the consensus of opinion of our League leaders like Nazim,

i. Mohammad Amir Ahmad, Raja of Mahmudabad.

Shaheed, Shahabuddin and Abdur Rahman seems to be that Fazlul Huq should not be thrown out from the Working Committee of the All India League just yet, because if we do so, it would be a tactical mistake. Fazlul Huq will either openly revert to the Proja Party and join hands with the Hindus to cause a rift amongst the Musalmans in Bengal, or will go round saying that he has been victimised and thrown out of the League and will start a bogus League to run parallel to ours, following in this instance, the footsteps of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose who is running a parallel 'Congress' organisation in the province. Fazlul Huq may plead that he has always rectified by subsequent statements 'any misunderstandings that may have cropped up by his innocent expressions of opinion.'

His last string of statements issued from Meerut, Delhi and Calcutta did not, as you know, go unchallenged. The Calcutta Muslim League met and passed resolutions that were far from palatable to Mr. Fazlul Huq. He thought that he could, once again, ride roughshod. So he convened a meeting of the Provincial Working Committee to consider what action should be taken against the Calcutta Muslim League Working Committee for humiliating and insulting the President of the Provincial Muslim League, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, by releasing to the Press the Resolutions as passed by them condemning his move. He thought that he would browbeat the Working Committee into subjection but found that he was mistaken, because not even two members of the Working Committee were with him. We decided to crush him then and there. What is most significant is the fact that throughout the length and breadth of Bengal not more than two Musalmans issued statements in support of Mr. Fazlul Huq's latest move. These two Musalmans are men of straw. They are known to be hirelings of the Congress. Therefore, Mr. Fazlul Huq realised that he had overstepped the mark of

indiscretion and that if he did not set matters right quickly, there would definitely be a landslide in his popularity and position in Bengal. The result was his somersault and complete contradiction of what he had uttered only a few days ago and a complete subjugation to the will of the Muslim League and an absolute admission of the fact that the Muslim League was the only competent political party that represented the Muslim nation in India. He wangled out of this mess at the eleventh hour when he found himself isolated. If he is now pushed out of the Working Committee, he will plead that whatever his faults may have been, he had always been loyal to the League and that he had been victimised. With this pleading he may get away with some sort of support in the country and this at the present moment is not what we would at all like. Knowing Fazlul Huq as we do, it is best to give him a long rope. He is bound to hang himself sooner or later. He cannot keep a consistent and true course for long. He is bound to slip and slip badly and it will then be the time to deal him a death blow.

Mahmudabad thought that if the people in Bengal were not prepared to throw out Fazlul Huq just yet, we should not force the issue but wait for another opportunity.

Maulana Akram Khan is ill and is away in Madhupur. He is leading a semi-retired life but as he is a big noise in Muslim Bengal it would not be advisable to keep him out. As for Nazimuddin I have already expressed my opinion to you. If, however, you can afford Bengal a fourth seat on the Working Committee, Siddiqui should not be a bad choice, but that, of course, is entirely a matter for you to decide.

I am in the thick of a fight with my erstwhile colleague, now a foe, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. Much of my time, energy and strength are being taken up by retriev-

ing our position in the Corporation due to the sudden and unilateral termination of our Pact of last year which was renewed again by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose of his own free will this year.

I hope the change in Bangalore, Mysore and Ooty has done you good. You were far from well in Madras and it is very necessary that you should look after yourself because at this time when the whole world is passing through a crisis and conditions are changing almost hourly, we, the Musalmans of India, need you to guide us more than ever before. May God give you good health, long life and strength to pilot our ship safely to port through this world storm.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours v. sincerely,
Hassan

P.S.

Abdur Rahman feels that Fazlul Huq has done everything against the League and therefore must be removed from the Working Committee but his removal is likely to place the League into hands which are no better. It is six of one and half a dozen of the other. Has the time come when the League should keep itself independent of the Cabinets, for, the Ministers should be the executors of the policy laid down by the League. In case of deviation they should be brought to the bar of the League and to explain their position. Today they join in initiating the policy and then they torpedo it without the least compunction. This is not as it should be.

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72

51, Ezra Street,
Calcutta,
August 20, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Iran appears to be in danger. The threats of Germany on the one hand and the grave warnings of Britain and Russia on the other are very disquieting indeed.

The Muslim League in keeping with its creed, cannot sit complacently and watch incidents and events. It must clearly declare to the world that it will not allow the use of Muslim countries as pawns on the international political chessboard.

I do hope that the Working Committee, when it meets on the 24th instant, will also tackle this great question boldly and firmly.

I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow.

With kind regards,

Yours v. sincerely,
Hassan

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73

Calcutta,
September 6, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The dilly-dallying and shilly-shallying of Fazlul Huq has reached the limit! I do not think it possible for any

one to tax human endurance and patience more than Fazlul Huq. The Musalmans from every corner of India are looking up to you. Their eyes are focussed on your next move. The ten days have elapsed. Fazlul Huq, after assuring the Party in the Assembly, that he would be in Bombay by the 7th instant, has not yet moved out of Calcutta, and what is more surprising is that today's newspapers feature a statement of his to the effect that the Secondary Education Bill demands his whole time presence in Calcutta until its passage. This stunt of Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde is all right for a cinema show, but political nonsense of this calibre should never be encouraged.

Late yesterday evening the **Telegraph** which is a quarter anna rag, featured an interview by the United Press with Mr. Fazlul Huq, in which he declared that he was resigning the Premiership of the Province as his present position was untenable and was likely to be misunderstood by either the Government or the Musalmans of India. He also stated that he would be reconstituting his Cabinet if called upon to do so. This morning the Associated Press features a clean contradiction of the interview and says in the words of Fazlul Huq: 'I have not granted any interview nor have I authorised anyone to make any such statement as has appeared in the Press last night.' The fact, however, is that Fazlul Huq did say what the United Press released to the public. The United Press could not have created news of this type. It is too serious a stunt for a responsible and a first class news agency. Pothan Joseph [Editor, **Star of India**] will be commenting today on Fazlul Huq and his lack of dignity in constantly making himself ridiculous by issuing statements and contradicting them a few hours later. Well, Sir, you must do something now. Sufficient time has been given and if Fazlul Huq is out to play more hide and seek, I feel that a halt must be called.

I am amazed at Begum Shah Nawaz's request to give her further time. Fazlul Huq at least gave assurance that he would be seeing you in Bombay. She gives no reason for asking for more time. I hope you will not accede to her request.

You must have, of course, before receipt of this letter, taken action against Sir Sultan Ahmed for he has taken up his post as Law Member.

I agree with you that the time has come for you to take full stock of the Muslim position in India. The League is strong enough, thanks to you, to be able to stand four square and face the Premiers, Governors, the Viceroy and even the Secretary of State for India. When those in our file betray us; when those in our midst sell the community for a mess of pottage, then they have to be seeded out. A healthy plant requires systematic pruning — so does a healthy political organisation. Unhealthy overgrowths and adhesions must be pruned if the plant is to thrive. God has given you this opportunity and I am sure you will utilise it.

I spoke to you about your weekly, **The Dawn**. I was unable to convince you fully that a journal or a newspaper, in order to be a success and in order to command influence, must be first class. Half measures, I have found in my little experience, do not pay. Of course, since my departure you must have given this matter your further consideration and I shall be interested to learn what you have finally decided.

Coming to the **Star of India**, Sir Adamjee Hajee Dawood is thinking of crying a halt to his obligations and my brother tells me that he too will definitely have to withdraw himself at the end of this year. May I request you, and kindly keep this request extremely confidential, to write nice letters to Sir Adamjee Hajee Dawood and to

my brother and tell them of the great service that the **Star of India** is rendering to the Musalmans and to the Muslim League, particularly since the beginning of this year. Please tell them of the service they have been rendering to the community and to the Muslim nation by helping to keep alive the **Star of India** which is daily increasing in strength and influence. Tell them as you told me, that there are some who run about for the community and preach its cause. There are some who do silent work to further the progress of the community and there are others who assist the community and its cause by sitting in their seats and helping sources that carry on the struggle for the community. Now, Adamjee and Ispahani come under the last category. They should not withdraw their support and ask them to continue their valuable assistance. With the progress of time the loss that the **Star of India** is incurring monthly, will gradually diminish, because the **Star of India** is no longer a rag that it used to be, but is a first class daily newspaper. It is bought for the matter it contains. Had normal conditions prevailed the **Star of India** would have by now been on its own feet. Tell them that the improved standard must necessarily have time to demonstrate its effect. Advertising agencies are just beginning to take serious notice of the existence of the **Star of India** and that advertisements and support will come in. I am quite sure that Sir Adamjee and my brother will respond to your request. Your words and your requests carry weight. Mine may not.

I met Sir Adamjee at a dinner last night and he was very pleased with the stand the League has taken. His pleasure sent a ray of hope through my brain. I said to myself that if you approached him right now to support the **Star of India** financially, you would be striking the iron while it was hot. Hence this letter.

Believe me, the Musalmans of India have been heartened by the stand that the Working Committee took

up in its meeting of the 24th, 25th and 26th August.¹ The Musalmans walk with their heads upright feeling that their political organisation can shun title holders and no longer respects titular heads.

I have wasted enough of your time, so I close with Salams to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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74

Telegram

Calcutta,
September 11, 1941

Jinnah,
Bombay.

Spontaneous strikes Islamia College Madressah M.L. Jubilee School Muslim High School other Muslim institutions as protest against Fazlul Huq Letter also **Stop** Muslim students demonstrations your support mill areas contemplating hartal tomorrow Calcutta League Working Committee meeting tomorrow night Provincial Working

1. The Working Committee called upon Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Sir Mohammad Saadullah, Fazlul Huq, Nawab of Chattari and Begum Shah Nawaz to resign from the National Defence Council. It also called upon Sir Sultan Ahmad to resign from the Viceroy's Executive Council. They were given ten days to comply with the League's directives failing which the President of the AIML was authorised to 'take such action as he may deem necessary and proper'

Committee emergency meeting summoned agenda consideration Huq's letter refutations charges expressing absolute confidence Quaid Azam this time strong unprecedented resentment all Muslim papers opening broadside attack.

Hassan

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75

Calcutta,
September 11, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith copy of telegram despatched to you today which expresses briefly the reaction of Muslim Calcutta, which represents Musalmans from all over the province, to the letter¹ addressed by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League and released for publication today. I was in possession of this letter at 4 O'clock yesterday afternoon. I am refraining from issuing a statement — tearing his childish argument to ribbons, — because I do not want in any way to anticipate what you will do. This time Fazlul Huq will find that he has overtaxed the patience of Muslims who have continuously given in to his whims not because they were admirers of him, but because they wanted to maintain a united Muslim front in this province and thereby to reap the advantages that were legitimately due to the community and were wrongfully withheld from it for so many generations. The Muslim League Ministers have also found that the policy of appeasement cannot be

1. For Huq's derogatory letter addressed to Liaquat Ali Khan, see Appendix III. The publication of Huq's letter led to protests by the Calcutta Muslim League which proceeded to organise demonstrations.

pursued any further without causing serious damage to the prestige, position and interests of Muslim community as a whole not only in Bengal but all over India. They will join in the fight, and from what I can see the fight is on right now. Either Fazlul Huq will have to climb down and come to his senses or he will have to perish, but fight we will and with Allah behind us shall fight unto death. This time we are not asleep. Fazlul Huq has said far too much for the size of his mouth. The Musalmans of Bengal will demonstrate that the assertion, that he represents the Muslim public opinion in this province, is wrong and that the Muslim public opinion stands behind the League. In other words, it stands behind the Muslim organisation and not behind Fazlul Huq, the individual.

I shall be writing and telegraphing to you more often in order to keep you well posted with our moves here. Suffice it to say that all the League Ministers are up in arms this time. Nawab Musharraf Hussain's attitude is not known. As a matter of fact, nobody cares what he does because he has never been considered more than a non-entity.

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure: One

Telegram

Enclosure: 1.

Calcutta,
September 16, 1941.

Jinnah,
Bombay.

Sunday's demonstration great success Hindu Press

and news agencies supporting Fazlul Huq **Stop** Huq raising irrelevant issues to smokescreen misdeeds latest making Shaheed¹ scapegoat with support of his Proja members in Coalition Party **Stop** We determined fight him am laid up fever.

Hassan

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76

Telegram

Bombay,
September 17, 1941.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Sorry your indisposition I agree issues raised by Huq must be fought out to finish in Bengal's and Muslim India's interest **Stop** Glad your meeting was successful.

Jinnah

1. Suhrawardy had called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League which passed a resolution against Fazlul Huq. Huq's supporters retaliated by demanding Suhrawardy's resignation from the Cabinet.

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77

Telegram

Calcutta,
September 17, 1941.

Jinnah,
Bombay.

Since telegraphing yesterday Huq summoned Nazimuddin Dacca Tamizuddin insisting Shaheed resignation otherwise dismissal League ministers threatened resignation en bloc and fight issue **Stop** Requisition by seventy Leaguers asking Huq call meeting consider no-confidence against Shaheed **Stop** At usual coalition meeting Huq requested Leaguers postpone requisition meeting one hour meanwhile Assembly met and adjourned abruptly Huq supporters opposition Projas Boseites Mahasabhites Congress betrayed eleventh hour by Huq **Stop** League party alive and active **Stop** Regrettable distorted accounts being splashed by Government India aided news-agencies example Sundays two meetings belittling mammoth League demonstrations exaggerating small pro-Huq meeting do something **Stop** Treat today Press report of Assembly members signed representation to Governor lightly **Stop**.

Hassan.

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78

Bombay,
September 19, 1941.

Dear Mr. Hassan,

Many thanks for your letters of September 6 and

11 and your telegram. I had a talk with you on the telephone and I had also wired to you and I am very glad to learn from you and other sources that Bengal has risen to the occasion. Of course it is inevitable now and I shall have to remove the name of Mr. Fazlul Huq as soon as I can from the Working Committee.

As regard his letter to Secretary of the All India Muslim League, it will be dealt with at the proper place and time as I have said in my statement, and in place of Mr. Fazlul Huq I propose to nominate you and hope that you will accept the membership. Please keep me in touch with the developments in Bengal.

I was sorry that you had fever. I sincerely hope that you are alright now.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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79

Calcutta,
September 23, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you very much for your letter of the 19th instant. It was delivered to me this morning.

Amir arrived here from Patna yesterday and will be going back to Lucknow tomorrow evening.

We are thinking of submitting a requisition to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Delhi, ask-

ing him to convene the coming meeting of the All India Council at Calcutta instead of Delhi. We shall be meeting tonight to select a date in case our workers find October 26 unsuitable. The object of calling the meeting at Calcutta instead of Delhi is twofold :

- (1) Further to stir up the bile of the Leaguers.
- (2) To crack a powerful whip on the back of Fazlul Huq and those of his way of thinking.

On the eve of his departure to Simla, Fazlul Huq issued statement to the Press. Opinion was divided on its interpretation. Some felt that Fazlul Huq had climbed down and others found mischief in his words. However, agitation is being kept alive and newspapers have not discontinued their fire. On the eve of his departure he told the Press that he was going to see the Viceroy and his departure from Calcutta was broadcast from all Radio stations. On reaching Simla he told the Press that he was there for the benefit of his health and that he did not propose to interview the Viceroy and he was almost sure that the Viceroy did not know of his presence in Simla. Such glaring lies day in and day out ; undignified statements hour in and hour out, are, to express oneself mildly, unimaginably low and totally unworthy of a man in the position of Fazlul Huq.

'Mashalla,' the Leaguers are united. This time they mean business and will not allow Fazlul Huq to go on, without being challenged, in the fashion that he has done in the past.

Fazlul Huq told some people here that after seeing the Viceroy he would proceed to Bombay to meet you. I expect the carrying out of his proposed plan will depend on the response and encouragement he receives at the hands of the Viceroy and Sikandar Hyat Khan. However, no talk of compromise can possibly arise in our quarrel with Fazlul Huq at this stage. He must uncon-

ditionally and with apology withdraw his letter addressed to the Secretary of the Muslim League and released to the Press on September 11. Nothing short of this, I am sure, will be acceptable to any true Muslim Leaguer.

Fazlul Huq did not press the no-confidence¹ motion against Shaheed at the eleventh hour because he was not given the assurance by the Governor that on the fall of the Cabinet he would be the person who would be called to form the new Cabinet. Secondly, the European Group in the Assembly changed their minds and told him that they would not welcome any change in the Ministry at this stage, particularly in view of the international situation and the important part that Bengal is playing in the war industries programme. The European Group probably felt that they could rely more upon the Leaguers than the Sarat Bose's group, who do not enjoy too good a reputation even in their own community. The official Congress were latterly rather disturbed to a great extent, for if Sarat Bose came in with Fazlul Huq then he would utilise every opportunity to crush the Gandhian school in Bengal. Hence the official Congress group too showed definitely signs of cooling off.

You have my assurance that Muslim Leaguers are not asleep. They are wide awake and active. We are all waiting for Fazlul Huq's promised comprehensive statement either on the eve of his return from Simla or immediately on his arrival in Calcutta. If he makes an unconditional apology, he will take the wind out of our sails for the time being; but if he does not, then he shall be removed from the League organisation in the province. There shall be meetings in every Union, Sub-Division and District of Bengal supporting the Working Committee's

1. On Sept. 16, 1941, members of the Krishak Proja Samity tabled a resolution of no-confidence against Suhrawardy in the Assembly.

decision, expressing explicit confidence in you and your leadership, and damning Fazlul Huq.

Kindly forgive me for rambling in this fashion. The object of this letter is to keep you posted with happenings in Bengal.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Always yours sincerely,
Hassan

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80

Calcutta,
September 24, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night at Nooruddin's house Amir, Shaheed, Shahabuddin, Nooruddin and I discussed the advisability of requesting the Secretary of the All India League to change the venue of the coming Council meeting from Delhi to Calcutta. I have been asked to write to you in advance and secure your opinion in the matter. If you agree, then the necessary requisition for the holding of the meeting at Calcutta will be forwarded to Liaquat. If, however, you think that the place should not be changed, we shall not proceed further in the matter.

I shall be grateful if you will please let me know your opinion telegraphically, if possible.

Thanking you,

Always yours sincerely.
Hassan

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Bombay,
September 26, 1941.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd and also your wire. I fully appreciate your desire that we should hold the meeting of the Council at Calcutta instead of at Delhi as it is announced to take place on October 26. There are certain difficulties, however, which it is very difficult for me to explain to you in a letter.

I am very glad indeed to hear that the Leaguers there are united and I entirely agree with the view taken by you there that Mr. Fazlul Huq must unconditionally, with apology, withdraw his letter addressed to the Secretary, and which was released to the Press on September 11. That is really the least.

In my opinion he is a source of danger to the vital interests of not only the Musalmans of Bengal but of the whole of India. It is humiliating for the Musalmans to acknowledge a man of this type to be one of their leaders. The whole world is laughing at this issue. It is entirely up to you all in Bengal to stand united and put an end to this agony.

May I suggest for your consideration and the other Leaguers particularly of Sir Nazimuddin, Nawab of Dacca and Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Tamizuddin, the idea of holding a Special Session of the League in Calcutta, some time in the month of December, during Christmas week? If that appeals to our people in Bengal then I would advise you to table a resolution at the next meeting of the Council, which must be backed up by the written requisition under Rule 16, by no less than 50 members of the Council of the League, as you know under Rule 15

and 16, it is only the Council that can hold Special Session and fix the annual Session of the League.

I am also waiting for Mr. Fazlul Huq's promised comprehensive statement and we shall have to consider our next move accordingly. Anyhow I am very happy to gather from your letter that you are all united and mean business this time.

Hope you are well. With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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82

Bombay,
October 13, 1941.

My dear Hassan,

This is just a line to request you to let me know what is the exact position and situation in Bengal. I have not heard from you for a long time now. Do please let me know everything and keep me in touch.

Of course I am expecting you at Delhi for the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League on October 26.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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Calcutta,
October 16, 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of October 13.

My silence was due to the fact that I had nothing sensational or fresh to report until yesterday. After the prorogation of the Legislative Assembly the rush, bustle and excitement subsided. Mr. Fazlul Huq went away to Simla and promised to issue a comprehensive statement on his return which he has not done. A few weeks ago in one of the leading articles of the **Star of India** Mr. Huq's attention was drawn to his promise but still he did not respond. Mr. Huq after arranging a tour programme for himself which occupied two days of his time on his return from Simla, went up to Darjeeling. The other Ministers were there also and after much difficulty, because Mr. Fazlul Huq was all the time trying to avoid the issue, I am told, a meeting of the Muslim Ministers was arranged. At the first meeting Nazimuddin, Tamizuddin, Fazlul Huq and His Excellency were present. After talking for an hour or two the meeting came to no definite conclusion because Huq said that he wanted Sir Bejoy Singh, the Revenue Minister, and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca to be present, and that unless they participated he could not arrive at a definite conclusion. So the meeting was adjourned for the next day and the Nawab Bahadur and Sir Bejoy Singh were brought in. Again, there were prolonged discussions and once again Mr. Fazlul Huq would not commit himself. He ended the meeting by saying that he had to go to Calcutta to consult his followers and that unless he obtained their advice, approval and direction he could neither say nor do anything definite. Fazlul Huq came down to Calcutta and a day later Nawab

Bahadur of Dacca, Nazimuddin and Shahabuddin followed suit.

While in Darjeeling, Fazlul Huq, it is reported, wrote letters to a large number of Muslim M.L.As and Scheduled Caste Members of the Assembly asking them to meet him in Calcutta on a certain day. On the appointed day barely 20 Muslims and a handful of Scheduled Caste Members attended the meeting. The response, I am again told, disappointed Fazlul Huq. However, he is in close touch with Shamsuddin, the Leader of the Proja opposition rump, Sarat Bose and the Congressites of Bengal. These supporters are insisting on a wide expansion of the Cabinet which is certainly not acceptable to us, or in the alternative, are advising him to break away without delay before he totally loses influence in the province and before his personality is drowned in the flood of the League.

Whilst here, he launched a fresh enterprise, namely, the Bengalee newspaper **Nayayuga**, — 'New Era. This has been brought out to compete with the **Azad** and ourselves. Mr. Fazlul Huq's speech delivered at the gathering to celebrate the birth of **Nayayuga** is very interesting reading. He complains that not a single Muslim owned newspaper in the province supported him in his recent stand vis-a-vis the League as embodied in his letter of September 8, and that he was being victimised and vilified throughout the province and that as a result, he found it necessary to have a newspaper to ventilate his own decided views and the views of those of his way of thinking, before it was too late. He does not know the difficulties that the newspaper business is passing through these days. He does not realise that some of the oldest newspapers with large circulations will soon have to think of closing down, because the income as compared with the expenditure is showing signs of more and more shrinkage. Further, newsprint is not available at a reasonable price and not one ream more than the

quota allotted can be secured even by the oldest newspapers. In these circumstances, I do not see how and where Mr. Fazlul Huq will get paper cheaply and will secure the quantity that a newspaper requires. I have no doubt that the **Azad** will not suffer, nor have I any doubt that Mr. Fazlul Huq will soon burn his fingers and give up this venture as a bad job.

At the 'launching' of the paper all the Hindu newspaper representatives were present. Not a single Muslim newspaper representative was invited to the function; so Mr. Fazlul Huq was able to tell many lies without being contradicted, but such lies have not taken him and will not take him far.

We had a conference on the eve of the return of Nazimuddin, Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and Shahabuddin. The night before last we talked from 9 o'clock till 1 o'clock and came to the decision that the issue will have to be clinched within this week. We have either to fight Fazlul Huq or Fazlul Huq has to withdraw his letter of September 8, and express regret for the language embodied in it.

We are not prepared to accept the expansion proposal because it will mean the bringing in of elements that will do injury to the Muslim League in the province. We have had one previous experience some time ago when Shamsuddin came in. He went round in his ministerial capacity, preaching the gospel of the Proja. We had to push him out of the Cabinet to put an end to the nuisance. However, briefly the position may be summed up as follows :

If Fazlul Huq does not withdraw his letter with apology, then war will be declared. He will push on with his propaganda and appeal to the Muslims and will press the No-Confidence motion against Shaheed and, may be, some other Muslim League Minister coupled with Shaheed. Of course, the moment that such a motion is pressed over,

four League Ministers and perhaps one or two Hindus will resign from the Cabinet. The Government will fall and the Governor will call upon either the Leader of the League or Fazlul Huq to form the Government. As we are the largest group in fact and on Fazlul Huq's own admission to the Governor in Darjeeling, it is more than likely that, Inshallah, we shall be summoned. Once sent for, many waverers who are sitting on the fence will throw in their lot with the party called to form the Government, will come and join us and we hope, Inshallah, to have a working majority in the House. If Fazlul Huq is sent for, he will then be in an advantageous position and it is more than probable that with the mid-air waverers, he too will be able to establish a majority.

The Europeans seem to be inclined towards us because they can place more reliance on us than on Fazlul Huq and his rabble. Further, they are hostile to the idea of working with Sarat Bose and his gang. Further, as Sarat Bose and his party have declared their open opposition to Britain's war and her war aims, it will not be possible for the Governor to accept him or anyone in his party as Minister.

If Fazlul Huq agrees to withdraw his letter and apologise on condition he is allowed to expand the Council of Ministers we shall throw a sop to him by agreeing to expansion by one, if the person selected is a non-party Muslim and one who enjoys the full confidence of both sides — ours and his. This distance we may go to give Huq a chance to save his face before his own followers

The Europeans have said to Huq and others that they may agree to an expansion of one or so but not the three or four additions that Huq wants.

The Europeans and the Governor are doing everything to maintain peace in the province because they feel a fight between us will surely affect the war efforts of the

province. There will definitely be a certain amount of unrest—political and labour—and production will suffer.

When the crowd, I mean the Ministers, were up at Darjeeling it was agreed between the representatives of the League and Huq to declare a truce until such time as they decided to break away and fight. This agreement was arrived at the instance of the European Group in the presence of the Governor. Orders were issued to stop all agitation and work through the Press or platform. We accordingly 'ceased fire.' Huq, as usual, has not adhered to his undertaking. He is working in the districts and is abusing the League Ministers and is charging them with disloyalty to him for having been party to the resolutions passed by the Provincial League Working Committee when it met to consider Huq's letter of September 8. His speech has been reported and our friends in Darjeeling will draw the pointed attention of the Europeans and H.E. to the flagrant breach of a solemn undertaking by him.

However, within a week we should hear something definite from Darjeeling. This animated suspense and consequent inactivity must cease.

If we are to fight, Inshallah, we shall not hesitate. The League is strong in the hearts of the poor villagers in Bengal. Fazlul Huq has discovered this fact and is now shedding tears for having made it strong in this province — so he thinks. In my opinion he has been an awful poison in the system of the League and the sooner he is got rid of, the quicker will the League improve. We shall certainly have more time to devote our minds to more important All India and international questions instead of dissipating our energies in minding this semi-insane and highly mischievous and troublesome spoilt child.

More when we meet in Delhi, unless, of course, events warrant consultation with you or unless there is fresh news to give.

A fair sized contingent of the Council Members will leave for Delhi. You shall hear Bengal's voice this time and I hope you will be happy.

With kind regards,

Always yours sincerely
Hassan

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Calcutta,
October 19, 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The papers report a patch up between the League Ministers and Huq. The text of the correspondence exchanged has been released to the Press which I am sure you have read. Nazimuddin rang me up from Darjeeling and had a six minutes talk. He wanted to know my reaction. I told him that I am not a party to the struggle between ministers nor do I care two hoots as to who remains and who goes out of the Cabinet. I certainly value Muslim solidarity everywhere and more so in Bengal and we can have this solidarity and maintain our old team work if the 'casus belli' is removed. Our fight with Huq is based on his shameful letter and unless this letter is withdrawn, there can be no peace. The President of the Working Committee or the Council are not bound to be guided by the patch up between ministers who are principally concerned with the protection of their seats in the Cabinet. So if Huq does not make amends by the 25th of this month, he may be thrown out of the League and

then this 'patch up' will break again and there will be a proper fight. I do not know the contents of Huq's letter to Liaquat. Nothing short of a withdrawal, I hope, will satisfy the elders when they meet in Delhi. Disrespect to the head of an organisation is disrespect and insult to the organisation itself and this cannot and must not be tolerated if discipline is to be maintained. Further, Allah will not give us a better opportunity to squeeze the neck of this spoilt child of Muslim Bengal. I am sure Huq is realising this time that he is not as strong as he used to be in his own province. His trusted scouts have come back with this report from the interior. Had he felt himself strong, then he would not have in any circumstances missed this chance of having a merciless crack at you and the League.

Shaheed went straight to Delhi to attend the Price Control Conference. I am sure he will see you well ahead of the 26th to coax you to accept any old letter that Huq writes to Liaquat as satisfactory and to bury the hatchet. Please do not yield. I have written to him and to Nazim today that unless Huq apologises and withdraws his letter, there cannot be peace and that we cannot and will not accept any settlement short of it. It is reported that a Provincial Working Committee meeting is to be called on Monday or Tuesday to consider the letters exchanged between the ministers in Darjeeling and perhaps to endorse the settlement as an **amende honorable** by the Chief Minister. In my letters to them¹ I have told them that I consider such a meeting totally unnecessary unless, of course, Mr. Huq withdraws his letter of September 8 before the Working Committee meets, for, there can be no confirmation or endorsement until the cause of the war is first removed.

• Sir Hassan Suhrawardy is here. He is doing all he can to get Huq withdraw his letter in clear and unequivocal language. He is also trying to get Huq to go to

Delhi. Of course Huq has issued an appeal to the Bengal members of the Council to muster strong in Delhi. This he thinks will re-install him in the heart of Muslim Bengal.

However I shall leave for Delhi on the 24th or on the 25th. I shall give you a full report.

Before I close I shall repeat my request. Do not yield on the question of withdrawal of the letter. Tell Shaheed that nothing short of a withdrawal can satisfy. If you are firm Huq will yield positively. I have a hunch that Shaheed has been delegated with the power of explaining things and of appeasing you.

With kind regards,

Yours v. sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. Brother Ahmad will see you on Tuesday. Please read the leading article of the **Star** Calcutta Edition 18th or Dak Edition, October 19, 1941 and the caption 'Reconciliation'.

Enclosures : Two.

Enclosure : 1.

Personal

Calcutta,
October 18, 1941.

My dear Sir Nazimuddin,

Your [telephone] talk of six minutes from Darjeeling has left me rather worried because you feel that a settlement between Fazlul Huq and the League members of the Cabinet will be considered to be satisfactory

by Mr. Jinnah and the Members of the Council. I am afraid you are much too optimistic if Mr. Huq has not withdrawn his letter of September 8. The withdrawal of this letter must be made before the reported meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committee in Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,

Hon. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E., Hassan
9, Gariahat Road,
Calcutta.

Personal

Enclosure: 2.

Calcutta,
October 18, 1941.

My dear Shaheed,

The Associated Press reports of the compromise arrived at between you people and Huq does not clear the most important point in dispute. The fight is not between us and Huq but between Huq and the All India Muslim League and the *casus belli* is the letter of Huq to Liaquat Ali. If there is to be peace, that letter must be withdrawn and unless it is withdrawn, in my opinion, no meeting of the Provincial League Working Committee which is reported in the Press today, should be called. We will not help a solution if we compromise the position of the League any further. Please therefore be careful in any steps that you may be contemplating to take.

Yours sincerely,

Hon. Mr. H. Shaheed Suhrawardy, M. A. H. Ispahani
3, Wellesley 1st Lane,
Calcutta.



Calcutta,
October 20, 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Shaheed did not go to Delhi to attend the Price fixing Conference of Government. So he will accompany the rest of the crowd, leaving here on the 24th of this month.

The rest of my letter of yesterday stands.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Urgent

51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta,
October 20, 1941.

The Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I confirm the views expressed by me at the preliminary meeting held at my office today and in view of the decision arrived at thereafter at the meeting of the Provincial Working Committee expressing confidence in Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq prior to withdrawing his offensive letter addressed to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League

and released to the Press on September 11, I hereby resign from the Working Committee. I consider your action to be wrong and totally uncalled for, particularly as the letter of Mr. Huq will be considered by the Central Organisation at its meeting in Delhi on the 26th instant and because I feel strongly that by such a resolution you have further compromised the position of the League in this province. A political organisation of the standing of the League should not be utilised for the furtherance of selfish aims and for the protection of seats in the Cabinet.

I propose to issue a statement to the Press shortly giving my full reasons for resigning from the Provincial Working Committee.

Kindly place this letter¹ before the Working Committee at its next meeting for acceptance.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. H. Ispahani

1. On October 20, 1941, the Working Committee of the Bengal Muslim League held an emergent meeting under the chairmanship of Fazlul Huq and recorded its confidence in Huq. The Committee also accepted Huq's assurance that he in his letter to the Secretary, AIML, did not mean any disrespect to Mr. Jinnah personally. The Committee expressed the hope that Huq's assurance will result in 'a complete understanding between the President of the AIML and Huq'. (**Star of India**), Oct. 21, 1941. Since the compromise had been reached without Huq withdrawing his letter, Ispahani tendered his resignation from the Working Committee of the Bengal Muslim League and addressed the above letter to its Secretary.



Calcutta,
October 22, 1941.

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

Our worries never seem to end. Our fumbling and stumbling never seem to finish, for, when one obstacle is removed, another is quickly placed in its stead.

I refer to the lengthy interview you were pleased to give to the journalists yesterday and which is published in the newspapers today. In the course of it you say :

If in this War there are not Bengalees in sufficient numbers, then, **when India is given Dominion Status, etc. etc.**

I refer to the words that I have underlined.

Now, one is a Muslim Leaguer or one is not. If he is, then he cannot or must not say anything that is likely to strike or strikes at the very creed, policy and progress of the All India Muslim League. You will agree that the above quoted statement does not fit in with our creed.

I shall be very much obliged if you will take early steps to clarify the above quoted lines as such periodical lettings off of squibs by Leaguers of your position and influence do much damage to the organisation of which you are a member, hold it up to the ridicule of its enemies and encourage smaller fries to take similar liberties.

I request you not to misunderstand my motive in addressing you as I have done.

I shall appreciate an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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Calcutta,
November 12, 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On my way back from Lahore I spent four very pleasant days with Amir in Lucknow. I returned to Calcutta yesterday. I was in Lucknow when Huq passed through it on his way to Delhi. One more effort was made by Amir and Khaliq-uz-Zaman to coax him to see reason. He said that he would see you in Delhi but would not commit himself further. He is more slippery than an eel.

Our friends in Bengal are up and doing — not for the love of the League but because self-interest and self-preservation has left them without another choice. I am enclosing a circular¹ issued under the signatures of our quartette.

Has Huq seen you? Has Siddiqui who is still in Delhi called on you? Please let me know.

Pothan Joseph is not back from Delhi. October has shown the month's loss account of **Star** at Rs. 3,000|-. This is a colossal figure. On Joseph's return I propose to apply the pruning scissors mercilessly. Unless this is done, the **Star** will perish.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. Missing.



10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi,
November 15, 1941.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 12th enclosing a circular issued over the signature of Nawab of Dacca and others.¹

Nazimuddin is arriving today and it is reported that he is carrying a letter from Mr. Fazlul Huq and we will see what to do in the matter.

Yes, I saw Mr. Joseph here and had a long talk with him. I have also written to Sir Adamjee.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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Calcutta,
November 17, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night a telephone call from Nazimuddin informed us that the Working Committee had finally accept-

1. Missing

ed Fazlul Huq's last letter as an **amende honorable**.¹ This decision was contrary to my expectation. However, the Working Committee's decision is my decision and I shall loyally stand by it — consigning my own opinion to the four winds.

Did Nazimuddin convey to you Fazlul Huq's message of yesterday afternoon, through Sir Bejoy Singh Roy? Huq authorised Roy to tell Nazim to withdraw his letter of September 8 in toto if necessary and to get the assurance of the Working Committee that this withdrawal would not be published right away. He further passed on the assurance that once the curtain was dropped on the whole episode, he would write a 'very fine' letter to you acknowledging you as his leader and further gave the assurance that he would call and pay his respects to you when he next visits Delhi. Did Nazim tell this to the Working Committee or to you privately?

Yesterday evening while we were waiting in the house of the Nawab of Dacca for the decision of Working Committee, Shahabuddin suggested that we should telephone Delhi and press for the acceptance of Fazlul Huq's letter as sufficient apology. I refused point blank and told them that as I considered the Working Committee to be a body of intelligent men and you were its President, it would be an open insult to offer them unsolicited directions. I further told the meeting that I did not consider Fazlul Huq's letter as sufficient amends and that if they

1. Fazlul Huq in his letter of November 14, 1941 addressed to the Secretary, AIML referred to his loyalty to the League and in proof thereof, to his resignation from the National Defence Council. He assured that 'nothing was further from my intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on any one'. The Working Committee of the AIML at its meeting held on November 16, 1941 accepted Huq's explanation and decided not to take any further action.

spoke to Delhi, I too reserved the right to telephone my opinion through to Delhi.

Some minutes later Shahabuddin came forth with a more astounding statement that in case the Working Committee rejected the letter as unsatisfactory, it was his considered opinion that we should make the Working Committee see reason and to act on our advice as the whole dispute related to our province. You may be sure that I did not leave unsaid anything that was worth saying. I told the meeting that the suggestion of Shahabuddin struck at the root of discipline and could not therefore be given a second's consideration, that the League was an All India Political Organisation and not an association of time servers and self-seekers and made it clear to them that I for one would declare open war and felt confident that even in Bengal I would not be left single handed to fight the battle that must necessarily result if such a step is taken.

So, no suggestions or threats were telephoned to Delhi.

I am issuing a statement to the Press today and I hope it will meet with your approval.

Confidentially, Huq told Bejoy Singh, and that was conveyed to me by the latter last evening, that he will not carry on the fight in the province. May Providence help him to adhere to his resolve! His 'Progressive Party' must go and so must his paper the *Nayayuga* stop writing against the League and you. In short, unless he orders a general 'cease fire', I cannot see how our war can be called off.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure : 1

Referring to the decision of the Working Committee of the Muslim League and the Huq controversy, M.A.H. Ispahani issued the following statement :

There will be a general sense of relief in Bengal that the explanation of Mr. Huq and his request to treat the incident as closed have been accepted at the meeting in Delhi in a generous and sporting spirit. If all hold to the spirit of it, Bengal will be saved from the atmosphere of crisis and convulsion which has been disturbing public life at a time when the whole energy of the country should be conserved to face the problems that we have before us.

To make the spirit of goodwill genuine, there should be an end to the tendency to create cliques within the Coalition Party for whom Mr. Huq speaks as Premier of Bengal, and secondly, there should be a stop to the recriminations in the Press over the topic now buried. If good faith is maintained on this basis, I am sure of the cohesion and stability which the nation requires at the present juncture.

The resolution of the League Working Committee on the constitutional position is also most opportune in view of the possibility of the claims of Muslims at the Centre and the Provinces being short-circuited. In the last change of Government policy, Muslim interests had been overridden, as may be seen in the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the creation of an *ad hoc* Defence Council when better measures for the enthusiastic prosecution of the war could have been devised in terms of the suggestions made by the Muslim League with a like opening for others to co-operate.

I am afraid the standpoint taken by Muslims is in danger of being ignored by the Government in the

dual pressure brought from one end by Mr. Gandhi, and from the other by the exponents of parliamentary co-operation without reference to the rights of Muslims and the minorities. This is a time for a united front and with the present assurance of leadership tendered by Fazlul Huq, I hope that Bengal will not fail the rest of Muslim India, nor fall short of any fair opportunities thrown open for Muslims to associate themselves in an agreed programme.

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Calcutta,

November 20, 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 15th instant was received yesterday. I cannot understand the delay.

As you know, Fazlul Huq is in the Tropical Diseases Hospital, suffering from hernia! Yesterday evening I went to see Mrs. Nooruddin who is laid up in the same hospital and on the steps I met Huq. He was very cordial, sincere and affectionate. But all these count with persons who are sincere and honest. So far, there seems to be peace in the province. The issuing of statements and counter statements has been given a holiday. I am told that the **Nayayuga** too is not as vulgar as it used to be.

The Assembly meets on November 27. Until it meets, no one can conjecture what Huq will do. Let us all take Asquith's advice and just 'wait and see.'

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Calcutta,

November 21, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On the eve of Nazimuddin's departure for Delhi to attend the Working Committee meeting of the 16th instant, we met at Shahabuddin's house. The following were present — Nawab of Dacca, Tamizuddin, Maulana Akram Khan, his son — Khairul Anam Khan, Nazimuddin, Shaheed, Shahabuddin, Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, Nooruddin and I. Nooruddin and I expressed the view that it was a folly to force the patching up of the dispute between the Central League and Fazlul Huq, because we were convinced that Fazlul Huq, after making peace with the All India Muslim League, would not bury the hatchet but would carry on his fight in the province. I even told them that had I been in Fazlul Huq's place, I would have gone out of my way to make peace with you and even to permit myself to be photographed kneeling at your feet and begging for forgiveness! Having made peace with you I would wait a few weeks and then would so strike in the province on a non-League issue that I would finish my Muslim opponents in Bengal. Again, however, the wise-
acres of the province, namely, the Ministers and their Chief Whip felt and as a matter of fact were of the definite opinion that we were wrong and that Fazlul Huq would not move as we anticipated and if he did, he would be on a worse wicket than the one he stood on prior to his making peace with the Centre. We did our bit to avert the commission of a folly but met with no success.

As I have already advised you, last Sunday afternoon in Nawab of Dacca's house, when we were waiting for a telephone call from Nazimuddin, Shahabuddin actually came forward with the preposterous proposition that we should even go to the extent of forcing your hands to accept Fazlul Huq's letter as a sufficient amends for his

sins and to close the controversy. Of course, I protested and told them that even if the League Working Committee did accept Fazlul Huq's letter as sufficient apology, and although I would abide by the decision of that body, I would still maintain that it had committed a political blunder. I also told them that Nazimuddin was doing the Muslim Leaguers of this province immeasurable injury by pleading for the acceptance of Huq's explanation by the Working Committee.

Well, so much for the past. Now let me tell you what is worrying me. I feel that Fazlul Huq having made his peace with the Centre will not 'cease fire' unless, of course, he feels certain that there is a risk of his being ousted from the Chief Ministership. Fazlul Huq will carry on the fight; he will encourage his supporters to go on with the no-confidence motion against Shaheed and others; he will insist on turning out the Ministers whom he or his party do not approve. He will have the further advantage of saying that his quarrel is this time with his Ministers and has nothing to do with the League. He will say: 'I cannot work with X and or Y. They are Muslim Leaguers, no doubt. I will substitute them with A and B who are also just as much Muslim Leaguers as X or Y' Then we may shout as much as we can and in the province we shall not make progress because the fight will no longer be between an individual and a political organisation like the All India Muslim League, but one between one person and another. Here Fazlul Huq will not have the hostile reception that awaited him when he was attempting to fight our All India organisation. I will not be surprised if he succeeds in marshalling a large slice of Muslim public opinion in Bengal to his side, because, after all is said and done, the mass still believes, however wrong the belief may be, that Nawabs and Rajas are their exploiters. The struggle, if cleverly handled, and no one will doubt that Huq is a clever man, will change from Huq-All India League fight into one between the Zamindars

and the cultivators — the rich and the poor Muslims, the haves and have-nots. When it does so change, the whip will be in Huq's hand and our great leaders of the province will have to bend before it !

Personally, I am not interested in individuals. I have all along made it clear to you, Sir, that I do not care two brass pins whether X is in power or Y is. I have also often expressed the opinion that the whole batch of Muslim Ministers in Bengal are all tarred with the same brush. One is as bad as the other. If Fazlul Huq is a devil, the others are no better, although some of them may, to camouflage, cover themselves with the cloaks of saints. I make this statement because I know every one of them. I have tested them and have found their chief concern to be to remain in office and to wield the power that their office carries. None of them is a selfless person and none of them really, genuinely and sincerely supports the League for the sake of the League. They stand by it because it suits them. I have seen many instances in the last four and half years when, without any compunction, they threw the decision and principles of the League to the four winds. So, to me, really it does not matter whether Fazlul Huq remains in power or he goes out. I am not going to bother myself about individuals. Let them fight for themselves and do the best they can in their own interests. If, however, any one of them treads on the feet of the League, I shall certainly not hesitate to slap him. I am just sick and tired of the 'friends' of the League in Bengal. They are really the enemies of the League. Let them stew in their own juice. They are set to soon cut their own throats. I do hope and pray that they do no injury to the prestige of the League.

Shahabuddin has telephoned me asking me to be present at a private meeting at his house tonight when Shaheed and Nazimuddin are expected to join in the deliberations. I do not know what the next move of our great leaders will be. I shall write again tomorrow.

I maintain that we have lost an excellent opportunity of bowling out Fazlul Huq on the wicket prepared by Providence. We shall not have such an opportunity again in a hurry. This opportunity was thrown away by the Working Committee and the province because of the weak-kneed advice and persuasion of our Muslim Ministers' clique who are today unfortunately being guided by Shahabuddin.

Fazlul Huq has emerged the cleverer man. He has settled with the League. He will now crush the existing League here pretending to be as much a champion and servant of the League as anyone in Bengal.

I feel we have lost our fight due to bad generalship in the province. I hope my apprehensions and views are wrong and trust that our 'League Ministers' have guided us on the right path. Let us so hope for the sake of the Muslims and the League in Bengal.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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New Delhi,
November 25, 1941.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letters, the last one dated November 21, and also a copy of the interview that you gave to the Press. I am sorry I was not able to reply earlier, owing to my indisposition.

So far as the Working Committee is concerned, we have done what we thought was right and I am glad that

the public has also approved of our decision. That was the issue between Mr. Fazlul Huq and the All India Muslim League. As to the question of your local affairs, they have to be handled mainly by the leaders of your Province, but as I have said before, we shall not hesitate to do all that lies in our power to maintain the prestige of the League in Bengal and to help you people there in every way we can.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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94

Calcutta,
November 29, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of November 25. I hope and pray that you are by now restored to health.

Well, Sir, what I expected has happened. I have been once again prophetic in my anticipation. Fazlul Huq has cheated all and has gained his object. He played for time and our clever wisemen played into his hands.

About the 25th instant, a Cabinet meeting was held. The Governor wanted a direct reply from Huq as to whether he would consider the no-confidence resolution as a matter of joint responsibility because four of the other Muslim Ministers held the view that the Cabinet as a whole should stand or fall. Huq was told that that was the correct view and that if the batch of Ministers resigned he would consider the Cabinet as having fallen and that he would then be at liberty, at his discretion to call any one whom

he considered best to form the next Government. He is further reported to have clearly stated that he could not give any assurance or the slightest hint that he would send for Huq to constitute another ministry. This was really a threat to Huq. The Europeans and the Governor want the maintenance of the **status quo** and do not want any shuffling or instability in the existing international conditions. Huq gave the Governor and the Cabinet the assurance that he would maintain the **status quo** and that he considered it most advisable to adjourn the Assembly for a week in order to give him time to bring back his recalcitrant followers to the fold of the Coalition Party. He further stated that he had no quarrel with his colleagues and that he was determined to take firm steps against the mischief mongers — so everyone was satisfied — the Governor silenced. Our Ministers were elated over the victory they had scored! I and the few of my way of thinking were laughed at. Their tactics had won them the battle. Had they not settled the quarrel in the All India Working Committee, Huq would never have agreed to make peace and to bring back harmony into the province. So all was well. The Coalition Party minus the 'Progressives' met in the house of the Nawab of Dacca at 4.30 on the 26th instant. The Ministers narrated the whole story of their achievement, step by step. How they had outmanoeuvred Huq and his upstarts. We then marched off to Nawab Musharaff Hussain's house at 7-30 p.m. where a full meeting of the Coalition Party was called. We went there very strong — to swamp the opposition if they attempted any pranks. Fazlul Huq arrived. His followers looked dejected. Suddenly he and Shaheed disappeared in an ante-room and there they remained closetted for half an hour. Huq then entered the meeting room, took the chair and immediately made a statement. It ran thus: 'Gentlemen, I am happy to meet you all. I am making a proposal that I am sure will gladden your hearts and burn the hearts of our enemies. I propose to move an adjournment of the Assembly tomorrow for a week in order that I may compose the few differences that are unfortunately

still left uncomposed. I do not doubt that I shall have your support in achieving my aim, for, with amity and concord re-established, we will face any one or several groups. All cried: 'yes, we agree'. The 'saviour' had spoken and who, friend or foe, could challenge him ?

Again our friends patted themselves on their backs and smiled, for had not Huq betrayed his followers by saying that he would herald in a new era of peace and loyalty ?

On November 27, the Assembly met and according to plan, adjourned till December 8.

The same night the 'Progressives' met and clamoured for a break. The next day they met again in Huq's house, with Huq in the chair and once again shouted for a definite break.

Our men got worried because while we sat idle, Huq kept himself busy. We met last night and decided that further inaction on our part would so degenerate the position that we would soon find it impossible to get out of the mess. There was a demand for action. An ultimatum had to be given to Huq. He had to select once and for all and this latest by the morning of December 2. Our men realised that while Nero was trusting in God and playing the harp, Rome was on fire. Fighting speeches were made with the result that our plenipotentiaries were directed to force the issue without further procrastination and were told that no extension of time would be given even if they came to the party with folded hands.

We broke up last night at 8. We woke up this morning to be faced by a **fait accompli** — a coalition between Huq, Bose, Congress, Proja and the Independent Scheduled Caste. Huq asked for time, not to bring back his men to the fold of the Coalition, but to fix up with Wardha. The mandate reached Calcutta last night and so out came the conspiracy that has been hatched for many months.

It seems that we have been outmanoeuvred. Our

top men now stand aghast. Huq has betrayed them, the Coalition, the Governor and the Musalmans of the province. He has sold Muslim interests to the Hindus. The 4½ years Muslim uplift will now come to an end. Unfortunate are the Musalmans of Bengal.

It is noon now. Nazim & Company are still at Government House. I have requisitioned a meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial League to consider the present situation and to take necessary action against the Leaguers who are driving a wedge in the Muslim solidarity.

We must force the issue today. The resignations of the League Ministers must be handed in today. No time must now be given to Huq to consolidate his position any further. Now the war is on. Huq has gained a tactical advantage. However, our cause is just and Allah will help us. Please be ready to help. We shall fight, Inshallah, to the last man.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. Abul Kalam Azad will be released tomorrow. He will make a dash for Bengal. He can do plenty of mischief. So there is all the more need for swift action on our part.

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95

Calcutta,
December 1, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The fight is on. The Cabinet have tendered their resignation to the Governor, today.

On Saturday, our friends were out-manoeuvred by the clever fox, Huq. They gave him an opportunity to state that he was with the Coalition Party and that he could not sabotage the Cabinet, while he remained a Minister. He further stated a lot of nonsense in support of a coalition, unity, etc. You must have read this piffle.

Immediately after issuing the statement, he held two meetings of the Progressive Party, several consultations with the Bose and Congress groups and yesterday morning, he presided over the meeting of the Progressive Coalition Party, i.e. a party composed of Huq's men, Proja, the Forward Bloc, Congress and the Independent Scheduled Caste. Also a report was published in the issue of the **Amrita Bazar** of yesterday to the effect that some Ministers had behaved very disrespectfully towards him in the Cabinet meeting and that he could not possibly continue to carry on as Chief Minister unless the Cabinet was purged of its undesirable elements.

In the afternoon he realised that this report along with the report of his conducting meetings on the quiet would place him in the wrong once again and would be construed by the Governor as a breach of faith on his part. He came out with a fresh statement that was released to the Press this morning. In this he stated that the reports were all false. He thought that by this statement he would maintain his position and gain valuable time.

He counted without his host, for we were determined to force the issue today as giving further time was, in our opinion fatal, because while we stuck to our undertaking as gentlemen, Huq went ahead with his mission to consolidate his position.

A meeting of the Cabinet was held today. Huq got the ball rolling. He said that he was doing everything in his power to patch up the differences and that he had partly succeeded in his effort. He wanted more time to complete his job. Our representatives laughed. It was a

joke that they had all heard before. He replied: 'It is out of the question'. He then threatened that there was just one alternative and that was resignation of the Cabinet. Our fellows jumped to it and said: 'Yes, we agree we cannot continue in this fashion'. All wrote out their resignations and handed them over to the Governor. These have not been accepted so far, but it is definite that the resignations will be accepted. The chances are that we shall be called to constitute the new Government. Let us see.

A meeting of the Provincial Working Committee will be held tomorrow to take disciplinary action against those members of the League who have joined the Progressive Party. Huq is one of them.

On the 4th instant a meeting of the Assembly Coalition Party will be held to consider the present situation in Bengal: to consider a censure to be moved against Huq and others who have betrayed the party, to elect a leader in place of Huq.

Inshallah, we shall have a majority in that meeting and Inshallah we shall succeed in throwing out the traitors.

We shall also elect the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Legislature.

The fight is on. It will be a life and death struggle. Huq is not a spent force. He has influence and a following. The Hindus are almost wholly with him. They are out to divide and crush the Muslims. As I have said before, our cause is just and we shall therefore fight twice as well and twice as bravely.

Just now a tragedy has occurred a few yards away from our office. One of the Air Display planes has come to grief on one of the roofs of a congested area. The engine failed and the machine came down with a thud. Thousands of men and children are running through Ezra Street to the scene of the accident. If this is the mob mentality of

our country, God save us from an air raid, for stampeding will take a heavier toll than one hundred enemy bombers.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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96

Calcutta,
December 4, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just now had the pleasure of speaking to you over the telephone. As the time at my disposal was very short and as I had to cover much ground, I hope I expressed myself clearly.

Since the last two days, the position amongst ourselves, that is, within the Muslim League Party, was becoming a little uncomfortable because the Nawab of Dacca was displaying some amount of anxiety, although latent to a great extent, of becoming the leader of the Bengal Legislature Muslim League Party. This was indeed a very difficult problem for us to tackle, a problem much more difficult than coalescing with other groups and parties in order to form the Government.

When Nazimuddin spoke to you yesterday I was sitting beside him. There is every hope that the Congress may decide either to support us or abstain from opposing us because they realise that with Sarat Bose's nominees in the Cabinet, much damage to the official Congress may be done in the province.

This morning we met to form the Party and to elect our leader in tense atmosphere. The Nawab was very

much upset because he was told by the Leader and the Whip of the European Group in the Assembly that he should not stand for the leadership of the Party because, if elected, there was a chance of other interests, who would agree to work under the leadership of Sir Nazimuddin, not joining us. He was so upset that he wanted to leave the place of gathering which was the Assembly and go away. Every effort was made to pacify him and to raise him to the seventh heaven. Finally, Nazimuddin took him into a room and they remained closetted for fifteen minutes. Then the Party met and both Nazimuddin and the Nawab were also present. We were 58 in number and several Muslim Leaguers who have already subscribed their signatures to the formation of the Muslim League Legislature Party were not present as they were out of town. We unanimously agreed to form ourselves into a Party.

The second item on the agenda was the election of a Leader. At this stage, I considered it necessary to bring about an atmosphere of calm confidence and peace to make a short statement. I congratulated the members present for having formed themselves into the Muslim League Legislature Party and told them that it was the ambition of some of us, however few they were, to see the dawn of such a day. I then took the liberty of conveying to those assembled a message from you adding that as an official statement would be issued by you from Delhi, it was not at all necessary to record what I had to say. I said that you had conveyed to us all your greetings and blessings. That you welcome the formation of the Muslim League Party. That you had no doubt whatsoever in your mind that we shall elect our Leader today and that the person so elected by the Party will have the unflinching support of the entire Party through thick and thin — through success and adversity. That you thought that Inshallah there could not be any adversity. That you declared that the fight is on and there cannot, therefore, be at any stage even the thought of a retreat or compromise. That you stated our cause to be just and that Allah was with us. You asked us to go right ahead fearlessly

and assured me that on receipt of information that the Muslim League Legislature Party had been formed and a Leader had been elected, you would issue a suitable appeal and public statement.

It had the psychological effect that I had anticipated. Members were very much heartened and responded gloriously. No names for leadership were proposed as it was decided that every member had the right to vote for anyone he chose, including himself, as leader of the Party. Voting was by secret ballot. Khan Bahadur Momin was appointed the Presiding Officer. It was decided that after the balloting, Khan Bahadur Momin would just declare the person who had secured the most votes duly elected as Leader of the Party without giving the number of votes or the number of candidates that stood for election. It was further decided that after the declaration, all the ballot papers would be destroyed. After the balloting, the Khan Bahadur entered the room where members were assembled to hear the result. He declared Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin elected Leader of the Party and in doing so he faithfully pledged to accept him as his Leader and to follow him without reservation. Maulana Mohammed Akram Khan who was President of the meeting also delivered a very long and religious speech which also had effect on those assembled. Sir Nazimuddin made a suitable and brief reply.

The next item on the agenda was the formation of a Sub-Committee to draft the rules, programme and policy of the Party.

The last item was whether we should attend the Coalition Meeting (old Coalition now defunct) called by the Leader of the Coalition, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq for this evening. It was decided that whether Fazlul Huq and his men came or not, we should attend the meeting this evening in full force in order to unseat him from the leadership, and if necessary, pass a vote of no-confidence in him for the treachery that he has perpetrated on the Musalmans of this province.

Our newspapers are going full speed ahead with their propaganda. Mr. Fazlul Huq's statement¹ that was published in the newspapers today, which you told me you have read in Delhi, is, in my opinion, one of the feeblest statements issued over his signature. He considers himself still to be the Leader of the Muslim League and the President of the Muslim League of the Province. He goes on to congratulate those Muslim Leaguers who have stood by him in his treachery. I am confident that you will, in the statement that will be issued, tell the Musalmans that the Muslim League has not countenanced and will not tolerate treachery.

I have no further report to give you. We are doing everything in our power to see that Fazlul Huq does not raise his head. It is, of course, in the hands of God as to how far we shall succeed. Suffice it to say that the prospects are fairly hopeful.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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97

New Delhi,
December 4, 1941.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant and thank you very much for it. Please keep me in touch.

Nazimuddin telephoned to me yesterday and I am glad that you are all determined to fight and that you are

1. Huq claimed that he was a Leaguer and as President of the Bengal Muslim League deserved the support of the Leaguers.

forming a Muslim League Party in the Legislature. Nazimuddin told me that either he will wire to me or telephone to me the result. I can then decide what I can do to help you.

With kind regards,

Your sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

P.S. Since writing this, I have noted our talk on the Phone.

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98

Calcutta,
December 8, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 4th instant.

The unexpected has happened at a very bad time. The Nawab of Dacca, contrary to his pledges and undertakings given to you and to everyone of us, has betrayed our cause, and after issuing an absurd statement, has gone over to the enemy. We are all shocked but in war we have got to take the good with the bad and carry on. This statement and resignation of his was released at a very crucial moment, and I have not the least doubt that better brains than the Nawab decided when and how the statement should be issued.

The Governor accepted the resignation of the Ministry yesterday and is meeting for the last time the leaders of the various groups today. It was almost certain last night that the Governor would commission someone to form the next Ministry by this evening. Our case is a very difficult one, indeed, because every Caste Hindu in the Legislative Assembly, excepting Sir Bejoy Singh, has

forsaken us, although prior to this break, there were not more than four Caste Hindus who supported the Ministry in non-communal matters and when matters that had the slightest communal touch were put to the vote, the Caste Ministers only walked into the lobby with us. They have joined hands with Fazlul Huq to smash our solidarity and undo all the good that we did to the unfortunate Musalmans of the province for 4½ years. The chances upto two days ago were 60 : 40 in our favour — that Sir Nazimuddin would be called to form the Cabinet. With this gradual deterioration and gigantic conspiracy backed by the thunderings of the Hindu Press, have perhaps, to some extent, modified or softened the Governor's resolve. Last night, the chances seemed to be equal, if not slightly in favour of Huq being called to form the Ministry.

Again, a bombshell has burst, this time not on Bengal but on the whole of India. Japan news came through London at four this morning that Japan had declared war on Great Britain and U.S.A. and that Japanese forces were occupying certain ports of China and were causing damage and destruction, both in the Hawaii and Philippines. The war is, therefore, at the door of India and the door of India is for the purpose of Japan — Bengal. It will be represented to the Governor that it is now for him to decide whether he wants a homogeneous and reliable team of men to work in these critical times or he would call in and entrust the destiny of the province and the British Government in the hands of unreliable and irresponsible men like Huq and others whose object has been to undermine the constitution and to wreck it and the leaders of which have clearly and unequivocally uttered their hostility to the war and the efforts made in its respect. I am quite sure that in the emergency that faces India today, the Governor will have to think seriously ten times before he decides to change horses in the midstream, particularly when the international current is flowing so swiftly. Nazimuddin has earned a reputation for handling the Home portfolio and the Governor, bearing in mind the complete change in the international situation overnight,

runs the risk of allowing important portfolios, like Home, to slip into the hands of those whose object it is to usher in the disruption from all sides and to undermine the entire constitution. This will be Sir Nazimuddin's strongest point that God has delivered to us when he meets the Governor today. The other point will be the resolution of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League¹ published in today's newspapers, calling upon Huq to behave himself and not to bring about disruption in our ranks. The views of Punjab must count today because Punjab still is the recruiting centre of the Indian armed forces. Further, as the Muslim League truly represents the Muslim political interests in India, as all the by-elections have shown, particularly in Bengal, the Governor cannot brush aside lightly by saying that Fazlul Huq also has a Muslim following. We hold that those who have gone with Fazlul Huq and have joined in his treachery have done so only because they are assured that a General Election will not be held. Had the sword of a General Election hung over their necks, they would not have dared to defy the League and its authority in the manner they have done.

We are working night and day, at times without food and rest. Every effort is being made to save the position even at this late hour.

I am replying to Fazlul Huq's statements which are full of falsehoods, today.² The old fox who is now called the black sheep of Barisal, is playing at one game only and that is to gain time until he forms his Cabinet and to

1. The Punjab Muslim League at Sikandar Hyat's instance passed a resolution disapproving the formation of the Progressive Coalition Party by Huq.
2. Huq had stated that his Progressive Coaliton Party was similar to the Coalition Party formed in 1937. Ispahani contested the claim and said that 'Huq's circus is dominated by individuals and interests who are unfriendly to the recognition of the Muslim majority and its natural rights in Bengal'. **Star of India**, Dec. 9, 1941.

prevent the All India Muslim League from forcing the issue and declaring him a traitor.

Had our leaders in the province not deceived themselves for so many years and had they listened to the advice of a few of us, we would not have been called upon to face the present critical situation. No useful purpose will, however, be served by crying over spilt milk. We have got to take conditions as they are and try and make the best of them.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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99

New Delhi,
December 13, 1941.

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that I have appointed you a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League in place of the vacancy caused by the removal of the name of Mr. Fazlul Huq.¹

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Hassan Ispahani Esq.,
Calcutta.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. Jinnah

1. On December 10, 1941, Huq was sworn in as Chief Minister. Jinnah expelled him from the League for Huq's 'treacherous betrayal of the Muslim organisation and the Musalmans generally'. On December 17, 1941 the Working Committee of the AIML endorsed Jinnah's decision.

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Calcutta,

December 15, 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall commence my letter by thanking you for having reaffirmed your confidence in me publicly by appointing me as Member of the Working Committee in the vacancy created by the expulsion of Fazlul Huq.

Of course, you have been kept in touch with the happenings in Bengal. For the time being, we have had a setback in the Legislature. I am more than ever confident that we shall, within a short period, retrieve our position gloriously and shall come back stronger, healthier and more determined than ever before. A bloated party, full of self interested people, must one day burst. This is what has happened to the Muslim League here. We have been given an opportunity for separating the chaff from the grain and for differentiating between the true Leaguer and the person who was a Leaguer for his own convenience and benefit. There is no necessity for despair. I am happy and so must every true Leaguer be. We shall come back very soon. Fazlul Huq will not get away with his treachery. He may be in power one, two, three, four or five months but his day of reckoning will nevertheless come and that day is not too far off. He thinks he will bring in peace and prosperity by joining hands with the very people who cursed and opposed the Musalmans from every conceivable platform and ghat in the province. The Coalition in power today is ill-conceived and is something hideous and unnatural. Heterogeneous elements are bound to pull in different directions and very soon one or the other will have to break away for reasons of self-preservation.

You will be pleased to hear that we have settled down to real hard work. Our appearance in the Legislative Assembly on the first day as the main party in oppo-

sition was very heartening. We were all cheerful and as our Leader entered the Assembly we stood up to a man and shouted three times 'Muslim League Zindabad'. These shouts electrified the atmosphere and made those treacherous Musalmans who sat opposite us, think how they had let down their community. Fancy, the Musalmans' only political organisation being in the opposition in a province that is a Muslim majority province.

We know every effort will be made and every pressure will be exercised to check our activities. We shall be persecuted but being determined men, we shall happily face any contingency. We are all ready even, if necessary, to go to jail in the fight for our organisation and our community. You will, I am confident, be happy to read and hear of our activities in Bengal. We shall demonstrate to you how serious we are in our resolve and how soon we shall retrieve the present position created by overtrust and the weak-kneedness of our Provincial League Leaders and treachery of Fazlul Huq and his like. As a party in the Legislature I give you the assurance that we shall be active and lively and we shall make Fazlul Huq and company sit up every day. I have not the least doubt that before long we shall have sitting with us the majority of the Musalmans in the Legislature. Of course, if the General Election is permitted today, we shall have ninety per cent of them with us.

We are all working six and seven hours a day. We are organising the Muslim League thoroughly. We mean to make it a genuine and live organisation and not an organisation that has merely existed on paper so long.

Things are moving very rapidly in the international sphere. The danger is now next door.

The Nawab of Dacca has, after all, betrayed us but the satisfaction is that when he left our Party, he was

unable to take away a single man from it. This will show you the influence that the Nawab of Dacca commands over the members of the Legislature.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. We are holding public meetings in Calcutta and I am very happy to inform you that the tempo is getting faster and faster. Yesterday, there was a mass meeting of the Muslim citizens of Calcutta at Mohammed Ali Park.¹ Without exaggeration, the Park and pavements around it were packed to suffocation. The Muslim public are being, for the first time, told of the real facts and are beginning to realise the sale that Fazlul Huq has made of their interest. Next Sunday a meeting will be held at the Osterlony Monument and we are confident that we shall have between 50,000 and 60,000 Muslims present. Arrangements are being made to start our activities in the districts as well, and before the week is out, regular activities will commence in the districts. Students will go out either tomorrow or the day after. They will tour the whole province, delivering speeches and telling the Muslims of Bengal how Fazlul Huq has let them down and how the combination between Huq and Syamaprasad Mookerjee will affect them.

1. The meeting resolved that 'the continuance in office of the new ministry in Bengal composed of antagonistic groups and opposing ideologies and consisting of Muslims who have ceased to represent Muslims and have lost their confidence, is a danger to the province ...' **Star of India**, Dec. 15, 1941.



101

Calcutta,
December 16, 1941.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th instant and accept with thanks the honour you have done me by nominating me Member of the Working Committee in the place created by the dismissal of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
President, All India Muslim League.

M. A. H. Ispahani

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102

Calcutta,
December 17, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As the meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League was called for the 25th instant, long before you announced the date of the Working Committee meeting at Nagpur and as our presence at the meeting here on the 25th is considered necessary, both Nazimuddin and I will leave here by the Bombay Mail via Nagpur on the evening of the 25th, reaching Nagpur some time in the afternoon of the 26th. We shall be obliged, therefore, if the Working Committee will be pleased not to take up any important subject before the afternoon. I assure you that had we been able either to

postpone our Provincial meeting or to absent ourselves from it, we would not have made this request.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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103

Calcutta,
December 18, 1941.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is to cancel my letter of yesterday. The Provincial Council meeting that was called for the 25th and 26th instant has been cancelled due to the panicky conditions prevailing in this city. People are fleeing in tens of thousands daily, and in these conditions we feel a Conference cannot be held. We have, therefore, changed the venue of the Conference to Serajgunj and the date from December 25 to January 11, 1942. Sir Nazimuddin and I will, therefore, leave Calcutta by the Nagpur Mail on the 24th instant and will be in time for the Working Committee meeting of the 26th.

Yesterday in the Assembly when Fazlul Huq said that he was at heart 'Khaksar', there were shouts from the Muslim League benches: 'No, you are a traitor; you are a quisling.' Again, when he went on to say that he expected such a demonstration, there were cries from our benches: 'Guilty conscience', the man was absolutely non-plussed. The great joke came when he addressed us and said: 'Rely on me to do the best', there were such jeering and derisive laughter from our benches that the hideous fox was completely dumbfounded.

His first day's service to the Muslim community was proclaimed by him in the Legislature yesterday, namely, the decision of Government not to proceed with

the Secondary Education Bill.¹ The **Star of India** and the **Azad** will be writing very strongly on this subject.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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104

Bombay,
December 22, 1941.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th instant. I am extremely sorry I was not able to reply earlier, as I was not well, and occupied by so many other things. I thank you for giving me all the information and details and keeping me in touch with the various developments in Bengal.

We shall discuss matters when we meet at Nagpur and I am glad to learn that you and Sir Nazimuddin are coming to Nagpur on the 25th.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. The Secondary Education Bill first introduced in 1937, was conceived to advance the interest of Muslim community by removing the control of Secondary Education and High Schools from the Calcutta University to a Secondary Education Board. Statutory representation for Muslims on the Board was also provided in the Bill. Because of the Hindu opposition, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee. When re-introduced in the Assembly in 1941, the Opposition adopted delaying tactics through motions. Syamaprasad Mookerjee had earlier declared that 20,000 Hindus should be prepared to sacrifice their lives in defence of their culture and education.

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1942

Bengal Muslim League gathers momentum in terms of propaganda and challenges Fazlul Huq—Fazlul Huq's alienation in rural areas—Serajganj Conference—Oppression, repression, persecution and prosecution by Huq Ministry—Huq sues 'Star of India'—Bengal Government's drive for a National Front—Fazlul Huq's overtures for peace with Jinnah—Quit India Movement—Efforts to convert 'Dawn' into a daily—Muslim Leaguers in Sind join Hidayetullah Ministry—Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and the Muslim Students Federation—Fund for 'Star of India'—Bengal in grip of food crisis.

105

Telegram

Bombay,
January 6, 1942.

Hassan Ispahani,
5, Harrington Street,
Calcutta.

Your telegram¹ 14th 15th are suitable² please confirm.

Jinnah.

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106

Telegram

Calcutta,
January 8, 1942.

Jinnah,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

Fixing conference fourteenth fifteenth February
thanks.

Hassan

1. Missing.
2. For holding the Bengal Provincial League Conference at Serajgunj at which Jinnah was to preside.

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5 Harrington Street,
Calcutta,
January 8, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your telegram advising that February 14 and 15 suit you for the holding of the Bengal Provincial League Conference at Serajgunj. I have confirmed the acceptance of that date telegraphically today.

Shaheed, Momin, Tamizuddin Khan and half a dozen other prominent men and speakers left on a tour of Bengal four days ago. They are meeting with enthusiastic and spontaneous welcome wherever they have visited and are doing very useful work in the country. Nazimuddin returned from Hyderabad two days ago and left early yesterday morning for Feni. He will be joining the others at an appointed meeting place. Maulana Mohammed Akram Khan, who also commands, in my opinion, as much influence as any other Musalman in Bengal, will arrive from Madhupur today and will leave for the interior tomorrow. He will meet the deputation after two days, doing some amount of public speaking and convening of meetings by himself, en route.

The students are busy in the districts of Bengal. One of them was arrested last night at Faridpur under the Defence of India Ordinance. He is now under detention. The crime that he has committed is that he has spoken harshly against Fazlul Huq for his treacherous act which has smashed the Muslim solidarity in this province, at least for the time being. Of course, this arrest, politically speaking and from the point of view of propaganda, is excellent, because even the few waverers, amongst the students will now rise against Fazlul Huq and those who are with us will be fired with ten times

enthusiasm to carry on their fight for the League in Bengal.

Our newspapers are maintaining their steady barrage of attack on Fazlul Huq. The old man, and I have this information from a very reliable source, is getting hysterical. If this pressure is maintained, I have no doubt that he will be driven off his senses in another two or three months. This sign is already showing itself for today's newspapers issued a warning from Fazlul Huq that if newspapers continue their attack on him, he would be compelled, for nonsensical reasons given in that statement, to apply the Defence of India Act. The League papers do not fear this threat and they are showing their resistance to it by publishing strong leading articles today and tomorrow. You may be sure that no amount of threat and no amount of persecution or prosecution will make us budge one inch from the course that we have taken. Not even hundred Fazlul Huqs will shake us one iota from the stand we have taken. We shall be firm because our cause is just and we shall fight until victory is achieved.

Those of us who are in Calcutta are busy with League work. You have my assurance that not even during the last General Election did we concentrate on our work or put our heart and soul into it in the manner we are doing today. Inshallah, God will help us in our attempt to finish Fazlul Huq once and for all. As I said in my reply to the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, he will learn to his cost that crime, whether political or social, will not pay.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Bombay,

January 11, 1942

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 8th and I note that the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Serajgunj has been finally fixed for the 14th and 15th of February. Please let me know in advance the details of programme before you finally accept any engagement on my behalf.

I am glad that you are all working. I am sure of the success, if you all work in a team. I quite agree with you that ours is a good cause and it is only a question of time.

With kind regards to you all from Miss Jinnah and me,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,

January 14, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Muslim League Delegation's reception, everywhere they have so far visited, was a triumphal success. They are drawing ten times as large gatherings as they did when they visited the same spots as Ministers, and this is a lot!

Huq ventured out with his circus. The first place on his programme was Barisal, his stronghold in the province. He was met by big black flag demonstrations all along the route and I am told he had to order police intervention at most of the stations. He had on his train a substantial police force. At Barisal, the students forced an 'address' on him which was full of his condemnation for having sold the Muslims of Bengal to the arch enemy — the Mahasabha. He closed his ears. Many students were arrested. He got up to address the meeting but did not speak for more than three or four minutes, and sat down saying that his voice had failed him!

He did not go to Bhola and cancelled the rest of his tour on the plea that urgent work necessitated his and his colleagues' return to Calcutta.

He left Calcutta with the mandate of the Cabinet to give, on behalf of Government, extensive agricultural loans to the cultivators whose possessions had been completely wiped out by the havoc of the last cyclone. Yet, he could not muster the courage to go there!

He is trying to muzzle the **Azad**. He is threatening the application of the Defence of India Rules if the **Azad** continues to write in its present strain. We are willing to stand the persecution, come what may

We defeated the official candidate of the Huq-Mookerjee Government for the Aldermanship of the Corporation. Sarat Bose was defeated. Dr. B. C. Roy won and the League's votes gave him the victory.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan



Calcutta,
January 15, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 11th instant which came to hand yesterday.

On Shaheed's return from tour, I shall be in a position to let you know the proposals¹ that are forthcoming. These will be sent to you for your approval. No programme will be okayed before I receive your confirmation.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. Momin rang me up just now. He has returned from tour. The reception everywhere was magnificent. Huq did return from Barisal humiliated.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Bombay,
January 19, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letters of the 14th and 15th instant. I am very pleased to hear of the enormous support that the Muslim League is receiving everywhere.

I note that you will send me the proposals and programme for my approval.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Regarding the Bengal Muslim League Provincial Conference.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
January 23, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th instant.

Our friends returned from tour the day before yesterday and are all as pleased as Punch. They had a magnificent reception all the way through. Huq is finding the districts hostile. Four days ago his paper, the *Naya-yuga*, published an exhaustive itinerary. He returned from Noakhali two days ago and I have received pucca information that he has issued orders last night cancelling the rest of his tour.

The Governor sent for me the other evening and had a heart to heart talk for one hour and twenty minutes. There was no one else present. I told him all that I had longed to say. More of this when I have the pleasure of meeting you in Calcutta.

I am sure the Serajgunj Conference will be a great success. Your reception will be a grand one. Bengal will welcome you today as it had never done in the past.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. Your stay here cannot be short. You must spend some time this time.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
January 27, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Today's newspapers publish Liaquat's notice of the Working Committee and Council Meeting to be held at Delhi on February 21.

Our Provincial Conference is fixed for February 14 and 15. The allotment of a week at the most to Bengal, when so many problems are awaiting solution, when so much work has to be done, when so much guidance has to be given in the matter of organisation, is, in my opinion, far too short.

I request you to postpone the Delhi Meeting by one week at least as in my opinion, your stay here should be of at least two weeks duration. Believe me, there is plenty to do, and unless clean outlines are laid, selfishness and over-anxiety to return as Ministers, will ruin the League further.

Oppression, repression, persecution and prosecution by the Huq Ministry continue. Still we carry on with a smile and our progress continues to be phenomenal.

With salams,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
January 30, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall thank you to let me know telegraphically, if possible, the date you propose to arrive in Calcutta as

arrangements will have to be taken in hand to give you a fitting reception. I am more than confident that the people of Bengal shall accord you an unequalled hearty welcome.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Delhi because I am not sure of your movements.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

115

Bombay,
January 29, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of January 23. I have already written to Shaheed giving him a rough outline of my programme of stay in Bengal and I am enclosing herewith a copy. ¹ I am looking forward to meet you and hear at first hand all that has happened including your talk with the Governor.

With regard to your emphasis that my stay in Bengal cannot be short, you will see from the letter that I have written to Shaheed that I cannot do so beyond what I have indicated to him. You see, I have to attend to so many things and therefore I can only remain where my presence can be most useful and I hope you will appreciate my difficulties and what I have to go through.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Missing.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Bombay,
January 30, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of the 27th after I had posted mine explaining to you that it is not possible for me to stay in Bengal beyond the 18th, but if you like, I can come direct from Bombay a couple of days earlier. As at present advised I can leave on the 8th or even if you desire on February 7, reaching there on the 9th or 10th instead of February 12. But I cannot do more than that for the reasons I have already explained to you in my previous letter.

Please wire to me after the receipt of this letter which day you will expect me to arrive in Calcutta from Bombay via Jubbulpore.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Telegram

Bombay,
February 3, 1942.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Letter posted arriving Calcutta 12th morning via Jubbulpore unless you require me earlier can reach 10th Wire reply.

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

118

Telegram

Calcutta,
February 3, 1942.

Mr. Jinnah,
Bombay.

Letter telegram received please arrive Calcutta
twelfth morning via Jubbulpore.

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

119

Calcutta,
February 3, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of January 30, received
yesterday evening and your telegram of February 2,
received this morning.

I have telegraphed to you just now (11.30 a.m.)
requesting you to reach Calcutta on the 12th morning
(via Jubbulpore) and not earlier.

A Reception Committee has been formed and its
first meeting will be held tomorrow evening. The people
require sufficient time to organise things in the present
difficult times due to the exodus of forty per cent of
Calcutta's population. Two days mean a lot to us from the
organization point of view and hence this request.

Fazlul Huq left for the Defence Council meeting at
Delhi one day later than he should have and kept this
departure a secret because he wanted to avoid hostile

demonstrations all along the route and at Delhi. He is a cowardly traitor.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

120

Calcutta,
February 6, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are making necessary preparations to give you a right royal reception on your arrival at Howrah. A large Reception Committee has been formed and the work has started with all seriousness from yesterday. You may be sure that as large a crowd as possible, taking into consideration the panic that has been prevailing in Calcutta for some time, will assemble to welcome you in Bengal.

Fazlul Huq has filed a childish suit against the **Star of India**, Pothan Joseph and the Printer and Publisher of the paper. The three main grounds are :

- (1). Our publication of your dismissal order.
- (2). 'The Rabbits in Season' cartoon, depicting you making a free gift of the Nawab and Fazlul Huq.
- (3). A certain article under the caption: 'Huq may turn Quisling' which he later did.

We have seven days from today to file our written statement. We do not propose to hurry the matter in view of the fact that you will soon be with us.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

121

Bombay,
February 9, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 6th. I am leaving on the 10th as arranged, arriving Calcutta on 12th morning via Jubbalpore. I am looking forward to meet you all.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

122

Calcutta,
February 25, 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Muslim League Parliamentary Party met in the Legislative Assembly this morning and elected its other office bearers. A spirit of goodwill prevailed throughout.

The general discussion on the Budget finished yesterday. I assure you that the Muslim League Party in the Assembly did extremely well and put up a fierce fight for the rights and liberties of the Musalmans. Mr. Fazlul Huq, the coward that he is, absented himself on all the three days. He attended the Assembly during question time and left it immediately after. Even during question time we had several opportunities for fiercely attacking him and his Government. He was so non-plussed and so

mad with rage that he actually pulled off his cap and flung it on his seat.

The first meeting of the Fund Raising Committee appointed in your presence, was held yesterday evening. Sir Adamji wrote yesterday stating that he could not possibly serve on the Committee as he had not the time and as he had already made it clear to us all at the meeting at Camac Street that he declined the nomination to that Committee. However, he was present yesterday, and except for talk, no money came forward. Wachel Mulla, after much persuasion, has paid Rs. 500|-. It seems that this effort to raise fund will not meet with success. Almost 75 per cent of the merchants, both Memons and Punjabis, are out of Calcutta. If we pull through with Rs. 10,000|-, we have done well. I shall be calling another meeting in the course of the next few days and I do hope that I shall be able to report better progress to you.

Certain facts were required by Messrs. Orr Dignam & Co., in connection with your case.¹ These are being compiled and will be sent to them tomorrow. This relates to the development, stage by stage, of the ministerial tangle in Bengal.

Chiang Kai-Shek² has after all acted like a professor instead of a student of politics. I am glad you have not

1. Huq filed a suit against Jinnah for setting aside the order of expulsion passed against him from the membership of the League and for other reliefs. Messrs. Orr Dignam & Co., Solicitors of Calcutta were engaged to represent Jinnah.
2. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek met Jinnah on February 17, 1942 and told him that he knew little about the political problems of India and that he was, 'as a student, very anxious to know' about the League and its organisation. A few days later, the Marshal in a statement said that he was hopeful that Britain 'without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India will as speedily as possible give them real political power'. See **Star of India**, Feb. 18 & 23, 1942.

wasted any time in making our position clear. I feel that our friend, Sapru¹, is trying to beat the British Government to subjection and submission. If they betray the Musalmans then, I am afraid, we shall have no other alternative but to stand and fight for our rights, irrespective of consequences.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

123

New Delhi,
March 2, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of February 25 and thank you for all the information you have given to me.

Messrs. Orr Dignam & Co., have written to me that they are waiting for the compilation of facts which you have promised to let them have. I hope by this time you have completed it and handed over to them.

You remember I also wanted, while I was in Calcutta, a copy of the resolution giving power to the Working Committee to have supervision and control over the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Legislative Assembly of your province. I am waiting for it.

1. Taj Bahadur Sapru, organiser of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference criticised the British policy and said that 'nobody was satisfied with the British Government's declaration of August 1940'. *Star of India*, Feb. 24, 1942.

Messrs. Orr Dignam & Co.,¹ suggest the name of Mr. Isaacs to draft the written statement for me. I have informed them that they can act according to your instructions in the matter.

With regard to the collection of funds I hope that you will meet with success.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

124

Calcutta,
April 27, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

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

I have just now received intimation from the office of the **Star of India** that the Government of Bengal have issued an order calling upon the newspaper to cease publication from today for one week, because in its issue of the 20th instant it printed the resolutions of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, one of which related to the Feni outrage by Sikh soldiers on Muslim women. We propose to make representations to the Government and see

1. Correspondence between Ispahani and Messrs. Orr Dignam & Co., has not been included as it merely dealt with the filing of a plaint.

if this ban cannot be lifted before the expiry of the time stated on the order. Confidentially, I am informed that Mr. Fazlul Huq who was away from Calcutta, on his return, removed the ban on **Jugantar** which, as you know, was for an indefinite period and forced the hands of the Governor to take action against the **Star**. Nothing need be said at present. I shall, however, keep you informed.

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

Amir is here. He visited the Muslim evacuee camps and met the evacuee steamer that came in from Chittagong today. He proposes to go to Gauhati and Manipur before returning to Lucknow.

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

The All India Muslim League Sub-Committee¹ appointed by you in Delhi, is expected to be in Calcutta, latest by day after tomorrow. Every assistance will be rendered to them to make their task easy.

Kindly let me know if I am to send the Rs. 10,000 - that I have donated, rightaway.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,

Hassan

1. The Civil Defence Sub-Committee was appointed to take necessary steps for the safety and protection of the Muslims in the event of air-raid or disturbance of any other kind. Khwaja Nazimuddin, Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-zaman, Qazi Mohammed Isa were the members. Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan was the Chairman of the Committee.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
April 29, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

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

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

The Government of Bengal (Home Department) and the Press Adviser were in constant telephonic touch with the Sub-Editors of the **Star of India** yesterday. Various proposals came forward, beginning from a written apology and a written undertaking to be presented to the Chief Minister by one of the senior responsible men of the **Star of India** and ending with the sending of any member of the **Star of India** staff to only see the Chief Minister and not give any undertaking or offering any apology, either in writing or verbally. Of course, my reply to all the above proposals which were modified at each stage was a constant 'No'. I made it clear that I would not even send my chaprasi to wait on Fazlul Huq even if the newspaper is to be suspended for seven years.

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

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

Mr. Osman Woo¹ called at Camac Street yesterday and met me and all the Leaguers living there. He requested me to telegraph you, asking for an appointment. I have done so and have simultaneously released this news to the Associated Press. The poor man has been misguided during the few days that he has been here. He has a letter and a present from General Omar Pey for you and has been directed to call on you and to pay his respects and to convey to you the greetings of the Chinese Musalmans. I hope you will be pleased to give alternate days. He is awaiting your reply to my telegram, on receipt of which he will fix up the balance of his itinerary in India.

Amir will be leaving for Hyderabad tomorrow.

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

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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

- (1). The ban on the **Star of India** was unconditionally withdrawn by the Government of Bengal on its own initiative yesterday afternoon at 5. Although the hour was late, we managed to print and distribute the **Star** yesterday.

1. Osman Woo Kien Hsun was the Secretary of the Muslim National Salvation Association of China who was on a tour to establish contacts with Muslim countries. **Star of India** April 24, 1942.

2. (a) In the Calcutta Corporation, we achieved a great victory.¹ We established the principle of Mayoralty by rotation by electing a Scheduled Caste man as the First Citizen of Calcutta. Never before in the history of this city was an 'Achutya' elevated to the Mayoral chair.

(b) We defeated Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, the Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, the right hand man of Savarkar and Syamaprasad Mookerjee who had the backing of the Nominated Group, the Europeans, the Mahasabha, the Independent Hindus and five Muslim traitors who call themselves the Progressive Party in the Corporation. Mr. Chatterjee was the nominee of the Hindu Mahasabha and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. There must have been much shedding of tears in the existing ministerial headquarters last night because no one anticipated this great calamity that has so soon followed Natore.²

Today's newspapers print another historical outburst of Fazlul Haq. It is silly and indicates that there is now distinctive reason to suspect that the mind of Fazlul Huq is on the point of being unbalanced. The **Star** will be replying to it today and I commend its Dak Issue of May 1, for your particular attention.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

126

Calcutta,
May, 2, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As your cheque book has not been received by the

1. Hem Chandra Naskar and Adam Osman were elected Mayor and Deputy Mayor respectively.
2. In the Natore by-election, the League candidate defeated Fazlul Huq's nominee by a big majority.

Ismail Khan Committee,¹ and as they were in need of funds, I have paid today Nawab Saheb Rs. 500/- which please note and confirm.

This leaves a balance of Rs. 9,500/- to be paid to you by me to complete the sum of Rs. 10,000/- donated at Allahabad.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

127

New Delhi,
May, 2, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letters of April 27 and 29 and thank you very much.

Yes, I am glad you took up a firm position with the result that the ban on the **Star of India** was unconditionally withdrawn. I also note a great change in the situation in Bengal in our favour. I will certainly make it a point to read the **Star of India** Dak issue of May 1, when I get it.

I see from the A.P.I. report in the **Statesman** today that Mr. Fazlul Huq has publicly declared that he is ready and willing to resign when the Governor wishes him to do so.² I wonder whether it is true, and if so, I

1. Civil Defence Committee headed by Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan.

2. See: A. R. Siddiqui's letter No. 134 to M. A. Jinnah of May 9, 1942.

wonder whether your Governor has now learnt a sufficient lesson and boldly asks him to resign. That is the only hope for Bengal.

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

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

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

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

I wired to Mr. Joseph¹ to meet me in Delhi and that is why I stayed on. I have now traced him in Madras but I have not heard from him yet. I replied to his telegram on the 24th asking him to proceed to Delhi at once. We are seriously thinking of starting the **Star of India** at once in Delhi simultaneously. If I can get Mr. Joseph here before the 6th and if it is possible for you to accompany him, the thing may be put through as there is a strong support for the idea.

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

With kind regards,

Your sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Pothan Joseph, Editor, **Star of India**.



Calcutta,
May 6, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Congress met at Allahabad and, as usual, re-

versed its previous decision. Pandit Nehru made a complete somersault! He preached strong resistance and appealed for an anti-Japanese front at Delhi but at Allahabad he was once again converted to the creed of Ahimsa! So the Congress, too, have a few Sikandar Hyats and Huqs in the High Command.

C.R. made a bold stand.¹ You have not issued any statement, why? Is silence golden?

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

129

Telegram

New Delhi,
May 6, 1942.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Jinnah already informed you & Pothan Joseph desiring most important consultation Jinnah prolonging his stay Delhi another week this purpose kindly both you

1. In the last week of April 1942, the Madras Congress Legislature party headed by C. Rajagopalachari recommended to the AICC to acknowledge the Muslim League's 'claim for separation, should the same be persisted' and to permit the Madras Legislature party to form a coalition with the League in order to 'facilitate united and effective action At the meeting of the AICC held on April 29 at Allahabad, Rajagopalachari moved a resolution to this effect which was lost. In disgust, Rajagopalachari tendered his resignation from the AICC. *The Statesman*, April 25 & 27, 1942. Also see *Civil and Military Gazette*, April 24, & May 3, 1942.

& Joseph reach Delhi immediately most urgent wire reply.

Liaquat Ali Khan.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

130

Calcutta,
May 7, 1942.

My dear Liaquat,

I thank you for your telegram of the 5th instant which reached me late yesterday evening. I lost no time in replying to it. I regret very much it is impossible for me to leave Calcutta at present. I have written to Mr. Jinnah giving my reasons.

With kind regards,

Gul-e-Rana,
8A, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

131

Calcutta,
May 7, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

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

meeting you and discussing any plans that you may have in regard to the starting of a newspaper in Delhi.

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

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

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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132

New Delhi,
May 6, 1942.

My dear Ispahani Saheb,

Mr. Jinnah has received a letter from Jessore District Muslim Students Federation requesting him to send a message in connection with the Jessore District Muslim Students Convention with **Anti-Fascist** Rally to be held on the 17th and 18th instant. It is also mentioned that Sir Nazimuddin and yourself will grace the occasion. As Mr. Jinnah does not understand what this **Anti-Fascist** Rally means, he has asked me to write to you.

Please therefore let me know at your earliest. We will now be leaving for Bombay on the 12th instant.

With best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. Saiyid.
(Secretary to
Mr. M. A. Jinnah)

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133

Calcutta,
May 9, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is in reply to Matlub's letter. I, too, did not understand the meaning of the words: **Anti-Fascist Rally**. I sent for the organisers and gave them a piece of my mind, asking them to confine their activities to the well defined principles and directions of the Muslim political body. They undertook to scrap the name of the Conference.

No message should be sent by you to these dozen fools who have printed a few letter-heads and who hold no position whatever among the Muslim students here.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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134

1, Rowland Road,
Calcutta,
May 9, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,¹

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

1. This letter of Abdur Rahman Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah, forms part of **Ispahani Papers**.

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

Since then, as I have said Natore and Japan, have upset his calculation as well as those of the Governor. I do not think I shall be wrong in stating that a cushy job¹ will be found for him somewhere and the Governor will arrange his exit in a manner not derogatory to his dignity. I have had two meetings with him, two meetings with the Secretary of the European Group, one with its President and finally one with the Governor yesterday.

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

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

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

1. See Appendices VII & XI and XIV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I am very hopeful that Ismail Khan and Khalique will be able to rope in Mr. Fazlul Huq who has already committed himself to the Governor and the European Group in the Assembly. The Hindu Ministers are perturbed a bit but the Governor has told them that he wants a United Cabinet and they will agree to what the Governor will tell them finally. In all this, the doubtfuls are the orthodox Congresswallas. If Mr. Rajagopalachari's move succeeds, they may come in, else they will stick to the Working Committee. But they are either 18 or 20.

Whenever a big problem comes up before us, Hassan, Nooruddin and I put our heads together and if we agree, then we do what we can to support our view. After careful consultation, we feel that having regard to the Muslim Districts on the frontier between Burma and India, if not for direct service then for saving Muslims from possible danger, the time has come when we should make a bid for power. We were quite happy in the opposition but times have changed. It is even doubtful whe-

ther a session of the Assembly will be called till February 1943. Anything might happen before that and we should not like to be caught unprepared or napping.

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

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

Yours sincerely,

Abdur Rahman Siddiqui

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135

New Delhi,
May 13, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

You will observe that I had to stay on in Delhi. Now I am definitely leaving on the 19th. I postponed

my departure as I wanted to meet Mr. Joseph and finally he turned up on the 12th, as he had difficulty in getting accommodation from Madras owing to the difficulties in communications and he was also under the impression that I had left for Bombay.

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

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

The reasons are: (1) that it is already a Joint-Stock Company, a Muslim Press Company, and the directors can adopt such steps as they may think proper, (2) that the conditions in Calcutta are such that the **Star** may have to seek a home elsewhere or completely close down, which will be most unfortunate. I understand that other newspapers and even commercial firms are living in dread and have made arrangements to shift elsewhere in case of necessity, (3) that in view of the conditions prevailing in Calcutta, your circulation will go down. There are several other reasons of details which I need not discuss. We therefore thought that the definite proposal that we can suggest is as follows:

That the **Star of India** should be transferred to Delhi before it is forced to close down in Calcutta without any home elsewhere. If that is done, we had rough calculations before us and I think that the probable loss per year can be covered by issuing debentures. But the exact amount of the issue of debentures can only be determined after we know what is the present position of the **Star** with regard to the income and expenditure.

The main items of the expenditure will be: (1) the editorial and managerial staff (2) office rent including

telephone etc., (3) the A.P. and Reuter service and (4) the printing charges and cost of the paper. On the other hand the income and particularly the advertisement items which are most important have to be considered.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Osman Woo Kien Hsun was the Secretary of the Muslim National Salvation Association of China who was on a tour to establish contacts with Muslim countries, **Star of India**, April 24, 1942.



Calcutta,
May 20, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter handed to me by Mr Pothan Joseph.

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

There seems to be a lull in the political battle-field of this province for the time being. The Muslim League Fortnight is being organised and it is hoped that, 4 to 5 lacs of members will be enrolled during the course of that fortnight.

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

Calcutta is very hot for the last four days.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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137

Bombay,
May 30, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 20. I am sorry for the delay in reply but I had a long talk with Mr. Ahmad in Bombay and he must have told you all about it. I am now awaiting a definite reply from him. I am firmly of opinion that we should not miss the present opportunity at this moment but establish a daily paper and the transfer of the **Star of India** is the only practical proposition. I think if you will take the bull by the horns in the matter it will be jammed in and stand to your advantage. There is a very strong feeling and you will get an immediate support and what is more necessary is to consider that it is undoubtedly essential for our cause. We should not miss this golden opportunity. However I cannot say anything more.

With regard to your having paid to Nawab Ismail Khan, a sum of Rs. 500/- I am glad you came to his help

but let me tell you it is not my fault that he did not receive the cheque in time. However I am glad you were good enough to advance him Rs. 500/- more and I am glad that he has paid back both the amounts. So your Map money stands as it was.

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

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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138

Calcutta,
June 3, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of May 30.

By now you must have received my brother's letter regarding the proposed daily newspaper.

Yes, the money that was borrowed was promptly returned. I confirm that Rs. 10,000/- stands to the credit of the Jinnah Fund, with us. Your commands in this respect will be, as usual, obeyed.

With my salams to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Bombay,
June 7, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 3, and thank you for it.

Yes, I have received Mr. Ahmad's letter and while it is encouraging, it requires working out. I have written to Liaquat and sent him the copy of Mr. Ahmad's letter and I am awaiting his reply.

Please let me have your cheque for Rs. 10,000/- at your earliest convenience, as I have now received almost all the sums that were announced at the session of the All India Muslim League.

I also want you and Mr. Ahmad to consider whether he and you would be willing to serve as one of the directors of the Moghul Lines.¹ Two of the directors have recently died — one, Sir Abdullah Haroon and the other a Persian gentleman, resident of Bombay.

Of course your presence will not be required to attend every meeting and it is a Company, as you know, which mainly depends upon the Haj pilgrimage traffic and they, Turner Morrison, are the agents. They are always ready to be guided by the advice of prominent Muslims in the administration of the traffic and in looking after the passengers. Besides, it is a company which is willing to part with their shares to the Musalmans only, on favourable terms such as willing to part with the shares at par. The shares of the company have never failed to give less than 5 percent dividend for a long time now, on con-

1. A shipping company of which Turner Morrison were the agents. Jinnah wanted Muslim businessmen and merchants to be associated with the company.

dition that if within a specified period the shareholder wants his money back they will return it and take over the shares but he is not to sell them to anybody else without giving them the first option to buy. I believe Sir Abdullah Haroon had bought shares worth a lakh of rupees in the company and some small shareholders are also in it. If you are interested in it, I shall let you have further particulars.

In my opinion it is good channel for investment and if Musalmans come forward the company may come back to the Musalmans as it once belonged to the enterprising members of your community who were the original owners of it. I am enclosing the last balance sheet for your information.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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140

Calcutta,
June 10, 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy of my letter addressed to our Solicitors and their reply¹ to same which speak for themselves. Kindly return these when done with.

1. Not included. Ispahani had asked his solicitors whether it will be legal for the share holders to make a gift to the AIML of the name of the **Star of India** for publication from Delhi. The solicitors advised that the proper way will be to give licence or permission to the new Company to be floated at Delhi to use the name **Star of India** but not to transfer proprietary rights.

I shall be glad to have your direction in the matter at an early date.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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141

Calcutta,
June 11, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 7th instant.

I sent you the papers and opinion of our Solicitors yesterday. Kindly return them to me along with your directions as early as possible.

Here is a cheque for Rs. 10,000|-. This settles the Fund Account. I hope you have been able to pass the three lacs figure by now.

With regard to the Moghul Lines, Sir Abdullah Haroon sent me papers and material in support of the Company's proposal. My brother has no objection to being nominated a Director of the Company and we shall purchase for the present, Rs. 10,000|- worth of shares in the Company. Later, on further subsequent satisfaction, a further Rs. 90,000|- may be invested by us in the Moghul Lines.

So far, our Civil Defence Committee has not drawn a pie from your Central Fund and I am doing all I can, not to ask for an anna from you.

Mr. Osman Woo has met you. He did not create much of an impression upon me. He is certainly not stamped with brilliance.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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142

Calcutta,
June 17, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A question has arisen in our Provincial League as to whether we can or cannot join the National Front drive¹ of the Government in the province. There is no direction from Centre in the matter and as a definite direction is to be given to the Leaguers, I shall very much appreciate your opinion.

Personally, my common sense dictates that we should have nothing to do with whatever the Government of Bengal promotes or backs because if we do, consistency disappears. We proclaim that we have no confidence in Fazlul Huq and his team. How can we therefore support or join any blessed front 'National' or 'International' sponsored by them?

Kindly reply to this letter, as members of the Working Committee and the Leaguers of the Province are awaiting direction.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. In connection with the War effort.

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Bombay,
June 15, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 10. As far as I can judge the two questions that we have to consider are : (1) whether the present Muslim Press & Publications Ltd. should establish the **Star of India** in Delhi. Mr. Ahmad has pointed out various difficulties. It is for you to consider whether they can be overcome, as you know the position best. You have also to consider that if you can overcome the difficulties whether you will transfer the **Star of India** to Delhi and run it as a Daily and also continue to run it in Calcutta as an evening paper, (2) whether we should not start a new daily paper in Delhi by means of an entirely new concern. In that case the name of the **Star of India** will not be of much help and we might as well call it **The Dawn** and turn this weekly into a daily. As a weekly, **The Dawn** has reached a circulation of 4000 and is known all over India and even abroad. But the real question is, what is the definite part that you are prepared to play and what is the amount of support that you will give ?

I have already sent to you all the information that was available to me but Liaquat is going into more details and I have requested him to communicate with you. It will be a feather in your cap if you and Liaquat can establish a daily paper, which I need hardly say is most necessary at the moment.

I am confident that you are bound to get a very enthusiastic support not only in Delhi but throughout Northern India generally and specially in the Punjab, U.P. and Bihar. This is really the moment for it. Please therefore take it earnestly and put your heads together and

persuade Mr. Ahmad and Sir Adamji and others to come forward and give their best support and all the help they can.

As regards the resolution that you have proposed, well, that all depends upon what you propose to do after the resolution is passed, but anyhow no harm can be done in getting the power in the hand of the directors to use the name of the **Star of India** for such a newspaper on such terms as the directors may think proper.

I am returning the copy of your letter addressed to your solicitors and their reply which you were good enough to send me along with your letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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144

Bombay,
June 20, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter that I have written to Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, for your information.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Enclosures : Two.

Enclosure : 1

40, Theatre Road,
Calcutta,
June 16, 1942.

My dear Sir,

We have declared a League Fortnight here in Bengal for enrolling members and Muslim National Guards for Defence purposes. A report will be sent to you as soon as the results are tabulated. The work of forming Defence Committees is also proceeding. Government has initiated a new scheme of Defence volunteers known as Home Guards. We have decided to boycott them.

A new difficulty has arisen regarding the National War Front scheme of the Viceroy, and there is difference of opinion regarding our attitude towards it. Some are of opinion that the League should be neutral; this would give liberty to any one to join it if he wishes to do so; others that we should specifically declare that no Leaguer should join the movement; others still that we should oppose it actively. Between the second and third there appears to be no difference except in degree. The National War Front here, is in charge of an I.C.S. official under the Government of India. It is proposed to have an adjutant or commandant or representative in each district. The object mainly is to inculcate anti-Japanese and anti Nazi or anti-Fascist sentiment. At the meetings it is further stated that as owing to military exigencies places have to be evacuated, boats, bicycles, motor cars and vehicles surrendered, the public should accept this 'denial' policy and co-operate with the military in carrying out their orders and instructions. We are not aware if this movement has any other purpose in view; it is intended to disseminate the above views through non-officials.

We would beg you to let us know your views in the matter. I have a recollection, which may be wrong, that when the Viceroy initiated the movement, and suggested the 'Vow' which should be repeated by every member of the National War Front, he stated that its sole object was to create a mental attitude, and any one opposing the movement would be dealt with under the Defence of India Rules. I need hardly say that whatever may be your instructions in the matter, we shall abide by them.

Yours sincerely,
Shaheed Suhrawardy

Mr. M. A. Jinnah
Bombay,

Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League

Enclosure : 2

Bombay,
June 20, 1942.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 16, and beg to inform you that the policy of the League, as I understand it, is that we cannot join any committee or committees or any organisation which is set up or may be set up by the Government and is under the control and direction of the Government, so long as we have not a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces.

It is not a question of opposing the war efforts and it does not arise at present. Our position is that we cannot undertake the burden and the responsibility of advising our people to join any of these bodies that are set up or

may be set up by the Government when we have no control and direction of any kind over them.

H. S. Suhrawardy, Esq.

Secretary,

Bengal Provincial Muslim League,
40, Theatre Road, Calcutta.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. Jinnah

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145

Calcutta,

June 22, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant returning the enclosures.

I had a letter from Liaquat two days ago asking me to give him some particulars regarding the cost of running the **Star of India**. These particulars are being sent to him.

My brother has authorised me to tell you that under whichever name you choose to start a daily in Delhi, we, the Ispahanis, will back it with pleasure and shall do our bit for a noble cause. We shall guarantee a loss of up to a thousand a month for a year. As for Adamji we feel that you should approach him. It will be infinitely better if you do so.

Fazlul Huq has once more burst out in boils.¹ You must have read his call to Muslims to be traitors like

1. Fazlul Huq launched a new party which he called the Progressive Muslim League. He asked the 'prominent Muslim leaders of India' to join the party.

himself and to smash Muslim solidarity. Inshallah his face will be further blackened. The B.B.C. boosted his move last night.

Sikandar Hyat has apparently got tired of remaining idle. So he is in the limelight again.

Saadullah's prospects are appearing more hopeful.

Events are moving fast in India and outside. You have issued no statement !

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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146

Calcutta,
June 25, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 20th instant enclosing copy of letter addressed to Suhrawardy by you on the same date.

You have clarified the position and Bengal will act accordingly. Personally, I could not think how it was possible for us to direct the Leaguers in Bengal to do otherwise.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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Calcutta,
July 3, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I booked a personal call for you this morning and was told at 11 a.m. that your servant had told 'Trunks' that you were out of station. This is regrettable as I desired to speak to you and to seek your guidance.

Some days ago, Prince Dillan, the younger brother of the Nawab of Rampur but a strong Muslim Leaguer, met me and in a general way stated that he was sent for from Patna by one of Fazlul Huq's nephews, an intimate friend of his and told that the old man was just about sick of everything and the gilt of victory over his past colleagues having worn out, and with his experience of being taken advantage of by his powerful Hindu colleagues he wanted to make his peace with you and with the Muslim nation.

Yesterday Dillan again came to me and told me that Huq wanted him to arrange a meeting with me as he desired to have a heart to heart talk. He asked me not to refuse this request as he hoped that something good may result for the community. I, at first, refused, but as he persisted, I agreed. We met in Dillan's house last night at seven and talked freely for an hour and a half.

He narrated the whole story of the rift, his suspicion of attempts being made to unsaddle him, the clique that worked a web around him -- the break, the struggle for the 'call by H.E. to form the Cabinet,' his success, the difficulties faced by him; the pressure on him by his Hindu colleagues, the desire to call the whole thing off, to make peace with you and the League, to return to it, to dissolve the Progressive Party, the Progressive Muslim League, to break the Progressive Coalition Party and Cabinet now functioning in the province and to reconstruct it as is

considered advisable by you. He swore that he wanted to see you and that he feared rough handling and it is this that has kept him away from seeing you. I assured him that whilst not guaranteeing what you would do or ask to be done as a *sine qua non* of the 'Peace declaration', I guaranteed him that he would receive from you, as before and as you in your greatness accord to every Mus-alman a cordial and friendly welcome. He asked me, as a special favour to accompany him or to go a day ahead of him to Bombay. I said that I did not want to be made a fool of but if he were serious, I would gladly travel with him on the same train and notwithstanding my many commitments here, I would gladly sacrifice my time and money and go to Bombay. He said he was serious. We fixed the 4th as the day of our departure by the Jubbulpore Mail.

Unfortunately, you are out of town. Please let me know where you are and what your programme is, by Express telegram.

Sir Nazimuddin is lying ill in Khairpur. It would help if we are able to get him to Bombay as well when this conference takes place.

Please treat the contents of this letter as confidential and be assured that if I had thought that Huq was not serious to now close up the Muslim ranks, I would not have bothered you by letter or with my presence.

With my kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. I have telegraphed our Bombay Office just now asking them to let me know immediately where you are and your address.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Telegram

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Bombay,
July 8, 1942.

Returned Bombay this morning shall be in Bombay till fifteenth July whereafter programme uncertain.

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
July 7, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The papers say you left Bengal for Bombay on the 6th. My office was told by your house that you were expected back on the morning of the 9th instant.

I was to have left for Bombay today by the E.I. Railway and was to have met Huq there on the morning of the 10th. However, Prince Dillan informed me that Huq had decided to return from his visit to Delhi and then go to Bombay from here. So my departure is being delayed.

Since I last wrote to you, Dillan has met me several times calling for and receiving clarification. He asked me if I desired to meet Huq again. I told him that as I could not deliver the goods, constant meetings would not improve matters in any way.

Now from what I can gauge, the essence of his game is the revival of the old stunt, his stunt and John

Herbert's ambition, to have a National Cabinet. He wants to emulate the Viceroy in following his policy of expansion.¹ He wants to add to his Cabinet three or so Muslim Leaguers. I had it conveyed to him that if this is his game, it is futile to think of a settlement or forgiveness. We cannot allow ourselves for the sake of a few piffling seats in the Cabinet, to be bribed and bought; allow ourselves to be muzzled in the province; to stop our agitation in the province; to relax the hold that we have created on the Musalmans of Bengal; to allow Fazlul Huq to regain his position among the Musalmans of Bengal. No Sir; nothing doing.

His reply is this: Let me meet Mr. Jinnah. I shall convince him that if there is to be a 'Muslim League' Government this is the only way. Otherwise, the Hindus will join hands and back the Nawab of Dacca and finish us all.

My reply to his last argument was a monosyllable: 'tripe'. If Huq plus Dacca have been brought to their knees by the weight of Muslim public opinion in seven short months, how long will Dacca alone stand? His influence is zero. When he betrayed the League for a Ministership and the lucre that it carries, he was unable to take away a single member from our Party. This was his influence then. Today his power is on the minus side!

Huq says: 'I shall convince Mr. Jinnah. If I fail to do so I shall abide by whatever he decides in the matter.'

1. After the Natore by-election in which Huq's candidate was defeated, Huq desired 'to retire from politics' and suggested the formation of a National Government with himself as Speaker. See Herbert to Linlithgow, May 8, 1942, G.R. On May 2, 1942, Huq wrote to the Private Secretary of the Governor elaborating his suggestions. See Appendix VI.

He told this to me and told this to Dillan four times. Both Dillan and I feel that this is a lip undertaking and reliance should not be placed upon it.

In these circumstances, bearing in mind that your time and my time and money are precious, will it be worth our while to encourage Huq to see you? If nothing comes off then this thoroughly unreliable man may issue a fresh statement damning the League and saying how dictatorial you were and add any cursed nonsense or lie to it. The statement may not cut ice with anyone because even every Hindu will disbelieve it, although the Press will utilise it for the benefit of the anti-Muslim forces in this country.

However, it is for you to decide after considering carefully the pros and the cons. An express telegram from you will be appreciated. Just the word: 'Come' will be construed as: 'Bring Huq with you'. 'Don't come' will mean to me: 'Do not bother. It will be sheer waste of time.'

The developments abroad are not too happy. At home the Viceroy has again been foolish. His Executive Council is the biggest political scream of the decade. There must be something radically wrong with the British mind. I knew that adversity made cowards of people but did not know that adversity made idiots of human beings.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P. S. I shall not be surprised if Huq is playing one of his pet games:

- (1) delaying tactics
- (2) to slow down agitation in the province.

(3) to save his face in the coming Nadia Assembly By-Election and to give up the slip once again.

PPS. If you say: 'Don't Come', I shall see Huq in a neutral place and tell him: 'Nothing doing'. I am not prepared to waste my time and money and accompany you to Bombay when I know that no Muslim Leaguer can compromise with you on the question of Muslim League majority in the Cabinet as a result of proper reconstitution. If you cannot guarantee this and accept it as a condition precedent to the conference in Bombay, do not distract us or waste our time. You carry on and do your worst. You cannot improve upon your follies and upon the disservice you have already done to the Musalmans. We shall carry on our fight for the Musalmans of Bengal and will continue our efforts to crush you and traitors like you.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

150

Telegram

Bombay,
July 10, 1942.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta

Your letter seventh July futile unless he prepared dissociate himself from his party withdraws all allegations submits discipline Muslim League in writing as condition precedent.

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Note of Conversation by Telephone between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Ispahani July 13, 1942. 1.50 p.m.

It is useless to bring him [Huq] to Bombay because it may unnecessarily lead to statements and counter-statements — League being dictatorial, etc., etc.,

The *sine qua non* of his meeting Mr. Huq is :

- 1) That Huq should dissociate himself from the Progressive Party and the Progressive Muslim League.
- 2) Withdraw all the allegations made by him against the President, Working Committee and the Muslim League.
- 3) Submit to the discipline of the All India League. These must be given in writing to me.

If the above conditions are fulfilled, we may proceed at once to Bombay and Huq is assured that he will get most sympathetic hearing, will be re-admitted and his grievances against individuals in Bengal will be looked into and everything will be well again.

The League cannot negotiate with any individual, big or small, who is in the camp of the enemy. He quoted Subhas Bose, going to England and negotiating with Churchill. The result would only be — arrest and trial for treason.

Mr. Jinnah will be in Bombay and will cancel his engagements to meet Huq if the above terms are fulfilled.

I asked: 'Suppose Huq goes to Bombay and in your presence complies with your three terms, in person, have you any objection to my leaving for Bombay with him'?

He replied: 'If he can comply in my presence, he can more readily comply in my absence giving you just a few lines before you people leave for Bombay. He may expect a fair and square deal from me and my colleagues'

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
July 15, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your telegram yesterday morning. So your message took four days to reach me.

I have conveyed your *sine qua non* through Dillan to Fazlul Huq. It seems that he may give me the required letter if I give him the verbal assurance, on my own that I shall only publish the letter if he issues a prejudicial statement after the meeting with you resulting in no settlement. He seems to be more than confident that he will convince you and will come to an agreement with you regarding Bengal and continues to declare that if he fails, he will accept your decision. He may be sincere and still I am doubtful of his sincerity.

However, there is one thing clean and clear and that is, unity is our need and the need of our people and the eye sore of our enemies, then we should strive our utmost to achieve it. With Japan knocking at the Eastern gate of our Province, unity amongst us Muslims will be welcome, a unity achieved without extreme embarrassment to the vanquished.

Huq's mind may work like this: 'I accept the *sine qua non* — I go to Bombay — I get nothing or next to nothing — I get kicked there and on my return get kicked by my own supporters — I am thrown out of office, and become the dhoby's dog who is neither the house nor the ghat dog — neither in the favour of the League nor in the favour of my present followers and supporters. So I stand to lose everything if I am mercilessly dealt with, without a hope of retrieving my lost position. Why should I run this extreme risk'?

'I am Chief Minister today. I have a following in the Assembly that cannot be challenged. I have not to fear

a General Election. I am master of all I survey in Bengal. When the elections come I shall see. In the meantime, why should I apply the knife to my own throat'?

So, if nothing comes off at Bombay, why should he be denied the right to carry on his struggle as he is doing now, minus, of course, the right to issue any statement concerning his talks with you in Bombay? If he breaks pledge, then out will come his letter to me and blacken his face six shades!

It is for you to consider the above lines and if you can give me in confidence permission to verbally assure the old man that if nothing comes of his visit to Bombay he is free to do as he pleases. I shall hold his letter to counteract any treachery and blast him if he issues a statement after seeing you in Bombay. This is merely a safeguard. Several people think that it will add to the prestige of the League if Huq goes to your doors; whether he yields as he says he will or does not. Further, if he does not yield he will not be able to issue statements to the effect that you were dictatorial and demanded his head on a platter, although he went all the way to your house and pleaded for mercy. They also feel that reconquest of Bengal will strengthen the position of the League not only in this province but all over India.

For your information, on Sir Nazimuddin's return I have acquainted him with all the steps that I have taken and also your reactions. I do not want him to feel that I am going over his head. This province is the house of suspicion, therefore one has to be extra cautious.

I await your early reply by letter because letters take less time than express telegrams these days.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Bhopal,
July 23, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 15, which was redirected to me here. I must say that I am unable to understand how I can discuss anything with Mr. Fazlul Huq, so long as he (1) continues to associate himself with the party which is inimical to the Muslim League and (2) is holding up the Sword of Damocles that he is going to form an All India Progressive Muslim League and vilifying the Muslim League in his statements and persecuting the Muslim Leaguers in Bengal.

He must first surrender completely and leave it to me or the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to deal with him in such a manner as we consider fair and just. Before we can give him a hearing, he must completely dissociate himself from his party. As long as he remains in the camp of the enemy there is no room for parley. The sincerity and honesty of Mr. Fazlul Huq can only be tested by one action which is a condition precedent that he should dissociate himself from the Coalition party to which he belongs, which party is of his own creation and is inimical to the Muslim League.

I shall be leaving Bhopal tomorrow afternoon and will reach Bombay on the 25th morning where I propose to stay for some time.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
July 27, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just returned from Delhi and received your letter of the 23rd instant. I regret I am unable to understand its contents, because they are not a clear answer to my letter of the 15th instant.

In confidence, I asked permission of you to give Huq, on my own account and behalf, a verbal assurance that if nothing came of the interview in Bombay, he would not make any statement whatsoever and if he did, his letter would be released to the Press. You have not expressed yourself one way or the other. Please let me know more definitely and forgive me for bothering you.

I have been informed on my return from Delhi that Huq has after all agreed to give me the letter I want, on condition that I give him a verbal and personal undertaking in terms stated above.

He is away in Delhi and is expected to return here in a couple of days.

Please write and let me know what your reaction is to the proposal. If you say no, I shall not hesitate to dish him a point blank refusal and tell him 'No guarantee'.

Liaquat must have written to you about the Dawn daily.

With my best regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

155

Bombay,
July 31, 1942.

Dear Sir,

In accordance with Section 14 of the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League I have appointed you as one of the members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

Please acknowledge this letter.

Hassan Ispahani Esq.,
Bengal.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

156

Bombay.
August 1, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 27, and I really cannot understand you. If Mr. Fazlul Huq writes to me a letter to the effect that he is ready and willing to dissociate himself from the party of which he is the leader and to withdraw all allegations against the Muslim League and to submit to the discipline of the All India Muslim League, then he must carry out his assurance. But otherwise if he declines to abide by the assurance embodied in this letter, then what is the use of such a letter at all, and our meeting?

It seems that he wants to see me and negotiate with me as an emissary or representative of the parties and organisation of which he is the head just at present. That party is in our judgment inimical to the Muslim League

and Muslim India. We have already judged him as a traitor. How can you expect me to start negotiations with him so long as he remains associated with that party? You may as well imagine Lord Haw Haw asking Mr. Churchill for an interview to negotiate on behalf of his German friends. The first thing, therefore, is that he must dissociate himself from the party of which he is the head — a party which is inimical to the Muslim League, he being a deserter. After he has complied with this condition precedent, the question of any domestic quarrel may be considered by us and in that matter he must abide by the decision of the Muslim League.

It is no use saying that he is prepared to give me a letter which will not be released to the Press unless he makes a statement to the Press, thereby necessitating its release. The one and only interpretation that the public and Press will put on my meeting him will be that we are negotiating with him as the head of the Progressive Coalition Party and as the Chief Minister of Bengal and as a man, who, not being content with having started many hares as Proja Party, Progressive Muslim Group, is now threatening us with the establishment of an All India Progressive Muslim League. On whose behalf will he be negotiating with us? The clear implication is, on behalf of his party and groups. Whereas so far as we are concerned we can only deal with him as an individual in this matter, on the footing of his really repenting his attitude, and from this point of view we will see whether the decision of expulsion taken by the Muslim League and the ban imposed upon him should not be reconsidered on his making all necessary amends, in the best interest of Muslims of Bengal and India as a whole.

With kind regards from both of us to you all. I hope I have made the position clear.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

157

Calcutta,
August 3, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am afraid some of the members of your Working Committee do not pay the respect that is due to you. They do just the reverse of what you direct and appeal. On the publication of the Congress Working Committee's 'Quit India' resolution, you issued a statement to the Press in which you appealed to the Musalmans to stand ready and to refrain from prejudging the move and from issuing statements.

Aurangzeb Khan¹ has once again burst out in boils. This malady of his calls for drastic treatment. He is too fond of issuing statements, some of them worthless and meaningless and some even prejudicial. We do not want a Satyamurti² in our midst.

I am enclosing a formal letter addressed to you as President and I shall be grateful if you will direct the Secretary to include it in the agenda of the coming meeting of the Working Committee

I await your reply to my last letter.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure : One

1. Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan, M.L.A. became Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province in May 1943.
2. Satyamurti, M.L.A., Madras, Member, A.I.C.C.

294

Enclosure : 1.

Calcutta,
August 3, 1942.

Dear Sir,

I shall be grateful if you will direct the Secretary to include the following as an item in the agenda of the next meeting of the Working Committee. I propose to raise a discussion on it :

The issuing of statements by Members of the Working Committee particularly in instances where the President has called upon Muslim Leaguers to refrain from doing so.

Thanking you,

The President,
All India Muslim League,
Bombay.

Yours truly,
M.A.H. Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

158

Calcutta,
August 4, 1942.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 31, advising my appointment by you as one of the Members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and thank you for the honour you have done me.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah,
Bombay.

Yours faithfully,
M.A.H. Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
August 4, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah.

You were no doubt pleased to learn that the **Morning News** came into being on the 1st of this month. It is a tiny show but is all the same first class. Its editorial of today is magnificent. One more weapon in the armoury of the League. We want twenty such. May Allah help us in our endeavours.

Now for some news. Take it for what it is worth. If it turns out correct I shall be proud of myself for having kept you well posted. If I am wrong, you will, of course, excuse me.

Gandhi plans to launch his 'big move' in the N.W.F. Province. The Khan brothers who are busy organising the 'great day' are not attending the meeting of the Working Committee. They require every minute of the time between now and the 'great day' to perfect their scheme so that it works without the least hitch. The plan is that the Khan brothers and a large number of Khodai Khidmatgars [Red Shirts] walk into the tribal country, i.e. cross the frontier. This move will naturally be resisted by the British Indian Government. The tribal fellows, simple as they are, will then get ruffled, for this clever move and its object will not be understood or appreciated by them. To them it will simply mean high-handedness on the part of the Government in preventing Khodai Khidmatgar Muslim brethren from visiting them. Their sentiments, it is expected by those who know, will be easily aroused and trouble will start in the N.W. Frontier or from the other side of the frontier. While this game goes on, another match will be simultaneously staged in the villages and small towns of the provinces like Bombay, Bihar, U.P.,

C.P. and even Madras — civil disobedience, a squeeze and hindrance of war efforts in general.

The Congress will for the beginning, at least, leave the big cities, humming with industrial activity and enabling millions of rupees to find their way into the Congress industrialists' pockets.

Further, places where the Congress is not 100 per cent strong and sure, will also be left out of count until the whole movement¹ gathers momentum and success. Then will come their turn.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

160

Calcutta,
September 19, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have at last got Mr. Pothan Joseph to agree to go to Delhi. He will be leaving Calcutta at the end of next week. Of course, I have not been able to find a substitute for the *Star* so far.

The newsprint position in India is becoming very acute and the problem that will face the newspaper business within the next six months appears to be insurmountable unless the Government of India rightaway move in the direction of importing sufficient newsprint to cover

1. The Quit India movement started by the Congress.

what they allot periodically to the many newspapers in this country. Our newsprint is still lying in Karachi due to lack of transport facilities. My stock in the meantime is fast running out. My efforts so far have enabled me to secure a paltry quantity of 50 reams and there are just 200 reams available from one other seller at the absurd price of Rs. 12|10|- per ream.

The Provincial Legislature, as you know, is in session. The Opposition is putting up its usual fight. We are 48 to 50 strong in the Lower House, all Muslim Leaguers, of course.

I am glad to find that Amir has returned to Lucknow.

I shall be on the Air on Wednesday, the 23rd instant, at 7 p.m. The talk will, of course, be non-political.

I trust you are enjoying good health.

With my regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

161

New Delhi,
September 21, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I received a wire from Mr. Pothan Joseph yesterday in reply to my wire requesting him to accept the offer made to him by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the Dawn for its editorship. You will see from his

telegram that you have already offered him Rs. 1250/- and if that is so, I stand by it. Please arrange that he should reach Delhi immediately.

I am specially staying in Delhi to see that this matter is put through and all arrangements are already made. I was waiting for his reply.

Please wire whether you can arrange to send Mr. Pothan Joseph without delay or else we must make other arrangements. I do not quite understand what he means by saying that I should ask you to 'terminate his services whereupon can start Delhi'.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

Enclosures : Three.

Enclosure : 1.

Telegram

Calcutta,
September 20, 1942.

Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Ispahani already offered me twelve fifty Dawn editorship kindly confirm by wire also ask him terminate my services whereupon can start Delhi.

Joseph

Telegram

Enclosure : 2.

New Delhi,
September 20, 1942.

Pothan Joseph,
Calcutta.

If Ispahani offered you twelve fifty already **Dawn** editorship I stand by it start immediately **Stop** I want complete arrangements without further delay before leaving Delhi **Stop** Please show this wire Ispahani.

Jinnah

Telegram

Enclosure : 3.

Calcutta,
n.d.

Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Joseph leaving for Delhi this week.

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

162

Calcutta,
September 26, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of the 21st instant.

Joseph has been playing a trying game with me.

I have had to utilise every ounce of my patience to get him to agree. I told you, I know him well. He is a first class journalist but when it comes to money matters, he enjoys an extraordinary reputation. Wherever he goes he gets into a mess and he gives noble principles a rest when it comes to his knocking cash out of a person who, he thinks, has the capacity to pay. He is a charming fellow but in money matters he is a heart breaker.

However, he has promised to leave today. I had to give him Rs. 500/- in cash out of our pocket. Liaquat's instructions to pay him Rs. 500/- a/c **Dawn** were received this morning. Just as I was on the point of sending him this money, I received a note from him asking me to pay him his salary for October 1942 as well. This is too much and I cannot tolerate it. I have written to him as per copy enclosed, and if he does not come to his senses and thinks that his services are indispensable to us and that he can make us dance to any tune that he chooses to play, I shall not allow him to do so. If he does not leave for Delhi tonight, I shall, as sure as I am alive, give him notice on Monday morning terminating his service. My mind is made up. He will not be allowed to play the giddy goat any more.

Joseph, by his behaviour, has put me to shame. I do hope you appreciate my predicament and will realise that the delay in getting the **Dawn** started as a daily is not due to me.

Yes, I promised Joseph Rs. 1,250/- because Liaquat told me that I could, if necessary, go that distance. He got Rs. 1,000/- from us and Rs. 100/- from the **Dawn** weekly. So it was hardly fair to expect him to accept a lower remuneration than that received by him at present.

If Joseph leaves tonight and I hope and pray that he does, please make it clear to him that he shall not contribute under his own name articles to Indian dailies or weeklies except to the **Star of India**. We did not lay down this stipulation in our contract and he, contrary to

the fundamentals that govern the conduct of Editors of first class newspapers, has been contributing articles under his signature to the **Hindu, Orient**, etc., etc. This should not be permitted as it discredits the newspaper that employs him.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

163

New Delhi,
September 26, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of September 19, informing me that Mr. Pothan Joseph will be arriving here by the end of this week.

With regard to the other matter — about the newsprint — I have handed over your letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to get in touch with you. I have already written to you enclosing the copies of the telegrams that passed between Mr. Pothan Joseph and me, and I am sure you must have received them by now.

I have also received your telegram informing me that Mr. Joseph will arrive here by the end of this week.

Please make arrangements and see that he starts at once without any further delay.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
September 28, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a letter received by me yesterday from Joseph which speaks for itself. Kindly return it to me when done with.

I was surprised to hear in the Assembly this morning that Joseph had missed the train again last night and that he was leaving by tonight's mail. He must have lunched too well but not too wisely.

The portion relating to the appointment of another Editor of the **Star of India** need not be considered by you because I have not made up my mind in the matter. Truly, Joseph has been more of a worry to me than a pleasure, particularly during the last six weeks. I do hope that you will be able to handle him once he gets there. Please, however, remember that he will not hesitate in making any and every demand and the more you yield the greater will be his needs. I know Joseph very well and I am giving you the benefit of my experience.

I hope you have been able to assure the regular supply of newsprint for our new venture. This will be a very severe and serious problem in the future unless, of course, steps are taken rightaway to avoid the difficulties that must arise.

The newsprint loaned by the **Star of India** to Delhi is on the explicit understanding that it will be returned to us at Calcutta by January 1943. Kindly ask Liaquat to drop me a line confirming this arrangement as the **Star of India** must have such a confirmation on its file.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure : 1.

Star of India,
Calcutta,
September 26, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

The train was overcrowded today and with difficulty I have managed to get a first class top-berth for tomorrow. In reality they have started the rationing of tickets on some priority basis.

Again I must ask you to believe that I did not attempt a money-squeeze on you, but your green-inked letter to me gave me the impression of an ex-gratia allowance of Rs. 1,500. I should despise myself if I meant anything else. Your language there was a little ambiguous. That is all. Let us forget it. I got quite hot round the ears at your vehemence until it reached the reference to the Cripps Offer which displayed your goodwilled humour! All that is 'off the record', as Roosevelt would say at Press-interviews. We have yet a long way to go together in the same cause and let us hold together.

About Thomas, there is no unseemly fuss at all. As an Editor who leaves you I have a right of recommending to you a proper selection which would work well in the chain-scheme of publicity you have in view. I have taken liberty; I have, after a talk, told him to split halves and advised the acceptance of Rs. 650 per mensem. You gave me a latitude of Rs. 625/-. The **Star** is now publicly associated with your name. I request you not to put the editorship in commission with miscellaneous writers; hold one man responsible and put heart into him. Since he has already a job, the stipulation of a three months' notice would be only an express compliance with what is fair. You don't want any blotches or ungrammatical rubbish in the paper; any contrary speculation would swiftly undo the service you have rendered to the **Star**. Thomas would give you steady stuff. With cartoon-blocks from Delhi and my own

contributions you wanted, we can be sure of the shape of things to come. I recommend that you offer him a salary of Rs. 650|-, with three months proviso.

I feel that the Delhi venture, which is also your own, is going to be a success. Do send Mr. Jinnah, as a last favour, a telegram that 'Joseph starts Sunday'. I can't bear the thought of wrath on the part of the good Old Man for delay. My salams to your brother who should excuse me for not personally wishing goodbye.

With kind regards to you,

Yours affectionately,
Pothan Joseph

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

165

New Delhi,
October 3, 1942.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 28, and thank you very much for it. I have read Joseph's letter to you and I am returning it as desired by you. Joseph has arrived and taken charge and we hope to bring out the **Dawn** Daily on the Eid day.

I am forwarding your letter to Liaquat regarding your views about the newsprint and I will ask him to write to you with regard to the newsprint which has been placed by you at the disposal of the **Dawn** at Delhi. I am quite confident that we shall help each other as members of the same family. Let me thank you and Mr. Ahmad for all the help that you have given us.

With regard to your guarantee of Joseph's salary I suggest that you should pay us a lump sum of Rs. 12,000|- and we can pay Joseph as well as any other member of

the staff. My reason for asking you to do this is as follows: that we have been able to launch this venture with the help of a few individuals who have come forward to run the risk of making good the losses. This venture has not been started with the Muslim League Fund, the two persons who have largely contributed are yourself and one other public spirited and patriotic Leaguer¹ like you and therefore I look upon these advances not merely as gifts, but that these supporters of ours really, in fact, constitute a syndicate and when we come to float a company, which we must in the near future, I am of opinion that they should at least receive shares for the amounts or amount that they place at our disposal. It is for that reason that I am making this suggestion — that instead of your paying the salary of Joseph every month and giving away your money it will be better to pay in a lump sum and after some time to receive it back in the form of shares. You may consider my suggestion and place it before Mr. Ahmad and let me know what your opinion is.

Once more I am very thankful to you for the help and the interest that you are taking in establishing and launching this venture. I hope to see the paper become a really first class English daily which will be a genuine, real and true voice of Muslim India, and I think, so far, everything is in our favour. It is a thing which Muslim India never had and if we are able to achieve what we desire, this may give a lead to the other Provinces as the reading public is now growing and is very anxious to know the news and views of Muslim India.

Hoping you are all well with kindest regards to all of you, from Miss Jinnah and me,

Yours v. sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Raja of Mahmudabad.



Calcutta,
October 5, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am informed that several Muslim students of our province have written and/or telegraphed you [to discover your] position in support of the move that Fazlul Huq should be re-admitted into the League. I have it on first class authority that the move is financed and sponsored by no other person than Fazlul Huq himself. He is purchasing Muslim students for all sorts of political work on his behalf. He is sowing seeds of corruption rather early in the lives of these youngmen. He gives posts carrying tempting salaries, gives donations and financial assistance or starts them on some sort of lucrative business nursed by Government patronage, to get their support. May Allah have mercy on Muslim Bengal and her rising generation. Cannot something be done ?

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
October 8, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

My brother and I very much appreciate your kindness as expressed in your letter of the 3rd instant which was delivered here yesterday evening.

My brother has written to you yesterday and will be leaving for Lucknow today. When he meets you in

Delhi he will execute our undertaking¹ with pleasure. I agree with your views in the matter of the **Dawn**.

Fazlul Huq's 'great attempt' at Delhi has once again flopped. He collected around him the Bengal Mahasabhaites, Allah Baksh and one Raja Dayal!

Are you contemplating another move by the League?

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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168

Calcutta,
October 20, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This morning's news has left me dumb-founded. Reuter reports that the Muslim League in Sind² has decided to join Hidayatullah's Government. The newspaper correspondents have during the last eight or ten days repeatedly reported that the Muslim League in Sind was in constant touch with you and that their stand depended on your advice and direction. When I read the news of the decision to join the Hidayatullah Cabinet this

1. Regarding the **Dawn**.
2. After the death of Allah Baksh, Hidayatullah became Sind's Chief Minister. Though himself not a member of the League, he included Ayub Khuhro and M. Gazdar in his Cabinet, both of whom were Leaguers. Khuhro and Gazdar had defied the League mandate forbidding Leaguers to join any non-League Ministry.

morning I felt that Hidayatullah and the other Muslim Ministers must have given some sort of an understanding to you to the effect that they would join the League, or that the policy of the Hidayatullah Government would be controlled by the All India Muslim League.

While I was at the **Star of India** office today, a fresh message came in from Karachi reporting an interview with Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah in which he has declared that he has not joined the Muslim League and that he remains an Independent. The same news report went on to say that Mr. Abdul Majid, the Joint Secretary of the Muslim League Party, had tendered the resignation because he felt that the decision of the Muslim League to join the Hidayatullah Cabinet was not in keeping with the aims and policy of the All India Muslim League. From this last bit of the latest news I surmise that the action taken in Sind is not in keeping with your advice to our Party men there.

I am writing a leaderette in today's **Star of India**¹ including the mind of a staunch Muslim Leaguer and I hope you will do the **Star** the honour of reading it.

We have all these years fought and maintained the principle that the Muslim League Party cannot coalesce with any other Muslim party in the country because the Muslim League being the sole political organisation of the Musalmans did not recognise the existence of any such party in the country. In view of this, how is it possible for the Muslim League Party to coalesce with other Muslims in Sind unless, of course, this policy has been jettisoned for urgent and very important reasons? The whole position of Sind as it stands today, is enveloped in cloud. It requires clarification as soon as possible because Muslims all over India will be taken aback by the attitude of our Party in Sind. A statement by you, if I

1. See the editorial entitled 'Sind Betrayal', **Star of India**, October 22, 1942.

may be permitted to suggest, is indicated and I trust you will clarify the situation as early as possible.

When I met Khuhro in Allahabad during the last Annual Session of the All India Muslim League, I felt that this man's only ambition was quickly to become a Minister in Sind. On the termination of the Session I met him in Lucknow and whilst taking him round sight-seeing, created an opportunity to tell him that my impressions of him were that he was too keen to wield the Ministerial position in Sind and that if I were in his place I would wait, work and organise the League instead of trying to capture a few seats in the Cabinet. I now feel that my judgment of this man was not far from wrong, because at the first opportunity he has flung himself at the feet of Hidayatullah. His colleague, Mr. Gazdar, I am afraid, is no better.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

169

Calcutta,
December 17, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

When I was last in Delhi I promised to send you the list of persons who have very kindly, in response to the appeal made to them, donated their bit to the **Star of India** fund.

I am to add that it is the earnest request of most of the donors to keep their names as confidential as possible because they do not want to face the deluge of re-

quests and appeals that will come from most of the Muslim dailies, weeklies and monthlies for similar help. Further it is their desire that the amount be sent to the Agent-Manager of the **Star of India** to pay up as much of the debts as the newspaper has incurred during the last twenty months after calling for and satisfying yourself with a statement certified by a firm of recognised Accountants.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

List of Donors :

1.	Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin	Rs. 3,000-0-0
2.	Mr. M. A. Ispahani	Rs. 3,000-0-0
3.	Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani	Rs. 2,500-0-0
4.	Mr. M. M. Ispahani	Rs. 2,000-0-0
5.	Mr. M. A. Raza Khan	Rs. 750-0-0
6.	Mr. M. Raza Khan	Rs. 500-0-0
7.	Mr. Mirza Ali Akbar	Rs. 1,000-0-0
8.	Mr. Gholam Hosain	Rs. 1,000-0-0
9.	Mr. Ali Asghar	Rs. 500-0-0
10.	Mr. Ali Mohammed	Rs. 300-0-0
11.	Mr. A. Raza Sherazee	Rs. 500-0-0
12.	Mr. M. Jawad	Rs. 500-0-0
13.	Mr. Mirza Abbas	Rs. 300-0-0
14.	Mr. Rajabally	Rs. 300-0-0
15.	Mr. Mohd. Ali Ispahani	Rs. 200-0-0
16.	Mr. M. Yusoof	Rs. 200-0-0
17.	Mr. Mirza Ali Asghar	Rs. 150-0-0
18.	Mr. M. Mohsin	Rs. 30-0-0
19.	Mr. Sadruddin	Rs. 30-0-0
20.	Mr. M. A. Wahab	Rs. 50-0-0
21.	Mr. M. Ali	Rs. 50-0-0

22.	Mr. Moinuddin	Rs.	30-0-0
23.	Mr. Ameer Ali	Rs.	30-0-0
24.	Mr. S. A. Nasr	Rs.	300-0-0
25.	Mr. M. Yusoof	Rs.	100-0-0
26.	Mr. M. Ahmad	Rs.	100-0-0
27.	Mr. M. Taki Mahmoodian	Rs.	100-0-0
28.	Mr. Mirza Mohd. Ali	Rs.	100-0-0
29.	Mr. Hassan Mehdi	Rs.	100-0-0
30.	Mr. M. Jaffer	Rs.	100-0-0
31.	Mr. M. J. Teherany	Rs.	70-0-0
32.	Mr. Mirza Mohd. Ali Dehdashtee	Rs.	60-0-0
33.	Mr. Aga Jaleel	Rs.	200-0-0
34.	Mr. Syed Jaffer	Rs.	75-0-0
35.	Mr. Syed Mortaza	Rs.	50-0-0
36.	Mr. Syed Jawad	Rs.	50-0-0
37.	Mr. M. Hassan	Rs.	20-0-0
38.	Mr. M. Mehdy	Rs.	20-0-0
39.	Mr. Syed Mohammad	Rs.	30-0-0
40.	Mr. M. Yacoob	Rs.	20-0-0
41.	Mr. Ansar Ali	Rs.	10-0-0
42.	Mr. Amanat	Rs.	10-0-0
43.	Fatima Begum	Rs.	30-0-0
44.	Jamal Mian	Rs.	100-0-0
45.	Mohammed Din	Rs.	30-0-0
46.	Mr. Syed Ismail Ispahani, Madras.	Rs.	1,000-0-0
47.	Collections made by Mr. Syed Ismail Ispahani	Rs.	3,175-0-0
48.	K. Nooruddin	Rs.	500-0-0
	Collections made by Mr. K. Nooruddin	Rs.	1,730-0-0
			<hr/>
			Rs. 25,000-0-0
			<hr/>

Note. The total donation has been, in fact, paid by Ispahani brothers only. The list was drawn up because they did not want to 'show off'.

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170

Calcutta,
December 17, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I returned to Calcutta two days ago. I stayed in Bombay eight days and hoped that you would return. Your case in Agra must have kept you back.

I went to Mahmudabad and spent a day with Amir. I got him alone in snatches of a few minutes at a time, for he is most of the day surrounded by a host of fellows, and had a heart to heart talk. I feel I have succeeded in impressing upon him that his sudden withdrawal from political activity and change over to a full time concentration on religion within the four walls of the Mahmudabad Qila, was far from desirable and was likely to be misunderstood by all and sundry. Inshallah, he will get out of his new rut soon. I am pressing him to come down to Calcutta and to organise the Students Federation in Bengal. He has promised to do so and I shall keep at him until he leaves the U.P. and particularly his home town.

Any further progress with Fazlul Huq this time? The man has suspended the **Azad** for an indefinite period for printing a letter on the injustice done to Muslims in the matter of A.R.P. appointments, published some 2-1½ months ago. He passed orders a couple of hours before he left for Delhi. Little did he realise at the time that this injustice would give the Muslim League

a sledge hammer to smash his head with. We are working up a first class agitation and shall not rest content until he withdraws the order and thus admits defeat at our hands.

Chittagong is receiving daily attention from enemy airmen. The food position in the province is growing more and more serious each day. In some areas, it is most acute. Generally, conditions are far from satisfactory. The cyclone in Midnapur and 24 Parganas has wrought untold havoc in these areas. Tens of thousands have died and millions have been rendered homeless and are starving. The disaster is really terrible. A cheque from you to the Muslim League Fund, of which I am treasurer, or to the Governor will be an excellent gesture on your part and will have a good effect on the minds of the Muslims of our province. Of course, this is merely a submission or suggestion.

Nazimuddin is still in Calcutta.

With my salams to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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171

Calcutta,
December 26, 1942.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter¹ of the 22nd instant enclosing a cheque for Rs. 1,000/-.

1. Not available in I.P.

Your telegram was also received and the news of your kind donation was released to the Press.

I shall see that your cheque for Rs. 1,000/- is properly and well spent.

The Japs have been over-loving of late. They have visited us four times. They stayed longest with us and were noisiest on the last occasion. For a change, we had undisturbed sleep last night. Half of Calcutta is on the run. The stations are packed and every road or pathway leading out of Calcutta bears lacs of humanity on the march. Even the country boats are being packed to capacity by people leaving Calcutta. May God protect them one and all and take them unharmed to their destinations. We are all well. Don't worry. It is a rough job to get the **Star of India** out these days. We have however, so far, not failed even for a day.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan



1943

Gandhi's fast—Fazlul Huq-Syamaprasad Mookerjee Ministry in doldrums—Launching of the 'Morning News'—League's victory against Fazlul Huq's candidates—Fall of Huq's Ministry—Plaint filed in Court by Fazlul Huq against Mr. Jinnah—Imposition of Governor's Rule—Fazlul Huq's partymen joining the Muslim League—Split in Forward Bloc—Nazimuddin becomes Chief Minister—Knife attack on Jinnah by a Khaksar fanatic—Bengal famine—Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund—Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry—King Ibn-e-Saud's contribution for Bengal famine relief—Suhrawardy defends Bengal Government's food procurement policy—All India Muslim League session at Karachi—Jinnah's investment in stocks and shares.

Calcutta,
January 6, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A line to tell you that we are all well. My brother Ahmad will return from Lucknow tomorrow.

I heard a very good joke last night. The person who told it, is Manek Powvala. Here it goes:-

'Slogans of today'

The Mikado	—	Hit India
Mr. Gandhi	—	Quit India
Mr. Jinnah	—	Split India

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Bombay,
January 6, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

It was a very great relief indeed to hear from you and get your letter of December 26. I pray to God that you will be safe. Naturally I was very anxious and am anxious even now.

I thank you for acknowledging the receipt of my cheque which I sent you towards the Muslim League Fund for the relief of the sufferers in Midnapore.

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

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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174

Bombay,
January 8, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 17 and I did not reply to it as I was not able to understand fully what you wanted me to do with regard to the people who have donated their bit to the **Star of India** Fund. You have attached a list and I have noted it. I shall await further communication in the matter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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175 .

Calcutta,
January 13, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

This serves to acknowledge receipt with thanks of your letters dated the 6th and 8th instant.

You require further explanation of the contents of my letter of the 17th of last month. Here it is. A sum of money has been collected for the purpose of paying up the debts entered into by the **Star of India** during the period June 1, 1940 to December 15, 1942. The amount has been sent to you for making payment to the Honorary Agent-Manager of the **Star of India** for the purpose stated above after you call for and receive from him a statement of accounts duly certified, showing the actual sums borrowed for keeping the **Star** alive during the period stated above.

On receipt of your directions a statement duly certified by the Auditors will be submitted to you and when you are satisfied the sum may be sent by you to the Honorary Agent-Manager for the defined and specified purpose.

The moon is waxing. Let us hope we shall not be worried this month.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. Haroon's unopposed victory.¹ Bravo League — Allah Baksh had not the guts to keep his brother in the battlefield. We are commenting in the **Star** today.

1. Yousuf Haroon was elected unopposed, as Maula Baksh, brother of Allah Baksh withdrew from the election in Sind.



Calcutta,
February 12, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have not written to you for some time because I have had nothing fresh to report and I did not want to waste your time.

Things in Bengal are moving once again. The first meeting of the Assembly takes place this afternoon. There is activity in the air. I am kept advised of the negotiations that are taking place between our party and the others. Nazim keeps me posted. I have read his letter to you and he has also conveyed to me the crux of his telephonic conversation with you, yesterday. I feel that the old and tricky fox [Huq] is playing a clever and well planned game. Our friends here are either over credulous or are very keen on capturing power in the province. I do not see why an outsider¹ should be brought in, baptised with the holy water of the League and then made Chief Minister! There is no need whatsoever for us to yield to this condition precedent. Nazim's record is clean and his integrity unquestionable. He is good enough to lead the Council of Ministers.

Further I cannot see how any Leaguer can be party to a pact that prevents Muslim Leaguers from speaking, writing or agitating for Pakistan. League Ministers may be permitted to enter into a reciprocal pact so far as the Members of the Cabinet go, but they should not be permitted to choke the Muslim League voice — in no circumstances and under no pretext whatsoever. You will remember that the first Fazlul Huq

1. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy's name was being suggested to take over as Bengal's premier. See Amery to Linlithgow, March 2, 1943, *Linlithgow Papers*, MSS. EUR. F. 125|12.

Ministry (which included Shaheed and others) tried to choke the observance of Pakistan Day. We defied their directions and they had not the guts to do anything. We want no such repetition.

There is talk of a non-controversial special resolution being moved by Dr. S. Prasad Mookerjee calling upon the Government of India to unconditionally release Mr. Gandhi. We have decided to remain neutral because we cannot oppose Gandhi's release. Now the Congress (Ad Hoc) and the Syama Group are canvassing our support by a short speech by Nazim, the Leader of the Opposition. They say that Nazim may make it clear that unconditional release is being supported because it is not our desire to see the great leader of the Hindus die as a result of the fast and state further that our position vis-a-vis Gandhi and the Party and Community he represents remains unchanged and that we cannot accept any terms other than those outlined by the many resolutions and decisions of the All India Muslim League.

I am awaiting to read the draft of the speech if and when it is ready. Unless I read it I cannot comment upon it. The draft will have to be placed before the Party. I assure you that I shall not allow the League Party to draw the chestnut out of the fire for the majority nation. More of it later. I shall telephone you if I consider it necessary.

Old Huq is quaking in his shoes. He sees the hangman's noose over his head. Things change so suddenly these days! Who could have thought that he and his group ran even a one in hundred chance of being pushed out of the guddies? They were so firmly fixed for the duration. Apparently, the Ad Hoc Congress and Syamaprasad have, by circumstances, been converted to the opinion that no Ministry, however bad, could be as bad as the present from the point of selfishness, corrup-



The Quaid with Mr. Gandhi, 1944



The Quaid during his tour of the NWFP, 1947

tion, lack of initiative and complete transfer of power to the I.C.S.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. We have won yet another election. Our candidate returned unopposed to the Upper House, the Proja and Progressive candidates having withdrawn from the fray.

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177

Calcutta,
February 15, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It was a pleasure to have a few minutes talk with you over the telephone last night.

In the matter of Mr. Gandhi's fast, I took the same view as you have done and told the party that our action would be wantonly misrepresented in the foreign countries and would react to the detriment of our stand and cause. Sir Nazimuddin and several others were most anxious to play to the Congress and Mahasabha gallery. They complied with their request for verbal support. Even at the meeting of the Legislative Party held during the prayer recess, I opposed the idea of a speech and finding myself alone took the next step, i.e. insistence upon the speech being brief and put down in writing. I did not like the wording as drafted and refused to be party to its acceptance. Again, I was, however, the only one who dissented. My protest was re-

corded and as a result of it the following words were added: 'As the world is aware, Mr. Gandhi's politics and ours widely differ and we do not accept his views, etc'. I tried all I could to get them to add to the above the following: 'which aims at having an Akhand Hindustan and denied to the Muslims their birthright of self-determination'. Their answer was that I was stating a self evident fact and was taking away the grace of a gesture that our association with the motion was supposed to be.

For your information, Badrudduja, speaking on behalf of the 'Progressives', followed the language of the League and dissociated his party from Gandhi's politics.

I am looking forward to your statement, which you said will be released to the Press today.

The Assembly meets this afternoon and the Congress adjournment will be debated.

Fazlul Huq is not in too enviable a position but he is a clever fox. I shall not be surprised if he wriggles out unscratched.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

178

Calcutta,
February 16, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After weeks of silence, I am pestering you with a letter a day.

I read your reply to Rajagopalachari. I commend the editorial in the Dak Edition of the **Star of India** of the 12th instant. You will see how we too reacted to the fast of Mr. Gandhi.¹

We [**Star**] shall be attacking the Muslim League Parliamentary Party tomorrow because I am of opinion that statements of the type made by Nazim, although innocuous in our immediate surroundings, will be misinterpreted by the interested propagandists outside.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

179

Calcutta,

March 2, 1943

Dear Mr. Jinnah.

We had a shot at the Speakership and missed it by 23 votes. Government with the full support of the Nationalists, Congress (Ad Hoc), Forward Bloc, Krishak Proja, majority of the Scheduled Caste and the Fazlul Huq Muslim traitors polled 118 votes in favour of Nausher Ali. We (50) plus the Europeans (22) plus the Anglo Indians (2) managed to bore a hole in the pocket of the Government and took away votes to bring up our total to 95. Had we got just 12 more votes from the Govern-

1. For editorial entitled 'Mr. Gandhi's Fast' see **Star of India**, Feb., 11, 1943.

ment benches, Abdur Rahman Siddiqui would have been elected. Our party worked magnificently and ran and canvassed to a standstill. No one expected us to put up such a magnificent show. The Congress and others thought that we would not pass the 55 figure even with 100 per cent European support as they were sure of our own men not voting in favour of a non-Bengalee Musalman. They were, praise to Allah, disillusioned. Huq must have spent a restless night for never in the history of his premiership has he carried anything with just 23 votes.

The Council Presidentship election takes place this afternoon. As the post is a Hindu post, we have decided to vote for Sir Bejoy Singh Roy who, right to this day, has remained loyal to us.

I shall not be able to attend the meeting of the League Council on the 7th of this month, but shall, Inshallah, attend the annual session.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

180

Calcutta,
March 3, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my letter of yesterday I have to advise you that we carried Sir Bejoy as President of the Bengal Legislative Council.

I commend the leader on the subject in the Dak Edition of the **Star** of 4.3.43. Kindly read it.

Today we compelled Government, by means of an adjournment motion, to accept our demands in the matter of the application of Ordinance No. 2 of 1942, in the province. Huq yielded and did not dare to oppose us which may have resulted in his party's defeat. He gave the required assurance.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely.

Hassan

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181

Calcutta,

March 13, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Government had a narrow shave on the Food debate.¹ Please read it in the **Star of India**. The Mahasabha leader spent two days in canvassing on behalf of Fazlul Huq. However, I am sure it would have given you pleasure to witness the manner in which the Muslim League Parliamentary Party acquitted itself. We put up a clean show and gained the admiration of even our opponents.

Our voting in the Council elections proved yet another eye opener. Every Muslim League M.L.A. voted strictly in accordance with the whip that was issued

1. Censure motion against Government was defeated by 78 to 92 votes.

(secret ballot, mind you), whereas Fazlul Huq's Progressive Coalition (Huqian Muslims and the Forward Bloc) who total 70 could only register 29 votes for their first nominee. The remaining 41 votes went helter-skelter — some being sold at Rs. 1,000|- apiece.

We are daily gaining strength in the Legislature and praise be to Allah, Fazlul Huq's Muslims are gradually cracking up. Today two crossed the floor. On Monday we expect some more and Inshallah, we shall go from strength to strength.

We are working as a first class team — one for all and all for one.

More developments later. Suffice it to say for the present that Fazlul Huq is looking a very worried man — the noose is slowly but surely tightening.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

182

CONFIDENTIAL

Note by Ispahani:

March 17, 1943. 2-15 p.m.

Telephone conversation arising out of a draft letter written by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq addressed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah and read over to him for his approval.

The letter starts with an expression of sincere regret for all that has happened in the past and goes on to say that he will resign the Premiership of the province whereby the entire Progressive Coalition Party and the Progressive Party in the Assembly will automatically

cease to exist. The Musalmans following him at present will, of course, have the right to enter the Muslim League and to join the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and the Muslim League Parliamentary Party will elect its leader, the present leader becoming *functus officio*. He is prepared to abide by the decision of the Party and also undertakes to abide by the decision of the All India Muslim League. The letter ends 'With kind regards, Yours sincerely'.

The conversation between him [Huq] and Mr. Jinnah took about ten minutes and Mr. M .A. H. Ispahani spoke to Mr. Jinnah fully four minutes in the same regard. The essence of the conversation and the demand of Mr. Jinnah may be put down as follows:

Mr. Fazlul Huq must resign first; action and not words and assurances. He must apologise for his past conduct in writing and withdraw all allegations and suits pending. Immediately the above two stipulations are complied with, the ban on him will be removed by the President of the All India Muslim League and [Huq] will, as a logical consequence, be admitted to the Muslim League Legislature Party. Of course, those Musalmans who now follow Mr. Fazlul Huq will also have the right to join the Muslim League and to enter the Parliamentary Party. The members of the Parliamentary Party will then meet and decide as to who shall be their leader, subject to the approval of Mr. Jinnah. In other words, the person elected as Leader of the Party in the Legislature must have the approval of Mr. Jinnah if he has to lead the Party in the Legislature.

In confidence I was told by him [Jinnah] that he cannot, in any circumstances, barter away the position, prestige and honour of the Muslim League and that we in Bengal had not suffered one iota by the Huq—Syama-

prasad Ministry and that if more sufferings were in store for us it would harden and crystallise us into a disciplinary political organisation in the province. He also said that he could not possibly have Mr. Fazlul Huq as leader of the Muslim League in the Legislature — in other words, a Muslim League Premier, as this would mean sacrifices of strong principles and lowering of the prestige of the organisation in the eyes of the Muslims and non-Muslims in the province, in the country and abroad.

P.S. The proposal was that if Mr. Jinnah accepted the letter as satisfactory, then the letter would be handed over to Mr. M. A. Ispahani for safe custody and Mr. Jinnah would issue a statement from Delhi lifting the ban and Mr. Fazlul Huq would simultaneously resign his Premiership. If this proposal was not acceptable, any reasonable modification, such as, resignation first and lifting of the ban immediately afterwards, would be accepted by Mr. Fazlul Huq.

The persons present when the conversation took place were Mr. M. A. Ispahani, Mr. Manzoor Morshed, Mr. A. R. Siddiqui, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali and myself.

One argument that impressed me was that we had carried on for the last fifteen months a strong campaign against Mr. Fazlul Huq of corruption, dishonesty, immorality, nepotism, etc. and it was only as recent as last week that we had indulged in very violent attacks against him. How then could we call back the same man and accept him as our leader? It would leave a very bad impression on the minds of the people throughout India and abroad and would affect the discipline and party integrity, leave alone prestige.



183

New Delhi,
March 17, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letters ending with March 13 and I am very grateful to you for keeping me informed as to what is happening. Please continue to do so.

Hoping you are well, with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

184

Calcutta,
March 20, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry for having bothered you over the telephone two days ago, but it was in response to the repeated appeals that I had to do so. Even today desperate attempts are being made by Mr. Fazlul Huq to re-enter the fold and his attitude is softening hourly.

Some of us had met at Nazim's place this morning to discuss our line of attack in the Legislature when his pet nephew, Mehboob Morshed, came and made a very strong and soul-stirring appeal to take Mr. Fazlul Huq back in the League and save him, if we can, from disgrace. We clearly told him that any assurances in the matter of leadership, or assurances that even if he is elected leader (which is doubtful) we could assure him that you would confirm such election, could not be given. He has gone back to see his uncle and to ask him to sur-

render unconditionally and to throw himself at the feet of the Muslim League and bear whatever punishments and trials that this action on his part may involve. Let us see how far he is able to get him to respond to his wishes. Once again I am in complete accord with your stand. It is consistent and the only position that one can take if the discipline, integrity and prestige of an All India organisation are to be maintained.

I want to assure you that by telephoning and placing certain matters before you, it was not my desire either to persuade you to accept the proposal, nor was my action prompted by over-anxiety to have Mr. Fazlul Huq in the fold of the Muslim League at all cost.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. The Council elections counting of votes will take place on 20th. We are hopeful all round. We shall Inshallah unseat Abdul Karim, the Minister.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

185

Calcutta,
March 24, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In the Upper House, Government missed defeat by one vote on the food question, yesterday. It is regrettable that three Muslim League members were not present including Akram Khan. Further the official Congress Party voted with the Government to 'save it from defeat. The policy of the Congress is to wreck the constitution. At least, so they shout. In our province, it is

to keep Fazlul Huq & Co., alive on oxygen, if necessary, rather than smash him and make room for the League or allow the divided Muslims in the Legislature to come together again. They are playing their master's game — **Divide et impera.**

In the Legislative Assembly the Muslim League Party is growing from strength to strength; we are now 54 to 55 strong and before long hope to have the majority of the Muslims in the Assembly sitting with us.

Tomorrow will be the day of days. The Council Election results will be declared. We are all very optimistic. In the Assembly we shall once again measure strength in a couple of days.

Yesterday, Pakistan Day was celebrated inside the Legislature and also in Mohammed Ali Park. In the Assembly the League appeared at full strength with attractive Pakistan rosettes pinned on to the lapels. At Mohammed Ali Park, a large crowd was assembled and your message¹ was read and translated. In my opinion, it is a magnificent message — very inspiring indeed and certainly your best in the last seven years.

We are doing everything in our power to deal the knock out blow at Fazlul Huq. The task is by no means easy. The caste Hindus to a man, seem to be with him. Never mind, a day will dawn when they will realise their folly.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. For Jinnah's message see Jamiluddin Ahmad, **Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah**, vol. i, pp. 470-71.



New Delhi,
March 24, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 20 and I am very much relieved to note that you, at any rate, say that you are in complete accord with the stand that I have taken up regarding Mr. Fazlul Huq. We have not yet gone through Dunkirk. There are some people who are talking without realising the significance of the move on the part of our opponents and if you fall into the trap you will not only destroy the discipline, prestige and integrity of the All India organisation but your party will stand discredited in the eyes of every thinking man in the country, and the world abroad.

We have not really suffered yet, nor have we made any sacrifices, and we cannot barter away the name and prestige of Muslim India by entering into any compromise which amounts to surrender directly or indirectly.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
March 25, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Congress whose policy is to 'wreck the Constitution' supported, along with the Forward Bloc and the Mahasabha, Fazlul Huq's Government last night with

speeches and votes. We lost by 30 votes — not at all a bad performance. Four of our men were absent in the districts. The Congress were 14 strong. Our last highest figures in open voting were 78. Last night we reached 86 and Inshallah, we hope to improve still further in the course of the next few days. We are working really very hard to achieve this end.

Please read the leaders in the **Morning News** and the **Star of India** of today.

Government had to whip night and day for five days. Fazlul Huq accompanied by Syamaprasad went from house to house.

Nawab Musharraff Hussain who sat as an Independent and voted with Huq's Ministry until yesterday, entered our lobbies for the first time last night. We also had nine Scheduled Caste members on our side. This is an achievement as we did not have more than nine even when we were the Government and had two Scheduled Caste Ministers in our Cabinet!

The Council Election results will be announced to-day. We are all on tenterhooks. May Allah give us victory. We need it at a moment like the present. It will have a tremendous effect all over the province and country.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. 12.25 News flash

We have won the Calcutta & Murshidabad seats by big margins. The results from the other four constituencies are awaited.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Telegram

Express

Calcutta,
March 26, 1943.Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Fazlul Huq routed captured all six Council seats
please issue suitable statement **Stop**.

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
March 26, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I confirm my telegram of today. Nazimuddin and Shaheed have also telegraphed you. Fazlul Huq has been routed. We have captured all the six seats which were occupied by the Progressivists. Three more votes and we shall — plus the five Europeans and one Jew — have a bare majority in the Council. We hope to get three sitting Progressive members in the Council in a day or two. The rot has set in and demoralisation is showing itself clearly in Fazlul Huq's ranks. Four Muslims will cross the floor this afternoon.¹ Three of these have

1. They were Mohammad Mozammil Huq, Hatem Ally, (Lal Meah), Abdul Kader and Abdul Wahab Khan.

issued a statement.¹ We are expecting another two to come over by tonight. Inshallah, our wound of having the majority of the Muslim MLAs sitting opposite us, will soon be healed. We shall have on our side the majority of the Muslims in the Assembly. We have borne the pain, torture and humiliation with fortitude for sixteen months. Fazlul Huq looks a picture of misery. Do not be surprised if the Ministry fails sooner than anticipated. If and when it does fall, you must leave for Calcutta without delay. That is the time for you to be here and to lay down the law. The foundation must be clean and strong; otherwise, the house will not stand long. You have now got control over Bengal which you could not claim before the fall of the 'League Ministry' in December 1941. This control must be maintained at all cost.

We are carrying on a well organised campaign in all Muslim owned papers in the province. Please read them. They will keep you posted with movement of events here.

The Nawab of Murshidabad in Murshidabad and the Nawab of Dacca in Dacca, have been laid low, for the candidates whom they supported openly and by personal canvassing and appeal, have not been returned. Abdul Karim, the Education Minister, has also met his Waterloo.²

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. In fact these three were in addition to the four mentioned in Ispahani's letter. Their names were Kabiruddin Khan, Amir Aly and Ghulam Rabbani Ahmed. See **Star of India**, March 26, 1943.
2. Abdul Karim was defeated by a Muslim League nominee.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Telegram

Express

Calcutta,
March 29, 1943.

Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Fazlul Huq Cabinet resigned Assembly adjourned
fortnight personal opinion you should come here immediately **Stop**.

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

New Delhi,
March 29, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your telegram and I most heartily congratulate you all. You have secured a most remarkable success in capturing all the six seats of the Council.

I thought over the matter whether I should issue a statement as suggested by you, but after careful consideration I felt reluctant to do so. The time has not come yet for me to speak out, but I am watching your activities and of the Assembly with great interest.

You will find that the policy we have adopted is bound to triumph in the long run. We have to go through the fire and suffer a bit. You will come to your own not

by the back door but with honour and fully vindicating the prestige of the League.

I am glad that you are all working as a team and that is the only way to a quick success.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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192

Calcutta,
March 30, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 24th instant which reached me yesterday, the 29th instant. I cannot understand the long delay in transit.

I telegraphed to you yesterday immediately after the fall of the Huq Cabinet. It seems that a constitutional crisis has been once again cooked up by Syama-prasad & Co., The Budget will have to go through and in view of the Speaker's ruling and adjournment of the Assembly for fourteen days, it can only go through on the application of Section 93 by the Governor. Therefore, a notification to the effect will be published today that the remaining grants which were very few, would be passed by the Governor before mid-night tomorrow.

Efforts are being made once again to bring into play the same old tactics of 1941 by the same old people, namely, the Caste Hindu clique headed and led by Syama-prasad Mookerjee. They are making a desperate effort to keep all Hindu parties, and if possible, individuals away from co-operating with the Muslim League in the forma-

tion of a Ministry. We too, on our part, are not leaving a single stone unturned to gain their co-operation and to secure from them the same opportunity and support that they accorded to Fazlul Huq during the last sixteen months. If they refuse our hand of co-operation and behave as they did in 1941, we have made up our minds definitely. This time our course of action is cut and clear. I sincerely hope that the short-sightedness on the part of the Caste Hindus in the province will not bring about a civil war, but we shall not yield to Syamaprasad Mookerjee's threats or be frightened by his tactics. Muslim Bengal has tolerated enough and it will be, in my opinion, a folly of the greatest magnitude for sober Hindu opinion to think and act as Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee will want them to, at the present juncture.

Our strength has increased to 104, and the moment Sir Nazimuddin is called we expect it to pass 125 figures. At present about 25 members of the Assembly are in prison and dead or, like Azizul Haque, away.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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193

Calcutta,
April 2, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your kind letter of March 29, delivered yesterday. I am glad you are pleased with our doings. We have made much progress. The Muslim

League Party in the Assembly has now grown to sixty eight and if Nazimuddin is commissioned, another fifteen cursed Muslim rascals who sit on the fence and side with the party in power, will join the League Party. We Muslims are an undisciplined and unprincipled lot, I mean the stratum of politicians. Praise be to Allah, the heart of the Muslim masses is sound and may the day not be far off when the feet of the masses will crush the very bones of these cursed politicians who put self above nation.

Nazim spoke to you this morning. He read the two letters. Strange things happen and I apprehend that Delhi is putting pressure on our 'long fellow'.¹ To ask the leader of by far the largest solid single party 'to investigate and report on the chances of the formation of a broad based Ministry in the province',² is something quite novel. Constitutional practice demands that the Leader of the Opposition should be called and if his credentials satisfy the Governor that he can form a stable Ministry, which Nazim can easily assure and fulfil, H.E. should commission him straightaway and charge him with the duty.

The correspondence between the 'long fellow' and Nazim is confidential; hence, so far, publication is withheld. There may come a time when it will have to be released.

There is a deep move here on the part of the Caste Hindus to sabotage us once again. It is really distressing and painful. This time we are much stronger both in the Legislature and in the province. It is frightful luck to be baulked at the last moment.

1. Governor of Bengal.

2. After the fall of Huq's ministry, the Governor merely asked Nazimuddin to report if he commanded a majority in the House.

You write nothing about coming to Calcutta. Apparently, you do not consider it necessary to be here.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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194

New Delhi,
April 3, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 30, and thank you for all the information. I only hope that you people will not budge an inch from the position we have taken up. Let Section 93 continue but we shall not depart from our principles. Sir Nazimuddin and Muslim League Party should not accept any other position or fall into any trap but insist on the first condition that Sir Nazimuddin, as the leader of the Muslim League Party should be called to form the Ministry and not accept what I have read in the newspapers that the Governor has requested Sir Nazimuddin to explore the situation as a reporter.

I understand such a role assigned to the Muslim League leader has already been repudiated and rightly so. I hope you will all stand together and keep up to our principles and self-respect and thereby enhance the prestige and reputation of the All India Muslim League.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

195

Calcutta,
April 3, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since yesterday no fresh developments have taken place except that one more Musalman of the 'Progressive' Party has joined us.

The Governor has sent for Fazlul Huq and Nazimuddin today. He sees the former at 11 a.m. and the latter at 11.30 a.m.

To me it seems that the resignation, suspension of the constitution, the direction for an 'investigation and report' are all parts of a preconceived plan to take charge of the province and to rule it directly through the I.C.S. at a time like the present when the danger from the East shows no sign of lessening. However, this is merely an opinion, and may turn out contrary to fact.

I was again approached today — with the confession that Fazlul Huq is a beaten man — that he wants to proceed to Delhi to seek an interview with you and to throw himself unconditionally and absolutely at your feet and to pray for forgiveness without demanding anything in return. I was requested to accompany him. My reply was: 'sorry'. I was then requested to comply with the request of telephoning you — after Fazlul Huq left by the Delhi train — and to ask you not to shut the door on his face if he, the fallen and well beaten man, approached you for surrendering himself unconditionally. I replied that it is no use wasting precious time at this stage. If Huq leaves for Delhi I shall telephone and place the bare submission before you that you be pleased not to refuse him an interview although it was unnecessary for me to do so, as I felt that you, in your greatness, would not refuse a Musalman his right of approach and interview. I am not pleading his case; please do not misunderstand.

I am writing these lines to keep you posted of every development here.

The Muslim Press is carrying on an organised campaign.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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196

Calcutta,
April 5, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Nazim was sent for by the Governor on Saturday. The report of Fazlul Huq having been sent for half an hour before Sir Nazim, turned out to be incorrect. It was a piece of smart trickery on the part of Huq. He drove into the Government House all right but called on the Secretary to H.E. and asked him to intervene on his behalf and get Nazim to plead his case before you. He got a cold shoulder and came out. He went in to create an atmosphere for keeping together his followers to show that he stood an equal chance with Nazimuddin of being finally commissioned to form the Ministry. However, the Radio on Saturday night and the newspapers on Sunday morning exposed his game.

Barisal is Fazlul Huq's district in Bengal. There are 8 Musalmans who represent that district in the Assembly:

1. Fazlul Huq
2. Hatem Ally Jemadar

3. Lal Meah (Abdul Kader)
4. Hashem Ali Khan (ex-Minister)
5. Mozammil Huq
6. Abdul Wahab Khan
7. Khan Bahadur Afzal
8. Sadruddin Ahmed

Until a week ago the whole group was with Fazlul Huq. Mr. Sadruddin did not vote with the Government during the last two divisions and came over to us a few hours before the fall of the Cabinet.

Last night Lal Meah, Hatem Ally Jemadar, Mozammil Huq and Abdul Wahab jointly signed an application for membership to the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and handed it to Sir Nazimuddin. They will be issuing a joint statement today outlining the reasons that have prompted them to leave Fazlul Huq and join the Muslim League Parliamentary Party.¹ Therefore Fazlul Huq is left with just two to follow him from his district — Hashem Ali Khan, his colleague in the last cabinet and Khan Bahadur Afzal, his nephew. The Muslim League has, therefore, not stopped short of even raiding Fazlul Huq's own district in which, until quite recently, he held undisputed sway.

You have not written anything as to whether you intend coming here or not. If Nazimuddin is commissioned to form the Ministry I am strongly of the opinion that unless matters are dealt by strong hands and a

1. They appealed for unity in Muslim ranks and said: 'It is beyond dispute that the All India Muslim League is the only organisation which represents the Muslims of India and unless all Muslims rally round the banner of the All India Muslim League, their rights, privileges and interests are bound to be at jeopardy.' See **Star of India**, April 6, 1943.

sound foundation is laid the Muslim League Ministry will not last even a year.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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197

Calcutta,
April 8, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 3rd instant, received last night.

The Viceroy is back in Delhi and we should know during the day whether he will agree to the Governor calling Nazimuddin as the Leader of the Opposition to form the Ministry, or he would prefer the continuance of Section 93. Yesterday's interview was satisfactory and Nazimuddin is hopeful. Of course, no one can beat Nazimuddin in optimism!

Negotiations with the caste Hindus are once again progressing satisfactorily. It seems that the whole lot will not take up the stand that they took sixteen months ago. I do not think Syamaprasad Mookerjee will enjoy the position of unquestioned leader of the Hindus of the province. If he is allowed to consolidate his position further, it will mean the liquidation of the official Congress and the Bose Group and these two parties still commanding an extensive influence in the province and country, will not permit themselves to be thrown into the political background. There are hopes of the Bose Group deciding to work with the League thus doing in the legisla-

ture what was successfully done in the Corporation four years ago — Bose-Ispahani pact. There are also favourable indications of the Maharaja Group¹ deserting Syama-prasad's fold.

Our position with the Muslims is improving. We are 74 strong today and shall be 85 the moment Nazimuddin is commissioned. The Krishak-Proja are most keen to join us. They have shown their anxiety to work with us for the last four months. Our constitution does not permit us to coalesce with them. So we have all along told them that we can only work with them if they join the League and sign our pledge. We shall then give them office and a free share in the patronage. If they agree, it means their liquidation; so they refuse so far.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

198

Calcutta,
April 9, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night the Forward Bloc Party met and did not come to a decision. Fazlul Huq attended the meeting and shed crocodile tears pleading that he had been reduced to the present position amongst the Muslims because he defied strong Muslim communal opinion and backed Hindu-Muslim unity. It was expected that Sir Nazimuddin would be called to address the meeting but

1. Maharaja of Burdwan.

as Fazlul Huq took up a lot of the time the meeting was adjourned for Sunday, the 11th instant.

Nazimuddin will be meeting Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the leader of the 'Nationalist' Group in the Assembly at 10-30 this morning and Kiran Shankar Roy, the leader of the Ad Hoc Congress Group in the Assembly at 7 tonight. By Sunday evening the latest, the position in the province should crystallize.

This ministry-making business and great anxiety on our part to exploit every avenue for stepping into power has made most of our leaders to forget the Balurghat by-election of the Bengal Legislative Assembly necessitated by the death of the sitting member. Notwithstanding reminders, our leaders, flushed with recent conquest and victory, did not give this constituency their serious attention, thinking that nomination by the League was sufficient to assure victory to the candidate. Those who should have been in Balurghat, organising the election, were all taken up with negotiations and gossip and did not go to Balurghat. Yesterday Mr. Tamizuddin who had been sent the day before, sent a S.O.S. to the effect that the whole campaign was badly handled and work was most disorganised. He appealed for immediate help. Some workers were sent yesterday; some are going this morning and a couple will be leaving tonight. Unfortunately, polling is fixed for Monday, the 12th instant, leaving very little time for organising an election in a big constituency like Balurghat. I am praying hard that we come out unscathed. If our candidate is knocked out by the Independent fellow, who, you will be surprised to read, was the Secretary of the Muslim League in that Sub-Division and who refused to withdraw in favour of the League candidate and was consequently expelled, we shall suffer a dreadful set-back at the present critical moment. The supporters of Fazlul Huq will crow as loudly as we did only two weeks ago and we shall lose a lot of the ground

that we have with difficulty and hard work managed to gain until recently. The great yearning for office which is still uppermost in the minds and hearts of the majority of the Muslim politicians today is really heart-rending.

Fazlul Huq's men after some days of silence are active once again since yesterday.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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199

New Delhi,
April 9, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th. I have also received a detailed letter from Sir Nazimuddin dated the 4th putting the whole position before me. I have had a talk with him on the Phone and I hope that you people will not commit yourselves to any formula which will go against the fundamental principle and policy of the League as a price for ministry; especially do not commit yourself to any formula regarding the position of the Muslim League towards the War effort, beyond what was defined when the League was occupying the leading and dominant position in the previous ministry. I am enclosing for your guidance a copy of the reply that I sent to Mr. Suhrawardy some time ago.

As to my coming to Bengal if you all really think that I can be of any use, I shall have no hesitation in

coming. But in the first instance Sir Nazimuddin must be commissioned to form the ministry.

Thank you for all the information. Please do keep me in touch.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Enclosure: One.

Enclosure: 1.

June 20, 1942.

Extracts from Jinnah's letter of June 20, 1942, to H. S. Suhrawardy.

I am in receipt of your letter and I beg to inform you that the policy of the League as I understand it, is that we cannot join any committee or committees or any organisation which is set up or may be set up by the Government and is under the control and direction of the Government, so long as we have no real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and the provinces.

It is not a question of opposing the War effort and it does not arise at present. Our position is that we cannot undertake the burden and the responsibility of advising our people to join any of these bodies that are set up or may be set up by the Government when we have no control and direction of any kind over them.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
April 10, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Nazimuddin met Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Kiran Shankar Roy, as reported yesterday. But I thought that these fellows would go to Nazimuddin's place. It seems that Nazim went to meet them. The papers are once more full of 'efforts on the part of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party leader to investigate and report on the chances of forming a broad-based Government in the Province'. This is awful, because the acceptance of such a role is positively derogatory to the dignity of the League. My blood boiled and the result was the leader in the Dak issue of the April 10 | City Edition of the 9th idem under the caption 'Investigation and Report'.¹ I will come in for a lot of ticking off. I may even be called a saboteur. I do not care two pins so long as I run the policy in keeping with the established and accepted principles of the League.

The whole situation in the province is sickening. I would really genuinely and sincerely be glad to see the continuance of rule under Section 93. We have had enough of intrigues, counter intrigues, statements, counter statements, and claims and counter claims.

Azizul Haque, a new actor, has been introduced on the political stage of Bengal. He is working, encouraged by Huq, Syamaprasad etc., etc., to assume Premiership of the province. The reply of the League to such a proposal ought to be and must be a categorical 'no'. However, this is one of the many moves one hears of.

I shall not be surprised if the whole affair is not after all a cooked up show, well planned several months ago by higher quarters. Tell the League 'Get represen-

1. See **Star of India**, April 9, 1943.

tative Hindus to work with you and you may form the Ministry'. Tell Fazlul Huq 'Get the League to co-operate with you or get the League to re-admit you on terms satisfactory to yourself and you are assured of being recalled to form the ministry'. Enter Azizul Haque through the back door to add colour to the comedy so that interest in the plot may be maintained !

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

201

Calcutta,
April 12, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing for your information copies of correspondence arising out of an editorial in the **Star**. Kindly treat the enclosures as private and confidential.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosures : Two.

Enclosure : 1.

Calcutta,
April 11, 1943.

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of today's date enclosing a cutting from the **Star of India** which I am returning herewith.

The article was published as an editorial in the columns of the **Star**. May I add that the policy of the **Star** is wedded neither to the Parliamentary Party nor to the Provincial Muslim League. It has been consistently loyal to the programme and policy of the All India Muslim League.

I am absolutely certain that it could not have been the intention of the writer to wound your feelings for you are respected even by those who do not see eye to eye with you on occasions.

I hope the above explanation will be considered satisfactory by you. But if you must act as suggested in your letter I shall not stand in your way.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E.,
33, Theatre Road,
Calcutta.

Enclosure : 2.

Calcutta,
April 11, 1943.

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I thank you for your second letter¹ of today which acknowledged my reply to your first.

No newspaper that writes in keeping with the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League can give either the Parliamentary Party or the Provincial League the right or the authority to control or dictate

1. Missing.

its policy and line of action. A mortgaging of conscience to local organisations is, in my opinion, both dangerous and unbecoming. A newspaper, if it is to command respect even in our own inner circle, must retain its independence and must reserve to itself the right to pull up any individual leader or group of persons if they glaringly do something that is likely to injure the prestige or go contrary to the principle and policy of the All India organisation. If allowed to get away unchallenged, leaders, to quote you, 'can do lot of harm as well to the Muslim community'. I shall not waste your time in recounting scores of instances in which, since 1937, we have permitted ourselves to be cut off from the moorings of the League. We can ill afford to stage a repetition. I am sure you and I think one hundred per cent alike in this matter.

You write that 'as the case of the **Morning News** was going to be referred to the Working Committee, you do not see why the case of the **Star of India** cannot also be brought before the Working Committee'.

I disagree with you and with your conclusion for the reasons given above. You will agree that the Provincial Working Committee has no jurisdiction over Muslim newspapers. I, however, agree that there should be the largest measure of co-operation between the Provincial League organisation and the Press and Muslim newspapers should support as fully as possible generally and hundred per cent specially if the Provincial and the Parliamentary organisations keep within the strict bounds of the All India policy.

I hope you will appreciate the point of view I have explained above.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Hassan Ispahani



Calcutta,
April 13, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 9th instant with an enclosure. I agree with every word you write. The position of the Muslim League in the matter of War effort has been abundantly made clear in the past. I, therefore, fail to appreciate the reason that prompted Nazim to seek clarification over the telephone.

I confirm my telegram of today. The leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party has been asked to form the ministry. I hope a mess is not made and no tug-of-war for portfolios is staged. I wish you could come. I think you should, and this intention may be telephoned to Nazim, that is, if you concur. Anyway, I think you should not lose time to make it abundantly clear over the telephone that you would like to know the names of the colleagues that Sir Nazimuddin proposes to recommend to His Excellency. Coterie and family rule are equally dangerous. Fazlul Huq paid the price of his folly but the League can ill afford to do so.

Another piece of good news. The polling in the Assembly by-election¹ held yesterday, went in favour of the League candidate. The workers returned this morning. Everyone of them is most hopeful and almost certain. May Allah return us victorious from the campaign. Allah has been very kind to the Muslims of India and under your charge and guidance may they go from strength to strength. Muslim League Zindabad.

1. Zillur Rahman, Muslim League nominee defeated Shamsuddin Ahmad of the Krishak Proja Party at Balurghat.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

203

Calcutta,
April 15, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thought that my last letter to Nazimuddin in connection with the newspaper editorial controversy ended the matter. Apparently it has not done so. I am enclosing copies of letters exchanged yesterday, for your personal information.

I apprehend that there is at least one person behind Nazimuddin, namely, Shahabuddin, otherwise knowing Nazimuddin as I do, he would not have carried on this meaningless controversy. I apprehend that Shahabuddin with the small coterie who are with him think that this action on their part is a master stroke to keep me out of the final deliberations prior to the construction of the Bengal Cabinet. They think that this is a capital excuse for their isolating me. This apprehension of mine is further confirmed by the fact that although several inner circle meetings have been held during the last three days, contrary to practice, I have not been advised of them. Dirty work seems to have begun even before the assumption of power. God alone knows what is in store for us when our friends constitute the Ministry and run the administration of the province. Of one thing I am certain and as certain as I am living today, that is, I shall do everything in my power to smash coterie rule, to smash intrigues and to do away with all the shortcomings and

defects that cumulatively were responsible for the fall of the last Ministry and the landslide that our Muslim League Parliamentary ranks witnessed at the end of 1941. If the Cabinet is formed on the basis of a clique rule and on the evil principles that once a Minister is always a Minister and if the Cabinet does not contain younger, healthier and cleaner blood I tell you, Sir, that it will fall within six months. It will be fatal to allow it to exist. Houses will have to be broken and rebuilt until a smart and sanitary structure is finally put up. It is on these grounds and it is for this reason that I have been repeatedly advocating the necessity of your being on the spot and taking an active interest in the parliamentary affairs of the province on the eve of the announcement of the personnel of the Ministry. I feel that the same old gang minus Fazlul Huq will come in and the same old gang will rule in the same old way that brought us nothing but discredit. I feel that Shaheed and Shahabuddin, the two evil genii of the last Cabinet, will come into the picture most prominently once again and if left unchecked will do such damage to the prestige of the organisation that not only will the Government collapse like a house of cards but the resulting repercussions in the province will be so heavy that the League organisation will suffer an irreparable damage.

The Parliamentary Party meets on Sunday and possibly it is there that the personnel of the Ministry will be discussed and I fear trouble either on that day or not very many days after the Ministry assumes charge. I hope you have made it clear to Nazimuddin that before he finally submits the names of his colleagues to the Governor he should advise you who they are. Neither Nazimuddin, nor Shaheed nor Shahabuddin will welcome your presence here, because it will not suit them. They will not have a free hand that they are planning to have. They think they have isolated me, but in all humility I have

to inform you that they are mistaken. As Fazlul Huq was got rid of recently, the new Cabinet, if not constituted on proper lines, will be got rid of with much less difficulty and effort.

I have written to you in this strain because I feel sincerely, and my brother with whom I had a long conversation yesterday after lunch, also feels that we are heading for a fresh disaster. Please do not think that it is pique or hurt of my pride that has made me write to you as I have done. I consider it my bounden and almost sacred duty to place before you facts without any prejudice or colouring as I see them here so that you may act as you think best for the good of the Muslims of this province.

I may be telephoning you tonight. I do hope, however, that you will please telephone Nazimuddin, whose number is PK. 2371, before next Sunday noon and tell him not to act just as he pleases without consulting you. There is no hurry whatsoever for the announcement of the full Cabinet. Three or four Ministers may be sworn in — one or so from each of the Group that will constitute the Coalition, leaving the bulk of the Muslim seats to be filled up after thorough and exhaustive consideration from every angle, because one wrong step taken will spell the doom of the Ministry now in the making and what is more to us, will mean a set-back to our organisation, which you, I am sure, will not be willing to see.

I earnestly hope that before this letter reaches you, I shall receive your telegram stating that you are on your way to Calcutta.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

New Delhi,
April 15, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of April 13. In the present circumstances I will prefer that Sir Nazimuddin and you people there should settle the personnel of the Ministry, and I hope that you will do it in a manner which will be most creditable to the Party, the Bengal Muslims and Muslim India as a whole. But if there is any difficulty or there is any hitch, then ask Sir Nazimuddin to make a reference to me. I, therefore, think that I should not go to Calcutta, nor is it really necessary.

With regard to the controversy concerning the paragraph that appeared in the **Star of India** we will discuss it when you are all in Delhi; but I hope that these differences of opinion will not in any way come in the way of your working as a team as you all have done so far and with such splendid results as you are witnessing yourself.

I echo with all my heart 'Muslim League Zinda-bad'. That is the spirit and that will take us to our goal without doubt. More when we meet. Please let me know when you are arriving in Delhi and, of course, you will stay with me, as now I am in a position to put you up quite comfortably.

With very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah



Calcutta,
April 16, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In confidence I have to inform you that the Forward Bloc party in the Legislature is on the verge of breaking up¹ and I think it will smash before this day is out. There is a tug of war going on between two equally strong sections — each until yesterday comprising nine men. One other member is expected to arrive in Calcutta today and he will turn the scale one way or the other. Their adjourned meeting of last night will be held today. One section, led by T.C. Goswami² says — Join the League Ministry and carry on the administration. The other, led by Santosh Basu, ex-Minister, says no — keep out. Syamaprasad is doing all he can to prevent a break and to keep the whole party out of the League Ministry. He will fail as the arrangement has been made already. We shall have a section of the Bose Group with us. I wonder if it is the right thing to do — to divide the Hindus. We are playing their game, which we resent and condemn.

I have got the latest information from sources outside the inner circle. It is nevertheless 100% reliable.

I shall leave Calcutta for Delhi by the Delhi Mail on the 20th instant.'

I am still left on the shelf — no change on the home front.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. Eight members of the Forward Bloc resigned from the party. See **Star of India**, April 19, 1943.
2. Tulsi Chandra Goswami of the Forward Bloc.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

206

Telegram

Express

Calcutta,
April 20, 1943.Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Arriving tomorrow night Delhi Mail.

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

207

Calcutta,
May 1, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I confirm my telegram of last night advising you of the result of the Mayoral Election. The result was a foregone conclusion after the Congress joined hands with the Mahasabha in spite of the direction of their leader, Mr. Suresh Mazumdar, who is imprisoned in the Presidency Jail. He told two Congress leaders, one of whom is the Secretary of the Congress Party in the Corporation, that according to the pact, the Congress had to support the nominee of the Muslim League as both Bose and he had commitments to this effect and that they should stand by them. The general election next year and the pressure of the Mahasabha frightened these gutless, leaderless fellows and they threw the honourable undertaking to the winds and joined hands with the Mahasabha.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, the Working President of the Bengal Mahasabha and the leader of the Mahasabha Party in the Corporation, in his congratulatory speech after the election said that the Mahasabha had not recognised or conceded the principle of rotation and that they had supported the candidature of a Musalman this time in deference to the wishes of their revered leader, Dr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee, as Mr. Huq and his followers were being bitterly persecuted for co-operating with the Hindus; that Mr. Badruddoja was one of the persons who had suffered and the Hindus were a people who did not forget those who made sacrifices in the cause of 'nationalism'. Siddiqui hit out in reply magnificently.

Well, we have fought and have lost. A minority of 25% in the Corporation cannot have everything its own way. The margin was narrow. The defeat by Badruddoja is a bitter pill for some of my dear friends to swallow. To me it means nothing for such defeats will pave the way for the ultimate victory of the Muslim nation.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

208¹

Calcutta,
May 28, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have asked my younger brother, Mirza Mahmood,

1. Copy of the letter was obtained from **Shamsul Hassan Collection.**

to see you and to receive from you Rs. 25,000|- I deposited with you in Delhi some months ago. I shall be obliged if you will give him the amount which he will bring along with him to Calcutta.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

209

Calcutta,
July 16, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Assembly met and after a few days sitting was prorogued on Wednesday night. We had stormy days. On the Non-Official day, the Opposition moved a Resolution demanding the immediate release of political prisoners. A full dress debate took place and by the tactics pursued by the Opposition at the closing stage of the debate, it was noticeable that they were not willing to divide the House on the Resolution.

The Food debate took three days. Over 18 hours were taken up and almost 50 speakers participated. The debate was wound up on Wednesday, 45 minutes before midnight, and the House divided. I give below an analysis of the division:

For the Government, 23 Europeans: 3 Anglo-Indians; 1 Labour: 21 Schedule Castes. (This is a record number of Schedule Caste voting on any side in the five years); 1 Indian Christian; 1

Hillman; 7 Caste Hindus; 77 Muslims. Total 134.

Against the Government, 39 Muslims (comprising 13 Projas; 5 Independents and 21 Fazlul Huq's Progressives); 6 Schedule Castes; 43 Caste Hindus. Total 88.

No one expected that the Government would score such an impressive victory. Even we thought that the majority would not exceed 30. Kiran Shankar Roy, the leader of the Official Congress, in his speech on the last day actually challenged Government to show their number excluding the European Group to be higher than that of the Opposition. Very unfortunately for him he had to swallow his words within one hour of his utterance, because even excluding the Europeans and adding the 13 Congress and Caste Hindu Members who are in jail, Government was still able on the night's voting to command a majority of 9.

The firm of Ispahani, not the individuals for everyone in the Opposition had respect for the individuals and admitted this fact on the floor of the Assembly, came in for a lot of abuse from the Opposition. Most of the statements were based on wrong hypotheses and false facts. Of course, Suhrawardy smashed the arguments to smithereens in five minutes. The Government and the entire Coalition that stands behind it, have appreciated the services rendered to the province — both on the floor of the House and also by a special resolution in the Party meeting.

With the majority that we are enjoying at present, I shall not be surprised if several more come over to our side within the next few weeks. There were several waverers who until Wednesday last thought that the League Government would not go through the session undefeated. These sat on the fence and some others occupied the Opposition benches feeling that their 'reputa-

tion would suffer' if they came over to us and then had to go back to Mr. Fazlul Huq on the defeat of the present Ministry. Mr. Fazlul Huq cut a very sorry figure. After the division he was in a state of collapse. It is significant that he did not participate in the debate on the plea that asthma was troubling him.

The Muslim League is jubilant; but joy without work will not do. The province is passing through a food crisis and every effort is being made by all who hold the League cause dear to do everything possible to alleviate the distress and to improve the situation. Improvement will be blessed and welcomed not only by the Musalmans but equally by the Hindus.

I have written a long letter. I hope you will excuse me.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

210

Telegram

Bombay,
July 28, 1943.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Many thanks no need anxiety **Stop** Will be all right soon **Stop**

Jinnah

Calcutta,
July 28, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Providence has been most merciful to the Muslims of India for having spared your life by giving you the presence of mind to parry the assassin's dagger.¹

May you recover speedily and may you live long to guide and serve your people.

I wanted to write to you about the Punjab. I shall refrain from doing so until you have completely recovered from your recent shock. All that I will say is that Shaukat Hyat Khan² is trying to walk in the shoes of his father and if he is not properly controlled or dealt with rightaway, he is likely to grow into another Fazlul Huq or Sikander Hyat.

My brother, Mirza Ahmad, must have called on you.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
July 29, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am grateful to you for your telegram advising

1. Rafique Sabir, a young Khaksar fanatic attacked Jinnah with a dagger.
2. Shaukat Hyat had been declared successful in a by-election at Attock.

that you will be all right soon. This message has given us very great relief. May God preserve your life for scores of years to come.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

213

Bombay,
August 3, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your telegram and your letter. Don't worry. Thank God I am all right, more when we meet. Thank you for your good wishes.

Ahmad was here and I had a long talk with him and he has left for Lucknow and will soon reach Calcutta and tell you all about it.

With kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

214

Calcutta,
August 11, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 3rd instant reached me yesterday. It was posted in Bombay on the 7th!

I am very happy to learn that you are quite well again. Allah be praised.

Brother Ahmad returned to Calcutta two days ago and it did not take him an hour to get hundred per cent busy again.

I am glad that the Working Committee meeting has been postponed. Travelling from our part of India is terribly difficult these days. The time taken by journeys is increased by 30%. It is awfully hard and inconvenient.

Ameer is with you. He has written to say that he will be in Calcutta in September. I shall be happy to see him.

The N.W.F.P., results have come in.¹ Well done! But from first class reports received I find that the Pathan's best party is the party who pays him; British Sirkar Zindabad.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

215

Bombay,
August 27, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 5,000/- which has been placed in my hands by the Botawala

1. The Muslim League's nominees, Ghulam Hussain, Arbab Sher Ali Khan, Ayub Khan and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan were declared successful in four by-elections held in the Frontier.

Charities, Bombay, for the purpose of utilising this amount for the relief of the Muslim sufferers in Bengal. As the Muslim Chamber of Commerce has undertaken this humanitarian work and as you are one of the prominent workers in this cause, I have no doubt that this money will be properly used.

Please acknowledge the receipt made out in the name of 'Botawala Charities' 140, Chakla Street, Bombay-3, and oblige,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

216

Calcutta,
August 28, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 27th instant enclosing a cheque for Rs. 5,000/- to be utilised for the purpose of giving relief to Muslim sufferers in Bengal. I shall pay the amount into the Muslim Chamber Relief Fund¹ on my return to Calcutta and, as desired a formal receipt will be sent from there.

Thanking you once again,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. The Muslim Chamber of Commerce had set up a Relief Fund for the victims of famine.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
September 1, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a formal receipt for Rs. 5,000|- (Rupees Five thousand only) given by Botawala Charities, through your goodself. On my arrival, I have read the statement issued by you appealing to the Musalmans all over India to contribute their mite to the Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund and I thank you for having announced a donation of Rs. 1,000|-.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
September 3, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I reached here on the 1st instant after a very pleasant journey.

I am glad to inform you that the tentative agreement arrived at between Chinoy and myself has been approved of both by Sir Adamjee and my elder brother. The only snag is the Presidentship, but if vanity has to be satisfied in order that benefit may accrue to the Muslim Nation, no public spirited, foresighted and selfless man should hesitate to satisfy such vanity.

The terms of the agreement are briefly as under:

- (1) A meeting shall be convened in October-November 1943 at New Delhi for the purpose of forming the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry in India with a view to bring within its orbit all the existing Chambers, also to merge with it the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bombay, so that there is one Federation for the whole of India;
- (2) Arrangements for the convening of this meeting shall be made by Mr. Hassan Ispahani and All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bombay shall be invited and Sir Sultan Chinoy, the President of this Chamber undertakes to attend this meeting and co-operate;
- (3) A draft constitution for the proposed Federation which is being prepared at Calcutta and suitable portions of the constitution of the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry shall form the basis of discussion for evolving out the constitution of the proposed Federation. A copy of this draft Constitution will be sent to Sir Sultan Chinoy in advance in order to enable him to make suggestions;
- (4) At the meeting at Delhi, Sir Adamji Haji Dawood shall preside;
- (5) For the first year, Sir Sultan Chinoy's candidature for Presidentship shall be supported by both parties.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan



Calcutta,
September 6, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall be grateful if you will send me a cheque for Rs. 25,000|-, the amount deposited with you in Delhi, or if it is more convenient, kindly send the cheque to M. M. Ispahani Ltd., Bombay. The address is Noble Chambers, 3, Parsi Bazar Street.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has delivered a poisonous speech at the University Institute yesterday. He has not spared anyone. He has slashed at you as well in most undignified language — building up his entire speech on undigested half-truths and total falsehoods.¹ I have issued a statement² today about Botawalla's cheque for Rs. 5,000|- which the donor insisted should be used for giving relief to Muslim sufferers. All other points made by him were lies as well. Yet the **Amrita** has today given it two columns.

What does our Government do? Allows this rav-ing lunatic to say anything he wants — to create Muslim-Hindu bitterness — to act as a No. 1 5th Columnist, without putting him behind the bars! Our Government has a Portfolio for publicity. It is doing sweet all. False propaganda is not met by Government. Truth is not given publicity. The people are denied this whereas un-truths by persons like Syamaprasad are given the widest publicity and these cursed lies are telegraphed in detail to every nook and corner of India.

1. Mookerjee attacked the Ministry's handling of the food procurement policy. He also criticised the utilisation of Botawalla Charitable Trust's contribution towards famine for Muslim sufferers only.
2. Ispahani defended the utilisation of the contribution for Muslims.

Our Chief Minister is particularly unaware of the sin he is committing by not giving a direct lie to the false charges. His imagination is apparently limited. I have spoken to him regarding this shortcoming, and still he does not realise the seriousness of the situation. He has promised to act. I wonder, when! Unless the Cabinet bucks up and strikes blow for blow, our first class clean case will go by default. I wonder if a line from you to these babes will awaken them from their slumber.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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220

Calcutta,
September 7, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Here is a bombshell¹ that has exploded in our midst today. Has it escaped your notice? I have called for an explanation from the Orient Press here. If it is not forthcoming or is unsatisfactory, I propose to discontinue the News Service and to call upon all Muslim newspapers to do so. We cannot allow corrupt Muslims to cut the throat of the Nation.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. The enclosure to the letter is not traceable in I.P.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
September 8, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are of opinion that the Working Committee meeting of the Muslim League should be called in Calcutta at a very early date. We feel that our organisation will suffer a setback unless something is done, because it is not functioning. Syamaprasad is running wild and we are sorry to say that neither the Ministry nor the Provincial League organisation are moving. Shaheed is up to his eyes in work and is at present in Lahore. The rest are a slow and unimaginative lot who cannot think for themselves and for whom Shaheed does the thinking. Unless something is done quickly we apprehend more difficulties ahead.

Propaganda and action do not seem to come within the programme of the Ministry. When Syamaprasad ruled Bengal, he extradited, imprisoned and detained Muslim League workers and students on the flimsiest grounds. Muslim League papers were suspended on the smallest pretext. Our Johnnies have forgotten all this persecution and prosecution and hesitate to take action against a section of the Press and Syamaprasad for the very serious offence of fanning the fire of communal ill-will, for drowning truth in lies and for acting as Fifth Columnists in the Province. Our Johnnies have not the guts. We are afraid they will suddenly realise that the power has gone and the Muslim League has suffered a very serious set-back. It is necessary that the Working Committee should meet and that you put matters right in Bengal before conditions worsen. You went to the aid of all

provinces, the latest being Sind; it is for you, Sir, to please come here also and set the house in order.

Yours very sincerely,
Ameer¹ & Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

222

Bombay,
September 10, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 3 giving me information regarding the progress that has been made regarding the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce being formed and I thank you for it.

I have also received your letter of September 6 for which I thank you very much.

With regard to the sum of Rs. 25,000/- the matter was adjusted between me and Mr. Ahmad Ispahani during his last visit to Bombay in August and perhaps he has forgotten to inform you about it.

With regard to the rest of the matters mentioned in your letter what can I say. It is obvious that the Hindus have developed such a twisted mentality that they don't hesitate, even the most responsible among them, to resort to 'half-truths and total falsehood' as you say, and as was the recent outburst in the case of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. The other matters and the suggestions made by you will certainly receive my attention.

Thank you for having exposed Syamaprasad

1. Raja of Mahmudabad.

Mookerjee by the timely statement which you issued to the Press.¹

Hoping you are well. With kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

223

Calcutta,
September 11, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The section of the Mahasabha Press is running riot in the province. Insinuations and baseless charges are reeled out by hundreds every day. I am not taking any notice of the attacks made on our commercial house, but I am certainly, as a person keen in politics, giving effective replies to all political propaganda against our political organisation and our Government.

I am enclosing herewith copy of my reply to a Note in the issue of the **Amrita Bazar** of yesterday. This reply was published in its columns today. The letter will show to you to what depths of degradation humanity could sink for the purpose of achieving its political aim.

I feel I owe you some information regarding the Muslim Chamber's Relief Fund. The work is progressing splendidly and I am glad to advise you that within the next eight days we shall have between 34 to 36 free kitchens throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. We have decided not to open any more kitchens in the city limits of Calcutta. We hope to be in a position to feed

1. Not available in I.P.

20,000 to 24,000 persons once daily. The task undertaken is gigantic and requires large funds. I am glad to say that money is coming in daily from all over India and from places as far as Kohat. Muslim orphanages outside Bengal have volunteered to take over Muslim orphans. School boys are collecting funds and one school in Azamgarh has already sent in four instalments of Rs. 50|- each. This is magnificent work.

I am countering Mookerjee's move for removing orphan children of Bengal sharply and promptly by arranging with the Calcutta Muslim Orphanage and the Muslim Orphanage of Dacca to receive, house, feed and educate children rendered homeless and parentless owing to the conditions that are sweeping over our unfortunate province today.

I have made adequate financial arrangements for the maintenance of these children in the orphanages mentioned above. I expect our cash funds to reach two lacs of rupees mark within the next few days

I have asked the Punjab and Sind to send us their help in food grains particularly rice instead of cash. I have asked Sir Azizul Haque who will be receiving nearly Rs. 40,000|-, to send down, as arranged with him in Bombay, rice purchased in the Punjab as cheaply as possible for account of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce.

We are giving free food and free milk to babies irrespective of religion or caste.

We are grateful to you for your blessings and for the trouble you are taking in forwarding cheques and monies received by you for Bengal.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure : 1

5, Camac Street,
Calcutta,
September 10, 1943.

The Editor,
Amrita Bazar Patrika,
Calcutta.

Sir,

You, like your leader Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, are distorting facts to mislead the public. Your knowledge of Muslim Law is either defective or you are pretending ignorance to suit your aim of fanning the fire of communal hatred which, at a time like the present, is deplorable. The Botawala Charitable Trust of Bombay is a Muslim Wakf intended for Muslims just as there are Charitable Trusts exclusively for Hindus, Parsees, Jews, etc., etc. Under Muslim Law therefore if a Trustee acted against the wishes of the donor he would be committing an illegal act and also acting sinfully. Surely, your code of morals does not guide you differently.

Now coming to the Muslim Chamber Relief, let me inform your readers that free food and milk are given irrespective of religion or caste in all its centres. This fact has been published in your own columns. Further, as a member of the Committee I assure you that money or food grains earmarked for relief to Hindus only will be gratefully accepted by us and the wishes of the donor will be met fully, because a very large percentage of those who come and get food at our centres are non-Muslims.

I appeal to you to keep even your propaganda clean. You do not help the cause of communal peace and goodwill by the tone of your writings and the insinuations you make. The organisation of the Muslims into a solid nation, politically, socially and economically should be encouraged

and not resisted as is done by short-sighted persons. Remember, the more you obstruct and resist the more quickly will leeway be made up by the Musalmans; and, remember, lasting harmony can only be achieved when one nation in India respects the other.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. H. Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

224

Calcutta,
September 16, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 10th instant which was delivered to me yesterday, and admit that my brother Ahmad had forgotten to tell me about the adjustment of the Rs. 25,000|-

The Legislature is once again in session and my reading of the situation indicates that we have a handsome majority in the Chamber and no fear need be entertained on this account. Fazlul Huq is clearly displaying an expression of despondency. He walks into the Chamber, stays a few minutes and walks out. He seems to have lost interest.

Shaheed made a matter of fact statement on the food situation in the province.¹ I expect on the next day allotted for discussion on the statement there will be

1. Suhrawardy defended the Bengal Government's food procurement policy. He also defended the firm M. M. Ispahani Ltd., against whom allegations for profiteering had been made by Mookerjee. For details see **Star of India**, Sept. 16, 1943.

plenty of mud slinging and flinging by Syamaprasad Mookerjee and his henchmen — both Mahasabhite and Muslim. Wild and vile accusations seem to have grown into an incurable disease with him. Being associated with persons whose character and integrity have gained Indian notoriety and basing the action of others on his own standard set in the conduct of the affairs of the Calcutta University, he cannot imagine that there are people in the world who can make sacrifices and serve the people.

So much publicity is being given to his activities as would lead people not only here but all over India to believe that he is their champion and is the only person serving the hunger-stricken population of the province. You will be surprised to know that with all the boosting that is taking place here, and thanks to the Press Agencies — outside this province, Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Bengal Relief Fund has not spent even Rs. 1,25,000|- upto now. One would have imagined that crores of rupees have poured into Syamaprasad's pocket and flowed into the bellies of the starving population of Bengal. The whole affair is nothing but pure propaganda — a stunt — mere showmanship.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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225

Bombay,
September 17, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letters of September 7, 8 and 11 and I thank you very much for giving me all the information.

I was glad to read your letter to the **Amrita Bazar Patrika**, which was published in their column. All I can say is this that we must carry on in spite of all difficulties.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

226

Calcutta,
September 20, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

While mud slinging by the opposition led by Syamaprasad Mookerjee continues, while attempt by it to drag the clean name of Ispahani to dust continues with unabated fury, while Government continues to give smashing replies to both, while publicity by the Hindu press and by the news agencies continues to be given to the case and utterances of the opposition, while there is partial or total blackout of the Government side of the case by these very instruments of news conveyance, I see bad days ahead, days that no Government in the Province, whatever be its composition, can prevent from dawning, unless drastic steps are taken and serious efforts are made by the Central Government to bring into Bengal a large and continuous flow of food grains from provinces more happily situated. It is for the Governments of the League of Nations also to sit up and take serious note of the situation that is fast developing in Bengal. They must arrange to release freight space for the carriage of food grains in large quantities, from countries that have a surplus. As I have stated above, no Government in our province can perform a miracle — none can produce rice sufficient to feed the people when there is little or nothing available. I foresee dreadful days ahead. May I be wrong, I apprehend

that we shall pass through a horrible crisis, the like of which has not been recorded, between October 15 and December 16.

The food position is not improving. The Ministry in the Punjab, a province that can spare the food, is busy picking holes and finding fault with Bengal instead of helping her to the fullest extent. It seems to me that Khizr Hyat Tiwana is completely under the heel of the Bania Chhotu¹ who is out, for political reasons, to embarrass and not to assist us.

Unless those who can help and in them I include the Government of India, Churchill and Roosevelt, help without delay, Bengal will be turned into a graveyard and it should not then surprise anyone if the Muslim majority in the province turns into a minority when the next census is taken.

I am sure you can come to the aid of Bengal in her hour of distress. Cannot you contact Khizr and the Viceroy? Cannot you draw the attention of Churchill and Roosevelt to the urgency of Bengal's need? Cannot you demand immediate relief? Bengal has become the first line of defence against the Japs. It is the bounden duty of the United Nations to come to her aid. They should bring rice and wheat from the U.S.A. and Brazil, Canada and Australia who have more than they require.

Perhaps many of our leaders here refuse to strike so pessimistic a note as I have done. But in keeping with my practice of pouring out my feelings to you, I am writing these lines. Please forgive me.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. Rao Bahadur Sir Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, Revenue Minister in the Punjab since 1937.

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227

Calcutta,
September 22, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 17th instant which was delivered to me last evening.

I have nothing fresh to add to my previous letters except that, as expected, we have been maintaining a majority varying between 45 to 50 votes in the Legislative Assembly.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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228

Calcutta,
September 22, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. G. A. Dossani, President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, is going to Bombay on business. I have asked him to see you and to place before you a summary of the work that is being done by the Chamber in the matter of relief.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Bombay,
September 25, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 20, 1943. I welcome your letter which you describe as in keeping with your practice of pouring out your feelings to me. I am not unmindful of the position and I shall not hesitate to do anything that is possible to aid Bengal in her distress, but the question is: how and what is one to do? My information is that there is an improvement in the situation in Bengal and really it is upto Muslim League Bengal Ministry and the Governor to tackle this question boldly and fearlessly. However, I shall not fail to take the opportunity to do what I can.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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Calcutta,
October 5, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am grateful to you for your letter of September 25. The Ministry in Bengal are doing their best to tackle the food situation boldly, the Governor too is very active. One fact must remain obvious and that is, unless large quantities of foodgrains pour into Bengal both from within and

outside India, there will be a heavy loss of life in the fateful eight weeks that lie ahead of us.

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

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231

Calcutta,
October 18, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a cartoon¹ that appeared in the **Jugantar**, dated October 7, 1943. The **Jugantar** is the Bengali edition of the **Amrita Bazar Patrika** and is owned by the same concern. It shows to what depths of degradation politics in Bengal can go. The cartoonist actually makes fun of his gods and goddesses.

Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada are at present touring East Bengal. They will return on the 23rd instant and will leave for North Bengal and West Bengal on the 24th. I expect that tour to finish by the 28th instant. I have authorised them to examine all our Relief Centres on their tour and to open such centres as they consider necessary. The cost will be borne by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce. This tour coupled with opening of centres by them, will do our organisation good and will make those in distress feel that the League is doing some service.

I am glad to inform you that when our next Bulletin is issued we shall publish the fact that 60 free gruel and milk centres have been established throughout Bengal by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce. These centres will feed

1. Missing.

about 38,000 persons per day. This is not a mean achievement. Our work on this scale is made possible because of the remittances we receive from all over India — thanks to your very kind appeal. I have one satisfaction, and it is that not one pie¹ of the money received is being wasted, robbed or misappropriated by anyone.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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232

Bombay,
October 23, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of October 18 along with the enclosed cutting showing the cartoon in **Jugantar**, but I am afraid, my Bengali is not so good as to follow this unless you explain it to me. However, I have kept it and would like to know what it means.

I am glad that the League leaders are now in Bengal and that you people are doing all you can to relieve the sufferings which from all accounts are really terrible.

I have received a cheque for Rs. 10,000|-, donation from His Majesty, King Ibn Saud, which I have dispatched and I am happy to know from you that the money is properly utilized. The Working Committee as you know is going to meet on the 13th and the Council of the All India Muslim League meets on the 14th of November and by

1. One-third of a paisa.

that time we should be in a better position to know how and where we stand. I am awaiting the report of Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who are now touring Bengal and we will do all we can to help Bengal.

As regards the scandalous allegations against your firm also is a matter that we shall consider, but it seems to me from this distance that for the present we should ignore them and treat them with contempt but if any further attempt of mudslinging is made against the integrity of your firm, we shall see what can be done. I have followed it very keenly and critically through the Press reports and I find that it has been clearly shown that our opponents are making a political capital of it and it is due to malice and ill will which is apparent and they must fail in their dishonest propaganda.

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

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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233

Calcutta,
October 29, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 23rd instant, received on the 27th idem. I shall explain the **Jugantar** when we meet.

Your cheque for Rs. 10,000/- has not yet been received. It must be on the way. We shall be touching the three lacs mark in cash donations and one lac mark in

kind donations to the Chamber Fund. I am glad Nawab Saheb¹ and Nawabzada² are pleased with the work that is being done.

As regards the scandalous allegations against our firm, I think sufficient has been said and there seems to have been a lull for sometime. It is of course for you and the League to decide when they meet in Delhi whether the reward of unstinted service to the cause and to the people is silence and not a word of protest. So far as the Bengal Ministry goes, it has repeatedly handed us bouquets and has openly acknowledged our sacrifices and services because they know that but for our service they would not have remained in office so long. But the Ministry is called partisan and their utterances and statements are denied publicity even by 'non-political' News Services like the A.P.I. Fancy the A.P.I. from here, sending out the factual statement of Suhrawardy regarding Ispahani on October 18 and yet not a single newspaper in the whole of India, bar Calcutta, publishing it! It is now found that the fault lay with the A.P.I. office at Bombay. The Bombay office of the A.P.I. has struck us below the belt. The Government of Bengal are taking up the matter with the A.P.I. here and A.P.I. will reply that they have transmitted the message in its entirety. Bombay chokes every speech or statement in favour of the League and seems to give the fullest publicity to every utterance or statement of our enemies; and yet the A.P.I. claims to be non-political! So much tripe and rubbish have filled the columns of every 'Nationalist' paper in India regarding Ispahanis' transactions and dealings. When replies are given and the nebulous charges are met and the allegations smashed to smithereens, they do not publish them. This is neither fair nor decent. The A.P.I. Bombay, certainly owes an explanation.

1. Nawab Ismail Khan.

2. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

If the Muslim League High Command cannot come to the assistance of or does not defend those who serve the cause and the people and fight against such unclean tactics, who will ? And who will dare to serve when called upon to do so ?

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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234

Calcutta,
November 3, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

An advocate of the High Court of Calcutta named Khwaja Ahmed, I find, is becoming a nuisance. He addresses too many lengthy letters to all and sundry and attempts to create a standing for himself by mentioning either directly or indirectly that he communicates with you and that you are pleased to acknowledge receipt of his letters.

His last letter is dated the 1st instant and is addressed to Sir Nazimuddin in which he opines that Ministers must lead the League Organisation in the Province. This is a common type of flattery which one gets accustomed to in Bengal.

I propose to close the Muslim Chamber Fund latest by December 31, 1943, and soon thereafter to issue a report and audited account. I do not suggest that Bengal will be a land of milk and honey the moment the 'Aman' crop is harvested; certainly not. But there will be no starvation due to non-availability of rice. There will be

plenty who will not have the money to buy the rice even at a reasonable price and tens of thousands who will not be in a fit state to work and earn their living. There will be thousands of orphans. It will be for the State to look after them. Until then, the machinery of the State that has only very recently commenced functioning tolerably, will, it is hoped, begin to work smoothly and well. Besides Government will have less distraction to contend with and will therefore be better able to render organised succour. Further, when I started the Fund I said that we shall end our relief on December 15, by which time the bulk of the 'Aman' crop will be harvested and conditions will record a general improvement.

One more point in favour of closing the Fund is that no appeal should hang on indefinitely. People even the sympathetic and the charitable get weary. Those who were to give, have, almost all, given. All funds, — Hindu, Marwari, etc., — show a marked slackening in the weekly receipts that are published.

I trust I have your approval in the matter.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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235

Bombay,
November 5, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I am writing this to inform you and not without regret, that for various reasons I shall not be able to put

you up in my house during the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League. I will explain to you when I am in Delhi and when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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236

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
November 5, 1943.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 29, 1943 and with regard to the A.P.I. I have already moved in the matter and I am enclosing a copy of the reply for your information that I have received from Mr. Turner, who is the head of Reuters and A.P.I. Would you give me the concrete information which he emphasises in this matter?

Let me assure you that the Muslim League High Command will never desert those who are our loyal friends but in this case there can be no hesitation to adopt measures to repel 'unclean tactics', to use your own words, and false allegations that are made.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure : 1.

Reuters Limited,
357, Hornby Road,
Bombay,
November 1, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I asked my secretary to acknowledge to you your letter of October 27.

I should like to thank you for bringing this matter to our notice and I am grateful to you for the evidence of your goodwill in the manner in which you dealt with it. I should be very sorry indeed to think that the League's activities in Calcutta are not being fairly treated in our news service and if after investigation this proves to be the case, you can rely on us to apply the necessary remedy.

I would be very glad if your correspondent could supply to you a few specific cases. If statements have been suppressed, it will not be easy for me to ascertain this but if I could refer to items by date and context, I could then bring the complaint down to concrete terms with our Calcutta office.

I know that this aspect will not have escaped you and if there is anything you can do to help me elucidate the question, I know you will do it. In the meantime, I am doing what it is possible to do in general terms, with our Calcutta office.

I have been in America for some years and I have not had the pleasure of meeting you since my return last month. I am off to Delhi tonight and perhaps I shall meet

you there but if not, I look forward to meeting you on my return.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
John Turner.

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

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237

Calcutta,
December 1, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I returned to Calcutta yesterday. I am feeling a little better than I did while I was in Delhi. I refer to your letter of November 5 in which Mr. Turner has asked you some concrete information. I have lost no time in getting the same for you. Here it is :

On October 18, 1943, in the evening, Mr. Suhrawardy's statement regarding Ispahanis and the Government of Bengal's dealing with them was sent out to Bombay in two parts on the Teleprinter. The first part went out as a summary of the statement and the second part which followed later, carried the whole text. Because Bombay complained that both these messages were received at their end in a mutilated state, the Calcutta office of the Associated Press again repeated the message later, the same evening. The messages were numbered Calcutta No. 19 and No. 20.

I trust this information will enable Mr. Turner trace the messages referred to and to give you an explanation as to why Bombay blacked out this very important message.

I am taking up the question of Stocks and Shares with some very good people in Calcutta, and after making a thorough enquiry, I shall address you again on the subject.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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238

Calcutta,
December 7, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I an enclosing herewith copy of my statement issued to the Press today. The full statement of Mr. Savarkar was got hold of only yesterday although it was published in Bombay on November 24.

I have made investigations regarding the shares, and it seems that Indian Iron & Steel Corporation of Bengal enjoys the first priority as good shares. Howrah Jute Mill is not bad, and so far as Coals go, as usual, they are too high for one to get into just now. Due to last Sunday's bombing, the Share Market is quieter and if the value declines further it would be good to buy Coals.

The Indian Iron & Steel Corporation's shares are considered as speculative. They fluctuate from day to day even from hour to hour, but from the point

of view of investment and return given by the Company the present level of Rs. 34|8|- for Indian Iron is considered to be a fairly good buy. Only a few days ago these shares were being sold freely at Rs. 38|- and over.

With regard to my health, I cannot say that I am too well. I am being treated by Dr. B.C. Roy and I shall know the result of my stomach analysis this afternoon. If my present state of health continues and if I am unable to secure a seat on one of the Calcutta-Karachi planes, I am afraid I shall not be permitted to undertake a journey that will last almost 5 days each way. In the circumstances, if I absent myself, and be sure I shall not be absent unless I am absolutely compelled to stand out, I trust you will be so good as to forgive me.

With my best regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. If you want any business done, you may give your limits and nominate the quantities and names of the concerns in which you desire to invest. The rest will be looked after by me.

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure : 1.

M. A. H. Ispahani on Savarkar's Statement.
Star of India, December 9, 1943.

I have been pained to read a statement issued by Mr. V.D. Savarkar from Bombay on November 24, wherein he says, *inter alia*, an organised Muslim campaign to convert hundreds of starving Hindu women and children

to Islamic faith is being carried on vigorously in those famine-stricken parts. Muslim proselytisers would not give a morsel of food to dying Hindu mothers or to their children, would rather stand watching them breathing their last, and would save them from that dire agony only if these unfortunate Hindu women and children renounced their cherished Hindu faith and accepted Muslim religion before they fell victims to death. To save the Hindus of Bengal from such a fate, Mr. Savarkar has called upon his followers to send relief for Hindu sufferers only.

I am amazed at how a public figure of Mr. Savarkar's prominence can make a statement so unrelated to facts. Being closely associated with the biggest Muslim relief organisation in the Province, namely the Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Committee, and knowing how all other Muslim relief organisations and individuals in the Province have rendered yeoman service to suffering humanity without distinction I can categorically state that the allegations of Mr. Savarkar are utterly false. They also constitute an aspersion on Islam, because Islam abhors forcible conversions.

There is also a cruel irony about Mr. Savarkar's statement. He is probably aware, more than any body else, that if Muslims even tried to play the sort of game he has attributed to them, they could not, as they do not have the wherewithal to do it. With their limited resources they would be happy if they could help their Muslim brethren and save them from the possible fate which Mr. Savarkar pretends to fear for Hindus.

I consider Mr. Savarkar's action in rushing to the Press without satisfying himself and responsible Muslims highly deplorable. It is also mischievous as it will have the inevitable effect of fanning the fire of bitterness between Hindus and Muslims.



239

Calcutta,
December 18, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter addressed to Sir Nazimuddin which speaks for itself.

I regret very much I shall not be able to attend the Annual Session of the League at Karachi because Dr. B.C. Roy does not permit me to do so. It was my great desire to be present, but unfortunately, health does not permit.

I wish the Session a great success, as usual.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure : 1.

51, Ezra Street,
Calcutta,
December 18, 1943.

Private & Confidential.

My dear Sir Nazimuddin,

When the **Star of India** was taken over by the Ispahani-Adamjee combination, the average monthly loss incurred in its running was Rs. 3,500|-. The circulation was small, the advertisements particularly the trade line, were very few and the cost of running was disproportionately high with a leakage here and there, which was later discovered.

When the **Star's** office was shifted from the Caledonian Press to 26, Chowringhee and when the printing was taken over by the Alliance Press Ltd., which was specially equipped for the purpose, the loss by the **Star** was brought down to about Rs. 1,900 per month.

Hard work, supervision, intensive canvassing for advertisements and strict economy for which the credit must go to Mr. K. Nooruddin, the loss was brought down to approximately Rs. 1,000/- per month in July 1941.

Mr. Nooruddin then, on his own accord threw upon my shoulders the burden of the management of the paper in spite of my heavy engagements and occupations. I too now feel that I have done my bit. I have given the administration — both the Editorial as well as the Management sides — my personal attention. I took risks and paid a record high salary to a first rate editor; personally canvassed for advertisements wherever I went, cut off all avoidable expenditure and purchased a large quantity newsprint in the U.S.A. for a song. The **Star**, as a result, maintained the good progress that it had made under Mr. Nooruddin. At the end of 1942, the figures to the debt of the **Star** in the books of Ispahani stood at Rs. 48,500/-. Some of this money covered actual stock of newsprint in the godown on account of the **Star of India**. The bulk of it, however, represented the money that had gone down the drain in the unhappy days that the **Star** had left behind.

In December 1942, the position of the newspaper stood at Rs. 1,758/- per month profit. This was a happy sign as the improvement had now assumed permanence. The progress continued from good to better and since the last four months, the average monthly profit, I am happy and proud to state, has reached the figure of Rs. 4,500/-.

The debt to Ispahani-Adamjee has all been, but for Rs. 10,000/-, wiped out. I hope to square this small balance by the end of February, 1944.

I have served the **Star** because it has served the cause that is dearer to me and you than our lives — the cause of the Musalmans sponsored by their only national political organisation, the All India Muslim League. I have worked with the zeal of a fanatic. I have not spared myself, the staff and even my friend Nooruddin when I have had to fight the Alliance Press for any shortcoming on its part due to which the **Star** was likely to suffer.

My health does not permit me to continue to have too many irons in the fire. My doctors and friends have asked me to cut down my activities and the consequent strain thereof. I am, therefore, compelled to give up my pleasant association with the **Star** and shall be grateful if you will make arrangements for taking over charge from me on March 1, 1944.

The paper is no longer the weak and sickly baby that could not grow. It is a strapping young man in the fullest bloom of youth with a good circulation, advertising value and a steady income of Rs. 4,500/- per month. You should not experience difficulty in maintaining its progress and even improving it.

All that I ask of you as a reward for the small service I have rendered is to satisfy yourself that whomsoever you place in charge shall loyally and solemnly carry out the All India Muslim League policy and programme and shall not deviate a jot therefrom.

The **Star** is the orthodox Muslim League organ in English in Bengal and this reputation must be maintained at all cost and with Allah's blessing for all time.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin K.C.I.E.
31, Theatre Road,
Calcutta.

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Calcutta,
December 22, 1943.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Our latest Press Bulletin¹ has just been released and I am not losing a moment in forwarding same to you by Air Mail in the hope that it will reach you before the end of our Annual Session. The Bulletin contains the latest position, and if I can judge aright, we shall pass the seven lacs of rupees mark before the 31st of this month. Some amounts have been promised and are expected shortly, amongst them being nearly Rs. 60,000/- collected by the U.P. Muslim League for the Muslim Chamber of Commerce Fund.

We are concentrating on blankets and clothes as the food situation in the province has eased very considerably since the harvesting of the 'Aman' crop.

I would have liked to have reported the activities of the Muslim Chamber Relief Committee in person from the platform of the pandal, but as illness prevents me from exercising this privilege I hope you will be so good as to ask a responsible office-bearer, or Nawab Ismail Khan, to give a brief resume of our activities since the opening of the Muslim Chamber Relief Fund. The peak period was reached a few weeks ago when we were feeding free with gruels 61,000 persons and with milk nearly 6,000 nursing mothers and babies, daily in the province. Today, of course, the figures stand much lower and by God's grace within a fortnight all our free food-grain and gruel centres will be closed down.

With our latest purchase and distribution of clothing we have spent Rs. 1,53,000/- already and will be spending more money in the purchase of clothing during the next two or three weeks. Those present may be

1. Press Bulletin not available in I.P.

assured that not one pie has been wasted or misspent, and that a report coupled with a statement of accounts audited by a recognised firm of Chartered Accountants will be sent to every donor, however small or big, latest by the first week of February, 1944.

One more word : If the placing of this report before the meeting will bring in more money which will, of course, be the final spurt, it will be most welcome. We shall be able to purchase further quantities of clothing and rush them to those districts where poverty has thrown naked men, women and children on the streets in the towns and villages.

I wish the Conference every success and take this opportunity of wishing you a Happy Birthday and many happy returns of that day.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
c/o Lady Haroon,
Napier Road, Karachi.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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Telegram

Express

Calcutta,

December 24, 1943.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah,
Karachi.

Leader of our Political Caravan on your Birthday

we rejoice and pray for many more **Stop** Wish Session¹
unqualified success **Stop** unhappy unable participate **Stop**

Hassan

1. Thirty-first session of the All India Muslim League held at Karachi in December 1943.



1944

Muslim League Planning Committee—Printing Machinery for 'Dawn'—Difficulty in establishing Muslim Chamber of Commerce at Peshawar—Time to purge anti-Muslim Leaguers in the Punjab Legislature—Food situation in Bengal—Calcutta Corporation elections—Khizir Hyat Khan Tiwana expelled from the Muslim League—Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Delhi—Game of pull baker pull devil being played by Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy—Muslim League Election Fund—Hussainbhoy Laljee—Mr. Jinnah's speech at the Memon Chamber of Commerce at Bombay—Muslim Students Federation.

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242

Confidential

Calcutta,
January 5, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Osmanshahi Mills, Hyderabad.

I have it on good authority that you are holding a large block of shares in the above mill. I am also informed that these shares have now reached their peak price and it would therefore be most advisable for you to commence liquidating them gradually.

I am giving you the above information because I am thoroughly satisfied that the source of information is 100% reliable. It is, of course, for you to decide.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

243

New Delhi,
February 22, 1944.

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that in accordance with clause 14 of the Constitution of the All India Muslim League, I have appointed you as one of the 21 members

of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League for the current year.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. Jinnah

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

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

244

New Delhi,
February 23, 1944.

My dear Hassan,

I hope you are well. I am anxiously awaiting to hear from you with regard to the Press and also the decision of Ahmad with regard to his joining the 'Planning Committee'.¹ I have now got a list of names which will make really a very excellent Planning Committee. I have secured Economists, Educationists and Businessmen of standing and reputation. It will be our misfortune if Ahmad does not come in because his presence will just give a finishing touch. So do discuss the matter with him and let me know without any further delay. I have already written to Ahmad to reconsider his decision but I have not received any reply from him.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Muslim League Planning Committee 'to chalk out a Five Year Plan for the educational, economic, social and political advancement of the Muslims'.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
February 26, 1944.

Dear Mr. President,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant advising that you have been pleased to appoint me a member of your Working Committee for the current year. I am honoured.

Truly yours,
M. A. H. Ispahani

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
February 26, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My return was rather delayed because the Hakim¹ in Bombay insisted on my staying on there for additional ten days. I came back two days ago via Lucknow. I have to inform you that I am better than I was when I first saw you in Bombay; but the progress that I am making is still very slow indeed. The Hakim and also Dr. Roy insist on my taking life very lightly and they demand my keeping away from worry, work and strain. I am not allowed to do serious office work with the result that I

1. Physician.

have to sit and see my elder brother carry the whole burden of work and responsibility. More than usual or expected, his hands are full.

I spoke to him on my return and conveyed your message. He feels that so long as I remain ill, it will not be possible for him to divert his attention from business which at the moment demands even more time than he is able to give to it. I see justification in his view.

He is telegraphing you today, expressing sincere regret for not being able to accept your very kind invitation to join the Committee.¹ I am afraid he cannot do otherwise so long as I remain a dead weight.

With regard to the machinery,² I have heard nothing fresh besides that the matter has been put up for early consideration and decision. I am continually pressing, and when I hear from them I shall advise you.

Have you purchased the building in Daryaganj? I wonder if Dalmia can give the Federation of Muslim Chambers two rooms somewhere in Delhi? We are really very much pressed for office accommodation and Nurur Rahman, the Organising Secretary, has half killed himself in his search for a suitable place. Our present office is situated at No. 268, Mohamed Husain Road, Karol Bagh, in one of the bedrooms!

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. Planning Committee.

2. For Dawn.



Calcutta,
March 10, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Just a line to inform you that I have this day returned Sir Adamjee the sum of Rs. 15,000/- that he kindly advanced towards the loss that the **Star of India** was incurring. Our investments too have been returned.

I am slightly better. Although my recovery is slow, I am glad to say it is definite. Calcutta is warming up.

The kite-flying and propaganda in the non-Muslim Press and on the platform in regard to the 'dwindling majority' of the present Ministry has all ended in smoke. The last division has taken the wind out of the sails of the opposition.¹ Both Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Fazlul Huq looked very crestfallen on that day. The Government has a very safe majority, and unless it does something seriously wrong or completely closes its eyes to the machinations of the opposition without taking necessary counter steps, I feel that there is nothing for us to worry.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. On March 7, 1944, the Opposition put two cut motions regarding supplementary grants to division. The voting disclosed a margin of 30 and 20 votes respectively in the two divisions in favour of the Ministerial Party. See **Star of India**, March 8, 1944.



248

Calcutta,
March 15, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am asked by the Calcutta League Secretary to request you kindly to issue an appeal to the Muslim voters of Calcutta to vote for and return the candidates set up by the Muslim League in the coming Calcutta Corporation elections. And to ask the electorate to follow the example of the Muslim voters of Ahmadabad, who only recently registered a complete victory, not losing a single seat to the Muslim henchmen of the Mahasabha and Congress.

The Elections will take place on the 29th instant. Your statement will be timely if it is published in the Press by the 20th or 21st instant.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

249

New Delhi,
March 17, 1944.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of March 10th. I am glad that you are better, and also I was pleased to learn that the Ministry is doing well and has a safe majority. I have also noted what you say about the **Star of India**, and I am glad that the paper is doing well. I have got in touch with Ghulam Mohammed¹ directly about the ma-

1. Finance Minister of Hyderabad State.

chinery, and I have been awaiting his reply. Please write to him so that he may not think that he is departing from the assurance that he gave you, as I told him that I have your authority to negotiate directly with him.

Shahabuddin was here and I have had a long talk with him about the Planning Committee, and I regret very much to notice that you people are not taking the matter seriously. Bengal will be sorry for it. In the course of our discussion I told him that this is a very important thing indeed, and that Ahmad, he, and one or two other important men from Bengal should take a hand in it. He promised to let me know definitely but I have not yet heard from him. Of course, I can't wait now indefinitely. I shall have to go on, but I do once more impress upon you and Ahmad to consider the matter more carefully and seriously.

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

250

Calcutta,
March 18, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Three days ago things began to look troublesome in Assembly because Fazlul Huq & Co. with Mahasabha money bags were very active amongst some of the unreliable supporters of the Government. The division three days ago gave a majority to the Government of 17 votes and this had begun to show a demoralising effect. The Government, however, and every member of it, worked night and day most actively, put up a very good show last night. The House adjourned at 9.50 p.m. and the vote

showed 123 for Government against 95 for the Opposition. Confidentially, we have still in reserve 8 to 10 votes. Some members have not yet returned to Calcutta and others are lying ill in Calcutta. I do not think there will be any necessity for bringing them to the Assembly on stretchers. However, we have had two very exciting days, full of worry.

I give below a certain portion from a letter written by Mr. Nurur Rahman, Organising Secretary of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which speaks of the backwardness of the Musalmans. It is really heart-rending to carry on with this material at our disposal.

The excitement is having a bad effect on my nerves again and yet I cannot go away from Calcutta for the fear that one vote may, God forbid, at some time or the other be valuable to the Government.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. A letter from Peshawar informs me that there are considerable difficulties in establishing a Muslim Chamber there. It appears that there is a Merchants' Association which is open to both Hindus and Muslims and all the influential Muslim merchants are members of this Association.



Telegram

Lahore,
March 21, 1944.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

I appeal to the Muslim Electorates particularly Muslim public generally to support whole-heartedly Muslim League candidates coming Calcutta Corporation elections follow example of Ahmadabad wishing you cent per cent success **Stop**

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
March 24, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 17th instant from Delhi and your telegram of the 21st idem from Lahore.

The contents of your telegram have been given widest publicity and leaflets are being printed and distributed all over Calcutta.

With regard to Ghulam Mohammed, I have written to him to reply to your letter regarding machinery as soon as possible. I do not know why so much time is wanted to decide so simple a matter.

My brother and our family have passed through most anxious times during the last sixteen days. My niece, Ahmad's second daughter, who is 17 years old, suddenly fell ill and her condition grew so serious that I forgot my illness and my brother forgot office and work. Our whole family was like a batch of lunatics. It was only since the last two or three days that the child has shown signs of improvement and she has been declared to be out of danger.

With work, worry and illness each of which separately is a burden unbearable, I must say that the concluding lines of your letter have caused me much grief. You know that at no time have we brothers taken your words or advice lightly. We have obeyed every order of yours with pleasure. We have not hesitated to render the little service that we were called upon to do at any time when such a demand was made. I am pained to find that you feel that we are not considering the matter of Planning Committee more carefully and seriously. Please dispel such an idea from your mind.

My illness coupled with our own worries and work have, my brother says, made it impossible for him to accept the nomination to the proposed Committee. He has, however, assured you of his most loyal and sincere co-operation from without. I request you not to misunderstand.

Nazimuddin and Shahabuddin had a very long talk with my brother two nights ago. I was not in the house at the time, but I am told that my brother will be going to Delhi in the first week of next month and will be seeing you when he gets there. By then, you will have returned from your tour of the Punjab.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
March 27, 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your speech at the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce is likely to be misunderstood or wilfully misinterpreted. You have spoken of the 'All India Muslim Chamber' meaning of course the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Delhi and not the body that exists in Bombay and which cannot be called an All India body. The Bombay Chamber federates individuals and not Chambers !

I shall be obliged if you will please, at the earliest opportunity, clarify your recent reference; otherwise, Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, the President of the Bombay All India Muslim Chamber, will take the fullest advantage of your speech and will render still more difficult our task of bringing the Provincial Chambers together.

I may add that the Punjab Muslim Chamber is one of the few Muslim bodies in the country that has not, till now, applied for affiliation to Delhi and is, I am told, more disposed towards the Bombay show. Cannot something be done?

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Telegram

Hyderabad Deccan,
April 3, 1944.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Government agreeable disposing IDM plant¹ as lying in Bombay and Hyderabad BG Rupees eighty thousand **Stop** Intertypes without magazines **Stop** Government Press will be supplied three magazines Rupees fifteen hundred each extra **Stop** Above quotation exclusive cost packing and freight which will be borne by you **Stop** Detailed letter follows **Stop**

Ghulam Mohammed

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

255

Calcutta,
April 3, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just now received a letter from Nurur Rahman, the Organising Secretary of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, advising that the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce have on the 22nd ultimo, written to him asking for affiliation. This is, indeed very good news. Confidentially, news from Bombay is also good. The Chinoys have fallen out with

1. For Dawn.

Jamil, the Secretary of the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce of Bombay. They have resigned from that body and have thrown their weight into the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce where they propose to establish a majority and then apply for an affiliation to our Federation. The latest news is that these people including Sikandar Dehlavi and Habib Rahimtoola have obtained the necessary majority. Sultan Chinoy will be elected President and the Chamber will be affiliated to the centre. There is an understanding between me and these people that our old undertaking holds good, that is to say, Sir Sultan Chinoy's candidature for the first Presidentship of the Federation will be backed by Calcutta. In view of all this, the prospects of getting on the way early are really bright. All this is extremely pleasing. Now our most difficult hurdle seems to be getting of a place in a good locality wherein we can establish our Federation's Office. Without an office and a telephone, we shall not be able to render the service that our constituents will require of us.

I shall be glad to know from you as to whether you have purchased the building in Daryagunj. If you have not, I shall be most grateful if you will please exercise your influence with Dalmia and secure for the Chamber two respectable and airy rooms in a good locality for the Federation.

Now coming to the printing press and machinery I quote below a telegram received from Hyderabad only two days ago :

Government agreeable disposing IDM plant as lying in Bombay and Hyderabad BG Rupees eighty thousand **Stop** Intertypes without magazines Government Press will be supplied three magazines Rupees fifteen hundred each extra **Stop** Above quotation exclusive cost packing and freight which will be borne by you **Stop** Detailed letter follows.

The promised letter has not been received by me. I shall send it to you immediately I receive it. In the meantime, I request you to keep these negotiations confidential as there are hundreds of hungry wolves scouring the country in search of printing machinery.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

256

New Delhi,
April 8, 1944.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of March 22 at Lahore and also your letter of April 3 on my arrival at Delhi. I do not think that there was any kind of misunderstanding, may be that the reporter did not quite catch me, but I certainly meant the 'Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry' at Delhi. The Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce was waiting for my arrival and they have already after discussing the matter with me, applied for affiliation to Delhi and I note from your letter of the 3rd that you have in fact received intimation from them and they will be affiliated in due course.

I think your latest news with regard to Bombay is correct but I am not sure that you should continue your old understanding. The real work was done by our people. I should suggest that Sir Adamjee should be the first President because he is the man who represents really commerce and industry.

As regards your office in Delhi, Mr. Nurur Rahman had come to see me before I left for Lahore and I hope to see him again very soon and see what can be done but nothing definite has materialized so far in securing a building.

As regards the printing press and machinery, we must proceed at once to examine it. I think you do it or leave it to me and also send me the promised letter as soon as you receive it. The offer has been made to us and we shall accept it subject to examination of the machinery, and, therefore, the question of anybody else chipping in does not arise. Anyhow I quite agree with you that we should keep the negotiations confidential. Therefore, please send me the letter as soon as possible and let me know whether I should proceed to examine the machinery and take delivery direct in which case I shall send a competent man to examine it. Don't delay this matter and let me have your immediate instructions.

I am sorry Ahmad was not able to come, but I hope that he might from Lucknow drop in here for a day and I am really glad that he has agreed to serve on the Planning Committee. It will add to the prestige of the Committee and he will undoubtedly be one of the most valuable and helpful person in serving the objects that we have at heart.

I am in Delhi according to my present programme till the 17th, then I will have to go to Lahore and from there to Sialkot, where the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference is meeting.

Hoping and praying that you are now all right. With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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Calcutta,
April 12, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 8th instant.

With regard to the Bombay news, I shall be only too glad not to have a man like Sultan Chinoy as the first President of the Muslim Federation. You, however, remember that it was your advice that Calcutta should, in spite of the backing out by Bombay of its part of the undertaking, keep the Presidentship open for Chinoy if he came in. With this advice in my mind, when I was last in Bombay I gave in to the proposal made by Habib Rahimtoola and Sikandar Dehlavi regarding their capturing the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce and affiliating it to the Federation on the understanding that Sultan Chinoy who has severed his connections with the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry of Bombay, should be made the first President. If you are able to influence these youngsters who, I am told, will do anything that you order, then I will be only too glad to drop Sultan. You know how much I dislike the fellow for the trick that he played on me on the eve of the last meeting in Delhi to form the Federation, I shall be very glad to have your advice in the matter. I am sure you must have discussed the Federation question with brother Ahmad during his very short stay with you in Delhi.

With regard to the printing machinery, I have just received a letter from Hyderabad, a copy of which I am enclosing for your attention. So far as I can see this machinery which was the property of the **Indian Daily Mail** of Bombay, has not been used for more than three years and should be in first class condition. The price demanded, however, is on the heavy side. It should really be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. 60,000|- to

Rs. 65,000/- including the three magazines for the Intertypes. You may either write a personal note to Ghulam Mohammed making this counter-offer, or if you want me to do it, I shall, with pleasure. If on the other hand, you feel that the price asked is reasonable, then no counter-offer may be necessary. Nooruddin is very sore with me because he had his eyes and heart set for the machinery for the Alliance Press which is badly in need of same. I am falling between two stools — a most unenviable position.

Mamdot and Isa were here for a few hours before proceeding to Assam. They are expected back on the 14th and will be leaving by the Bombay Mail for Itarsi on the 15th afternoon. They will be meeting the Working Committee of the province on the 14th.

I am indeed very happy to note the developments in the Punjab. Chhotu Ram, Baldev Singh and those of the Muslim League who are playing the double game, must be bearded without further delay. A purge is necessary even if it means that the Muslim League has to go into the Opposition, because the result will be a healthier, stronger and cleaner organisation. The two-faced Muslims in the Legislature have had too long an innings of undisturbed hypocrisy and treachery. In view of this fact, the cracking of the whip by you is indeed music for my ears.

I spoke to you when I was in Bombay about the case of one of the youngsters at Bareilly (U.P.). I shall be sending a copy of the judgment delivered by the Sessions Judge, a Mr. Gregory, I.C.S. It is most interesting reading. The sentence of imprisonment was quashed. The Magistrate's judgment was bitterly criticised as being irrelevant and political and the Judge held that if there was a breach of the law at all it was a technical and innocent breach. The fine for this breach was raised from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 1,000/-, but the lad was given a very clean character certificate by the Judge. Now, when the boy was sentenced to imprisonment, Srivastava, the Food Member, lost no

time in getting the All India Radio to broadcast the news of the sentence the same night. The result of the appeal, was, however, completely suppressed although the Associated Press and the United Press whose representatives were present in Bareilly when the judgment was delivered, sent out messages in the presence of some of my friends to Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. You will agree that this is a very dirty trick and Sultan Ahmed's attention should be drawn to this fact. I do not know if brother Ahmad has spoken to you in this regard.

Another hare has been started by Srivastava in connection with the food situation in Bengal. Srikrishan who is our representative in Delhi, sent out an awful message which was published on page 1 in our issue of the 10th instant, that is April 11, Dak Edition. Kindly read it. I was so agitated over the publication of such fifth column piece of news that only immense self-control prevented me from dismissing the entire staff of the **Star of India**. However, the position was retrieved by me in the editorial published yesterday¹ — City Edition April 11, Dak Edition April 12. Kindly make it a point to read this editorial as well. Other newspapers, for example, the **Amrita Bazar Patrika**, have come out with similar news as given by Srikrishna in their City Edition today. It is obvious that Srivastava feels that he has been left out in the cold. The Viceroy and Hutchings, the Secretary of the Food Department, are dealing directly and over his head, with Casey and his Government here. Procurement and distribution are working too smoothly and public confidence is being regained too rapidly for the liking of

1. The editorial entitled 'Mischiefs from Delhi' appeared in **Star of India** of April 11, 1944. It refuted the report by **Star's** special correspondent to the effect that Bengal food situation was causing anxiety; that Bengal was to make rice available to areas like Malabar and that the procurement of rice in Bengal had not been 'anywhere near expectations'.

Syamaprasad and his henchman Srivastava. As Syamaprasad knows that any disturbance on the food platform in the province will mean merciless handling of him by Government he is using others in Delhi to do the dirty work for him. I do not think that the Government of Bengal will lose this opportunity of giving a direct lie to the propaganda emanating from New Delhi, and I am sure it will not take such malicious and false propaganda without uttering a word in reply.

I am most grateful to you for your prayer and I assure you that my political life will remain dedicated to you and to our great cause.

With very kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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258

Calcutta,
April 17, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my last lines on the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry, I am enclosing a copy of letter¹ from Sikandar Dehlavi received by me this morning. I await your guidance in the matter. Can Sir Chinoy be left out without breaking the gentleman's agreement arrived at between Sikandar, Habib² and myself when I was last in Bombay?

1. Not available in I.P.

2. Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola.

I am also enclosing a copy of letter¹ received this morning, from Ghulam Mohammed. I have put my neck in the lion's den. It seems that I am in for trouble with my good friends. The world is full of worries. I wish you success in your mission in the Punjab.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

259

Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road,
Lahore.
April 20, 1944.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 12. With regard to the printing machinery, I have noted what you say in your letter, and I have despatched our representative to Bombay and Hyderabad to examine the machinery and report to me before the 25th instant. If I find that the machine is really useful to us, I will close the bargain. I have wired to Ghulam Mohammed, requesting him to direct his agent in Bombay to allow our representative to inspect the machinery, and from there he will proceed to Hyderabad to inspect the other part which is lying there. As regards the Punjab, all I can say to you is that I am here again and doing my best. I was very pleased to hear

1. Not available in I.P.

the result of the case against one of the youngsters at Bareilly.

I am so glad that you are now almost all right. I met Ahmad in Delhi and I was very pleased to see him looking fit. He was quite cheerful, and I am really thankful to him for having agreed to join the Planning Committee. Inshallah, I shall be able to put up a really good Committee. No doubt the matter is being delayed because I really want a Committee worthy of the task, which is of vital importance to us.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

260

Calcutta,
April 26, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 20th instant and note that you have sent an expert to examine and report on the printing machinery lying in Bombay and Hyderabad.

The latest news regarding your negotiations in the Punjab, points towards an impending breakdown. It seems apparent that Chhotu Ram, Monoharlal and Baldev Singh have too much influence on Tiwana and it seems to me that he too will take the line of resistance as did A. K. Fazlul Huq and betray the League in order to keep himself in office. Our stand in that case is patent. We shall have to do in the Punjab what we did in Bengal, and with a band of sincere and active youngmen at the disposal of the League in the Punjab, I feel that quicker and earlier

results can be achieved in that province than we were able to in ours. Whether the League continues to be the Government or goes into the opposition, matters little. We cannot continue to have our friends playing the double game all the time. They must make their choice.

The election of the Aldermen to the Calcutta Corporation ended in resounding victory for us:

- (1) We brought in two Muslim League Aldermen;
- (2) We kept out two of the Hindu Mahasabhites of the province, one of them being Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, the President of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha;
- (3) Dr. B. C. Roy — official Congress — was kept out. (I am indeed sorry he had to be left out of our whip);
- (4) Mr. Syed Badruddoja who did not seek election but was sure of being returned to the Corporation as an Alderman, withdrew his candidature five minutes before the election of the Aldermen took place. He knew that he would be defeated. Retribution for his treachery came much quicker than anyone expected. Within twelve months he paid the price;
- (5) Khan Bahadur S. Mohammed Jan, the leader of the newly formed Muslim Majlis which is yet another of the many mushroom organisations of Musalmans supporting the Mahasabha in the province, and who was the candidate of the Congress Municipal Association and the Mahasabha, was badly defeated. So, with one stone we killed many birds.

Today is the Mayoral election. It is the turn of the Caste Hindu. I was offered the Mayoralty by several persons of influence in order to keep out Mr. Anandi Lal Poddar, whose small group supported us in the Aldermen election and made it possible for us to achieve our great success. Needless to say they realised that I could not be purchased. Mr. Anandi Lal Poddar stands as our candi-

date and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee went to the Europeans last night, begged them to support any other Hindu in the Corporation that the European choose and further, asked the Europeans to nominate from amongst their party a candidate for the Deputy Mayoralty. This is an example of Indian nationalism. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee who abuses the Europeans, up hill and down dale, day in and day out in the Assembly, goes on his knees cringing for support in order to defeat someone who was instrumental in completely frustrating his plans in the Corporation. I am afraid the Europeans will support the Hindu candidate who will run against Mr. Anandi Lal Poddar and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and a section of the Bose Group will support that Hindu candidate. Politics does make strange bed fellows! However, it does not matter to me two hoots as to which of the two Hindu candidates gets in. We promised to support Mr. Poddar and we are going to fulfil that promise and demonstrate once again that the Muslim League stands true and loyal to its undertaking and it can resist all temptations.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Hassan

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
Mamdot House,
Lahore.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

261

'Kooshik', Near Nishat,
Srinagar, Kashmir,
May 20, 1944.

My dear Hassan,

I have received all your letters, and I thank you

for them, and let me deal with them all, as I have got now at last some breathing time.

First, with regard to the Punjab, I think the situation has been made quite clear and the issue has been crystallized.¹ It is now up to us to organize thoroughly and most efficiently the Muslim League in the Punjab. I have noted the information you have given me about the election of the Aldermen to the Calcutta Corporation, and it must be a matter of great satisfaction to you that you have been so successful, and I share in your joy.

As regards the printing machinery, while I thank you for meeting my wishes to secure it for **Dawn** unfortunately my information from our people is that the composing machines are capable of working only by gas, and so they will be of no use to us in Delhi, as they are fitted with gaspots and can only be utilized in Bombay or in Calcutta. I am sending you herewith a copy of the full report from Joseph and our Manager of **Dawn**, Mahmud Hasan, for your information. In these circumstances, you might now deal with the Hyderabad Government in such a manner as you may think best for your own purpose.

With regard to the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, no doubt that the success was not due to the reasonableness on the part of our opponents, but it was due to the fact that the Muslim Leaguers and others rose to the occasion and made a terrific effort, and hence the result that you see. The Bombay Chamber should in the ordinary course be first affiliated to the

1. At the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference held in Sialkot, Jinnah repudiated the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact and ruled that members of the Muslim League could no longer be associated with the Unionist Party. Soon afterwards, Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, the Punjab Premier was expelled from the League.

Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

As regards your question, 'Can Sir Sultan Chinoy be left out without breaking the gentleman's agreement arrived at between Sikandar, Habib and myself when I was last in Bombay'?, I do not exactly know what the agreement was. Evidently Habib now is the acknowledged leader, and it would seem rather extraordinary that Sir Sultan Chinoy, who is merely a member of the Bombay Chamber, should be lifted up. I do not understand what Mr. Sikandar Dehlavi means when he says 'I do not know whether Sir Sultan's election to the proposed office of the Federated Chamber will be subsequent to the official affiliation of the Bombay Chamber'. Until I am in possession of full facts, it is very difficult for me to express any definite opinion. I may tell you that Habib Rahimtoola saw me here a couple of days ago, and from the conversation I had with him there does not seem to be any obligation on the part of anyone that Sir Sultan Chinoy should be elected the first President of the Muslim Federation, and in the event of there being a feeling between Calcutta and Bombay, you might fix on somebody belonging to some other province this year. After all the term of the President is only for one year.

I feel very much better already from the change and rest even within a few days here. This is the first holiday that I am taking after 7 years of very strenuous work, and it is necessary for me. I hope to remain here as long as it is possible for me to do so.

Hoping you are quite fit now, and with very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours very sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

Enclosures: Two.

Enclosure: 1.

Marine Drive,
Bombay,
April 21, 1944.

My dear Chief,

I am leaving Bombay this evening for Delhi. I was about to proceed to Lahore on April 19, when I received a telegram from Mahmud Hasan asking me to wait here until he arrived. We met but we are afraid that the machines are a disappointment. They were packed up in 1932 and the contents cannot be depended upon — according to an expert. If you want me to be in Lahore, kindly wire care of **Dawn**, Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Pothan Joseph

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
Lahore.

Enclosure: 2.

Dawn,
Delhi,
April 26, 1944.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I returned from Bombay night before last (April 24).

The Assistant Director of the Hyderabad Government Press was in Bombay to show me the machines which are all packed in crates and kept in godowns in

the Nizam's Palace. As the numbers of the Intertype machines were not available, the crates had to be opened for examination. It was found that out of a total of 11 Intertype machines 8 had been taken away to Hyderabad and the three which were offered for sale are fitted with gaspots instead of electric furnaces. As gas is not available for power in Delhi these machines are of no use to us. Without these Composing machines the others offered to us are of no use. I have therefore not gone and seen the other machines in Hyderabad. The Whare-dale Printing Machines, four in number, are in Bombay and their condition is satisfactory. Some parts are to be replaced or repaired which can be done in India and these machines can be made serviceable. We can go in for these if two conditions are satisfied viz., (1) We are able to secure a few (at least three) Intertype or Linotype machines; (2) If H.E.H.'s Government agree to sell them to us at a reasonable price. I am doubtful if we can secure Composing machines (Linotype or Intertype) in good working order with necessary equipment in India. I have seen one in Bombay which we can go in for if at least two more are available. This will require hunting in Calcutta and Madras. The price of this Bombay machine is Rs. 12,000/- A new latest model machine with equipment imported from U.S.A. costs about Rs. 18,000/-.

I have explained everything to Nawabzada Sahib in detail. He will discuss matters with you and if it is so decided we may proceed with the import of machines from U.S.A. for which an import licence has already been secured.

From your telegram to Nawabzada Sahib yesterday and today I gather your arrangements for the Lahore paper are well under way. I wish you every success in

your laudable undertaking and also in your efforts to set the Punjab House in order.

With respectful regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Mahmud Hasan

Mr. M. A. Jinnah,
Mamdot House,
Lahore.

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262

Calcutta,
June 22, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After sending my previous letter I have found your letter of May 20, in the bundle of letters and papers awaiting my return to Calcutta.

The position of the printing machinery is now clear and I shall negotiate for it with Hyderabad direct.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
June 22, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have not written to you for some time as I left Calcutta in the first week of May with the determination to cut myself away from every activity for a period of six weeks. I retreated to Darjeeling with the children and I had a very quiet and peaceful holiday. An S.O.S. from Nazimuddin to attend the Assembly brought me down from the cool air of Darjeeling to the burning heat of Calcutta, only yesterday. We faced the No-Confidence motion with confidence. We had a majority of 13; 6 European members were absent and 2 of our party Musalmans could not rush here in time, because they were in the interior and travelling these days even for the influential is an extremely difficult task.

The day before I left Darjeeling I received a letter from the Secretary to Government, Judicial, Police & General Departments, Hyderabad, a copy of which I enclose herewith¹ for your perusal and immediate direction. In the event you are not interested in the machinery, please telegraph me 'express' so that I may continue the negotiation on behalf of the **Star of India** and the Alliance Press, from here. I do not want to miss this block of machinery at a time like the present when nothing is available.

I hope you are having a quiet and pleasant holiday in Kashmir. From Liaquat Ali Khan's latest statement in the Press, it seems that I shall have the privilege of saluting you before the end of July.

With my best regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. Enclosure missing.



264

Calcutta,
August 30, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On my arrival I had a long talk with Sir Nazimuddin on the lines laid down. He has assured me of prompt attention.

When I last saw you I forgot to tell you that the young man whose rice purchases in Bareilly (U.P.) were confiscated by the Government on the order of the trying Magistrate received notice from the U.P. Government, after the judgment of the Sessions Judge that he would receive payment from that Government for the full value of the rice seized and declared forfeited to it. The amount was paid to him long ago. So the persecution and prosecution ended with a fine for what the Sessions Judge called a bona fide technical breach of the Food Order.

I trust you have fully recovered from your recent indisposition.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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265

Calcutta,
October 23, 1944.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am mailing you today a copy¹ of the issue of **The Time** of July 24, 1944. On page 18 you will find

1. Missing.

your photograph and also a paragraph on India which may be of interest to you.

You must have noticed that once again our opponents are active. For the last two weeks they have been indulging in the game of issuing all kinds of nonsensical reports in the columns of their papers. Three days ago a canard about the differences of opinion prevailing in the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Party was broadcast all over India. Every 'nationalist' paper published it in some form or other as a report from its own special correspondent. Similarly, three days ago the **Amrita Bazar Patrika**'s special correspondent has filled half a column of last Saturday's issue with nonsense about Bengal. The old game of causing confusion and dividing the Musalmans is again being played. I am sure it will meet with the same failure as such stunts have received at the hands of the Musalmans in the last six or seven years.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly has been summoned for November 20. The session will be a short one and will transact a couple of important pieces of business, one being in connection with the amendment of the Rules of the Assembly which will not permit the repetition of the farce that was enacted during the last session.

It is proposed to call the first Annual Meeting of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry in Delhi in the fourth week of November or latest the first week of December. I am waiting for Sir Adamjee's return in order to approach him to accept the first Presidentship of the Federation.

As you must have read in the newspapers, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui will be proceeding to the United States as Delegate of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry to the International Conference

at Atlantic City, I shall be most disappointed if he does not serve our cause hundred per cent during his trip. I am sure he will present the Muslim case to the Americans.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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266

Calcutta,
October 24, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad to inform you that with the affiliation of the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry at Delhi has now grown into a robust and representative organisation of the Muslim merchants and industrialists of India. As I have advised you, I propose to hold the First General Meeting of the Federation in the fourth week of November or the first week of December 1944.

Concurring with my elder brother's views I approached Sir Adamjee this afternoon and requested him to accept the first presidentship of the Federation. My appeals and entreaties bore no fruit. He kept on declining the honour on grounds of ill health, age and inability to travel to Delhi every now and again. I assured him that I would work as his Secretary right through his tenure of office and reduce his worries and responsibilities he is to be pleased, my brother should shoulder the rest to the minimum. He still declined and told me that if

ponsibility and no one else, as he was strongly of the opinion that unless there was someone at the helm to navigate the ship of the Federation on its launching, with the capacity and drive of my brother, the newly built organisation would founder. He kept on insisting that my brother will have to accept the presidentship. I told him that my brother would not accept the honour at least for the reason that there will be many tongues that will wag to discredit the Federation. Its opponents, right through the last eighteen months, have been saying that Ispahanis have been working for the establishment of the Federation and spending large sums of money in that direction because they want to capture it and to use it to further their own interests. He would not like people to feel that this propaganda was justified and proven to the hilt as true. Further, he is over-burdened with responsibility and work and cannot shoulder a straw more.

My brother is seeing Sir Adamjee this evening and will again request him to accept the presidentship. I have failed. I hope he will succeed. I shall keep you advised of the result.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

267

Calcutta,
November 21, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Members of the Muslim Students' organisation in Bengal have again approached me with the request that

I should plead on their behalf that you please accept their invitation to preside over the Students' Annual Conference to be held in Calcutta in December at a date suitable to you. A line in reply will be appreciated.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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268

New Delhi,
December 13, 1944.

My dear Hassan,

I am sorry I was not able to reply to your letter of November 21 earlier, but I have already sent my reply to the Muslim Students' organisation, informing them that it is not possible for me to go to Calcutta in December.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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269

Calcutta,
December 18, 1944.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant. I

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am looking forward to seeing you in the near future. I hope you are enjoying good health.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely
Hassan



1945

Jinnah's illness--Rift between G.M.Sayed and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah—Fazlul Huq plans to join the fold of the Muslim League—Formation of Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry—Defeat of Nazimuddin Ministry—Governor's Rule in Bengal—Muslim League Election Fund—Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board—Suhrawardy gets a majority on the Board—Dissension in Bengal League's ranks—Jinnah's Call: 'Support the League candidate even if he be a lamp post'—Nazimuddin decides to quit politics—Muslim League's overwhelming victory in elections.

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Calcutta,
February 10, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to enquire if it will be convenient for you to give me shelter and food during the meeting of the Working Committee. I propose to leave here by the Mail on the 21st or 22nd instant.

I trust you are in the best of health.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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271

Bombay,
February 16, 1945.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter, and I am sorry to inform you that my health will not permit me to reach Delhi on February 24 and 25. There is nothing to be alarmed about, but I am strictly ordered to have complete rest for at least a fortnight. Therefore the question of your staying with me does not arise, although now there are serious difficulties about that matter also, which I will explain to you when we meet. I have intimated to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan that I shall not be able to go to Delhi on February 24.

With kind regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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Calcutta,
February 27, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 16th instant and am glad to learn that your indisposition does not call for anxiety.

Sind has turned out to be a festering sore of the Muslim League. The antics, the abuses, the statements and counter-statements and the washing of dirty linen in public have, I am sure, disgusted every Musalman. Many have held their peace, hoping that good sense would soon dawn on the parties. So far good sense has kept away from them and the knot, instead of being untied, is being fastened tighter. Today's newspapers, however, carry news which every Leaguer will consider to be absolutely the limit. Sir Ghulam Hussain, in his anxiety to slap G. M. Sayed or to keep his Ministry alive, has overstepped the mark. He has flouted one of the fundamentals of our creed — he has broken one of our irrelaxable laws — namely, of coalescing with another non-League Muslim individual and party to get the majority necessary for keeping his Ministry in office.¹

1. A dispute arose between G. M. Sayed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayetullah, the Chief Minister of Sind. Sayed was reported to be planning a vote of no-confidence against Hidayetullah. Jinnah intervened to bring the two groups together. But on February 24, 1945, Hidayetullah Ministry was defeated as Sayed's group voted against the Ministry. However, Hidayetullah was able to form another ministry in which he included Haji Maula Baksh, a non-Leaguer, as an additional minister, mainly to gain the support of Maula Baksh's group.

The High Command cannot but take notice of this serious breach of our fundamental laws. Sir Ghulam Hussain will have to pay for this act of treachery. The mischievous step taken by him puts the League in an uncomfortable position in view of its correct and legitimate stand against the Congress that the Muslim League is the sole political organisation of the Musalmans of India and that other Muslim mushroom parties have no **locus standi** amongst the Muslims and that they are mere puppets and creations of the Congress and the Mahasabha to divide the Muslim ranks.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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273

Calcutta,
March 8, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have a bit of bad news to give you. It concerns **Dawn**. The **Free Journal** of Bombay in its issue of Wednesday, February 28 (first Dak issue) on page 3, displays in bold type the fact that **Dawn** has pirated verbatim in its issue of 19.2.45, the leading article of the **Times of India**, Bombay, of the 12.2.45. The subject was War in Europe. In journalism, as you know, pirating is never done. It is no excuse for **Dawn** to say in defence that Pothan Joseph was away and being stuck for an editorial they committed the offence.

I am drawing the attention of Nawabzada to the above and I hope the **Times of India** will overlook this

breach of journalistic etiquette and propriety on the part of **Dawn**.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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274

Calcutta,
March 12, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hear from a reliable source that you are not too fit, having caught a slight chill on your way to Delhi. This report has upset me. I hope and pray that you have got over your indisposition and that it has not left you weak.

I also learn that the League Session has been postponed. If this is correct, no one has so far been advised of the postponement and the Provincial Leagues are all busy making their plans on the dates already announced.

Please do not worry about the affairs of Sind, U.P. or anywhere else. Every tangle will straighten out. Please take complete rest until you are 100% fit again. May Allah protect you and may you be fit and strong to navigate the ship of Muslim destiny for very many more years.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Calcutta,
March 27, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My brother returned to Calcutta yesterday. He went to Delhi to attend the meeting of the Business & Industrial Delegation that is shortly proceeding to England and the U.S.A. During his brief stay in Delhi, he telephoned to enquire how you were and was glad to hear you say that you were making satisfactory progress. I presume you are still not fit to receive friends or else you would have asked him to see you for a few minutes.

Politics in India seem to be on the move again and I am one of the many million Muslims who are anxious about the fate that is being hammered out behind closed doors in this country and in England for Muslim India. Our demands are clear cut and have the sanction and backing of one hundred million Musalmans. We have the righteousness of our cause to back us and have to rely on our inherent strength to attain our goal.

At this critical juncture it is unfortunate that in some places, Leaguers are dissipating their strength and energy in carrying on internecine feuds instead of pulling together.

No date has yet been announced for the holding of the Annual Session at Lahore.

The Assembly here is sitting from day to day and so far, the Opposition have not met with any success in challenging the strength of the Government. As is their established practice, they create scenes daily, use dreadful language and level the vilest and most irresponsible charges against the Government, protecting themselves

with the shield of privilege. I do not think any legislature in India has sunk half as low as ours.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Telegram

New Delhi,
April 7, 1945.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Please contact Mr. Arthur Moore would he accept Editorship **Dawn** what remuneration conditions would be acceptable to him **Stop**

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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Telegram

Calcutta,
April 10, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Arthur Moore out of Calcutta returning after fortnight **Stop**

Hassan

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Bombay,
April 15, 1945.

My dear Hassan,

This is just to inform you that I feel much better now, and I am leaving Bombay for Matheran, which is a nearby hill station, in a couple of days, and shall remain there till about the first week of June. My address will be Readymoney House, Matheran, and of course as usual you will keep me informed of any developments that may take place in Bengal. Although I am not on active list for the moment, yet I cannot remain completely indifferent to anything of importance that may happen.

Have you been sleeping over the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce, and is it merely to remain a paper scheme? I am very much disappointed indeed that so much delay has been caused in holding even your first meeting. We are losing very valuable time and a golden opportunity. Every week that passes is now not only creating a sense of frustration and despair amongst those who have worked and are willing and ready to work, but in the rapid developments that are taking place, Muslim India will unfortunately find itself as usual with the motto 'Too Late'. I spoke to Ahmad, and I was assured that everything was ready, and this was as far back as November last. It seems to me that your Secretary in Delhi is incompetent, and unless you wake up and ginger up things, the business and commercial Muslim India will suffer very seriously.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah



Calcutta,
April 16, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy¹ of Arthur Moore's letter to me. I am sorry I have drawn a blank.² The Hussain he refers to is Altaf.

I trust your much needed rest will restore you back to your normal health.

I am going to Delhi tomorrow to attend the first meeting of the Federation of Muslim Chambers.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Calcutta,
April 24, 1945.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I left for Delhi on the 17th instant with the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce delegation which was headed by Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood. We reached Delhi very late on the 18th night, and after a conference that lasted till well past 1 a.m. we turned out at the Y.M.C.A. Hall at 10-30 a.m. to attend the first Annual Meeting of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Com-

1. Not available in I.P.

2. Arthur Moore, having declined the editorship of **Dawn**, suggested Altaf Husain for the post.

merce & Industry. The meeting was not spectacular because no outsider was invited but was nevertheless a grand success. Every province barring the Central Provinces Chamber was represented and the Baluchistan Chamber telegraphed wishing the Federation unqualified success and regretting their inability to participate this time. We sat down to business straightaway and with a break of two and half hours for luncheon, went on till well after 8 p.m. Next day our meeting commenced at 10 a.m. and went on till luncheon time. Everyone was most business-like. Superfluous speeches and unnecessary arguments and discussions were cut out. We worked with great speed. The Memorandum and Articles of Association were gone through clause by clause and amended where necessary. Then the whole of the constitution was put to the body and carried unanimously. Some resolutions of importance were also passed. The speeches were brief, effective and to the point. The first President is, as you must know by now, Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood. The list of other office-bearers was also released to the Press at a Press Conference held two hours after the termination of our first meeting.

We are still smarting under one great disability and that is, lack of accommodation to house the office of the Federation. Money has been found and efforts have not been lacking for the last twenty months. Unfortunately, nothing has come out of all these. No door has been left untapped and no person of influence has been left untouched. We have had to labour under many difficulties and shortcomings right through from the start. God has been most merciful to us. With His help we have surmounted all these difficulties and we pray that before long He will help us out of this last one. Nurur Rahman has been told to go full speed ahead. I have no doubt that he will do so.

The first meeting was delayed due to Sir Adamjee's inability to leave Calcutta earlier as his son was away in Australia. I saw Liaquat Ali and he assured that re-

presentation of the Federation of the Central Committees will come as a matter of course, now that the Government of India know that it has passed the organising stage and has a constitution and office-bearers to conduct its affairs.

I hope the report given above will give you satisfaction and you will not feel that we have been idling or sleeping. Believe me, I have put in a devil of lot of work for the Federation and every member of the Committee is now determined to see that the Federation goes from strength to strength. Before I left Delhi, I made it clear to Nurur Rahman that work must proceed with clock-work regularity and with the speed of lightning. He gave me a solemn undertaking that he was now in a position to carry out the command of the Committee and that he could not make any progress so long as the first meeting was not held, because he had no status whatsoever in official eyes as an Organising Secretary — the Secretary of a body that was to come into existence at an unknown and future date.

I now come to Bengal. I have committed many mistakes of judgment in my life but the biggest blunder of all was that contained in my letter written to you on March 27, an hour before the unexpected snap division was called in the Legislative Assembly. The fact is that I was lulled into a position of absolute security by the reports that I received from the Whips and the prominent members of the Party from time to time. The Party were caught napping. They were diddled very cleverly by the Opposition. The Government expected, as usual, a very strong opposition to the demand for Civil Supplies and also to the Home and Police Demand. The Opposition showed weakness in their voting strength. They decided to muster their full strength when Government least suspected the attack, namely at the fag-end of the Budget Session and they selected Agriculture, a Demand to which Government did not expect any opposition from any quarter. The opposition also calculated

that in view of the approaching Easter Holidays some M.L.As, particularly the Europeans, would go away a couple of days before the Easter Holidays commenced to enjoy a slightly longer holiday. Some of our own Muslim members went away. The stage was in the meantime prepared and ready. Money had passed from the Marwaries to certain purchaseable commodities through the medium of the leaders of the Opposition groups. It was only at 2-30 in the afternoon of the snap division that Government Whips and Ministers realised that 18 persons headed by the Nawab of Dacca, were going to betray the Government Party. Of course, the cursed Speaker, as usual, did his worst against the Muslim League. He even usurped the power of the Governor and actually dictated to him his duties. Had he been impartial and given Government a reasonable opportunity to carry on the debate until it could marshal its full strength within an hour or so, I am sure the division figures would not have shown a defeat for the Government that very day. However, Section 93 rules the province and I shall not be surprised in the least if it holds the field for some more months. I have not seen Nazimuddin for some time.

I am glad to read that you are feeling better and I hope your rest in Matheran will do you a world of good. I shall certainly keep you informed of the important developments that may take place in Bengal.

I am afraid I am not too fit again. My old complaint is showing signs of return. I will have to go off hard work for six or seven months. This is what my doctors are advising once again.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
Readymoney House,
Matheran.

Hassan

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Matheran,
May 6, 1945.

Dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of April 24 and read the account of the successful meeting of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce. I hope that you people realize the urgency and the importance of Muslim India making every effort to make up the leeway. What we now want is selfless workers and deeds and not mere words and thoughts and speeches.

I read the account of the meeting in the Press, but I regret that it was not properly managed and for some reason or the other, it did not get the Press as it ought to have, having regard to its importance. Anyhow, I am glad that now that the matter is put on a proper and constitutional basis, I hope the Secretary, Nurur Rahman, will wake up and be as active as it is possible to do so. I know it is difficult to get in Delhi any accommodation, but let me tell you that lots of people secured accommodation long after your Secretary was hunting for it, and quite good accommodation too.

As regards the Bengal situation and your summary of the Assembly and the Ministry, I have noted all that you have to say. Corruption is a curse in India and amongst Muslims, especially the so-called educated and intelligentsia. Unfortunately, it is this class that is selfish and morally and intellectually corrupt. No doubt, this disease is common, but amongst this particular class of Muslims, it is rampant. All this is due to the demoralised and the degenerated state to which we are reduced and for want of character. However, it is a phase that we have to face and make every effort to eradicate it and purify our society.

I am really sorry to hear that you are not keeping well. I do hope and pray that you will soon be all right. As regards myself, I am glad to tell you that I am almost all right and I shall be quite well very soon. But this breakdown has left me weak and therefore, I shall have to continue to have complete rest for some time to come. That does not mean that in case of emergency I shall not be ready to do my little bit. Please do keep me informed about the important developments that may take place in Bengal.

With very kind regards,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

282

Calcutta,
May 10, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Committee of Action¹ arrived here yesterday and are meeting the Provincial Working Committee today.

I was surprised to learn from Liaquat this morning that a Gujrati newspaper of Bombay — some **Janmabhumi**, had published a letter reported to have been written by you from Srinagar to Mr. Amery in which you are reported to have stated that you are meeting Gandhi merely to see what traps he was laying for the Musalmans and that you had no intention whatsoever of com-

1. The League's Committee of Action of which Nawab Ismail Khan was the Chairman.

ing to terms with the Congress and that Mr. Amery should not worry himself unduly. In your letter you acknowledged his letter written 22 days, or so, before. Also the telegram sent by you to Mr. Amery is quoted. I feel that this is a step to blackmail the Musalmans and an attempt to show that Mr. Gandhi had done everything possible in his power to come to terms with the Muslim League but that your mind on the other hand was absolutely made up before you met him. It appears to me that such false publications will be a source of danger if left unchallenged. All that I can say is that the enemy will go to any length to down us.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

283

Calcutta,
May 11, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 6th instant,

All the News Agency representatives were collected by Sri Krishen at the Imperial Hotel and copies of the President's speech, resolutions and proceedings of the meeting were given to them. If the Hindu Agencies and Press, as is their habit, black out Muslim activities, what can we do? These are the difficulties that our nation has to face all along the line.

With regard to the renting of a suitable place for the Federation, we have done our best and are still faith-

fully at it. I have applied to everyone known to me, big and small, to help us. Nawabzada was requested three times. When I approached him again yesterday he swore that he had tried his best and had failed. I am at Nurur Rahman twice a week. He is hopeful of getting a place this summer. Such hopes were given before only to remain unfulfilled.

I have made a mistake in the name of the Gujrati newspaper referred to in my letter of yesterday. It should read **Matribhumi**.

The Council of Action are leaving for Assam tomorrow afternoon.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

284

Matheran,
May 14, 1945.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 10, 1945, and regarding the publication of the alleged letters, I have already issued my statement to the Press, which you must have seen by now. It is nothing but a tissue of falsehood and there is no foundation whatsoever for it.

I hope you are better. I have received a very encouraging letter from Sir Adamjee, assuring me that he will do his very best to translate the policy of the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce, which is on paper, in practice, and he will do all he can to work in

every way it is possible for him to do so. I hope you people will all get together and be up and doing.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

285

Calcutta,

May 18, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad you lost no time in nailing the lie. The **Matribhumi** has issued an apology but not a line of regret has been written by the **Amrita Bazar, Hindustan Standard** and the **Nationalist** that lifted the 'letter' from the **Matribhumi** and gave it plenty of publicity. These rascals even wrote editorials on the 'letter' and did not wait for confirmation or denial by you. Politics is a very dirty game in this country. With such awful bitterness and dirtiness all round, how is it possible for the two major nations to work together as one in a spirit of amity and concord?

Altaf Hussain is joining **Dawn**. He is an able writer and will certainly be an acquisition. Have you decided to register **Dawn** as a Company? You expressed this intention to me fifteen months ago. **Dawn** must be doing very well. In my opinion, this is the time to save in order to build. I feel that the prosperity enjoyed by newspapers will not last very much longer. Government patronage particularly in advertisement re-

lating to recruitments, etc., which is today netting a large income will gradually diminish.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. Since writing this letter I have received your letter of the 14th instant for which please accept my thanks. I cannot say I am better, but I do not feel any worse. I too assure you that everything will be done by me to see that the promise made by us to you in regard to the Muslim Federation is fully carried out.

The first meeting of the Committee of the Muslim Federation will be held in Calcutta on the 31st instant.

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

286

Quetta,
September 24, 1945.

My dear Hassan,

I have not heard from you for a long time. Please let me know what is happening in Bengal and what you people are doing to face the forthcoming elections. Don't you think that Bengal, headed by Ispahanis, should handsomely help the Provincial and the Central Muslim League Funds? You must have been following how magnificently Bombay has acted. It is high time that Bengal should not lag behind. This is the time, and the most critical time, when the League should be supported

handsomely and generously by those who are in a position to do so. Please keep me in touch with what you people are doing and how things are developing in Bengal. You must have read the recent statement of Nausher Ali, your ex-President of the Assembly and the various intrigues that are going on in co-operation with the Congress leaders.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

287

Calcutta,
September 25, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing copy¹ of a letter written to the Maharajkumar of Mahmudabad in reply to his printed circular of the 16th of this month.

I regret my commitments in Calcutta, which are exceptionally heavy this month, will not allow me to leave the city even for a day. I have, therefore, taken the opportunity of expressing my views in writing which views, had I been in Lucknow, I would have placed before the meeting.

I hope you will enjoy a quiet holiday in Quetta and will return hale, hearty and strong.

The Muslim League Parliamentary Board will be constituted in this province in the last two days of this

1. Not available in I.P.

month, and I sincerely hope and pray that the election and selection will not lead to internecine warfare. There are some disquieting signs already on the horizon.

The Fund-Raising Committee has been duly constituted and work in all seriousness has commenced a couple of days ago. I only hope and pray that the response to the appeal that we shall be making within this week will be as large as you anticipated. When we discussed the question of finance at the last meeting of the Working Committee I was not as optimistic as you, and I still hold the same view. However, you have my assurance that I shall work against my own view to the utmost of my capacity in order to prove that I was wrong and you were right.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

288

Calcutta,
October 1, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The clouds pointed out in my last letter have burst. The squabbles that were being carried on for a couple of weeks behind the pardah have, to the regret of every true and honest Leaguer, now come before the public and the tug-of-war for power is being demonstrated in the limelight of publicity.

On September 29 the Provincial League Council met and disgraceful scenes were witnessed. The Hindu

and even some of the Muslim newspapers carried the news of the hooliganism with banner headlines, much to the shame of the Muslims who put the League above personal ambition. The struggle, with all its attendant ugliness, is for power in Bengal.

The game of pull baker pull devil is being played by Sir Nazimuddin and his henchmen on one side and Suhrawardy and his lieutenants among whom are Abul Hashim, Provincial League Secretary and Lal Mia, a recent convert to the League creed and still thoroughly unreliable and a regular signatory to anti-League documents and notices of public meetings, on the other. Each wants to be the next Leader and Premier of Bengal. Those of us who have refused to be partisans in this shameful fight, have been left out in the cold by both. Neither of the groups has selected men who would see that only first rate candidates are selected by the Board. Each is out to secure for his own group a majority on the Parliamentary Board so that he may select candidates good, bad or indifferent, who in return would implicitly vote for his leadership. When these squabbles began to assume a serious form, some of us, including Siddiqui, Haji Abdul Razzak and my elder brother met the two leaders individually and begged of them to compose their differences at this most critical juncture in Muslim political history. Each blamed the other and nothing tangible resulted. The tempo of the fight gained more momentum until it reached the state of ugliness as exhibited at the meeting of the Council on September 29. Both groups prepared panels of their candidates for the Parliamentary Board and did all they could to see them returned. Not a single selfless servant of the League, including myself, not one who puts the Organisation above the individual found a place on either of the two panels. Actually, Suhrawardy when speaking over the telephone on the eve of the election of the Council's nominees, said to me that if I undertook to support

his group on the Parliamentary Board implicitly, he would press his supporters to include my name in the panel. In reply, I told him that while I appreciated his offer to include my name I could not accept it as I have not and will not sell my conscience for anything in the world. I told him that right through my political career, I have not participated in petty quarrels between individuals and groups and that I could not possibly change my outlook so late in the day. I told him that if I were returned to the Parliamentary Board I would decide every question on its merits and shall vote in support of the best candidate from the purely League point of view. I considered integrity and service to the cause to be the best qualification for a candidate. He said that as the margin of difference was expected to be very narrow, namely 4 to 5, he would not be able to get his supporters to accept my name. Sir Nazimuddin did not even think of including my name in his panel. This is the respect that persons who are above petty party wranglings receive at the hands of the so-called leaders of the Province. Being a member of your Working Committee, I feel this humiliation all the more and am suffering it for the present in complete silence although I feel I have enough strength to do mischief if I want to.

I was appointed treasurer of the Election Fund by the Working Committee and this appointment was published in the Press five weeks ago. A few days later by another decision of the Working Committee which was released to the Press, Sir Nazimuddin was elected President cum Treasurer! At the first meeting of the Fund Committee, I told Sir Nazimuddin that I could not understand the sudden change in the Treasurership and most of the merchant members of the Committee present insisted that I alone should be Treasurer. A meeting of the Working Committee was called a couple of days later and I was again elected Treasurer of the Fund. We started work in earnest and collected Rs. 15,000/- when reports of the rift in the League's upper two reached the ears of

some members of the Committee and collection efforts automatically ceased as some members of the Committee felt that they could not appeal to their brethren to give money, if it was to be spent in propping up or bringing in the supporters of an individual instead of it being judiciously spent on League propaganda and in the selection and support of the most suitable candidates from the League point of view. On September 30 the Council of the League continued its business which was to elect its five representatives on the Parliamentary Board. Before voting, each leader was sure of his success. Sir Nazimuddin had already collared four seats, namely, Maulana Mohammed Akram Khan, himself, Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M.L.A. (representative of the Assembly), Mr. Nurul Amin (representative of the Bengal Legislative Council). Nazimuddin felt that he would win at least two out of the 5 Council seats and thus have a clear majority on the Board. On the other hand, Suhrawardy and the Provincial League Secretary, Abul Hashim, a person with a communistic outlook were certain of carrying all the five Council seats on the Board. My elder brother warned Sir Nazimuddin some days ago that he was being misled by his own supporters and that he should compromise and avoid a fight; but he was so cock-sure of his success that he did not pay any heed to the advice and warning. I did not attend the meeting nor did I participate in the voting. The results were announced late last evening. Suhrawardy and Co. have won all the five Provincial Council seats. Among Suhrawardy's group there are at least two dangerous persons and in Nazimuddin's group two are worthless. I am afraid the Parliamentary Board as constituted may not have the full confidence of the people and particularly the confidence of persons who will be called upon to pay big money to the Fund. This will be the position if the Parliamentary Board, as constituted, functions properly and there is no tug-of-war among the members. I had decided to tender my resignation from the Treasurership of the Election Fund and also to resign

my membership of the Provincial Working Committee. My elder brother has prevailed upon me not to take this hasty action but to write to you and seek your valuable advice. My own feeling is that as I cannot stoop low enough to support one individual against another, and as I cannot suffer humiliation at the hands of these people, it is best for me to get out. I have been, like most of the non-party men, slowly squeezed out of everything every time. So why should I hang on and suffer this indignity?

Bengal is an unfortunate province indeed. Whereas Muslims are closing their ranks in other provinces to meet the Congress-Mahasabha challenge, we are fighting within our own camp and are providing an excellent weapon for our enemies to wield against us. I have placed before you the naked facts, as I see them. I shall be most grateful if you will give me the benefit of your advice and guidance at a very early date in regard to the submission I have made to you for opinion.

Thanking you in advance and with kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

I am,
Yours very sincerely
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

289

Calcutta,
October 2, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of September 24, which was delivered here last evening. It takes a long time for a letter to travel from Quetta to Calcutta.

I have written you two letters recently, one on September 25 and the other yesterday. I have tried to put before you as best as I could and with as little prejudice as possible, the conditions prevailing at my end and have sought your valuable advice in regard to myself and I anxiously await it.

Yes, Bombay has not only risen but jumped to the occasion. The response from the businessmen has been magnificent.¹ Here our Memon friends are mostly coming forward with the excuse that they have already subscribed to the fund in Bombay. Of course, they have been told that such tales will not be heard as they are established here and have made money in and out of our province.

Nausher Ali and those of his ilk are talking big and making big promises to get hold of Congress money which they expect to flow in the Muslim majority provinces. They will fleece the Congress all right but, Inshallah, will not leave an impression on the mind of the Muslim electorate, who are wide awake. It is very heartening to see many prominent non-Leaguers severing their long connection with anti-League organisations and joining our truly national body.

You do not write regarding your health. Are you fit? What is your programme after Baluchistan and Sind? Surely you will not neglect Bengal. Your presence will inspire the workers to put in their maximum effort. I am sure you will not neglect Bengal. A visit by you is long overdue. Now that the weather is improving, when may we expect you?

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Hassan

1. With regard to Muslim League Election Fund.



Mastung,
October 9, 1945,

My dear Hassan,

Thank you for your letter of October 2 and I have also received your previous letters. Well, I really don't know what to say as regards Bengal, but one thing is certain that unless you people pull together, whatever the provocations or personal intrigues and individual selfishness and ambition, you can't succeed. The only issue before the country now is Pakistan against Akhand Hindustan and if Muslims do not stand united they will get a setback of a very serious character and I don't think that anyone of those who are ambitious will survive to realize their dreams when the Assembly meets, and even if they do, the newly elected Assembly is not going to be a permanent charter. Therefore, I do hope they will give up thinking in terms of Chief Minister and Ministers, as divided, different groups will go flying, and what is more, we shall have lost the paramount issue of Pakistan in the eyes of the world.

Thank you very much for your kind enquiry about my health. I am glad to say that I am quite well now. I needed rest very badly. I hope to return to Karachi on or about the 20th and from there I will go to Bombay, I hope to reach Delhi in the first week of November and probably, we shall call a meeting of the Working Committee at that time and lay down the plan of work for the near future. You may rest assured that I shall not neglect Bengal. I shall do all I can, but you people must stand solid and completely united. At all cost stand by the League, whatever the provocations and circumstances.

We shall be strong after the elections and then will be the time for accounting.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

291

Edelweiss,
Darjeeling,
October 12, 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am up on the 3rd of this month to spend a much needed and quiet holiday with the children. I shall be going down on the 15th as I have to be in Delhi on the morning of the 20th. I am glad the Working Committee meeting called at Karachi was cancelled. It is a big job getting there unless one is able to secure air priority. Eight days on the train for a single day or two-day meeting is tough.

I hope rest has done you a world of good. With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. I hope my letters addressed to Quetta, have reached you.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
October 26, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Fazlul Huq has seen me three times — twice before I left for Darjeeling and once after my return, and has expressed his desire to return to the fold of the League and to work for his nation. I told him that he will have to admit his error of 1941 which did grave injury to our cause and people at that time and for a considerable period thereafter. He could then request you to lift the ban.

He is anxious to have an interview with you and has requested me to write and ask which hour and day in Delhi will be suitable. A line in reply will be appreciated.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
October 26, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing for your personal information the heads of the Budget prepared by the Provincial Parliamentary Board and presented last night to the Finance Committee. The proposed outlay is ambitious and big and yet with 119 seats to contest, they say that the amounts laid down will be definitely required.

The collections, actual and promised (as good as

actual) amount today to just over one lac. So we have another nine lacs to go!

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure : One.

BUDGET

Furniture	Rs. 5,000/-
Staff of Office (Calcutta) five months	Rs. 15,000/-
Stationery	
Cycles for the Muffasils, 500 pcs, say capital investment of Rs. 62,000/-, loss of resale anticipated	Rs. 15,000/-
Paper — 50 tons @ Rs. 1,200/- per ton Rs. 60,000/-. Expect to get back from candidates Rs. 30,000/-.	Rs. 30,000/-
Printing Cost	Rs. 50,000/-
Rewiring of the office	Rs. 640/-
Telegram & Postage	Rs. 10,000/-
Travelling & Tours	Rs. 1,00,000/-
50 Preachers @ Rs. 100/- each for five months.	Rs. 25,000/-
Typewriters — 17 x 500	Rs. 8,500/-
Microphones — six	Rs. 12,000/-
Staff of six to man six mikes for five months @ Rs. 75/- each per month.	Rs. 2,250/-

District Centres

30 such @ Rs. 700/- per month per office, as per details below:-	Rs. 1,05,000/-
Officer-in-charge Rs. 200/-	
4 workers @ Rs. 60/- 240/-	

466

2 clerks @ Rs. 75 -	150 -
1 peon	30 -
1 cook	25 -
House rent	50 -

Sub-Offices — 119 such at Rs. 1,000|- for five months.

Rs. 1,19,000|-

Polling Expenses

Confidentially, assistance to deserving candidates who are unable to fight for want of money.

Rs. 1,00,000|-

Students

To organise and arouse them to take active part in the General Elections — above includes subsistence allowance, travelling expenses etc., etc.,

Rs. 1,00,000|-

Assistance to other Organisations e.g. (Schedule Castes)

Rs. 1,00,000|-

Relief where relief is required for publicity value

Rs. 1,00,000|-

Weekly **Millat** Newspaper in Bengali for 5 months.

Rs. 16,500|-

Total

Rs. 9,08,890|-

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

294

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay,
November 2, 1945.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of October 26. I have noted what you say with regard to your Provincial fund

and that you have started the collections. Please do keep me informed as to what is happening, and I do hope that nothing will come in the way of supporting the League candidates, doesn't matter who they are. After all, it is the Central Parliamentary Board that will decide finally and not your local board, in case of an appeal or appeals that may be filed, and after they have decided, the Musalmans must understand that thence forward they must support the League candidate, even if he be a lamp-post in the opinion or judgment of any individual.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

295

Bombay,
November 2, 1945.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 26. As regards Fazlul Huq, I have nothing more to add. I have made our position clear repeatedly. The best course for him would be to follow the example of Begum Shah Nawaz.¹ There is nothing further to discuss.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Begum Shah Nawaz resigned from the Defence Council.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
November 12, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your two letters of the 22nd instant received yesterday.

Fazlul Huq: I told him long ago that if he were really serious he should then follow the course taken by Begum Shah Nawaz. Without an apology and request for the withdrawal of the ban, you could not move.

Congress-Mahasabha money seems to be coming into Bengal to prop up the quislings amongst the Muslims. An Election Board has been constituted.

Our Election Fund stands at Rs. 1,00,037-2-0 received by me and Rs. 60,000|- promised. The collection work is progressing.

I note what you write about discipline and the Central Parliamentary Board's power to do justice where injustice is complained of by an applicant for nomination at the hands of the Provincial Parliamentary Board.

It is now almost a certainty that Nazimuddin will not be seeking election to the Legislature. This decision, in my opinion, is a tragedy of great magnitude for the province. Of course, Nazimuddin is very sore over the result of the election to the Board by the Provincial Council. There was some dirty play and bogus votes were recorded in fairly large numbers by the Calcutta supporters of the other party. This is now an open secret. However, although Nazimuddin knew the fact, in order to maintain the solidarity and to fight the elections he bore the defeat in silence. His friends have been requesting him to reconsider his decision, but uptil now he has not changed his mind. It must however be said to his credit that he is putting every ounce of his energy to make the collection of funds and the coming elections a success.

Shahabuddin has definitely decided not to seek election. I am sure very few persons will mourn his loss. His wife who represents the Muslim ladies of East Bengal, has also decided not to seek election. I know of a few others also who do not want to return to the Legislature. However, the coming or not of three persons does not make any difference, but Sir Nazimuddin's decision, if carried out, will be a tragedy.

I did not want to communicate this news to you but felt that I would be failing in my duty to you if I did not give you all the information that, in my opinion, is very important from the League point of view.

I am not strong, fit and free enough to fight another election and to devote 6 to 7 weeks of my time from early in the morning till late at night in running from street to street and station to station for conducting my electioneering campaign. These are the circumstances that are even making me waver.

The newspapers report that you propose visiting Bengal. I can only reiterate what I have written before in this regard. You have not come to Bengal for a long time and your presence is necessary at this juncture to set sails for a good voyage.

I was expecting the summoning of a Working Committee meeting in Delhi by about the middle of this month. No notice, however, has been received.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
December 5, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

There was spontaneous rejoicing in Muslim quarters when the result of your election was announced. Need I say how glad I am that Laljee has been taught the lesson of his life? I cannot forget the talk between Arde-shir Dalal and Laljee on October 20 last in the lobby of the Central Assembly in the presence of Azizul Haque and myself.

Dalal to Laljee: 'Well, I take my hat off to you for having announced your decision to cross swords with Jinnah. You are either a brave man or a very foolish fellow'. Laljee: 'Why — I am not foolish nor does it require bravery to face and defeat Jinnah'.

Dalal. 'Oh! really? The result will show who is right, you or I'. Myself. 'Exactly'.

Amir has been returned with a thumping majority. I am bursting with joy. Our candidates too are making excellent progress and Inshallah we shall teach our opponents the lesson of their lives.

Muslim League — Zindabad !

Mohammed Ali Jinnah — Zindabad !

Our cause is just and with Allah's help we shall go from success to success inspite of the gigantic obstacles that are put in our way and inspite of the money bags that are being emptied at the feet of Muslims who come forward to abuse the League.

When may we expect you in Bengal?

With kind regards and praying for your health,

Yours very sincerely
Hassan



298

Telegram

Bombay,
December 11, 1945.

Hassan Ispahani,
Calcutta.

Your letter many thanks wire nomination date
Provincial Elections also wire latest date you require me
go Bengal consult friends **Stop**

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

299

Telegram

Express

Calcutta,
December 11, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah,
Bombay.

Many thanks your telegram Nazim Shaheed touring
expected back couple days will consult regarding date
visit and telegraph **Stop** Provincial Nomination day still
undeclared **Stop** Bengal Central Assembly Election
chances by grace Allah very bright **Stop**

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Telegram

Express

Calcutta,
December 13, 1945.Mr. Jinnah,
Bombay.

Consulted friends suggest most suitable arrival middle to third week January require your stay least fourteen days your touring some large districts most helpful please advise if you approve because tentative tour programme will be drawn and submitted you **Stop** Nazim says Provincial Nomination date expected middle February but not officially announced **Stop** Bengal Central Elections God's mercy League swept polls all Constituencies **Stop**

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
December 15, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since telegraphing you on the 13th instant, the Government of Bengal have made an announcement with regard to the Nomination Date, as per notification given in the enclosed cutting.¹

It seems that the Provincial Parliamentary Board has not acted in accordance with the rules framed by the

1. Not available in I.P.

Central Working Committee in the matter of calling for nominations. Some time early in October they called for applications for the Provincial Assembly and declared 15th of November to be the final date of acceptance of such applications with the necessary deposit money of Rs. 250/- per seat. This is in contravention to item 9 of the Rules and Regulations of the Muslim League Provincial Parliamentary Board which reads as under:

Ordinarily within a week of the dissolution of the Provincial Assembly, a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board will be called to proceed with the work of preparing a manifesto and to invite applications on or before a fixed date in the manner herein before provided.

As per Gazette Notification of November 17, 1945, the Provincial Legislative Assembly was dissolved. Therefore, the date on which the applications were called was premature and the date of the closing, namely, November 15 was also actually two days before the dissolution of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

In view of the above it is felt that those who have not applied so far and desire to do so at a later stage, cannot be barred because the notification of the Provincial Parliamentary Board was not in accordance with the Rules and Regulations framed by the Central Working Committee. There seems to be some sense in the contention.

I await your reply to my last telegram, on receipt of which I shall act in accordance with your directions.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Telegram

Express

Calcutta,
December 17, 1945.Mr. Jinnah,
New Delhi.

My telegram regarding date arrival Calcutta may be modified if more suitable to you as follows arrival first week February enabling you visit if necessary Punjab NWFP during elections these provinces shall be obliged receive your decision **Stop**

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
December 17, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I quote below the telegram I have sent you just now:

My telegram regarding date arrival Calcutta may be modified if more suitable to you as follows arrival first week February enabling you visit if necessary Punjab NWFP during elections these provinces shall be obliged receive your decision.

It was in response to Sir Nazimuddin's request, after consultation with Suhrawardy.

The revised date may suit Bengal better as it will also keep you free to visit the Punjab and North Western Frontier Provinces at the time when the elections for the Provincial Legislatures take place in these two provinces.

I now await your decision and directions.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

304

Telegram

Express

Calcutta,

December 21, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah,

Bombay.

Misled by Press reports regarding your programme and telegraphed you Delhi on seventeenth as follows **Stop** My telegram regarding date arrival Calcutta may be modified if more suitable to you as follows arrival first week February enabling you visit if necessary Punjab NWFP during elections these provinces shall be obliged receive your decision **Stop**

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
December 21, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to confirm my telegram of date, reading as under:

Misled by Press reports regarding your Programme and telegraphed you Delhi on seventeenth as follows My telegram regarding date arrival Calcutta may be modified if more suitable to you as follows Arrival first week February enabling you visit if necessary Punjab NWFP during elections these provinces shall be obliged receive your decision.

It is self-explanatory, and I await your favourable reply.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
December 24, 1945.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I like your speech delivered at the Memon Chamber of Commerce at Bombay very much and every Musalman who has read it, has appreciated it as much as I have done. There is, however, one incorrect statement of fact which I would like to correct you on, and I am sure you will forgive me for the liberty that I am taking. You

stated that the Congress did not put up a single Muslim candidate in the Central Legislative Assembly elections that have just finished on its own ticket. This is not right because out of the six Muslim candidates that contested the Muslim League in Bengal two were official Congress candidates and the other four were Nationalist Muslim candidates backed by the Congress hundred per cent with money, men and propaganda in the Press.

I have not received your reply to my two telegrams. I hope it will not be long before I hear from you.

Tomorrow is December 25 and your birthday and I wish you many happy returns of the day and may Allah give you long life, good health and plenty of energy to serve Him and mankind.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

307

Telegram

Calcutta,
December 24, 1945.

Mr. Jinnah,
Bombay.

Many Happy Returns of the Day may Allah give you long life and good health to continue your service to mankind **Stop**

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Bombay,
December 28, 1945.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your telegrams and letters which I have duly received, including the last one of the 24th instant. I have not been able to reply to your previous letters as I was not able to definitely inform you when I shall be going to Bengal, but as things are now shaping, I hope to be there sometime before the middle of February.

As regards the statement of fact in my recent speech on the 20th instant at the Memon Chamber of Commerce at Bombay, I was guided by the original list that was published of the selected candidates on behalf of the Congress to the Central Assembly. It was not known here that the Congress had put up Muslims as official Congress candidates for any of the constituencies in Bengal for the Central Legislative Assembly, but it does not make any serious difference. At any rate my point was that they adopted a cowardly attitude having proclaimed to the world the falsehood that they represented all India, but when the testing time came, they had no courage to nominate Musalmans on the Congress ticket even making an allowance for the two as against twenty-eight Muslim seats. Therefore, my arguments stand and the facts are still substantially correct. I am glad that my speech was appreciated in Bengal and I thank you very much indeed for your greetings and good wishes on the occasion of my birthday.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah



309

Telegram

Bombay.

December 31, 1945.

Hassan Ispahani,

Calcutta.

Your two telegrams will try go Bengal February will fix date after consultation with you all **Stop** My heartiest congratulations splendid results cent per cent success not only in Bengal but all over India fixing day celebrate victory all over India will announce it as soon as possible **Stop**

Jinnah



1946

Jinnah's tour of Bengal—G.M. Sayed defies the Central League—Mamdot selected by Jinnah to be the leader of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party—Fazlul Huq's suit against Jinnah—Misrepresentation of Muslim Case in the United Kingdom—August 1946 Great Calcutta Killings: Authentic proofs of planned Hindu incitements and provocations—Begum Shah Nawaz and Ispahani participate in New York Herald Tribune forum—Muslim League representatives contact with Iranian delegation, London Times, New York Times, Time, Life—'Sweet words and first impressions count a lot with the Americans.'

310

Calcutta,
January 4, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of December 28.

Liaquat arrived yesterday and is leaving for Assam with Nazim and Shaheed by the mail this afternoon.

I note that you propose to reach here some time by the middle of next month. It is, however, hoped that you will be able to make it convenient to be in Calcutta before the close of the first week of February, if possible. On having a definite date from you the proposed programme will be drawn up.

We are all fit and well and are looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you amidst us soon.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

311

New Delhi,
January 11, 1946.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th instant. As regards my visit to Bengal, although I have not fixed any date yet, I shall try to be there about the middle of next month as you all desire. But I cannot make any commitment or undertake any engagement till I reach Calcutta and when I am there, I shall consider what is necessary

for me to do and will then fix up my programme accordingly.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

312

Calcutta,
January 19, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 11th instant only yesterday and I thank you for it.

I shall advise Nazim and Shaheed on their return from tour, the contents of the letter.

Reports from Assam are encouraging and according to Liaquat if we are not unlucky, we should not lose a single seat. There is only one seat which appeared to him to be doubtful, but every effort was being made to win it for the League.

I do hope the position in Sind has stabilised itself. I cannot find words strong enough to condemn G. M. Sayed. His eleventh hour treachery is something more than I expected of him.¹

1. Because of the rift between G. M. Sayed and Hidayatullah, the Central Parliamentary Board of the League selected candidates for election to Sind Assembly. Sayed and his group did not abide by the Board's decision and put up their own candidates for which they were expelled from the Muslim League.

We are receiving very encouraging news from the Punjab and I am thankful to Providence for His mercy and assistance to us in our life and death struggle.

Praying for your long life and good health, and hoping to have the great pleasure of welcoming you,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

313

Telegram

Calcutta,
February 26, 1946.

Sir Feroz Khan Noon,
Falettis,
Lahore.

Your wire twentyfifth my conversation Lady Noon yesterday Trunk Call by her **Stop** I confirm my advice after careful consideration Mamdot should be elected Leader Muslim League Party Punjab Assembly **Stop** Many thanks your assurance you will follow my advice I have given same advice Amiruddin **Stop**

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

314

Telegram

Calcutta,
February 27, 1946.

Abdul Matin Choudhury,
Shillong.

Miss Jinnah not accompanying Mr. Jinnah Stop

Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

315

Calcutta,
March 12, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope the journey to Delhi was not too uncomfortable and trust Miss Jinnah found you looking brighter and fitter in spite of the very heavy programme that you went through during your 3 weeks absence from Delhi.

I am enclosing a telegram¹ along with a 'Reply Paid' form that was clumsily addressed to 5, Harrington Street. It was for this reason that it was opened.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely.
Hassan

1. Not available in I.P.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

316

Calcutta,
March 15, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy of telegram¹ despatched to Suhrawardy this morning giving the present position of the disposition of students by the organisation whose affairs you have entrusted to my charge.

You will see with satisfaction that no time has been lost in sending out our workers. The last portion of the telegram refers to another telegram received from Suhrawardy asking me to inspect the new type ballot boxes concerning which he had received disquieting reports.

Suhrawardy is at present in Barisal, busy in digging Fazlul Huq's political grave in that district.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

317

Confidential

Calcutta,
May 19, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I lost no time in speaking to Ahmad. He is ready and willing to obey your command. Finance and commerce etc., are equally important and necessary for the development of Muslims. Both should be collared and

1. Not available in I.P.

nursed and for both he has experience and aptitude. In short, he is prepared to make any sacrifice for the cause and your directions, he will obey. You may choose any of the two and he will gladly accept and put in his best.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

318

Bombay,
August 17, 1946.

My dear Hassan,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter dated August 13, 1946, received from Orr Dignam & Company¹ and my reply of today, along with a copy of a letter, which they had written to me as far back as June 19, 1943. Please now do the needful and get in touch with me.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Enclosures: Three.

1. Orr Dignam's letter and the subsequent enclosures refer to a plaint filed by Fazlul Huq against Jinnah. Huq accused the President of the Muslim League of using his powers unfairly while expelling Huq from the organisation. He pleaded that the Court may decide against Jinnah's action and restore his position in the Muslim League. The plaint originally filed in 1942 was withdrawn by Huq in 1946. In November 1944 Huq also filed a case against the editor, printer and publisher of the **People's War** of Bombay in connection with the publication of an article entitled 'Fazlul Huq Scared'. For proceedings of this case see Appendix XVI.

Enclosure: 1.

Ref. No. HW|SS|13862.

Orr Dignam & Co.,
101|1, Clive Street,
Calcutta,
August 13, 1946.

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
President, All India Muslim League,
Bombay.

Dear Sir,

A. K. Fazlul Huq vs. Yourself

We have received a letter from the Solicitors acting for Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq informing us that they were instructing the Registrar to place the suit in the Prospective List 'C'. The suit is now in this list but there is little or no chance of its coming up for hearing before the end of this year. No action was taken by the plaintiff in this suit for more than 3 years but the suit was not placed in the Special List for dismissal for want of prosecution owing to a congestion in the list of suits. In this connection we enclose for your ready reference a copy of the letter which was addressed by us to you on June 19, 1943 to which we did not receive any reply.

It will now be necessary to take out a summons for discovery against the plaintiff and, if so advised by counsel, an application may be made for the dismissal of the suit for want of prosecution as soon as the Court reopens after the long vacation on November, 11 next;

the Court will close for the long vacation on the 27th instant.

We shall be glad to have your instructions as to what you would like us to do. Perhaps you would not like to be troubled with correspondence and if so will you kindly let us know with whom we can correspond in Calcutta to obtain the necessary instructions?

Yours faithfully,
Orr Dignam & Co.

Enclosure: 2.

Calcutta,
August 17, 1946.

Dear Sirs,

I am in receipt of your letter No. HW|SS|13862 dated August 13, 1946, and beg to inform you may get in touch with Mr. Hassan Ispahani and obtain the necessary instructions from him on my behalf. I am writing to him also to that effect, and I hope that you will get in touch with him.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. Jinnah

Messrs Orr Dignam & Co.,
101|1, Clive Street,
Calcutta.

Enclosure: 3.

Calcutta,
June 19, 1943.

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

A. K. Fazlul Huq vs. Yourself.

Since the filing of the Written Statement on March 31, 1942 the Plaintiff has taken no action to bring the suit to a hearing and it would seem that he is not intending to prosecute the suit.

Under the Rules of the Court, suits which have not appeared in the Prospective List within six months from the date of the institution are liable to be placed on the Special List to be dismissed for default unless good cause is shown to the contrary.

It is however open to you to apply to the Court for the dismissal of the suit for want of prosecution without waiting for the suit to be placed in the Special List.

We consider however that the suit is more likely to be dismissed if it is put in the Special List by the Court officials in due course and unless we hear from you to the contrary we propose to let matters rest for the present.

Yours faithfully,
Orr Dignam & Co.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

5, Harrington Street,
Calcutta,

August 20, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been so engrossed with the tragic happenings in our side, particularly between August 16 and 19 that I have not had time to report on the tragedy. Suffice it to say that the trouble started with the Hindus beating up Muslim processions which were going from all sides of Calcutta to the maidan to hear their leaders explain what the Muslim League Working Committee meant by Direct Action, which was to be most peaceful.

The Hindus are trying to blame us Muslims for the killings but as I have seen, the beatings and killings started from the Hindus' and Sikhs' side and it was only then that the Muslims retaliated.

I strongly suspect that the happenings in Calcutta which commenced on August 16 were well planned in advance by the Hindus with the sole object of putting the fright of Moses into the hearts of Calcutta, Bengal and All India Muslims and so to ride them off their course for the demand of Pakistan.

I sincerely hope that such a tragedy will not be repeated in the history of our sub-continent. We want to remain peaceful if the Hindus allow us this privilege.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Calcutta,
September 4, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a letter¹ dated September 3, addressed to you, a certified copy² of the Resolution of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League passed at its meeting held on the 3rd of this month, and a statement issued by Mr. Fazlul Huq which I have not so far released to the Press.³ I hold a copy of this duly signed by Fazlul Huq and shall release it on Friday.

I may add that he has applied to the District League for membership and has signed the League pledge. It is for you now to see if you can remove the ban against him.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. Missing.
2. Missing.
3. Fazlul Huq issued the following statement to the Press: 'Muslim India is passing through the most critical period of her history. It is therefore essential that Muslims outside the League should immediately come within the folds of the Muslim League as the only representative institution of the Musalmans of India. The stirring appeal issued by Quaid-e-Azam is therefore most opportune and appropriate. In response to the appeal, I have this day applied for admission to the Muslim League and have signed the requisite pledge. I appeal to every non-League Muslim immediately to join the Muslim League and present a united front, because unless we unite under one banner and face bravely the serious menace that confronts us, our existence as a Nation is doomed.' See **Star of India**, Sept., 1946.

Calcutta,
September 11, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing some cuttings¹ received from one of our men in London.

I am also enclosing a copy of his letter for your perusal.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure: One.

Enclosure: 1.

R. E. B. Willcox & Co.,
Crosby House,
36-37, Great St. Helens,
London E.C. 3,
August 31, 1946.

M. A. H. Ispahani, Esq.,
51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta.

My dear Mr. Hassan,

I have been going to write to you at length on many occasions in connection with the reaction in this country to politics in India, but I still find myself without the time

1. Missing.

to really sit down and write a long letter. I am, however enclosing some cuttings from various newspapers which will give you a rough idea of what is written in this country.

I do think it is tragic how the Muslim view is misinterpreted and twisted in the Press here. There seems to be some reason of which I am unaware by which Congress seems able to get into the Press in this country and America anything it wants and put in any way it wants.

If any importance at all is attached to foreign reactions to happenings in India and the way they impinge upon the present situation and the future prosperity of Pakistan, then I think something should be done to institute a really first class propaganda machine in countries outside India. I would like to talk to you further about this when I return to Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
Ronald

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

322

Orr Dignam & Co.,
Calcutta,
September 19, 1946.

Dear Sir,

A. K. Fazlul Huq

vs.

M. A. Jinnah.

We thank you for your letter of the 14th instant.

We will advise you as and when the suit is withdrawn by the Solicitors acting for Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Yours faithfully,
Orr Dignam & Co.

M. A. H. Ispahani, Esq.,
Calcutta.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

323

Calcutta,
September 27, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter¹ of August 17 was delivered to me to-day.

I have already attended to your case and have submitted my report thereon. When I hear from Messrs Orr Dignam & Co. that the suit has been finally withdrawn, as has been promised by Mr. Fazlul Huq on his own initiative, I shall not fail to let you know.

The quiet atmosphere of Calcutta has once again been disturbed during the last 2 or 3 days resulting in stray stabbing cases and loss of life.

I hope you are in good health.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

1. Not available in I.P.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

324

Calcutta,
September 28, 1946.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing copy of a letter received from Mr. N. T. Williams, the Solicitor, whom you have met several times. He is at present in England.

I cannot understand the pranks of Yusoof Haroon. If individuals want to jump into the limelight by stunts I do not think the Muslim League should be the platform for such an exhibition. The present is not the time when any blessed Muslim Leaguer or self-assumed leader should rush to the Press and make statements or take silly steps. The present is the time when one should hold his tongue and follow your dictation. The League should speak with one voice and not with more. I may be wrong but I do feel that Yusoof Haroon's stunt is not conducive to the well-being of the Organisation.

Nehru is moving very cleverly towards carrying on purely Congress propaganda in the highest of circles abroad at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. The persons who are carrying on the propaganda will have the additional status of being the Indian ambassadors or authorised representatives of the Government. This move, in my opinion, is fraught with additional danger to Musalmans.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

Enclosure: One.

Enclosure: 1.

N. T. Williams,
Solicitor & Notary Public
Connaught Circus,
New Delhi,
September 18, 1946

My dear Hassan,

Very many thanks for your letter of September 9 with its enclosures.¹ Your letter arrived early this morning and I have not had an opportunity of reading the Statement but I will do so within a couple of days and do my best in my own fashion to assist in any way practicable.

You will have seen from my letters to Ahmad how strongly not only I but friends of mine on this side feel and the pity of it is that the League has no propaganda machine as has Congress. One of our best words for many years together has been 'justice' and I am convinced it will be obtained.

My kindest wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Wicks
(Ronald Wilcox)

1. Not available in I.P.



325

Telegram

New York,¹
November 2, 1946.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah,
New Delhi.

Suggest appoint Leaguers UN Delegation or declare through APA Indian Delegation does not represent Muslims **Stop** Delegation passing everywhere as representative **Stop**

Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

326

Waldorf-Astoria
New York 22,
November 8, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since I last wrote to you we have made satisfactory progress. I shall record it briefly hereunder:

1. We have met top representatives of **Reuter, A.P., U.P., Amasia, New York Times, Herald Tribune** and **British News Agency** amongst others.

1. On the invitation of Ogden Reid, Proprietor of the **New York Herald Tribune**, Jinnah sent Ispahani as his representative to participate in the **New York Herald Tribune** Forum to present the Muslim League point of view. Begum Shah Nawaz accompanied Ispahani.

2. We have held several conferences with Muslim political workers in New York and we plan to establish an Information Bureau in New York from which Muslim news will be served to the U.S. public who are bound to get more and more interested in our problem and in our case.

3. Held a largely attended conference with Muslim students from in and around New York. Talked three hours, gave them the latest news and gunpowder for propaganda — I mean telling the true state of affairs in India to every one they meet. Each youngster will be the League's ambassador in the U.S.A.

4. Held a successful Press Conference at the Waldorf yesterday noon. The influential Press and news agencies were present. The Conference lasted one hour and forty minutes. We answered a carload of questions and dispelled the fog from the brains of most of those present. I am enclosing a cutting¹ from the **New York Times**. Our enemies and even our friends, are wondering how so much space was given to us. **The Times**, like the **Herald Tribune**, has very little space for India — and has had no space so far, for Muslim India.

5. Begum Shah Nawaz addressed a very influential gathering of the M.R.A. Group² last evening and made quite a hit. Everyone present confessed that they were not at all aware of the true conditions in India and were so far the victims of one sided propaganda.

6. We are dining with the Ogden Reid family tonight.

7. We are lunching with the Salzbergers, the owners of the **New York Times**, on Monday.

8. Begum Shah Nawaz is addressing a big gathering of ladies at the Ladies' Club on Monday.

1. Missing.

2. Moral Re-armament Movement.

9. We have contacted* the Iranian Delegation.
10. We shall be seeing Bevin, Byrnes and possibly Molotov.
11. We are trying to obtain an audience with President Truman. We shall know definitely early next week.
12. We attended the Id prayer and lunched at the Muslim Club on Id day. I spoke for 45 minutes and my colleagues, for over an hour.
13. I am having printed a booklet with the title 'The Case of Muslim India' and I shall distribute it far and wide in the U.S.A. Every Senator, every Member of Lower House, every delegate and secretary attending the U.N., will be sent a copy of this publication.
14. We are leaving New York on a tour of the Mid-West and West on the 16th instant. We shall speak, broadcast and give interviews.
15. We will throw a farewell reception at the Waldorf to friends on the eve of our departure which is scheduled for November 29.

I assure you that we are not sparing ourselves in carrying out your commands. We want to make our trip a success — a success from the point of view of service to our nation.

Believe me, we have made at least a few in this country conscious of the fact that the Congress does not represent the 100 million Muslims of India. Mrs. Pandit, J. J. Singh and the rest of them are very sore. We have cut down most of their tall trees. We have exposed their game. We have put the case of Muslim India for the first time before the American public.

The Indian Delegation to the U.N., threw a party two nights ago to a lot of people. Naturally, we were not asked, fearing that we would not fail to take advantage

500

and spread 'poison' amongst the foreign delegates. Don't worry, we shall get them somehow!

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

327

Telegram

New Delhi,
November 8, 1946.

Hassan Ispahani,
Waldorf Hotel,
New York 22.

Received Begum Shah Nawaz's letter and full report your speech **Stop** Well done my hearty congratulations you both **Stop**

Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

328

Waldorf-Astoria,
New York 22,
November 11, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my letter of the 8th instant, I have to give you the following fresh news:

1. The dinner at the Reids' was a big affair from the point of view of the contacts that we established. The proprietor of the London Times, Lord Camrose, was there with his daughter, Lady Birkenhead, Clare Luce and Martin, the next speaker of the House of Representatives were there also. Briefly, a distinguished gathering of 24 sat down to dinner and speeches were made after it. Both Begum Shah Nawaz and I spoke and again availed ourselves of the chance offered to present our case.

I spent Saturday at Princeton University. I talked to some seniors and had tea with Dr. & Mrs. Dodds — a very cultured couple. Here again, I spoke on the Muslim point of view. Some very searching and intelligent questions were put and when I finished they all thanked me for the fresh light I had thrown on the actual state of affairs in India. He confessed that the U.S. public were being fed on one point of view — the Hindu one, that the Muslims wanted the British to remain and not freedom.

We shall be leaving for Washington to meet the President on Thursday. Mrs. Reid has kindly fixed up this audience. She has been most kind to us and frankly, Begum Shah Nawaz has several excellent contacts in this country. Without her, I would not have found it half as easy to get along in the political arena here. We are working consistently and hard and hope to play our part to your satisfaction.

We have so far failed to book air passage to the West and a return flight from there. If we do not meet with luck by this evening, we shall have to cry off our trip. We cannot possibly go by train, as we have not the time.

We are giving a dinner to the Reid family and some friends on the 15th instant. Mrs. Clare Luce is lunching with us tomorrow. She was bitterly prejudiced against you and the League when we started to dine. Her remarks were positively rude and were based on false information pumped into her ears by the Hindus. By the

time we finished dinner, I had got her to see reason and be more kind in her opinions. She has promised to contact me when she next visits India. She has also suggested a meeting with the editors of **Time, Life and Fortune** before we leave this country.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

329

Hayes G. Shimp, Inc.,
230 Park Avenue,
New York 17,
November 12, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Today I have little to add in order to bring our news to the hour.

We had luncheon with Mr. & Mrs. Salzberger, proprietors of the **New York Times**. At the luncheon were their Chief Editor, General Manager, Editor of the Eastern Section, and another Editor. We had an interesting discussion with them and they were, one and all, surprised to hear the truth. The unity of India; the fear of foreign invasion when India will be 'weak through division'; Muslims and Hindus are one; the caste system is fast disappearing; Muslims obstructing 'freedom'; Muslims wanting the British to stay and Muslims creating trouble in India. All these were demolished to their satisfaction, so much that just as we were leaving the table, we were told that their information appeared one-sided and that for the first time some of the doubts and prejudices

were cleared. They appreciated our position in India. Mr. Salzberger was so taken up with our replies that he undertook to send one of his 'crack' reporters for our exclusive interview. He is coming to see us tomorrow.

Begum Shah Nawaz is leaving for Albany this afternoon. She will return by noon tomorrow. She will be addressing a large Ladies' meeting there. Mrs. Reid has arranged this opportunity. The influential and thinking women of this part of the U.S.A. will be there.

We are leaving for Washington tomorrow evening and will be meeting the President on Thursday. Again we are grateful to Mrs. Reid for this swift arrangement.

We had luncheon today with Mrs. Clare Luce, the Editors of **Time** and **Life**, and their representative designate for India, Mr. Bush. I shall be glad if you will have Liaquat Ali entertain him and if you will give him time when he calls. I have learnt that sweet words and first impressions count a lot with the Americans. They are inclined to quickly like or dislike an individual or organisation. We again availed ourselves of the opportunity and set right many false impressions created by clever Hindu propaganda. Let us hope that **Time** will not be so bitterly opposed to the Muslims as it has been in the past - yet, it can only be a hope.

A Mr. Naville is representing the **Life**, **Time** and **Fortune** outfit in India. It will be in our interest if we establish social contact with him at a meal or so with Liaquat Ali or some other prominent Leaguer in Delhi. I find this method to be most popular for establishing friendly contacts in this country. The Americans are so used to this sort of informal living and the Hindu propagandists know it too well.

I thank you for your cablegram of congratulations which came in today. Begum Shah Nawaz has read it. We are both grateful to you for the encouraging message.

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We shall spare no effort in carrying out our mission. We thank you again for your very kind words of encouragement.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
New Delhi.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

330

Calcutta,
December 5, 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith the statement of accounts showing the expenditure incurred on behalf of the Organization during our visit to the U.S.A. You have my assurance that costs were kept as low as possible and all expenses except those exclusively incurred for the Organization were borne with pleasure by Begum Shah Nawaz and myself.

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Claridges Hotel,
London.

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure: 1

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT

Receipts

Payments

Muslim Association of America, Sac- ramento Branch.	\$ 980.00
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Telegram	7.00
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Mr. Nizamuddin,
Calusa, P.O.B. 192
(Sacramento Valley,
California). \$ 100.00

Mr. Khan's ticket from Frisco to New York.	136.50
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A Muslim.	\$	25.00
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Hotel, breakfast, taxi and tips at Frisco.	41.50
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Borrowed	from	
Dines' a/c	with	
Messrs. Shimp Inc.		\$ 1,000.00

Two air tickets to
Phoenix and return
from Frisco to
New York. 511.41

Luncheons and entertainment guests.	25.75
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Additional sitting
room at the Waldorf,
N. York — 19 days
until 22.11.46 @
\$ 12 a day. 228.00

Telephone calls. 18.37

Students' tea and
sundry entertain-
ment by Begum
Shah Nawaz. 45.28

Paid to Mubarak Ali.	20.00
Stenographer's bill.	40.30
Luncheons and tips.	22.00
Donation to Muslim Sailors' Fund, on League's behalf.	50.00
Mubarak Ali for trip to Arizona, N. York Meeting, telegrams, telephone, etc.	284.68
Tip.	5.00
Entertainment and sundries week ending 29.11.46.	105.24
Drawing Room 12 x 7.	84.00
Entertainment during week ending 3.12.46.	101.50
Sundries including telegrams and tips.	46.00

\$ 2,105.00

\$ 2,105.00



1947

Ispahani appointed Pakistan's first Ambassador and Ambassador to the U.S.A.—Pakistan's Membership of U.N.—Ispahani presents credentials to the President of the United States, Mr. Harry S. Truman—General Motors factory plant in Karachi—Refugee Relief Fund—Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan and the Palestine issue—Pakistan elected to the Greek Committee—Dr. W. Norman Brown's visit to Pakistan—Pakistan Delegation to U.N.—Conference on Trade and Employment—Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan an asset— Ispahani's proposal for expansion of Cabinet with younger men— Propaganda and Publicity—Ispahani anxious to have staff of his choice in the Embassy—Little co-operation from the Finance Ministry—American involvement in Pakistan—Ispahani's tour of the Middle East—Pakistan to endeavour to assume leadership of South East Asia— Inter-Asian Conference at Delhi—Armament-manufacturing factory for Pakistan—Kashmir Refugees—Aircraft for Pakistan Air Force.

Calcutta,
January 22, 1947

By Airmail

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Straight from the plane I took to bed. I am down with an abscess in the palm of my right hand which has caused me much pain. My wound has been dressed three times a day and I am still running a temperature. Unless I am fairly well recovered from my indisposition, it will not be possible for me to undertake a strenuous flight to Karachi. I am doing all I can to get well. It is pretty tough to take to bed after 3 months' absence from home. But I suppose life has such unforeseen troubles at various stages.

Firoz returned from Asansol a couple of days ago and flew to Delhi yesterday.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely.
Hassan

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Karachi.

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Calcutta,
February 5, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am extremely sorry for having failed to turn up for the meeting of the Working Committee at Karachi. I

went straight to bed on arrival at Calcutta because my right palm turned septic. Sulpha drugs could not check the infection. I had, therefore, to take a course of Penicillin injections. My illness kept me in bed until the 30th of last month. I was frightfully weak on the 31st, but as very important questions regarding Air Transport had to be decided in Delhi I undertook the journey although I was not fit enough to do so. I returned on the 2nd. I am glad I was at Delhi because I kept a watchful eye on Muslim interest.

Our 4 aircraft are expected to touch Karachi tomorrow. A week's delay has been caused en route due to some red-tape trouble in Natal (north of South America). At the time of writing these aeroplanes are somewhere in Iraq.

The organisation is now complete — ready to start operations. We shall be writing to the Chairman, Air Licensing Board, to send his representatives to check up our 'planes and organisation prior to granting us the necessary licence to operate on an Air Route. I suppose all this will take a week to complete.

Chundrigar telephoned me yesterday and asked me to lead the Business Delegation to the Middle East countries. He told me that it was your desire that I should undertake this mission.¹ Once more I have, with pleasure, obeyed your command and I hope there will be no restriction whatsoever on my carrying on political meetings arranged for the Mission.

1. After Ispahani's return from the United States, the Government of India sent a Trade Delegation to Middle Eastern countries. Ismail Chundrigar was the Commerce Minister in the Interim Government and nominated Ispahani as Leader of the Trade Delegation. Other members of the Delegation were Dawood Habib, C. C. Javeri of Bombay, Haridasr Lalji of Karachi. The Secretary of the Delegation was Mohamed Ayub, I.C.S.

Yesterday, I received a copy of the fortnightly magazine **Vital Speeches of the Day**, dated December 1, 1946. This magazine is published in the United States. I am reproducing on another sheet the front cover for your information. The whole speech delivered by me at the **Herald Tribune** Forum has been reproduced. This magazine collects and publishes the best speeches delivered during a certain period. It has a fairly wide and very influential circulation. Several other magazines have also taken the permission of the **Herald Tribune** to publish my speech.

I trust you will take complete rest and be absolutely fit and strong very soon. Please do not overwork. You must not overtax your system.

Pandit Nehru is barging in Ambassadors as fast as he can. Something has to be done quickly so that the world does not believe that the ambassadors appointed by Pandit Nehru are our ambassadors as well. Mr. Krishna Menon has been empowered this time not by Pandit Nehru in his personal capacity, but by the Government of India to carry on negotiations for the establishment of embassies and legations all over Europe. This is a very serious step indeed. I hope our representatives in the Viceroy's Executive Council are taking a serious view of the question.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan



Calcutta,
February 17, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith copies of letters¹ received from Mr. Shamsee, one of the two young men I had selected for running the Muslim India Information Centre at New York. These letters speak for themselves. Mr. Shamsee is studying for a Doctorate at Columbia University (New York). During the war, he enlisted in the U.S. Army and was posted to the Indian Section of the United States Office of War Information. He came to India in that capacity and remained here for six months. He knows the American mind and can, therefore, be relied upon to give information which will suit the American palate.

I have been constantly in touch with our business friends, Messrs Hayes Shimp, 230 Park Ave., New York, in connection with the fixing of suitable office accommodation. Uptil now, due to the difficulty of obtaining suitable space, much to my regret, no headway has been made. Efforts, however, continue unabatedly in that direction. I can very well appreciate Mr. Shimp's difficulties, although he has not directly advised me of them. As I advised you on my return from the U.S.A. the opening of a foreign publicity department in the U.S.A. is not as easy as in the U.K. Washington is most careful; it does not want foreign money to come in through the backdoor for propaganda purposes. I think Washington is afraid of Soviet Russia. Any citizen of U.S.A. who participates in foreign propaganda has to answer too many questions and produce, if required, his books of account. You will agree that no businessman wants or has the time to reply to all kinds of enquiries that may be made from time to time by Washington. In the circumstances, we have to see if arrangements cannot be made whereby the monthly ex-

1. Not available in I.P.

penses incurred by our Centre for its maintenance and publicity cannot be remitted to the persons directly in charge of the Centre. Liaquat Ali, our Finance Minister, is in a better position to guide us in the matter than anyone else. I shall be obliged if you will let me know what I should do. I shall be leaving for Delhi on the 19th of this month and I shall make it a point to discuss this matter with Liaquat Ali.

We all agree that the organisation should be set in motion as soon as possible. It has become all the more necessary as Asaf Ali will soon be in Washington and will do everything possible to deceive not only the U.S.A. but the rest of the world that comes in contact with the U.S.A. into the belief that he actually represents the whole of India and what he says in his official capacity is the truth and nothing but the truth. I have read in the newspapers that you have postponed your return to Bombay by a fortnight or more, because you are still not too fit. Please take complete rest and do not exert yourself until you are fully recovered and strong enough to bear the strain of political activity. I shall be returning to Calcutta on the 22nd instant. It is proposed that the Delegation to the Middle East should leave India in the first week of March. Newspapers today announce that Mr. Abul Kalam Azad is to lead a Goodwill Mission to the Middle Eastern countries and is expected to tour on the dates and in countries that are on our itinerary.

Amir came to Calcutta five days ago and expects to go to Delhi from here within a week. He is well. Nabboo,¹ I am pleased to inform you, is in normal health again. He is contemplating to go outside India at the end of next month. I am sure such a trip will do him good.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Hassan

1. Raja of Mahmudabad's brother.



334

Old Government House,
Karachi,

February 19, 1947.

My dear Hassan,

I hope you are now better. I haven't heard from you nor have I been able to write to you owing to the pressure of other work. Do write to me and let me know how you are and what is happening in Bengal.

I have already sent in my application with a cheque for Rs. 25,000/- for the shares that I had applied for in the Orient Airways, but I have not yet heard anything from the Company.

I hope Ahmad is all right.

With very kind regards to all of you,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

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335

Calcutta,

February 22, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

While in Delhi, I heard of a Muslim named Salman Ahmad Ali of the U.P. He worked as a publicity man in the Government of India and is at present the Exhibition Officer of the Government of India, Commerce Department. He has been brought over from the Labour Resettlement Department where he acted as the Deputy Director of Publicity. I have heard very good reports of

him and it will be nice if you send for him when you are next in Delhi. He is receiving a salary of Rs. 1,000/- per month. If you find him good, he may be considered for the post of the Muslim League Central Publicity at Delhi.

I, alongwith four other Muslim League nominees in the Viceroy's Cabinet, waited for Liaquat Ali at his house when he was returning from Viceroy's House. We sat and discussed the latest announcement of Attlee in the House of Commons. I was prepared to leave for Karachi to bring back your reaction but it was later decided that it was not necessary for me to do so.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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336

Calcutta,
February 22, 1947.

My dear Liaquat Ali,

In the short time that I had with you a couple of nights ago, I forgot asking you about sending 1,750 dollars from India to New York to meet the cost of running our Information Centre there — 1,000 as initial charges and about 750 dollars as monthly recurring charges. For various reasons, the chief being the strict vigilance into the books of account and other interferences by the State Department at Washington, it is not possible for my business friends to finance the organisation from their end. I do not blame them because no business man wants interference with his day-to-day business. The Congress Organisation in the U.S. collected a part of their funds in

that country, and the rest, I have on good authority, went, and may go through China with the help of Mr. Pandit's friend, Madame Chiang Kai Shek. As the establishment of the office and its success will be dependent on proper and regular financing, I shall be obliged if you will let me know whether you can arrange to place the required dollars at our disposal. The rupee equivalent will be gladly paid at this end and the conversion effected. As the matter is extremely urgent, I shall be glad, notwithstanding your preoccupations, if you will give it your immediate and urgent attention and let me know what can be done. I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Quaid-i-Azam for his information.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
Hassan

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

Copy to: M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Malir, Karachi

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337

Calcutta,
February 26, 1947.

My dear Liaquat,

I have again received a letter from New York advising me that work in regard to running of the Information Centre has been held up due to the difficulty of financing the undertaking. I wrote you on the 22nd instant

asking you to give my request your earliest consideration. I shall be obliged if you will, on receipt of this letter, reply to me either by phone or by mail. Unless funds can be placed at the disposal of those in charge of the organization, it will be impossible for us to carry on the work that I had hoped would have begun and proceeded at full speed six weeks ago.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
Hassan

Copy to: M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,

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338

Calcutta,
March 6, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Yesterday, at a lunch in my honour, I spoke to one or two leaders of the Provincial Muslim League who have all along been hostile to Suhrawardy and particularly to Abul Hashim. Having failed to create trouble at the last meeting of the Provincial Council, they are busy preparing for a fresh onslaught within a week or so. I told them that if they did such a thing at the present moment, Muslim India would never forgive them. None of these so-called leaders is of a class that can command respect or following of the Muslims of Bengal. They know it full well. They are, therefore, using Mr. Fazlul Huq to gain their end. I am strongly of the opinion that the High Command should take immediate cognisance of the trouble that is brewing from within before it reaches a stage when it will be doubly difficult to tackle. In my opinion.

if Akram Khan does not desire to continue as President, Nazimuddin should be unanimously elected President of the Province. Fazlul Huq is a danger and Abul Hashim is most undesirable. I am also of the opinion that the present Cabinet is not all that can be desired; except for a couple of capable men among the Muslim Ministers, the balance of the team is worthless. What we want today is a Cabinet of efficient men to control the destiny of the Province and not a battalion of 'yes' men. It was with the greatest effort that I succeeded in getting Suhrawardy to see sense at the eleventh hour. This avoided a crisis. Two hours from now, I shall be on my way to join the Middle East Delegation at Karachi and I hope that influence from the top will take immediate stock of the situation in Bengal.

We have won after a great struggle in the Punjab but I find that efforts not falling short of threat and intimidation are being made by the Congress and the Sikhs to make government by the majority in the Province impossible. I have no doubt that we shall again succeed in overcoming all the obstacles that are being placed in the way of Muslim Punjab. I shall be in Delhi tonight and shall leave for Karachi tomorrow morning. The Delegation is scheduled to leave Karachi on the 9th instant.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Bombay.

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Shepherd's Hotel,
Cairo,
May 28, 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My nephew Sadri, Ahmad's son, is at present in London. He writes as under:

Sir Frank Brown told me that he could not get a man like Suleri to present the Muslim League point of view as they had heard him before and did not consider him to be fit enough to present the Muslim case to a decent audience and asked me to ask the Muslim League authorities to send a better man to London. From what I have seen, I feel that no time should be lost in getting a better man to look after Muslim League matters in London because mettle is required to put up a show against the thoroughly organised and capable Congress representatives in this country.

In Cairo, I received an Air Mail letter from Mr. Willcox to the effect that Mr. Suleri is not fit for the job and that he is of opinion that 750 pounds so far spent have gone down the drain and unless a better man with greater capacity and personality is sent to London as we had promised to do when Altaf and I left London, he would strongly urge the closing down of the Centre. According to Mr. Willcox, Suleri is all right as an Assistant Secretary or as an Office Superintendent. He has neither the capacity nor the personality to contact top ranking people and to address gatherings that count in the country.

Mr. Willcox went on to say that at a recent reception at the Savoy Hotel, Suleri cut a very poor figure and showed himself thoroughly unfit for the job. According to him a representative of Suleri's calibre will do damage

to the organisation's reputation and it is better for the organisation not to have an officer than to have a person who is not fit for the job in charge of such an office.

I will produce the letter, in original, when I go to Delhi at the end of next month.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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340

Cairo,
May 28, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The object of this letter is to bring to an end my report on our Middle Eastern tour.

Since writing to you from Cairo, I have met again the Grand Mufti, the President of the Akhwan-ul-Muslimeen, the Head of the Shabbanul Muslimeen, the Prime Minister Noqrashi Pasha, the Finance Minister, the Commerce Minister, the Agriculture Minister, the Minister of Communications, Nahas Pasha and the top men of the Wafdist Party, Ali Meher Pasha, Hassouna Pasha (Governor of Alexandria), Ali Yehya Pasha, Fargaly Pasha, several heads of Government Departments, top journalists and leaders of public opinion. As usual, I did not miss the chance of calling on all Muslim Embassies in Cairo. In the Hedjaz, I had the privilege of meeting almost everyone who counted in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country from Ibne Saud and the Crown Prince

to the smallest men who are interested in our affairs. The Finance Minister is the power behind the throne and I am glad to say that in Egypt and in Hedjaz I received the same welcome and sympathy from the brethren as I did in the other countries that we have visited.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,
Hassan

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341

Cairo,
May 29, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I give below an extract dated May 19, 1947 from a letter received from Mr. Willcox, our London friend, which speaks for itself:

Then, the next subject on which you should turn your thoughts is that of the Muslim India Information Centre. When you went away you were going to send a suitable Director for this Centre.

Until such a man arrives the money that is being spent is very largely wasted. In rent and other expenses over 700 pounds have been paid out and this would be well spent, indeed, if you had the right man here. I had the opportunity of seeing Suleri in a crowd at a Reception at the Savoy and I considered that although he meant well, he mishandled things from your point of view. If the Muslim India Information Centre is to mean

anything it must have the right head. Keep all this, please, to yourself, but I cannot leave my opinion unreported.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

P.S. I shall reach Delhi on the evening of June 1, 1947.

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342

Calcutta,
June 16, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I refer your kind attention to my letter of December 5, 1946 delivered to you at Claridges Hotel, London. To it was attached a statement of accounts showing the money realized and expenditure incurred for the organization in the U.S.A. during our stay in that country.

I shall be obliged if you will send me a cheque to cover the 1,000 dollars that I borrowed from Messrs Shimp Inc., of New York to meet expenses. The rate of exchange today is Rs. 332|8 per 100 dollars. Messrs Shimp have included this amount in their statement to M. M. Ispahani Limited.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hassan

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Calcutta,
June 18, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my letter of the June 16 in connection on with the disbursements made on account of the League in the U.S.A., I have to add the following items, the bills for which were received after my departure from that country :

Date	Description	Amount
31.10.46	International Press Clipping Bureau.	52.53
21.11.46	Printing Cards a/c Mr. Jinnah.	20.75
23.11.46	Allendale Press a/c Mr. Jinnah.	195.00
29.11.46	Postage on copies of 'Case of Muslim India' a/c Mr. Jinnah.	2.67
3.12.46	Allendale Press a/c Mr. Jinnah.	142.80
		<hr/> 413.75 <hr/>

Thanking you,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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Telegram

Calcutta,
July 11, 1947.

Mr. Jinnah,
New Delhi.

We Muslims grateful for agreeing to guide destiny
of Pakistan as first Governor General **Stop** Praying for
your long life good health **Stop**

Ahmad and Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

345

Calcutta,
July 25, 1947.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is a long time since I have bothered you with a letter. I know how busy you are. I am enclosing¹ copy of a letter received from M. Ameen K. Tareen, General Secretary, Association of Muslim Students in America. He is a post-graduate student at the Toronto University. The contents of the letter give you an idea of the extent to which our youth has progressed in political thinking. When I returned from my tour I told you how impressed I was with the activities of our coming generation in foreign countries.

I hope you are enjoying the best of health.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

1. Not available in I.P.

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It will be observed that between July 25, 1947 and September 1947 practically no letters were exchanged between Ispahani and Mr. Jinnah. The reason is given below by Ispahani :

Immediately after writing my letter from Cairo, I received intimation that something in the political cauldron was cooking in India and that I should, without taking a holiday in Egypt and Iran as I intended, return home. Then came the announcement of the June 3 Plan of Mountbatten. Therefore, the Working Committee was busy attending to one important problem after another which arose out of the creation of Pakistan and for this purpose we met quite often. We had passed from the Provincial stage to the National one and there was, therefore, no bickering and controlling of Provinces was not necessary. Then followed August 14 and by the end of the month I was ordered by the Quaid-e-Azam to leave for the United States as Pakistan's first Ambassador which I did on the first of September. I reached Washington on September 8 or 9, 1947, and thereafter my correspondence with the Quaid-e-Azam was re-started.



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Embassy of Pakistan,
The Barclay,
New York 17,
September 19, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I reached New York on the 11th and spent a day in Washington on the 13th. I went there to select a suitable building for the Pakistan Chancery. I have telegraphed my selection to the Foreign Office, and have requested them to arrange to place one hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000.00) at my disposal, to cover the cost of the building. I hope this will be done without delay as there are others after the building.

The Leader of the Pakistan Delegation to the U.N. along with Pirzada and Ayub, are already here and Laik Ali is expected to reach New York on the 21st. We have no news of the fifth delegate. It is expected that we shall be elected as members of the U.N., a week hence when the item of election will come up before the Assembly.

News from home is far from satisfactory. Reports and statements show that the large scale massacre still continues. I held a Press conference in London because Habib Rahimtoola requested me to meet the Press when I spoke to him over the long distance. I held another informal Press conference at Washington. In both conferences, I laid the blame for recent happenings solely at the door of the Sikhs who have been the real villains of the piece. We are waiting for admission and once this wait ends, it is proposed that Sir Mohammed Zafrullah should hold a big Press conference and deal, at length, with the situation prevailing in Northern India. Tactically we do not want to queer the pitch before our admission.

I met the top executives of General Motors Company who have taken prompt note of your requirement of

a Cadillac super-limousine. Their representative, who is in Bombay at present, will be visiting Karachi shortly, and will finalize the order after knowing your special requirements. General Motors has assured me that arrangements would be made for the delivery of the car at Karachi as soon as possible, and will override all other prior bookings. I have not been able to see the Lincoln people yet. I hope to do so in the course of the next week.

In regard to the special aeroplane, my friends and I have contacted some leading manufacturers in this country. I shall be in a position to report finally on the progress I have been able to make, positively by the end of next week.

I hope to present my Credentials to the President of the United States some time next week and enclose, for your private information, copy of the speech that I shall deliver at the time I present my credentials.

I hope you are keeping good health. My warmest regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure : 1

Washington,
September, 1947.

Mr. President :

As the first Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, it is my great privilege to present to you, Sir, my Letters of Credence, which open a new chapter in the relations between the East and your great country.

Pakistan came into existence just like her neighbour, the Dominion of India, as a result of the recent

partition of British India. We are, Mr. President, a new country in name, but old in history, tradition and culture. Ours is an ancient race, akin to your own. Our forefathers, like yours, came from the steppes of Central Asia and the Caucasian mountains. In one of the great movements which, from time to time, changed the history of mankind, our people moved South and East and set up an empire in the fabled Indies. After several centuries, renowned throughout the world for their glory and culture, the sceptre passed, less than a century ago, from our hands, into those of the British. Now, again, our people stand free and independent in the territories where, once more, our national flag flies high, a guarantee of brotherhood and justice for all who live under its protection, and for all who bear it true allegiance and good faith.

We shall endeavour our utmost, Mr. President, to develop and maintain friendship and collaboration with every country which is willing to reciprocate equally and frankly, our cordial sentiments, and with none more so than with the United States, to whom I have the honour, as Ambassador, to bring the sincerest greetings from my Government and my people, and from the father of our Nation, Quaid-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah.¹

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New York,
September 27, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am enclosing a letter addressed to Mr. L. Shaffi regarding your Cadillac.

1. Speech delivered by Ispahani while presenting his credentials to the President of the United States.

I shall be grateful if arrangements are made to place the Pakistan Embassy in funds to cover the cost of the car prior to the date of its delivery which is expected to be, at the very latest, November 15th.

A provisional sum of \$6,000 may be apportioned to meet the bill which will be finally adjusted when the actual amount is paid. I shall be writing to you about your personal aeroplane in a couple of days.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

Enclosure : One.

Enclosure: 1.

General Motors Overseas Operations,
1775 Broadway,
New York 19,
September 25, 1947.

Mr. L. Shaffi,
Government of Pakistan Trade Commissioner's Office,
11 West 42nd Street,
c/o Room 822,
New York, N Y.

Dear Mr. Shaffi,

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 22, which constitutes an order for :

- 1) Cadillac limousine, model 75331, for the Governor General of Pakistan.
- 2) Cadillac, model 6269, four door sedan for His

Excellency, the Pakistan Ambassador to the U.S. for delivery in New York.

In connection with the equipment on the limousine I have pleasure in listing the various items :

Colour — Cavern Green	Gas Tank Lock
Low Compression Cylinder	License Plate Frames
Head 6.7511	Wheel Discs
Underseat Heater and	Glare Proof Rear View Mirror
Defroster	Windshield Washer
Rear Compartment Radio	Back up Light
including Antenna	Synchro-Mesh Transmission
Mile Speedometer	Directional Signal Lights
5 — 7.50x16 6 Ply Tires	Oil Bath Air Cleaner
(including Spare Wheel)	Truck Compartment Light
Left Hand Drive	Rear Wheel Shields
Rear Seat centre arm rest	
Electric Clock	

This car will be produced by the Cadillac factory in the month of October and should be ready for shipment at the very latest November 15. In connection with shipping, I gather that it is your wish that we handle this and debit you for the transportation charges to Karachi. Instructions are being issued to submit all documents to you and it is understood that you will arrange for payment to be made to us in New York in dollars.

With regard to the Cadillac 6269 for the Ambassador this will be handled a little differently and will be delivered in New York by the Retail Sales Department, Foreign Distributors Division, 224 W. 57th Street. W. G. Tucker will get in touch with you just as soon as word has been received that the car has left the Cadillac factory and he will also inform you of the motor and chassis numbers, etcetera so that His Excellency can secure diplomatic license plates in Washington.

When this car is ready for delivery in New York it will be necessary for His Excel

lency or his accredited representative to visit the office of our retail sales department in order to obtain a delivery order, and again Mr. Tucker will notify you in this connection.

Very truly yours,
E. A. Keeble,
Administrative Assistant,
Indo-African Region.

Following this enclosure are two letters in I.P. from Shimp of Hayes G. Shimp of New York regarding details of Beech Aircraft Model 34 and Br 3 executive plane which have been deleted.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

348

Government House,
Karachi,
October 1, 1947.

My dear Hassan,

Thank you so much for your letter of September 19, and I am glad to learn that you are well, and I hope also happy.

I see that our delegation has already reached America, and I wish you every success. Please do write to me and keep me informed from time to time as to what is happening in America.

I have noted that you say about the General Motor Company. You have been good enough to try and get me Cadillac car. When their representative comes to Karachi, I shall be very pleased to meet him, and will finalize the order after settling my requirements. Please convey my thanks to the Executive of General Motors Company for

their agreement to do all they can and even override all other prior bookings in order to let me have the car without delay.

As regards the Lincoln, you will let me know when you are able to do so; and also with regard to the special aeroplane, I shall await your report.

I have seen copy of your speech which you propose to deliver at the time of presenting your credentials to the President of the United States.

Yes, I am keeping well, but facing terrible, grave and dangerous issues and developments that are taking place from day to day, so rapidly and so dangerously.

Thanking you, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

349

Government House,
Karachi,
October 7, 1947.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 27, 1947, enclosing a letter addressed to Mr. L. Shaffi regarding Cadillac car. I am making arrangements to put you in funds to the extent of \$6,000 as suggested by you and the final accounts can be settled when the bill is presented. I am glad you are taking interest in the proposal about the aeroplane and will keep me posted with further developments. As regards the various items of equipment mentioned in the enclosure to your letter, I think it will not

do to have left hand drive in [Pakistan]. As regards the colour, I would prefer it to be according to the sample I am enclosing herewith. I believe the Governor-General is exempted from payment of customs duty for things required for use in Govt. House. This would apply to the Cadillac in question and the matter should be tied up before hand with the Customs authorities in Karachi.

I am looking forward to getting a full report about the happenings at the U.N.O. and in U.S.A. in general. Please keep me in touch with what is going on.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

M. A. H. Ispahani, Esq.,
Ambassador of Pakistan in U.S.A.,
New York.

N.B. The car must be right hand drive.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

350

New York,
October 10, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am enclosing copy of a letter from the Beech Aircraft Corporation, and also a copy of the details concerning the converted B-23. They speak for themselves. The Beechcraft will be a four-engine job and a magnificent aircraft. The Beech factory are world famous for the aircraft they turn out. The Expeditor is one of their products. The delivery, however, is scheduled for a year from today and I wonder if you will be interested. If you

are, kindly let me know. In answer to our enquiry about the price, we have received the following telegram:

Model 34 has recently begun successful test flights.
Price not yet established.

However, there is no doubt that this is the best plane for you, if you can defer delivery of your machine for a year.

The other day I was entertained at luncheon by a very influential group of Big Business where I had the opportunity of meeting responsible executives of the principal industrial organisations of the United States. I addressed them on the economics of Pakistan and gave them an idea of the lines on which we propose to build and equip our Nation.

Mr. Dithmer of General Motors is on his way to Bombay and Karachi via South Africa. He expects to be in Karachi the first week of January 1948, and will, in all probability, stay at the American Embassy. I have asked him to advise your Secretary of his arrival through the Embassy and shall be deeply grateful if you will invite him to a meal during his stay in the capital. Mr. Dithmer is a very influential man and if handled tactfully, will be of great assistance in putting forward our case for the industrial expansion of Pakistan in this country. He told me that he was going to make a very detailed study of the prospects and possibilities of establishing a General Motors factory or assembly plant in Karachi. I have assured him of every co-operation by our Government.

I am also writing to Liaquat Ali Khan and Ghulam Mohammed asking them to make Mr. Dithmer's brief stay in Karachi a pleasant one.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

Enclosure : One.

534

Enclosure: 1.

Hayes G. Shimp, Inc.,
230 Park Avenue,
New York 17,
October 8, 1947.

Dear Hassan,

After telephone conversation with you yesterday, I immediately wired to the Beech Aircraft Corporation for a price on their Model 34, about which they recently wrote to us and of which letter a copy was sent to you.

This afternoon the Beech Aircraft Corp. answer by wire is in hand, as follows:

Model 34 has recently begun successful test flights.
Price not yet established.

In speaking with Pan Am about the converted B23, it is indicated no definite figure has yet been established because the conversion is not complete on the first plane. It is estimated, however, the cost will run between \$175,000 and \$200,000 per plane. According to Mr. Smith of Pan Am, these converted B23's will be just about the last word in executive type of planes.

I hope the foregoing fully answers your query of yesterday about the cost of the two planes brought to your notice.

Sincerely,
Hayes G. Shimp

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

351

New York,
October 14, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I thank you for your letters, Nos. 1547-GG|47 and 1681-GG|47 dated October 1 and 7 respectively, also the picture of the Cadillac 60 Special. The automobile ordered for you is the Super Cadillac 75, the last word in Cadillac limousines. During the year 1947, only 41 cars of this model were assembled, yours being the 41st and the last. Right hand drive cannot be substituted for the left hand. This, however, should not make the slightest difference because today in our part of the world, there are as many left hand driven trucks and cars as there are right hand. I had ordered your car to be painted deep green like my own Cadillac. However, if you would like a light blue, I am asking Mr. Shaffi to contact General Motors immediately and I sincerely hope that he will be in time to effect the change.

I have already written to you about the aeroplane and shall be writing very shortly about your second car, the Lincoln.

I can briefly tell you that the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations has acquitted itself more than well. Sir Zafrullah delivered one of the finest speeches heard in the United Nations on the Palestine question. We are working as a perfect team and without boasting, have created an excellent impression. Pakistan is right on the map.

I am extremely short staffed and cannot possibly cope with the volume of work that showers on me every day. I have been calling for more staff ever since my arrival, but so far nothing has happened. Our Delegation is also short staffed. It is impossible to study papers and prepare cases without very efficient secretaries. We

should have had at least three I.C.S. men with between ten and sixteen years of service. The Indian Delegation comprises thirty. Some other delegations have brought as many as sixty and seventy. Even the smallest delegations, barring Afghanistan, have at least a dozen people.

The refugee relief campaign will be in full swing in forty eight hours. Whether it will meet with success or not is more than I can tell you at this stage. We leave here at ten every morning and return not earlier than seven every evening. Lake Success is an hour's drive from New York. You will be glad to learn that Pakistan has been elected to the Greek Committee which will be proceeding to Greece very shortly on behalf of the United Nations.

There is very little news from home for the last three or four days in the columns of the New York Press. I hope unrest is subsiding and butchery in East Punjab and Delhi is at long last under control.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

352

New York,
October 15, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I shall be obliged if you will let me know whether you would like a Lincoln Super Limousine with a partition between the driver and the occupants like your Cadillac or would prefer a convertible model like your yellow Packard, that is, if they manufacture such a model.

I ask this question because it is likely that you will like to have a car with a roof that goes down.

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

353

New York,
October 15, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

In continuation of my letter of yesterday, I have to inform you that the steering of the Cadillac cannot be changed. As for the colour, the factory at Detroit has been contacted telephonically and if the painting has not been finished, the change will be effected.

The Secretary of our Delegation to the United Nations sends to the Foreign Office, summaries generally and also full reports on questions in which we are interested or we figure.

Sir Zafrullah has made a big hit over the Palestine case and has put Pakistan in the front row. He is wanted back, to represent Pakistan before the Assets and Liabilities Tribunal. He shall have to leave long before the U.N. session ends. His work has just begun. We shall miss his company and his guidance. We are very short staffed both in the U.N. and in Washington. Unless proper provision is made soon for Washington and a proper secretariat is sent out with the next delegation, our work cannot but suffer. One Secretary is grossly inadequate.

Everyone is working himself to a standstill only to find that a large portion remains still unfinished.

The newspapers are not flashing for the last four days any 'killing' news from East and West Pakistan and Delhi. Does silence mean good news? When I saw the President, I utilized my twelve minutes fully in giving him a picture of Pakistan. He wanted it. I told him how anxious we were to balance our economy, to industrialize our country, to improve health and education and to raise the standard of living. He replied very sympathetically saying that it was the aim and desire of the United States to render every assistance possible to countries who had noble aims like ours. The negotiations for which Laik Ali¹ has come have advanced somewhat. They will, I hope, proceed further when he meets Mr. Clayton of the Finance Section of the State Department. We are hopeful of results.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

354

Karachi,
October 19, 1947.

Dear Mr. Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter dated October 10, together with its enclosures.

I note that you are not in a position to quote the price of a Beechcraft Model 34, and that the delivery can-

1. Laik Ali, later Prime Minister of Hyderabad State had gone to the United States to negotiate for American investment in Pakistan.

not be had for a year. But nevertheless I should like you to pursue this matter since you consider it to be the best plane for me, and see whether the delivery could be expedited and also what will be the minimum cost. Please try and persuade them to make this an exceptional case and give me early delivery. I also hope that you will be able to persuade them to quote the minimum possible price.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah,

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

355

New York,
October 20, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

Dr. W. Norman Brown, Professor of Sanskrit and Chairman of Oriental Studies at the University of Pennsylvania is proceeding to Pakistan and India for the purpose of making a preliminary survey and study of current conditions preparatory to inaugurating a programme of regional studies in that University. Dr. Brown will be interested in the political and economic as well as the social, educational and cultural aspects.

Dr. Brown feels that it would be pointless for him to make the trip without meeting you, the Creator of Pakistan. I should, therefore, be most obliged if you would give him a few minutes of your time. As you know there is all too little information available in this country on Pakistan and I believe that Dr. Brown will do much to make good this deficiency on his return.

I am also giving Dr. Brown letters of introduction to Ghulam Mohammed and Fazlur Rehman requesting

them to afford him every possible assistance and guidance in his mission.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

356

Karachi,
October 22, 1947.

My dear Hassan.

I have received your letter of October 14, and two letters of the 15th, and thank you very much for them.

With reference to your letter of the 14th, I do not mind the left hand drive, but please try as to the colour and get me the sample I have sent you, namely the picture of the Cadillac 60 Special.

I note that you are pursuing your efforts about the aeroplane and Lincoln.

I was really very happy to hear from you, although I had very good reports of the way in which our delegation not only acquitted itself, but distinguished itself.

I have noted your difficulties about the staff, and I can quite understand how hard you must all be pressed, but I hope that you do realize that we are starting from scratch. I will, however, forward your request to the Foreign Office.

I am very glad that you are making effort to help us in our refugee relief fund. That is an enormous problem and we need all the help that is possible for us to get.

As regards Zafrullah, we do not mean that he should leave his work so long as it is necessary for him to stay there, and I think he has already been informed to that effect, but naturally we are very short here of capable men, and especially of his calibre, and every now and then our eyes naturally turn to him for various problems that we have to solve.

With regard to the situation in India, there is a lull, but we are not out of the wood yet.

I have noted what you say about Laik Ali. He is keeping us in touch with his activities.

I was very pleased indeed to read your speech and the reply of Truman, when you presented your credentials to him as the Ambassador of Pakistan. So far so good, but the real thing is how America will, in fact, react for the benefit and the mutual advantage of both.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

357

Embassy of Pakistan,
Washington, D.C.,
October 28, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

My enquiries disclose that the Ford Motor Company has as yet no plans for a 1948 model of their Lincoln type car. They will be, however, delighted to supply you, for early shipment, with one of their 1947 sedans if this

would be acceptable to you. The Company does not make any chauffeur driven models in this type of car. Consequently there would be no glass partition between the chauffeur and yourself. The Company offers a 10% diplomatic discount from their list price and would be able to ship direct to you in Karachi. They, however, would have preferred to have shipped the car to their assembly plant in Bombay, where they have better facilities, and then forwarded it on to Karachi.¹ I have told them that it is desirable that they ship direct to Pakistan where the uncrating, they agree, can be undertaken by their dealer.

If this automobile is acceptable to you, we shall have to pay in dollars including the cost of ocean freight and insurance. Perhaps you would be good enough to let me know what colour of a car you would wish.

I am in receipt of Colonel Birnie's letter² of October 21st advising me that \$6,000.00 have been remitted to me to meet the cost and other charges incurred on account of your Cadillac.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

1. Ford's note about Lincoln car deleted as same covered in Ispahani's letter.
2. Colonel E. St. J. Birnie was Military Secretary to Jinnah. Birnie's letter of Oct., 21, 1947 advising the remittance of \$6,000 and Ispahani's reply of Oct., 28, 1947 have been deleted.



Washington, D.C.,
November 3, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

Aircraft:

I have mailed by sea very attractive literature prepared for you by the Consolidated Vultee Corporation. I am enclosing a copy of their letter. I think you will feel that half a million dollars for that Super aircraft may be too big a price to pay.

I am also enclosing a copy of letter from the Beechcraft Corporation. The idea of price is in the neighbourhood of a quarter million dollars. I may add that War Surplus Aircraft from D.C. 4 to the Lodestar can be made available, thoroughly overhauled, almost new with zero engine hours — fitted up luxuriously as an Executive type plane. You flew back to Karachi from Heathrow at the end of last year in a Lodestar. Such converted machines will be much cheaper than any of the two new proposals before you.

I shall welcome your decision.

Motor Car:

The 1948 Super Packard promises to be a beautiful proposition. Would you prefer it to a Lincoln? Please let me know.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

Enclosures: Three.

544

Enclosure: 1.

Hayes G Shimp, Inc.,
230 Park Avenue,
New York 17.
October 28, 1947.

Dear Hassan,

After some effort I have secured from Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation, straight out proposal for an executive type of plane which they feel would be suited to the requirements of the Governor-General of Pakistan.

To make a presentation easy on your part to the Governor-General or any other official that should know about this proposal, I submit herewith four copies of the letter addressed to me under the date of October 15.

Brochures prepared specially for Mr. Jinnah and other pamphlets, are herewith enclosed.

The Consolidated letter over the signature of Mr. Blees, gives you full and complete information on the 240 executive plane.

Keeping in mind your request of last Saturday to secure a firm offer and earliest delivery promise from Beech Aircraft Corporation, we telegraphed this manufacturer for a proposal and delivery date. Very late yesterday at the writer's home a telegram was received from Beech Aircraft as follows:

Retel quoting firm price on delivery conditions by airmail letter.

As soon as we receive the proposal, which has been sent by letter mail, we shall put it before you.

If you need other information, please say along what lines.

Sincerely,
Hayes G. Shimp

Enclosure: 2.

Hayes G. Shimp, Inc.,
230 Park Avenue,
New York 17,
October 30, 1947.

Dear Hassan,

Beechcraft proposal on their new Model 34 referred to in an earlier letter, is herewith attached.

You will note delivery date is still set for one year from now and this, it would seem, will make it difficult for Beechcraft to be considered as the plane desired by the Governor-General of Pakistan.

If there is some further way this office can assist, please call upon us.

Yours very truly,
Hayes G. Shimp

Enclosure: 3.

Embassy of Pakistan,
Washington, D.C.,
November 1, 1947.

Dear Hayes,

Thanks for your letter of October 28 and the enclosures.

I have mailed Consolidated Vultee's smart literature and pictures to Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah. The 240 is too expensive to be worthy of serious consideration. We cannot afford half a million dollars for just one aircraft that may be flown only twice a month.

Thanks for the news on the new Beechcraft. The price seems pretty stiff — almost as much as the original price for the 240! However, I am forwarding copies of the letters received from both companies to the Quaid-e-Azam for his information and decision.

Thanks again for the trouble you are taking.

Sincerely,

M. A. H. Ispahani

Mr. Hayes G. Shimp,
230 Park Avenue,
New York 17,

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

359

Government House,
Lahore,
November 7, 1947.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of October 15, and of course, as you very rightly suggested, I should certainly like to have a car with a roof that goes down, which might be useful for certain purposes instead of having all alike. But even in this model I would prefer to have a partition between the driver and the occupants, if it is possible. Anyhow you let me know the full particulars as you

yourself are not sure whether a model that I am suggesting is being manufactured at present.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

360

New York,
November 20, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am enclosing copies of letters I have written to Liaquat Ali Khan which indicate the difficulties that we may be called upon to face unless we curb activities of individuals and trading concerns in certain directions.

It was not my intention to trouble you with such matters knowing how overworked and worried you are but I feel that this one is of such importance that it should receive your personal attention.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

Enclosures: Two.

Enclosure: 1.

New York,
November 19, 1947.

My dear Liaquat,

I write, not with the intention of criticizing or

protesting but with the desire to draw your attention to some of the requests that are made by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. We are asked to nominate representatives when we have not sufficient personnel to carry on the day to day work of the Embassy. I am, at the eleventh hour or to be more correct at the twelfth hour, told to proceed to Havana to represent Pakistan at the Trade and Employment Conference. I am not asked in advance whether it would be possible for me to comply with such a request nor does the Ministry take into consideration the fact that I am busy in New York attending the Session of the United Nations Assembly. It is known to the Ministry that, to begin with, our Delegation was grossly inadequate in number — both as regards the alternate delegates and the secretariat section. It is aware that the Delegation, due to the return of Mir Laik Ali, Pirzada and Mrs. Tassaduq Hussain, is at present very much under the required strength. It also knows that the Session here will continue until within a day or two of the end of November. How then, I ask you, will it be possible for me to leave my work unfinished, leave the Leader single handed to cope with several Committees that are still sitting and fly off to Havana ?

It is a known fact that since my arrival in this country, my work in New York has prevented me from spending even forty-eight hours in Washington. Much has to be done there and much of the work calls for early attention. I have not done a stroke in the direction of carrying out the preliminary formalities that every Ambassador finishes in the first few weeks of presenting his Letters of Credence to the President. I have been appointed Ambassador and it is, therefore, essential that I should fulfil my obligations as Ambassador and carry out my duties. How can I possibly afford to be away from Washington for another two weeks ?

I have asked for staff — staff that was promised to me or to the Embassy which is entrusted with very the Embassy efficiently without adequate staff, even without the minimum number asked for by me ?

I can multiply instances of my difficulties but I do not desire to burden you with them. It is sufficient to say that it will assist me greatly if the Foreign Ministry bears in mind some of the facts that I have, from time to time, submitted to you and to make demands or requests which will be in keeping with them. I repeat, I cannot make bricks without straw.

I shall appreciate it if I am consulted before I am asked to go outside Washington. To be told at the eleventh hour that I have to go somewhere for any length of time without finding out from me whether it would be possible for me to undertake such a mission, is hardly being fair to me or to the Embassy which is entrusted with very important duties.

Again, without intending to criticize, may I draw your attention to the manner in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is functioning. Today, for example, Zafrullah Khan received a telegram that he should not return after the conclusion of the Session of the Assembly as the Finance Minister was shortly visiting U.S.A. Surely, it was only right that the Embassy should have also been informed to this effect. Of course, this has not been done but some day a telegram may descend upon us that Mr. Ghulam Mohammed is on his way and arrangements should be made for his stay in New York and probably in Washington. I want to emphasise the fact that hotel accommodation is a major problem and hits Ministers of Governments and Ambassadors just as hard as it does ordinary citizens. Reservations must be made well in advance and room rent has to be paid from the day the accommodation is booked, whether it is occupied or not.

The Finance Minister may be coming here on important business. May be my presence here can be helpful to him. This is just one more reason why it is not possible for me to proceed to Havana but the main reasons have been stated earlier in this letter. Is it not more advisable to give me more information in confidence about the purpose of the Finance Minister's visit? We could have prepared the ground for him and fixed in advance appointments with persons whom he might wish to see. These are matters of detail but they are nevertheless important and cannot be neglected. It is the duty of Embassies to prepare the ground. Governments give full information and in good time. This policy should also be adhered to by the Pakistan Government.

Last night a telegram was relayed by Washington over the telephone that members of the Trade and Employment Delegation had left on the 15th and were on the way. We are not given the most important information, (a) when will they reach New York, (b) whether they will stay in New York or just change aircraft and proceed to Havana (c) if they stay, for how long? How then can arrangements be made for putting them up? No accommodation can be reserved in New York on very short notice, whatever the pull that anyone may have. In the circumstances, neither the Embassy nor I will be responsible if our Delegates do not have a roof over their heads. We shall try to do the impossible, and if we fail, I am sure you will understand.

Again, two days ago we received a telegram asking us to expedite the shipment of flour purchased on behalf of Government as it is urgently required. Believe me, the name of the company from which the purchase was made was omitted. Are not such oversights painful?

Hasnie told Ayub at the airport that you were keeping indifferent health. I hope and pray that by the

time this letter reaches you, you will be fighting fit again. Look after yourself.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
Hassan

P.S. The Pakistan Delegation to the Havana Conference arrived in New York last night, and it was sheer luck that we got wind of their arrival and they were met by Ayub and Shaffi. Hasnie explained some of the difficulties you were having, and was anxious that I should be present at the opening of the Havana Conference. I have discussed the whole position with Sir Zafrullah Khan again and, at considerable inconvenience to himself, he has agreed to release me from the UNO work. I shall fly to Havana tomorrow in time for the opening of the Conference, but will not be able to stay there for more than a week. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that Chundrigar should reach Havana as soon as possible to take over the leadership of the Delegation.

Enclosure: 2.

New York,
November 20, 1947.

My dear Liaquat,

I would like to add to my last D.O. No. 9 that, for reasons that will be appreciated by you, I propose to repudiate any statement by a private individual or trading establishment made on behalf, either directly or by implication, of the Government of Pakistan unless, of course, I am informed by Government well in advance that the person or organisation has authority to speak on its behalf. Even when such authority is delegated, I would suggest that :

- a) the Ambassador be given prior intimation.
- b) the person delegated be directed to contact the Embassy and act in consultation with and under the guidance of the Embassy, which is the official representative of the Government in this country.

Unless the above principle is accepted and acted upon, I feel that we may unwittingly find ourselves placed in a position of serious embarrassment.

I shall be grateful if you will consider this matter and apprise me of your views at an early date.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

361

Government House,
Lahore,
November 24, 1947.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter dated October 28. I do not think you need worry any more now about the other car, namely Lincoln. We will see to that later.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Nacional Hotel,
Havana,
November 27, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

It was with the greatest difficulty and at much sacrifice that I was able to respond to the last-minute S.O.S. of Government and fly to Havana to lead the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment. Zafrullah Khan will no doubt tell you how difficult it was for me to leave the U.S. and particularly to protract my stay outside Washington for a further length of time. If I am to make my mission even reasonably successful, I have to devote more of my time to it. I have not yet carried out the elementary duties of Ambassador as all my calls on the heads of other missions in Washington still remain to be made. The Government have been informed that I can and shall be away from the U.S. for not more than 9 days. I am returning to New York on the 29th of November after participating in the general discussions and getting our Delegation started here on Committee work. I have no doubt that they will acquit themselves creditably. I shall only return if my presence is urgently needed between now and the last days of the Conference. Otherwise, I shall be present at the concluding stage of the work. This, of course, will hold good only if Chundrigar is unfit to travel to Havana. I learn that Chundrigar is suffering from heart trouble and Liaquat Ali Khan is also confined to bed with trouble of somewhat similar nature. I hope and pray that both will be restored to good health soon.

The United Nations is reaching the end of its deliberations. The only item left is the question of Palestine which will be presented to the Plenary Session of the U.N. either today or tomorrow. Every Muslim will pray that

the Resolution for the partition of Palestine does not secure the 2|5 majority.

Zafrullah Khan is scheduled to leave New York for home on the 29th of November and Ayub goes back on the 30th. I cannot help remarking that Zafrullah Khan has, throughout the Session of the U.N. hit all round the wicket in prefect style. He has, with little effort, risen to the top-most men, and they are few, assembled in New York from all over the world. His speeches were always appreciated. His ability, clarity of thought and simplicity of expression have gained for him and for Pakistan a host of friends. He is one of our able men and an asset. I have no doubt that you will utilize his ability fully. His stock stands high in the international market not through any boosting on anyone's part but purely on intrinsic worth and merit.

If I may be permitted the liberty of expressing an opinion, which I feel must be expressed in the interest of our country, I would say that our Cabinet requires expansion. Too many portfolios entrusted to an individual means doing injustice to important departments and branches of Governmental work. I am also of the opinion that younger men should be trained for assuming responsibility in the future. It would not be a bad idea if one such man is attached to each Cabinet Minister with the rank of Deputy Minister or some such status. I do not say that everyone of the persons so appointed will turn out first rate, but I feel confident that by such a process, you will be able to have at least a handful of 'coming men'. The Labour Government in the U.K. is following this policy as a result of which it has been able to train quite a substantial number of young men in the course of the last two years. Hector McNeil, Bottomley and Younger can be counted amongst them.

The Indian Delegation is led by Bahba who will be returning to India in a fortnight. Bottomley who is leading the U.K. Delegation is returning on 30th of November.

Havana is less developed than Karachi. The weather we are having is like that of Bombay in the month of October. Havana is 5½ hours away from New York by fast plane flying non-stop and about 8 hours distance when the journey is broken in two places en route.

I hope you are in good health. Please look after yourself and do not overstrain yourself. Your life is precious. Your Nation needs your guidance and advice today more than it ever did before.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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Washington, D.C.,
December 3, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

It pains me to trouble you but at times I am helpless. I returned to Washington last night and attended the President's Annual Diplomatic Reception. I have started serious work as Ambassador in Washington, only today.

Baig has already attended to your top secret telegram addressed to me through the Foreign Ministry. I have very little to add. The position is, as I have intimated to you telegraphically today, that we have been promised immediate drawing facilities to the tune of ten million dollars. When we are in possession of the necessary information that we have sought, we shall not lose a minute in going ahead. Our need for blankets is most urgent. We know this as much as the Government at Karachi but we do not know how many blankets are required. Blankets are fairly costly and it would be waste

of money to order a larger quantity than what is actually required. Baig has also informed the Finance Minister that vague generalizations cannot be attended to by the American authorities. Medicines must be detailed, dressings must be specified and widths and lengths declared and generally, full technical details must be given against each and every requirement of ours. Over 3 weeks have elapsed and the Embassy is still without instructions !

On the eve of my departure you assured me that I could have officers of my choice on my staff. I asked for three. So far, one has arrived and he is not one of my choice. In fact he was appointed by the Ministry of Education in the face of my declared wishes to the Prime Minister as early as September 15, and also to Fazlur Rahman. I was given no opportunity of either approving or disapproving his appointment as I was informed telegraphically that the appointee was leaving Karachi almost immediately. I feel that such prior approval is my prerogative as the head of the mission.

There is no news so far of my Press Attache. I had fixed up Usman Ansari, Editor of the **Star of India**, who has worked with me and knows my requirements. I have sent repeated reminders without result. Apparently the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not realize the importance of a Press Officer in an Embassy. Propaganda and publicity are essential background to diplomacy and if I am asked to do a good job without being given the minimum tools, how can I hope to fulfil your expectations?

I asked for Agha Shahi as Third Secretary of the Embassy. Liaquat Ali also told me that there would be no difficulty. Uptil now, Agha Shahi has not arrived and I am informed that as he is not being released by the Government of Sind; a Major Sajjad Haider is being sent if his Minister will release him. Here again is an attempt to saddle me with an officer I do not know and have not asked for. Appointment of officers to my staff without even the courtesy of asking for my prior approval, places

me in an impossible position which cannot be tolerated by any Head of Mission entrusted with his country's representation. I have been compelled to telegraph Foreign Ministry today asking them to withhold appointment until further advice from me. I now appeal to you to put an end to the policy of overriding the wishes of Ambassadors in matters relating to their own establishments. I know Agha very well and consider him to be best suited to the work he will have to do in Washington. He is anxious to join me. I leave this matter therefore to your judgment, confident of your support. I need not tell you how necessary it is to have the minimum staff, composed of individuals who may be expected to function effectively as a team.

We are receiving very little cooperation from the Finance Ministry. It seems that at least the officers of that Ministry who are assigned to American affairs fail to appreciate in any way what is involved in diplomatic representation abroad and the result of one false step on our national credit. We cannot work indefinitely without sanction being given to essential expenditure and you have no idea what we have to put up with sometimes. I assure you that the staff of the Embassy is absolutely the minimum necessary for conducting our day to day business. We are doing all we can to economise. We realise our dollar position. We realise our present difficulties, but I cannot help feeling that it is unwise and dangerous to be penny wise and pound foolish.

Colonel Fletcher, who has been appointed Officer on Special Duty in the Foreign Ministry, has certainly brought about an improvement in the almost total neglect and lack of comprehension with which we were being favoured. But, even so, one swallow does not make a summer and we expect, and rightly, proper cooperation from the Government as a whole and particularly from the Ministry of Finance.

I revert once again to the question of purchasing property for our Embassy. Permission to purchase has

been refused and we are expected at the most to rent a house. No suitable house can be rented here for under 2 to 4 thousand dollars per mensem. If it is furnished, we should have to turn out a good bit for the furniture in order to fit in office equipment. If it should be unfurnished, we should have to carpet it, renovate it generally and purchase suitable furniture, other than office furniture which we already possess. The rent will amount to so much money thrown down the drain irretrievably, apart from the capital cost, which will certainly run into five figures. We should take a house immediately on a purchase basis, and most excellent house, which I have repeatedly recommended to our Government, is still available for \$150,000.00, the owners having agreed to reduce it from its original asking price of \$200,000.00. The Burmese Mission, which only arrived in this country two or three weeks ago, have already taken a house. Why should our Government alone, out of all the Governments in the world, fail to understand the financial implications of international diplomatic representation and of maintaining missions abroad?

The house that we have in view is a bargain and is eminently suitable for our requirements. It is not pretentious nor is there more accommodation than is necessary to meet the requirements of the Chancery. Wherever I go, whether New York, Havana or Washington, I am asked if we have secured permanent quarters for our Embassy. I have always to give some excuse or the other for not having purchased a property. The excuse that I usually give is that I have been away and have not found time to look around and select a suitable building. Frankly, we cannot carry on in a hotel. Not having a permanent office of our own does damage to our credit and reputation and also to our diplomatic standing. In the U.S.A. more than in any other country in the world, as you know, money talks and the facade usually is an indication of the worth of the country. If we are to talk of big business and big financial deals, we must have the necessary prestige and the place to receive im-

portant persons. Small and comparatively insignificant countries have Legations, Chanceries and Embassies of their own. Even little Lebanon and Liberia have their own Legations. I hope Laik Ali, Pirzada and Zafrullah Khan have spoken to you about the imperative necessity of purchasing a Chancery building without delay. We must shift from this hotel, although we are comfortable here.

I am enclosing copy of letter written to Sir Zafrullah Khan as the matter dealt in it is extremely urgent and important. I am ensuring against all delay by sending you this copy.

Kindly forgive me for the length of this letter.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

Enclosure: One.

Enclosure: 1.

New York,
December 1, 1947.

My dear Zafrullah,

Just as I was checking out of my hotel, your letter of November 2 was handed to me. I am dictating this note on board D.C. 4 on my way back to New York. I know that I have as much hope of catching you in New York as I have in laying my hands on one end of the rainbow. The **Havana Post** in its issue of November 29 reported that the Palestine vote on a French resolution was postponed for 24 hours. The A.P. report is rather disquieting as it makes us believe that the pro-partitionists have been able to secure a majority. I sincerely hope this is not true. I shall know the result of the vote when I reach New York tonight.

You will be glad to hear that our Delegation has not made too bad a start and all the members except myself are as keen as mustard on doing a real good job. Hasnie is a capable officer and Dr. Usmani is full of life and enthusiasm. If Chundrigar is unable to go to Havana, I shall have to return there at the concluding stages of the Conference. I participated in the general debate. You will be glad to hear that almost all the speeches so far have kept within the 15 minutes limit. I am enclosing a copy of my speech for your perusal. I had a telegram from Washington asking me to return as soon as possible as there was an urgent message of a confidential nature from the Quaid-e-Azam waiting for me.

I shall be returning to my 'home', the Barclay, only to find that the cheerful faces that met at breakfast every morning will not appear in the dining room at 8.30.

I hope you will meet Quaid-e-Azam soon after your return to Karachi. I am told he is at present in Lahore. I am sure you will have plenty to tell him concerning the improvements that are necessary to make our Embassy a first-class outfit. We must purchase a suitable building for our Chancery without delay. As you know the reasons, I shall not repeat them.

I need not tell you how happy I shall be to receive a line or two from you whenever you have the time to dictate them. I shall also look forward to welcoming you back to the United States at a not too distant date.

With my warmest regards,

Affectionately yours,
Hassan

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Karachi.

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Washington, D.C.,
December 4, 1947

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

We have received through the State Department a message reading as follows:

Reference Laik Ali's negotiations Pakistan Government now prepared to send a mission led by Finance Minister with three or four experts to carry on further negotiations. Please ask State Department if they are now prepared to receive this mission. Please also press for the despatch of the draft commercial treaty as promised to Laik Ali.

We have addressed the State Department officially in the matter and at the same time have been carrying on informal discussions. The reactions of the State Department, also conveyed to us informally, are that such a visit at this juncture would be decidedly premature and would serve no useful purpose whatsoever. The State Department which is sympathetic to our needs and seems anxious to help, considers that this is not the method to obtain what we want. The amount involved is very large and the whole idea will have to be 'sold' to the American public whose representatives will vote on it in Congress. It has also been said that Pakistan is an area of the world where the Americans have very little business experience. A high powered mission coming here would merely be carrying out a brief intended to convince Americans that Pakistan will use the two thousand million dollars asked for fruitfully. The Americans being hard boiled businessmen would prefer to examine conditions on the spot for themselves. The State Department feels that the correct approach to this problem would be for our Government to invite a Trade Mission of the highest standing

to visit Pakistan and to study the prospects of potential development in order to satisfy themselves that the money they are being asked to advance will not be at least partially lost through our inability to develop our resources and pay back the cash.

I request that so far, these discussions have been informal and we await an official reply to our enquiry whether the State Department would be prepared to receive the Mission you propose to send. I felt it my duty to inform you of the reactions as early as possible. But I would, at the same time, request you to defer making any decision until we receive an official reply to our letter to the State Department on the subject.

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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Governor-General's House.
Karachi,
December 11, 1947.

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letters dated November 20, 27 & 30 and I thank you for them.

With regard to your letter dated November 20, I entirely agree with you in what you have said, and I hope that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan will clarify matters for you and let you know as to how you should act in future.

As regards your letter dated the 27th, I know how reluctant we were to force you to go to Havana. I was

against it, and my view is that you must stick to your Mission in Washington strictly and perform your duties as an Ambassador, and not be diverted from your activities. But, unfortunately, Chundrigar was laid up and could not go and we thought that your presence there would give the necessary status and position to our Delegation.

Zafrullah is back and I had long talks with him. Yes, he has done well.

As regards other matters mentioned in your letter, they will receive my consideration. Many thanks for your kind enquiries about my health, and I am glad to inform you that I am quite all right now.

As regards your letter¹ of the 30th of November, I thank you for sending me two boxes of cigars from Havana. It was very kind of you to think of me and especially to send me cigars which are not now-a-days easy to get. I appreciate your kind thought very much.

Finally, what about my car? It was to be delivered in the middle of November, and here we are now in the middle of December, and I have not yet heard as to what has happened to it. Please let me know how the matter stands because I want the car very badly.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

1. Not available in I.P.



Washington, D.C.,
December 11, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I do not know if you have decided on the make of your personal 'plane.

I have received a fresh proposal which I am passing on to you without comment. The conversion appears to be a smart job and it is possible to break the price probably by \$5,000.00 to \$10,000.00. The aircraft is a converted D.C. 3 the speed of this type of aircraft is known to you — 150|155 miles per hour.

Your Cadillac is boxed and is awaiting shipment to Karachi.

You have not instructed me about your second car. I expect you shall do so when you find the time.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

P.S. By this opportunity I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 22, which reached me on November 4.

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Washington, D.C.,
December 20, 1947.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am enclosing a photograph of the new Beechcraft Model 34, 20-passenger 'Twin-Quad' airplane which has

successfully completed its initial flight test on October 1, 1947.

Your Cadillac has reached New York from Detroit, and will be placed on board a ship before the end of next week. I am sure you will like the automobile.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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Telegram

Washington, D.C.,
December 23, 1947.

Quaid-e-Azam,
Karachi.

Staff joins me in praying and wishing beloved Quaid-e-Azam Many Happy Returns **Stop** Regret wasn't possible celebrating holding Diplomatic Reception so short notice particularly during Christmas holidays when all offices closed and majority Diplomats away holidaying **Stop**

Hassan

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1948

Kashmir and the Security Council—Vile campaign launched by 'Life' and 'Time' against Pakistan—Jinnah's birthday celebrations—Security Council Resolution on Kashmir rejected by India—Church World Service's Relief for our refugees—Sheikh Abdullah—U.K.'s volte face on Kashmir—Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund—Korean situation—Little Assembly: a farce—U.S.A. policy on Palestine and oil crisis—U.S.A.'s Red-phobia—World Bank loan for Pakistan—U.K. to appease India—Chinese Resolution on Kashmir—Syria, Argentina and Columbia sympathetic to Pakistan—Pakistan to review membership of Commonwealth—'Justice, honesty and fair play occupy no place in the U.N.'—Recognition to the Provisional Government of the State of Israel by the United States—In international affairs 'the Law of the Jungle holds unquestioned sway'—Kashmir Commission of Mediation—Jinnah goes to Ziarat for rest—Kashmir Cease Fire—U.S. Republicans: pro-Jew—Jinnah's illness — Lung and Heart specialist and physician from U.S.A. for Jinnah to fly to Quetta: too late a call—Jinnah's demise.

Washington, D.C.,
January 8, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

The Security Council met at 2.45 p.m. on Tuesday last and decided to admit India and Pakistan to their table and permit them to take part in the discussion without having the right to vote. The Secretary General's office had advised P.P. Pillai and myself the previous day that the Council will call upon India to make a formal and preliminary opening of her case and will ask me to make a submission along with the request for an adjournment to enable my Government to study India's complaint and for my Foreign Minister to reply to the charges when he reaches here. I am enclosing a draft of the statement¹ that we prepared. You will notice that I put in plenty and yet did not, in the slightest, queer the pitch of Zafrullah Khan.

India, however, did not insist on being heard and the President decided that any submissions should be confined solely to the question of an adjournment. I, however, tried to shoot in my statement but was stopped the moment I reached Liaquat Ali's broadcast but I made it abundantly clear at that stage that we were even more anxious to have the Kashmir and other equally important matters that are so inter-connected with it taken up by the Security Council without delay.

The accommodation problem in New York continues to be a headache. I do not know how I shall be able to find accommodation for 8 to 10 persons in one or two hotels. Even Ambassadors find it difficult a) to get in, b) if in, to remain in for long. I booked at the Waldorf for three days but as the second meeting of the Little Assembly was called for tomorrow, decided to stay on in New York. Waldorf could not keep me. It was with

1. Not available in I.P.

the greatest difficulty and exercise of utmost influence that I was able to get into the Barclay for an indefinite period. I am now busy finding rooms for the Pakistan Delegation.

The Press here reports temporary loans by the Pakistan Government — Rs. 100,000,000 from the Reserve Bank, Rs. 200,000,000 from the Nizam's Government. **Time** and **Life** journals are conducting a vile campaign against us. I am doing everything possible to get them to see reason and am pulling every string that my hands can reach.

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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Washington, D.C.,
January 8, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am grateful to you for your very kind letter of December 11. I am extremely happy to learn that by God's mercy you have been restored to perfect health.

You are anxious to know the whereabouts of your car. It was shipped on the s.s. Explorer which left here on December 29 and is expected to reach the port of Karachi in the first week of February. My car, delivery of which was promised in the third week of November, left Detroit a week ago for delivery in New York, but has been snow bound en route.

I am enclosing clippings¹ from the **New York Herald Tribune** which may be of interest to you. The letter in the **Tribune** was written by me and signed by a Pakistani.

1. Not available in **I.P.**

I am in New York keeping the seat of Pakistan warm on the Interim Committee popularly known as the 'Little Assembly'. I attended its first meeting last Monday. Little serious and fruitful work was done.

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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Government House,
Lahore,
(n.d.)

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter dated November 3, and regret very much that Governor-General of Pakistan cannot afford to go in for an aircraft which will cost more than fifteen lakhs of rupees.

It is very kind of the Beechcraft Corporation to help us in every way, but although it may cost quarter of a million dollars, the difficulty about these aircraft will be servicing. The only other big corporation which have got all those facilities are Vickers Armstrong, and their Vikings are already in use in India and Pakistan for civil purposes, and, therefore, after taking everything into consideration, I am trying to negotiate with them. Their prices are not unreasonable.

As regards another car, I have decided not to go in for it for the present. We shall see later on about the Packard.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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New York,
January 22, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I thank you for your letters from Lahore, one undated and the others of November 7 and 24. They reached me last week having come to this country by the sea-route. I have noted their contents. I shall not proceed further with the purchase of your second automobile until I hear from you.

I also note that you have decided to purchase a Viking aircraft.

We are busy with the Security Council and Government is being kept informed by telegram of the developments. India is obstinate and Inshallah she will be made to learn the lesson of her life. Zafrullah Khan is working like a Trojan; his presentation of our case before the Security Council was masterly and his negotiations across the table with the Indians are a feast for us who sit on his side. Every time he beats the best talent of India arrayed opposite us. There is a deadlock brought about by India. The Security Council meets this afternoon.

I trust you are taking a little more rest these days.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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New York,
February 7, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I must pray your forgiveness for my unusually long silence. The question of Kashmir has kept us all both worried and busy. By God's mercy and with His help, we have done very well so far, and in spite of India's continued efforts to get her own way, she has not succeeded in doing so. Yesterday, the Security Council adjourned until Monday afternoon and directed the President to continue the efforts of the President of last month to bring about a settlement by negotiation between the two parties. We met at the office of the Belgian Delegation last evening and a draft Resolution prepared by the President and Rapporteur, based on the opinions expressed by almost all the members of the Security Council who have so far spoken, was handed to us. As usual, this Resolution along with the reactions particularly of the Indian Delegation have been cabled to Government last night. Except for one or two minor alterations solely for the purpose of clarification, we consider the Resolution fair and reasonable. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyanger declined to accept it because, according to him, it left India's main complaints and allegations untackled. He, however, undertook to communicate the Draft Resolution to his Government and ask for further directions. We meet again on Monday morning. The meeting of the Security Council has, therefore, been postponed until Tuesday. Just before last night's conference terminated, Zafrullah Khan drew the attention of the President to the report that India is about to hold a plebiscite in Junagadh, and told him that if such an action were taken, there would be one more obstacle in the way of arriving at an overall settlement. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyanger assured

the President that he would ask his Government not to proceed with the plebiscite as that question too was, in a way, **sub judice**. The way that negotiations and discussions are proceeding makes me feel that we shall have to be in New York for another two or three weeks at the very least. India keeps on shouting that the matter is of extreme urgency and that the Security Council should act without delay. At the same time, she is solely and wholly responsible for the entire delay. Long and repetitious speeches are inflicted on the Council on the slightest pretext. None of them discloses the slightest change from the attitude originally taken up by India.

The other evening we had the pleasure of hearing Sheikh Abdullah making an ass of himself. He lost control of his tongue with the result that he even blasphemed by uttering that 'not even God Almighty, if appointed to take charge of the Interim Government, would remain neutral'. Yesterday, Zafrullah Khan tore Abdullah mercilessly to shreds.

I am enclosing a letter addressed to you by Mr. Arnold B. Vaught. I must give full credit to the Church World Service, Inc., who have done and are doing so much for Pakistan relief.

I trust this letter finds you in the best of health.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

Enclosure: One.

Enclosure: 1.

Church World Service, Inc..
February 5, 1948.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah,
Governor-General's House,
Karachi.

Your Excellency,

Your gracious letter of January 22 was handed to me last evening by your Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Ispahani. It is very kind of you to take the trouble to express appreciation for what the various church organisations in this country are trying to do toward alleviating the sufferings of refugees in Pakistan. Your kindness will be an inspiration to us to do all we can. The needs of the world are so great that we can never do as much in any one country as we would like. My own organisation, Church World Service, is working and assisting peoples in more than thirty countries of Europe and Asia.

I trust that we are not only in our small way bringing some aid to needy people in your country but that we are also building up an interest and cordiality on the part of the American people with your people. As a relief organisation we are absolutely neutral in all political matters. We long for the time when all nations will be able to work together in harmony for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

Copies of your good letter are being sent to Mr. Colin Bell of the American Friends Service Committee, Mr. J. N. Byler of the Mennonite Central Committee and

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Mr. Raymond Disco of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Very sincerely yours,
Arnold B. Vaught
Secretary for Asia

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Governor-General's House,
Karachi,
March 8, 1948.

My dear Ispahani,

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the efforts which you have made in the procurement of help, both money and supplies, for the Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund in U.S.A. The contributions which you have raised from U.S.A. have substantially helped us to overcome some of the many problems with which we were faced. Please accept my thanks for the assistance which you have given and also convey my appreciation to the charitable organisations who have been associated with you. Majority of refugees came to us with nothing but the clothes they stood in. A good deal has been done to alleviate distress but much still remains to be done. I trust that your efforts in this good work will continue unabated.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

His Excellency Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani,
Washington, D.C.

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Governor-General's House,
Karachi,
March 11, 1948.

Dear Mr. Ispahani,

I am desired by the Quaid-e-Azam to thank you for your letter dated January 22, 1948.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Yusuf

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Karachi,
March 17, 1948.

My dear Ispahani,

I am desired by the Quaid-e-Azam to thank you for your letter of February 7, 1948 and to say that the Quaid-e-Azam would be glad if you write to him regularly about the developments in the U.N.O. on the Kashmir issue and other important matters.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Yusuf

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Washington, D.C.,
March 27, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

The sudden turn of events at Lake Success must

have shocked you. In spite of what Attlee told Zafrullah Khan in London, I did not think that the U.K. would dare to commit such a **volte face**. She has, however, done it and has managed to talk the U.S.A., France, Canada and Belgium into following suit. China, who from the outset pulled in favour of India, served as an excellent tool. It is no longer a secret, in spite of the earlier denials by Britain that the Chinese resolution¹ now before the Security Council, was in fact sponsored by Britain and approved of by the U.S.A.

You have been kept fully posted with the day to day developments at our end. No effort is being spared by Zafrullah Khan to retrieve the position. Everything is being done and will be done to secure a fair and just settlement and any proposal that fails short of it, will, of course, be resisted.

Zafrullah Khan and I feel that at the present critical stage maximum pressure on the U.K. and U.S.A. is necessary. It will undoubtedly help immeasurably if you contact the High Commissioner for the U.K. and the U.S. Ambassador and through them convey to their respective governments your reactions and the reactions of your Cabinet to the sudden and unwarranted change in policy and also make it clear that Pakistan will have nothing to do with a proposal of recommendation that on the face of it is one-sided and out only to appease India, however wrong her stand may be. I am convinced that threat and blackmail on the part of India gave Attlee cold feet. It is both urgent and necessary therefore that the U.K. and the U.S.A. should be advised that we are determined not to swallow a pill that they are out to manufacture for us which pill, we know will cause us incalculable and

1. U.N. Security Council Resolution, March 5, 1948. See Appendix XIX.

irreparable injury which in honesty we do not deserve. Pressure from home will, I am sure, help Zafrullah Khan here.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

378

New York,
March 30, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund

I gratefully acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 8 and appreciate your generous words. I shall certainly convey your appreciation to the individuals and charitable organisations who went to the aid of suffering humanity in Pakistan.

You have my assurance and the assurance of all Pakistani officers in this country that our efforts will continue unabated.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

New York,
March 31, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I have taken the liberty of ordering stationery for your use bearing the words 'Governor-General's House, Karachi'. The job will be first class and unlike the stationery that you are using at present. I have also placed an order for a regular steel embossing seal based on the design of the rubber stamp now being used by you on official documents that bear your signature. They will be forwarded to you as soon as I receive them from the suppliers. I am sure you will like both the stationery and the seal.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

New York,
March 31, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

You have reminded me to keep you posted with information from here. I have abstained from bothering you because Government were being kept fully advised of the day-to-day developments in the Security Council and instructions were being sought on all major points. Your order will, however, be complied with and you shall regularly receive round ups from me.

Korea: The position today is worse than it was ever be-

fore. Notwithstanding the effort to out-manoeuvre Russia, I feel that Russia has not only held her ground but, in fact, has advanced. The elections to be held in the U.S.A. Zone (South of Parallel 38) on May 9 will not strengthen the forces of Democracy. The unity of Korea with the Soviet Zone (North of Parallel 38) dominating it is, in my opinion, only a matter of time. I do not think the U.S.A. can maintain an army of occupation in South Korea for an indefinite period. The day she pulls out, the North which is much better disciplined, trained and organised (due to Russian effort for the past two years) will take over the whole of Korea.

Little Assembly: Little has so far been done to justify its continuance after the present year's experimental period comes to an end. The body has seldom met. All the major matters referred to it by the General Assembly still remain to be decided. The Korean matter came up before the Little Assembly. The Chairman of the Temporary Commission for Korea brought it up. Directions were given by a majority vote for the holding of the elections in the South. Within a day of the decision, two of the three major Political Leaders of South Korea, Kimm Khu and Khima Kusec, who had agreed to go ahead with the elections, backed out and made the Little Assembly feel pretty silly.

In short, the Little Assembly does not look like a going concern. Nobody seems to take much interest in it. With the Soviet group challenging its legitimacy and keeping out, this body is just one step short of a farce. Efforts are now being made to recommend to the General Assembly that the Little Assembly be created as a permanent body. Of course, the U.S. seems keen on the idea. Several nations realise the futility of this move and the unnecessary additional cost to the nations if the proposal is carried through. A decision on this subject is, however, not being rushed for the present.

Palestine: The U.S.A., quite unexpectedly, turned turtle. This change of attitude was neither due to Arab pressure

nor to the late realisation of the fact that she had acted dishonestly in the first instance by going against the fundamentals of the Charter. The international situation — USA|USSR — alone accounted for the change in policy. The U.S. wants oil in case of crisis. Her own supplies are insufficient to meet her own demands at and near home. The war machinery — her own and of the countries that will line up with her — requires oil to keep it moving; so nothing must stand in the way of her 'grand strategy'. She must have the peace, friendship and goodwill of the nations in and around the oil wells. Once the war clouds clear, I shall not be surprised if the U.S.A. again changes her stand and reverts with full force to the position she held on November 29, 1947. It appears a certainty that even if Russia vetoes the proposal to call a special session of the General Assembly, such a session will nevertheless be called. Twenty-nine nations will be only too glad to sign such a requisition if it is sponsored by the U.S.A. Delay is helpful to the Arabs and is not in the interest of the Jews. Arab unity in the matter of Palestine is exemplary. Unity alone has been responsible for all the obstruction that has come from the Arab side. If we had no Abdullah in Kashmir to sell his conscience and to enslave his people to the Hindus, the position in Kashmir would have been different. But this is by the way. It is hoped that when a Special Session is called, it may be possible to scrap the plan of November 29, 1947 as unworkable. It is, however, a little early to say what will emerge in its stead. The Special Session, if called, will probably meet on April 19.

Indian Ambassador at Washington: Asaf Ali is due to leave at the end of April, 1948. His successor has not been named. From reports received, he is very disgusted, dejected, and disgruntled. He feels that with the death of Gandhi, his days in the political limelight of India, if not over, are numbered.

The Presidential Election in the U.S. The parties are warming up. Every bit of fish that each side can lay

hands on is exposed to public gaze. The Press is full of propaganda. The tempo will go on increasing until the climax is reached in November. Between now and then, election politics will hold the stage and even serious international politics may become just pawns in the election game.

There is too much talk of war these days and the U.S. Government is quietly reviewing the productive efficiency of the country; war industries are being keyed up quietly. The world is passing through a period of crisis, the like of which she has rarely known. If the elections in Italy go against Democracy, a match will be applied to the powder magazine. It appears more clearly than ever before that the U.S. is determined not to allow one more inch of ground to Communism even at the cost of war. The people of this country bar the few who follow Henry Wallace, have developed a Red-phobia and any move by the Reds turns them red with rage!

Development of Pakistan: This important and urgent matter has been receiving not only the attention of the Embassy and Consulate but also the attention of Zafrullah Khan and Mohammed Ali. We have dined and lunched with a dozen or more top bankers and businessmen. We have held several conferences. Mohammed Ali called on the State Department and on the heads of the World Bank and the Export and Import Bank at Washington. He had long talks with them. The result of all these conferences and interviews has been communicated by him from time to time to Ghulam Mohammed. Briefly stated, all talks led to two conclusions:

(i) Private Capital is not interested in a reasonably big way in any undertaking outside the U.S.A. If individual concerns are approached and made interested in setting up plants in Pakistan, some progress can be made.

(ii) If substantial credit or loan is required, there are only two sources that are available for approach

— (a) The World Bank, (b) The Export and Import Bank. Both these require proper reports of survey conducted by recognised first-class concerns, backed by thorough schemes regularly broken down to the minutest items of expenditure and income to service the loan that is being asked.

Some undertakings that have international ramifications like the General Motors are interested in installing plants in Pakistan. The international situation is, however, holding them back for the present. If the threatening war clouds blow away and conditions are a little more settled, I am confident they will come to Pakistan. You have my assurance that we are doing all we can to interest and attract foreign capital and industry to Pakistan. We shall continue our effort. Once we succeed in breaking the ice, I am sure the rest of the process will not be too difficult. The Standard Oil Company sent its experts to Pakistan to 'look round' for oil. Has anyone of Government met them? Are they still in Pakistan? Cannot the department concerned keep me advised?

Pakistan Chancery at Washington: We hope to move into it after repairs and refurbishing at the end of April. I shall be glad to leave the Shoreham Hotel, although from the point of view of comfort and service, I have nothing to complain about.

Kashmir: I confirm my hasty note of March 27, I am sure the request it carried was unnecessary as you must be exercising your fullest pressure on the representatives of the U.K. and U.S.A. in Karachi.

Thank God, China's term as President of the Security Council comes to an end today and Colombia assumes the Presidentship tomorrow. So far, Colombia has been fairly just. We hope and pray that an honest and fair solution will emerge during April. Dr. Tsiang's resolution, if the past procedure is followed, will be as dead as mutton by midnight tonight. We are hoping that the Colombian will insist on putting his own proposal before

the Council and parties. Zafrullah Khan has made it unmistakably clear that Tsiang's resolution is wholly unacceptable to Pakistan. Every member of the Security Council is fully aware of our position and reaction. In the circumstances, if the Council is to persist in striving for an agreed solution, something different will have to form the basis of negotiation. It is really tragic to witness such a sudden change in the attitude of the majority of the Security Council. The very points they turned down as unfair, they now seek to justify as fair. Britain, of course, is behind the move. I think that the present international situation — USA|USSR tension — must have influenced the U.S. through British pressure, to keep on the good side of India. So, an attempt is being made to throw us to the wolves.

It is expected that the Kashmir question will again be taken up by the Security Council in a day or two. As you know, Argentina and Syria are sympathetic; so is Colombia to a large extent. Russia and Ukraine are still sitting pretty and are not disclosing their hand.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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381

New York,
March 31, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am enclosing¹ some sketches for your perusal and return with comments. All the sketches emphasise Pak-

1. Not available in I.P.

istan's two main crops — Jute in the East and Wheat in the West.

Any change in the size or shape can easily be effected by the artist.

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

382

New York,
April 5, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

Zafrullah has once more seen almost all the members of the Security Council excepting the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine representatives. He has discussed at length with each of them the Chinese resolution in its final form including the items on which reservations were made by both parties when they last met in the office of the Chinese Delegation. He has conveyed to them your reactions and also the reactions of our Cabinet and has made it unmistakably clear that the resolution as it stands today is unacceptable to us and has given reasons in support. At this stage it can be said that he received a fairly sympathetic hearing and it is hoped that Pakistan's viewpoint will not be disregarded totally. Much will, however, depend on the stand England takes and, so far, it seems that both Attlee and Cripps are out to appease India and to back her unreasonable views. They seem concerned about what India will accept and not with what is fair. We have had clear intimation from the British Delegation recently that they are unable to support our point of view. India appears determined not to budge an inch.

from her stand that (a) Pakistan troops shall not enter Kashmir in any circumstances, (b) Abdullah shall remain head of the Kashmir administration even during the plebiscite. Noel-Baker who sided with us and who still appears to be sympathetic, seems helpless. He has been sent back with a mandate to press us and to back India. The President, Dr. Lopez of Colombia, is genuinely sympathetic and will, I feel, press for a just and fair settlement. Syria and Argentina too will do likewise. The U.S. may, I think, press for a line more reasonable and honest than that drawn in the Chinese resolution. Canada is likely to pursue the same course. France and Belgium will throw in their lot with the majority. I hope my analysis turns out to be wrong and trust that all the members of the Security Council will recommend a solution that will give an equal chance to Pakistan and India on the question of accession by upholding that joint troops are necessary and that a free and unfettered plebiscite is impossible so long as Abdullah continues as Prime Minister.

The President has decided to meet each delegation separately for the first few times and then to meet them together. He will avail himself of the assistance of the three past presidents — China, Canada and Belgium. It is only after some joint conferences that he will go to the Security Council with his suggestions for the solution of the problem. It is expected that within this week or the latest by the middle of next week he will be ready to call a meeting of the Security Council to consider the India-Pakistan dispute on Kashmir.

To sum up, at the moment real opposition in the Security Council to the lines on which we want to advance comes from Great Britain and the time has come when it might be considered whether it would not be wise and of help if the Pakistan Press would exhibit signs of impatience and disgruntlement with the British attitude calling

upon the Pakistan Government to review the question of the continuation of Pakistan's membership of the British Commonwealth.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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383

New York,
April 20, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

The resolution on Kashmir sponsored by six members of the Security Council came up for its consideration on Saturday April 17. These six nations spoke in its support and France followed suit. The meeting was adjourned until Monday, April 19. The proceedings commenced with a speech by Gopalaswami Ayyanger. In his ninety minutes address, he told the Council that some of the clauses were wholly unacceptable to his Government and made a bitter grievance of the fact that Pakistan had not been chastised for 'acting against her friendly neighbour in an unfriendly way'. At times he spoke boastfully of the prowess of his country. It is clear from his tone and words that India is absolutely confident of achieving a military victory in Kashmir within the next few months, if not within the next few weeks. It seems that his Government believes that when the Indian army begins to move in Kashmir, it will go through the territory now occupied by the Azad forces with the ease of a hot knife cutting butter. It is learnt here that large quantities of weapons, vehicles, ammunition and supplies have been taken to Kashmir and a substantial portion of

India's mechanised army has also been moved to that theatre. In short, everything is ready for the launching of a major offensive. I am sure the Azad Kashmir Government and its friends are fully aware of India's contemplated move and preparations have been fully made to stem such an advance. It seems that the Kashmir dispute will eventually have to be settled in Kashmir and not at Lake Success and that unless India faces a military reverse, there cannot be any hope for her seeing reason.

If I may venture to express an opinion, I would say that one of our best men should be entrusted with the whole time duty of keeping the Azad machine working smoothly and efficiently. I cannot think of a better man for this great and responsible job than Mohammed Ali. My association with him here has led me to the irresistible conclusion that he is not only a fine man of high principles but also exceedingly capable.

After Gopalaswami Ayyanger, Zafrullah took the floor. His speech of two hours was a magnificent performance. His reasoning was clear, his arguments unsailable. He quoted from the earlier speeches of the sponsors of the 'final resolution' to show how they had suddenly changed their stand and how they were now labouring to make us accept what they themselves not long ago, considered to be unfair and unjust. He made a clear analysis of the resolution and submitted our amendments to it which, as he said, were in line with the principles propounded by the nations before they were cast into the Hudson for some 'unknown' reason. Most of the representatives were unable to hide their discomfiture but that is hardly a consolation to us.

After Zafrullah's speech, the Syrian representative expressed his grievance at the manner in which the President and five other members, supported by France, had presented a ***fait accompli*** to the Security Council. He went on to say that in these circumstances it was just futile to

ask the other members of the Council to express their views or to make concrete suggestions for a fair and equitable settlement. The President immediately replied that it was neither his intention, nor the intention of the other six members, China, Belgium, Canada, U.K., U.S.A. and France, to create a majority to rush the resolution through or to shut out participation by the other members. At this stage, Dr. Arce of Argentina proposed that the general debate be closed and that the Council, at the next meeting, consider the resolution, clause by clause.

The Council will meet on Wednesday, April 21 and will decide on the procedure and then act on the decision that will be arrived at.

I doubt if any material change in the resolution¹ will be effected. India by expressing her displeasure and disapproval and by rejecting the resolution yesterday, has almost certainly insured against any more modification to the further detriment of her interest. Weak-kneed England and her colleagues will not dare to sponsor or accept any change that may further incur the wrath of India.

It is indeed a tragedy that justice, honesty and fair play occupy no place in the so-called great organization of the U.N. It is most regrettable that every question, in the final analysis, is judged on the strength of the parties to a dispute and not on the merits of the case that is brought before it for decision.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

1. U.N. Security Council Resolution April 21, 1948. See Appendix XX.



New York,
April 20, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

There appears to be talk in India of that country taking a lead in the matter of a South East Asia Economic Plan based on lines similar to the Marshall Plan. So far as I can see, this will not go beyond the stage of wishful thinking unless, of course, the international situation deteriorates to a dangerous level. In any circumstance, there is no reason why steps should not be taken to prevent India assuming leadership of South East Asia. South East Asia bar Hindu India is predominantly Muslim and we as the leading Muslim state should endeavour to assume such leadership. Of course, this position cannot be attained by speeches and statements at home but only by hard work in these areas. We have to win the friendship, sympathy and confidence of our brothers. We should instil in them a desire to associate with us and to co-operate with us generally. To achieve this end, it will be necessary for Government to appoint first rate representatives to the major countries of South East Asia. These men will have to do plenty of uphill work, as we shall be starting leagues behind India in the race to win them over.

Nehru has already made substantial headway. The last Inter-Asian Conference held at Delhi did much in bringing several of the countries, and particularly Indonesia, closer to him and to India. There is still time to make up the leeway but we can ill afford to lose or waste an hour. To begin with, we have to concentrate our attention on Malaya and Indonesia.

This letter is the result of a talk between Zafrullah, Mohammed Ali and myself.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan



New York,
April 29, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am not aware of the present position in regard to the installation of the proposed gun and shell factory and the steel mill for the production of metal required by it. The last reports that reached us here were to the effect that a survey was being conducted in Pakistan by two of England's top ranking specialists, one from the Ministry of Supply and the other from Woolwich. During the last few weeks, the international position has worsened and there is too much talk of impending war and some amount of preparation for it. Whether this is sabre rattling or a war of nerves, I do not know, but this much I know — the nations, who can supply our wants are busy with the launching of their own re-armament programmes. It appears that we shall experience difficulty in placing orders for the required plant, machinery and material even if we are ready to place them right away. The more we procrastinate the more difficult will it be for us to acquire the required machinery and the services of experts. It therefore appears to me that we should go full speed ahead with our project and enter into contracts where most favourable delivery at the most competitive price is available.

In this country a ban has been imposed by the Government on the sale of certain war surplus material, particularly manufacturing plants, machinery, ships, etc. Furthermore, production of such material is being slowly but surely stepped up and war factories that still remain unsold are being put into shape. I know of large orders being placed on the quiet for aircraft. While such preparations go on, the demand on American industry particularly for machinery, machine tools and equipment required by the fighting forces will increase. Added to

this, the working of the Marshall Plan in Europe will also cause a substantial strain on such industries in this country. In my opinion England appears to be the best market to purchase the plant particularly if delivery is guaranteed within a reasonable time. I suppose Skoda of Czechoslovakia will not be interested any longer in the selling and setting up of a modern armaments manufacturing factory.

There is no change in the Palestine situation. The debate drags on. There is plenty of speaking and little progress. I shall not be surprised if talks at Lake Success continue beyond the dead line date of May 15.

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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386

New York,
April 29, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

In continuation of my letter of today's date, I have to advise that Zafrullah proposes to return to Karachi at the end of next week as he thinks that so far as he is concerned, his usefulness here is finished and he must go back to Karachi as soon as possible.

I have received intimation from two different quarters in West Punjab that the refugees from Kashmir were not being looked after and were somewhat disgusted with the treatment that they had received, although I understand that rations are now being issued to them. This, I am afraid, would create a very bad impression among the people of Kashmir and might seriously pre-

judice the plebiscite. It is a pity that this should be so when we have a whole time Rehabilitation and Relief Minister to look after these affairs.

As this is very important, I have no doubt the matter, as usual, will receive your kind and favourable attention.

The latest reports relating to the putting down of inefficiency and corruption in high quarters are most heartening indeed.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

387

New York,
May 6, 1948.

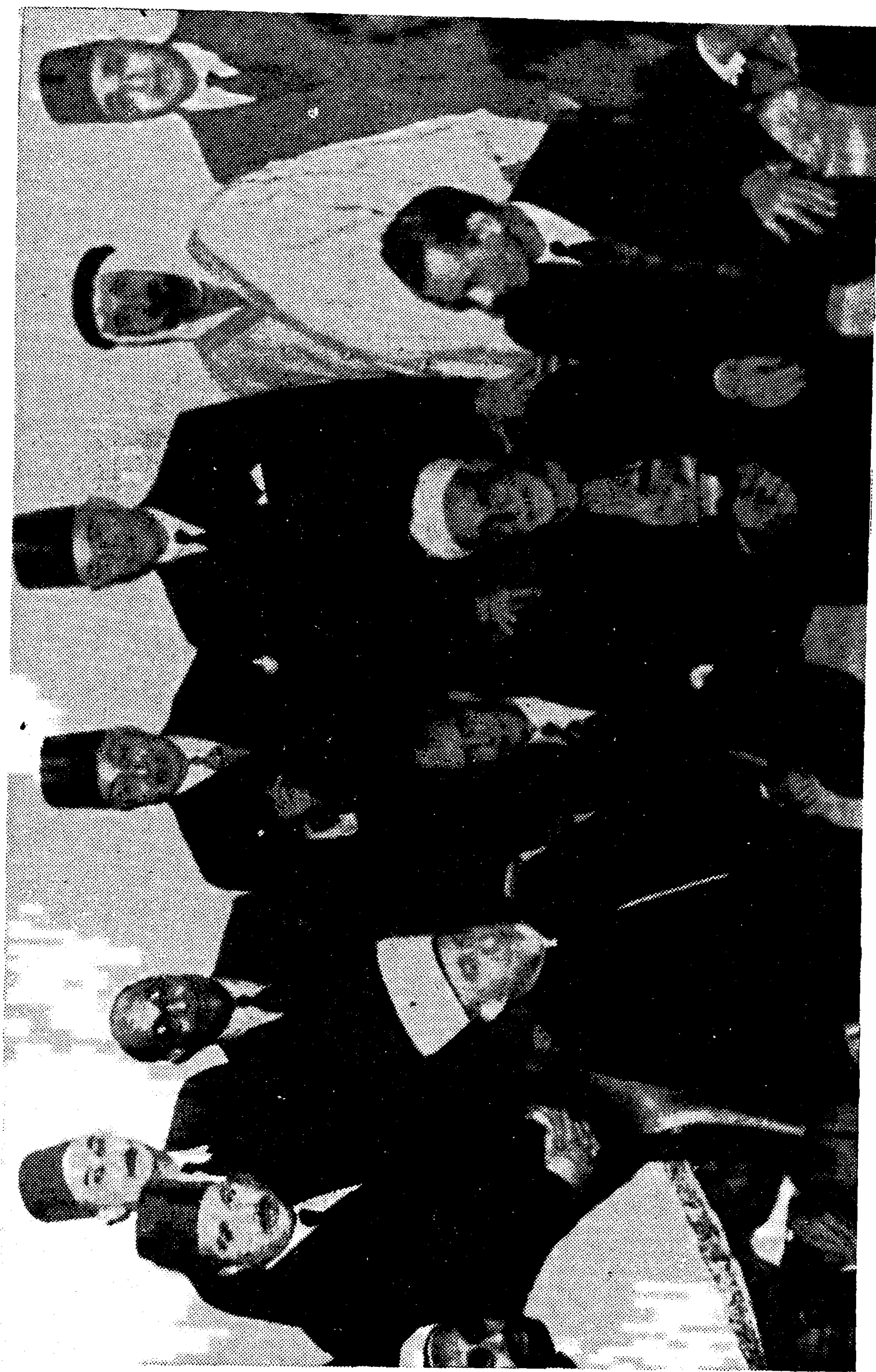
My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I have hunted high and low for the Pakistan green for your seals. Unfortunately I have not been able to improve upon the colour that is being sent with this letter.

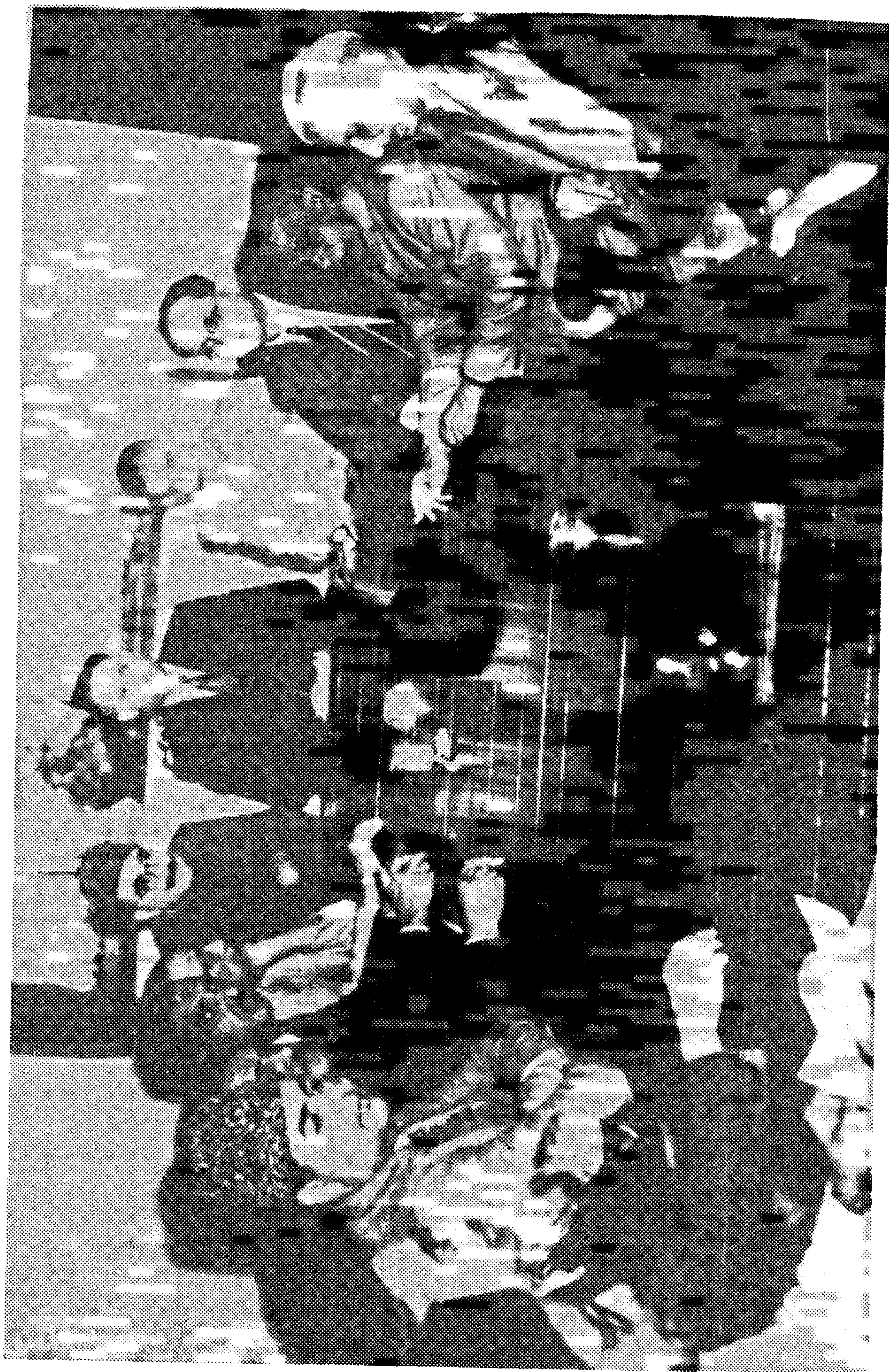
Only three colours are available in the U.S., and three packets, one of each colour, are being sent to you.

The Security Council meets tomorrow to consider the Pakistan-India dispute. Zafrullah Khan will address it and will leave for Pakistan via Damascus in the afternoon. I shall certainly miss my two colleagues whose brilliance has been a source of constant inspiration to me.

I trust this letter will find you in very good health. Please look after yourself and do not over-work.



Quaid-i-Azam with Egyptian Leaders and the Mufti of Palestine in Cairo, 1946



Quaid-i-Azam with members of the AIML Working Committee

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With my warmest regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

388

New York,
May 10, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

We have been working on the R.P.A.F. requisition for 30 A.T. 16 Harvard trainers and spares for these and also for such aircraft owned by us. We have not been able to make headway as the State Department refuses to issue the licences required for their purchase. We have been advised that a policy laid down at a very high level prevents the issuing of the licences. It appears that

so long as the threat of an armed conflict between India and Pakistan remains, neither of the Dominions will be permitted to purchase war material in this country. The State Department has pointed out that both the Indian and Pakistani representatives have openly declared before the Security Council that the prospects of an armed conflict between them cannot be totally ruled out and in the circumstances, it was impossible for the U.S. Government to consider any applications for war material, however strong the assurance may be that such stuff will be used solely for the purpose of training our Air Force personnel. Harvard trainer aircraft are listed amongst combat equipment; hence our difficulty. I have been informed by an unimpeachable authority that the Dominion of India has filed a requisition for a large number of aircraft and for a big quantity of other war material. The State Department has given them the same reply. We did not accept their first negative answer as final and took up the question with the head of our section in the State Department, Mr. Loy Henderson. He undertook to look into the matter personally and do all he could to help us. The first reactions have been conveyed to us informally and will be followed by a formal communication. There is no change; Harvard aircraft and their spares cannot be released until the clouds of an impending conflict blow away to the satisfaction of the U.S. Government.

We shall keep on plugging at the State Department in the hope that their policy, in our case, may be modified. We have left no argument in favour of giving us our requirements and have repeatedly given without avail, every possible assurance that the aircraft were required for training purposes only.

I report this failure with regret and assure you that it was not due to lack of effort or representation on the part of the Embassy.

Karachi will be advised telegraphically of the final

reply of the State Department when we receive the official communication.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

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389

Karachi,
May 18, 1948.

My dear Hassan,

I have received all your letters giving very interesting information of developments that were taking place at Lake Success. I shall always welcome your letters giving me all the information that you think is worth passing on. Of course I did not acknowledge them because there was no need to do so.

With reference to your letter dated March 31, as desired by you I have approved of one out of the lot which seems to me to be the best, and I have signed it. But you do not indicate for what purpose you are trying to get the sketch. I would like to have some more particulars.

With reference to your letter of May 6, regarding my seal, I prefer green, a sample of which I send you herewith.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

New York,
May 19, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I confirm my last letter of March 31. Since then quite a few things have happened.

The Special Palestine Session of the General Assembly ended in a complete fiasco and farce. The newspapers must have given you full details of the happenings. It is hard to express how shocked the delegates were when news came through on the ticker that Truman had given *de facto* recognition to the 'Provisional Government of the State of Israel'. It was at a time when the U.S. representatives were appealing to all the Delegations assembled to act quickly on the two proposals put forth by Sub-Committees 9 and 10 — one regarding the appointment of a mediator for Palestine and the other concerning a sort of a temporary Trusteeship over Jerusalem — as time was fast running out. I am satisfied that even the U.S. Delegation was taken aback when the report of recognition was confirmed a few minutes later. No one could understand how a nation like the U.S. changed its stand every few days. It certainly does not do credit to the Government of the country which, through world conditions and circumstances, has found herself in the position of world leadership. Yet I am sure Truman's somersaults are equally resented by his own people. Truman's political inconsistency as exhibited in the last five months in the matter of Palestine has bewildered the world. All this has happened because of the coming Presidential Election. Being election year, Truman and his party bosses are only concerned with just one matter and that is to retain the Presidency for the Democratic Party. Everything else, however good and decent, has to go overboard when the ship of political power in this country is in danger. I doubt very much if Truman's action on May 14 in regard to Palestine will boost his popularity

more than a few points as a result of Jewish support in New York State. It will not be long before his stock starts to slump again. The Gallup Poll held early this month shows Truman's popularity at the low ebb of 32%, and unless something extraordinary happens between now and the election, I am certain that the next occupant of the White House will be a Republican.

The newspapers, particularly in New York, carry three to four pages of Jewish news every day. Compared with Jewish propaganda, the Arab counterpart is not even in the picture. Whilst the Arab Delegations receive confidential information of definite advances and victories, the Jews proclaim victories by their forces in the same theatres. The Security Council is considering 'yet another' resolution along with a draft questionnaire submitted by the representative of the U.S.A. I have it on good authority that the Arabs mean to act notwithstanding the recognition of the 'State of Israel' by the U.S. and Russian Governments. I am also advised that the Arabs will go ahead without taking cognisance of what the Security Council says to them. The Arabs hold that legally no such State has been established or can be established and until the status of Palestine is legally determined, the directions and resolutions of the Security Council are *ultra vires* and, therefore, not binding on them.

The more I follow international politics and the more I come in contact with it in Lake Success, the greater grows my belief that in international affairs, the Law of the Jungle holds unquestioned sway. Justice, equity, fair play and legality are hollow words. Might is right and every question or dispute is judged not on its merits but on the touchstone of expediency and power politics. He who is strong can get what he wants and he who gets hold of anything and is strong enough to keep it, retains it in spite of the inequity and illegality of his act. As I have said, the more I see the U.N. at work, the more I arrive at the conclusion that reliance on this body

to do justice is to expect the impossible. Every nation will have to rely on its own strength. It is, therefore, absolutely essential for us to build the structure of our strength on a sound foundation. We have, during the last few months, seen the handling of several cases, each of which supports my contention. Take Kashmir; take Palestine. All principles of justice and legality were sacrificed at the altar of expediency and power pressure. Take again Czechoslovakia — the U.N. has not been able to do anything so far because the power behind the Czechs is Russia. Had there been a smaller nation in the place of Russia, the outcome of the whole matter would have been different.

During the Special Session of the Assembly just concluded, except for the speech of Girja Shankar Bajpai who supported a united Palestine and therefore the Arabs, it was observed that India's representative at the U.N. did not take interest in the session. On most points he remained neutral and, sometimes, he cast his vote against Arab interest.

In September last the attitude of India in international affairs was one of complete neutrality. Her representative, Mrs. Pandit, did not lose a single opportunity in proclaiming to the world that India was not interested in the tug of war between the Western Democracies and the Soviet bloc. Later, India's policy showed a slight change. She showed inclination to shift towards the Soviet bloc. Recently, however, her policy has undergone yet another change. India now openly supports the U.S. and the Western democracies. Apparently she is beginning to feel that if she wants financial and economic assistance from the U.S., she will have to line up openly with her. It was rumoured that Shanmukhan Chetty was coming to the U.S. in the third week of this month to discuss with the State Department the question of a loan. No fresh information, however, has been received by me in this regard. I have, however, been assured by responsible men of the State Department that if such an approach is

made, the result will be no different to that achieved by us. In other words, after sweet and courteous talks, Chetty will be referred to the International and the Export-Import Banks. I might also add that according to the State Department, Grady's reference to a 'Nehru Plan' in one of his talks in New Delhi in the last week of last March, had no significance in it beyond what appeared on the surface. The United States has already too many programmes, plans and financial commitments on her hands and Congress will not be in a mood to consider any proposals that will involve the voting of more funds for expenditure abroad, particularly in countries which are not facing an imminent danger of a Communist onslaught. The State Department is entirely aware, or at any rate has been made so now, of our interest in the Muslim populated areas of South East Asia and also of the Middle East.

I spoke to the President of the Security Council, Ambassador Parodi, the other day and was assured that he would call a meeting of the Security Council during this week to consider the Indo-Pakistan dispute and to give directions to the Mediation Commission. I impressed the necessity for giving direction in the matter of Junagadh and the other complaints of Pakistan against India. At the moment, both the President and members of the Security Council appear to be more concerned with Palestine than any other matter that is still awaiting disposal by the Council.

The Ambassador of Burma in Washington, U. So Nyun, is an old friend of mine. He was at Oxford when I was at Cambridge, and we have been very good friends for many years. The other day he told me that he had placed orders for machinery in this country totalling three million dollars. The Government of Burma has purchased a new cotton spinning and weaving plant of 20,000 spindles. The plant will be shipped to Burma at the end of

600

the current year. Some other smaller factories have also been purchased, but I am without details.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

391

New York,
June 6, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I had this pleasure on May 19.

Government have been informed of yesterday's proceedings of the Security Council and also of the resolution that was adopted by it. I must confess my disappointment with the resolution but must at the same time admit that nothing better seemed possible. In fact, on several occasions yesterday, I thought that we would get a worse deal and once or twice I even felt that the Security Council would decide not to charge the Kashmir Commission of Mediation with any other duties beside those allotted to it by the resolution of April 23. One or two representatives suggested that the Commission should not be burdened with any other matter which meant that Pakistan's charges against India as contained in our Foreign Minister's letter of January 15 to the President of the Security Council were either to be dropped or not considered for an indefinite period. The representative of China suggested that excepting Junagadh which may be taken up for study and report as, when and if the Commission thought fit, the remaining charges of Pakistan against India should be dropped. He appealed to me to withdraw them as India considered

that they cast a slur on her. I replied that I could not comply with the distinguished representative's request and reiterated that the charges preferred by my Government were wholly real and were not made with the intention of casting a slur on India but with the sole purpose of ending certain conditions, the continued presence of which constituted a threat to international peace.

Once again the scene of activity has shifted from Lake Success to the sub-continent of India. I have no doubt that our Government will not spare effort to convince the Commission, if such convincing is still necessary, that our stand is the correct and honest one and the stand of India is just the opposite. All the five nations that constitute the Mediation Commission have nominated top ranking men and I am certain that much reliance will be placed on and weight given to the reports that the Commission will, from time to time, send to the Security Council. In the circumstances, I am sure the Commission will be properly looked after.

During the last five or six weeks, it has grown more and more patent that the members of the Security Council are no longer interested in the Indo-Pakistan dispute. Furthermore, they have shown themselves unwilling to arrive at a decision that will not be well received by India. Particularly the big powers are out more to appease India than do justice. It took me three weeks to get the President of the Security Council to call the meeting of May 27th. It was my constant pressure and protest that eventually persuaded the President, Parodi of France, to summon a meeting of the Council on the 27th of May. Parodi could have got the Council to come to a decision on that very day. He, however, ran shy of it and left his successor, Faris Khouri of Syria to call a meeting for the purpose.

The Palestine question is so exhaustively reported in the press throughout the world that there is no need

for me to inflict a lengthy report. The only concern of the Security Council for the last three weeks has been Palestine. Nothing else matters. The Arabs are happy and are grateful to Pakistan for the great support that our country is giving them in their life and death struggle. The resolution of the Pakistan Assembly was very much appreciated by their representatives here. The final solution of this difficult problem will rest on the strength of the parties to the dispute. Even the so-called great powers respect strength more than justice and equity.

The Chancery and Embassy buildings are packed with workmen. The Chancery will be ready for occupation in the third week of this month and the Embassy should be ready by the end of the month. It has been far from easy to do up the buildings and secure the necessary furniture and other equipment.

I hope you will take complete rest in Ziarat. When I was in Washington last week, I was disturbed to hear unofficially through one of the men of the State Department that you had taken ill on reaching Quetta. I hope this news is incorrect. Please favour me with a line as I am much concerned about your health.

I have had strenuous time ever since I arrived in this country and am beginning to feel rather tired. My family has been in Karachi since the first of January waiting for my call from here. I propose to ask Government before the end of this month to permit me to return home for consultation and then get back to the U.S. with my family.

With my best wishes to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

392

Camp Quetta,
June 10, 1948.

Dear Excellency,

I am desired by the Quaid-e-Azam to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letters dated May 10 and 19 respectively. I am further to say that he was glad to read the Press report that you did well in advocating our cause and succeeded in getting the Security Council to deal with Junagadh genocide, and failure on the part of India to honour the agreement with regard to the delivery of stores, equipment etc.

Yours sincerely,
F. Amin

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

393

No. 124-8.5.(C).

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S HOUSE
KARACHI

Quetta, 14th June 1948.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter dated the 4th of June and thank you for giving me all the information. Dont worry about me. I was somewhat over-worked and naturally had to pay the penalty for it. But let me assure you that there is nothing wrong with me. A little rest in Quetta has done me a lot of good. I am going to Ziarat on the 17th where I hope to spend about 10 days. I will probably return to Karachi before the end of this month.

Well, I note that you are a bit home-sick, and naturally tired because you had to go through such nerve-racking

developments at Lake Success. Yes, I know that your family is in Karachi, and you propose to ask Government before the end of this month to permit you to return home for consultation and then get back to the U.S. with your family. Personally I do not see any reason why there should be any objection to this course, and I do hope that the Government will try and meet you, although I have no knowledge of their views at the moment of my writing this letter. But I think they will refer the matter to me before giving you a final reply.

With best of wishes from Miss Jinnah and myself.

There is nothing to worry about, and I would like you to cheer up. I am confident that we will come out of all these problems which are facing us successfully, for the simple reason that our cause is righteous and we are facing it with honesty and fighting for justice and fairplay.

Yours sincerely,



His Excellency M.A.H. Ispahani,
Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D.C.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

394

Telegram

Secret.

Immediate.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Karachi,
June 19, 1948.

Ispahani,
PAREP,
Washington.

Your telegram dated June 9, 1948, states that the Security Council agreed that the President

might call upon parties engaged in fighting to cease fire to give a fair chance of success to the Commission's work.

India is making an all-out effort to subjugate, by ruthless military action, territories under control of the Azad Kashmir Government. As you know, the population of those territories is almost wholly Muslim and is completely opposed to accession of the State to India. Result is that, in such areas as have, after bitter struggle, fallen under the sway of the Indian Government, large scale extermination of Muslims has taken place. Any further extension of India's military conquest at the expense of the Azad Kashmir territory will, it is feared, lead to further extermination of the Muslim population and an exodus of about a million Muslims into Pakistan. This would create a most serious problem for Pakistan and would throw an intolerable burden on the economy of West Pakistan which has already been overstrained and disorganised by the influx of 5½ million Muslims from Eastern Punjab, Delhi and neighbouring areas of the Indian Dominion.

Indian Government have also indulged in more serious violations of Pakistan's frontiers. We have already supplied you with details of the attack on Garhi Habibullah which the Indian Government denied at first but for which later they tendered an apology.

As the Indian Army approaches the North-West Frontier and as stories of atrocities committed by them on Muslims of Jammu and Poonch spread, there is serious danger of the entire North-West Frontier rising up in arms. Such a conflagration would be full of dangerous potentialities not only to the peace and security of Pakistan but to the whole world.

In view of the facts mentioned above, it is essential that the Commission should reach here as early as possible and try to arrange a cease fire. I suggest that you might bring these facts to the notice of the President of the Security Council informally and discuss with him

ways and means of getting the Commission to reach here earlier than anticipated. Perhaps one way might be to ask Arce to have the instructions of his Government cabled to Argentinian Representatives on the Commission to press for the early arrival of the Commission. A similar approach might be made to Ambassador Austin if you consider it advisable.

Zafrullah Khan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

395

Telegram

Top Secret.

Most Immediate.

PAREP,
Washington, D.C.
June 22, 1948.

Zafrullah Khan,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Karachi.

Your telegram received June 21. I am ill, nevertheless immediately contacted by telephone Khouri and Arce made appointments for today. Sent Baig fully briefed to do needful quietly. He interviewed Khouri who heard him sympathetically and also read copy of your telegram to me. After consulting some Security Council colleagues including MacNaughton told Baig that he could not repeat not issue a fresh directive to hasten departure as this is already embodied in Council's resolution and instructions to Commission but would immediately unofficially yet forcefully ask representatives

of the countries that constitute Commission to request and press their men to go out quickly, earlier than June 30 if possible. Arce assured he would telegraph his Government and would press here utmost to hurry arrival of Commission Indian subcontinent. He suggested that you telegraph Foreign Minister of the Argentine requesting that Argentine representative on the Commission should press for earliest departure from Geneva. Lawford of the United Kingdom, was, according to my instructions given to Baig, casually met in the lobby and asked present position of the Commission's departure. He said that His Majesty's Government wanted the Commission to proceed soonest. A B.O.A.C. aircraft was ordered to be in Geneva on June 30 to carry the Commission to the subcontinent and so far the Commission had not received clearance from Delhi. Quaker Symmond had gone ahead to Delhi as representative of the Commission to arrange this speedily. United States Delegation, I am advised, is strongly of the view that India's delaying tactics should not repeat not be countenanced and if clearance unobtained from Delhi in quick time, the Commission should nevertheless depart earliest. Trygvie Lie has cabled the Commission in Geneva to proceed utmost expedition to Indian subcontinent.

Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

396

Washington, D.C.,
June 23, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am grateful to you for your letter of May 18. It took three weeks in transit.

The sketches sent to you were a few suggestions

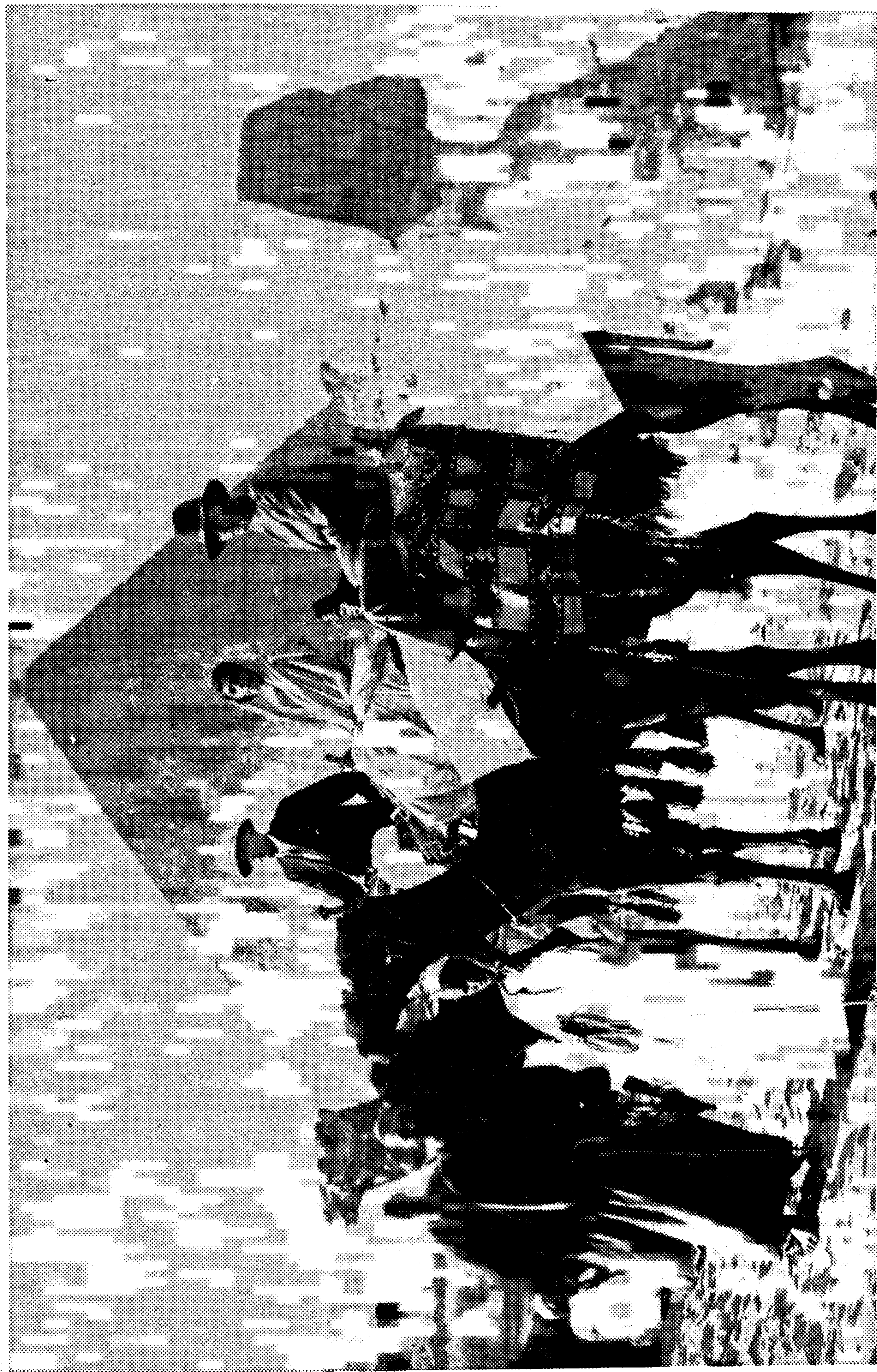
by an artist for consideration as the national seal or emblem. These were prepared some six months ago. I do not think any one of them has struck your fancy. I note the green seal has been approved by you. One thousand more will be sent to you shortly.

I have not been too well during the last one week. A touch of influenza, I suppose. Although the fever left me three days ago, I am still far from fit and bright.

On June 3 a brief report of the day's proceedings of the Security Council was cabled to you in Quetta. On the 9th, without reasonable notice to us, a meeting of the Security Council was called. The first intimation that I had of this meeting was through the columns of the **New York Times** the same morning. The meeting, as you know, considered Nehru's latest letter to the President of the Council. The Pakistan Delegation went to Lake Success in time to canvass as many members of the Council as they could meet. My line of approach was:

(1) If any further appeasement of India is decided upon by the Security Council or if there is any amendment of the Resolutions of April 23 or June 3, it would become impossible for Pakistan to continue silent. In fact, I told them that it would become urgently necessary for us to review the entire situation.

(2) India wanted the Security Council to act as her rubber stamp, to do exactly as she wants it and not as the Council considers right. Fortunately for us, Nehru's note did Pakistan good. The majority of the members were really annoyed with India. Dr. Tsiang, the Head of the Chinese Delegation sensed this hostility and was the first to speak when the Council meeting opened. His was a very mild and sensible speech. It drew out the fangs of those who wanted to strike India. Furthermore, I am sure it was on his advice that Pillai did not speak. Tsiang knew that if Pillai spoke, he would add to the irritation and make matters worse for India. Dr. Arce of Argentina protested at the approach of both



M.A. Jinnah with Fatimah Jinnah in Cairo, 1930



Miss Fatimah Jinnah, M.A. Jinnah, Dina

the President and Dr. Tsiang. He said that the resolutions were both clear and required no explanation whatsoever. However, it was decided to send a reply to Pandit Nehru signed by the President. The President, Faris Bey Khouri, in the course of the discussion on that day put in his appeal to the parties now fighting in Kashmir to cease fire. This was done at my request because even at that time I felt this appeal necessary because of India's all-out effort to obtain a speedy decision by sheer weight of arms. After the meeting I had a long talk with Khouri, in the course of which I appealed to him to do his best for us. He said he would. The letter he told me would make the following points clear to Mr. Nehru:

- (a) The Resolution of April 23 stands; that a copy of Nehru's letter would be handed to the Commission for attention.
- (b) That the Resolution of June 3 is clear. It does not seek to cast a slur on India. The Security Council has not passed judgment on Pakistan's complaints in regard to Junagadh, genocide and non implementation. Furthermore, Kashmir occupies topmost place; the other matters to be taken up by the Commission at its discretion.
- (c) The Security Council appeals to the parties fighting in Kashmir to cease fire forthwith.
- (d) The Commission has been instructed to proceed to the subcontinent of India as quickly as possible.

I was impressing upon him the urgency of points (c) and (d) for almost three weeks before June 9.

In view of all this, the actual letter addressed by the President of the Security Council to Pandit Nehru came as a great surprise to me because it did not contain several of the very important points which Mr. Khouri promised to embody in that letter. It appears that his

colleagues on the Council must have cut out those points in order to sweeten the pill for India. Diplomacy, I am afraid, is an unclean game and no one, not even one's closest friend, is worthy of full confidence and reliance.

Recent news from Kashmir does not appear too good. The Indian 'steam roller' offensive, it is advertised by Indian agents in London and Washington, is in full swing. Yesterday, I had a telegram from Zafrullah as per copy enclosed. Although ill, I lost no time in taking action thereon. Faris Khouri was contacted telephonically and so was Dr. Arce of Argentina. Baig, my Counsellor, a first rate and experienced officer in whose efficiency I have confidence, was fully briefed by me and sent to New York to put our point of view across quietly, tactfully and yet most effectively. I am glad this has been done to my satisfaction. I am enclosing a copy of my cable despatched to Zafrullah this afternoon. As you will appreciate, no effort has been spared to impress the urgent necessity for sending out the Commission in spite of India's now patent, delaying tactics. It is imperative that the front should hold for another fourteen days. The onward march of Indian troops must be halted at all cost by the valiant soldiers who are fighting for the freedom of Kashmir.

Palestine. There is nothing fresh to report on this front. Excepting in professionally interested quarters, the Palestine question has been for the present anyway, relegated to the background. Informed opinion is aware of the precarious character of the truce and of the gulf that has to be bridged if a lasting and peaceful solution is to follow upon the present cease fire. The Republican National Convention is on at Philadelphia. The Republicans are too busy with the selection of their candidate for the Presidential Election to bother themselves about Palestine. (My guess is Dewey with Vandenberg as the dark

horse). Nevertheless it is expected that the Convention in order to draw the Jewish vote will include in the Party platform some plank that will please the Jews, without committing the U.S. to any positive and definite action which may be likely to arouse the opposition of Non-Zionist Americans.

Trade and Industry in the U.S. are booming. Big industry has given its third wage boost in two years. Prices are advancing. People have more money to spend and deflation does not appear even on the horizon. In short, everything is pretty in the American garden. Unemployment stands at its lowest. Aircraft factories, in particular, are all loaded with large-sized Government orders. This boom cannot last indefinitely. It has already lasted too long. Those who are caught on the crest of this boom wave when the crash comes will rue the day.

It is expected that the next budget including foreign aid and the vast military and navy programme may even touch the 50,000 million dollars mark. Surely even this great God's blessed country cannot carry such a huge burden on her shoulders for long without a breakdown in her economy. Hoover was right when he sounded a note of warning to the members of the Republican Convention at Philadelphia last night.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan



Washington, D.C.,
June 28, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

This is to thank you for your letter from Quetta, dated June 14.

As Government have permitted me to return for consultation, I shall Inshallah be leaving New York by Pan American Airways on July 5. I shall break journey in London for a couple of days as a direct flight is extremely fatiguing.

I shall be signing the Protocol of Provisional Application of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade at Lake Success on June 30.

The Republican Platform on the question of Israel has been positively and strongly pro-Jew. I was wrong in my estimation. Washington is as hot as Calcutta and certainly warmer than Karachi. I am delighted to learn that you are fit and strong once again. May you always remain so.

With kind regards and respects,

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan



398

Telegram

Confidential.

Governor-General's Camp,
Ziarat,
July 31, 1948.

Ispahani,
PAREP,
Washington.

James¹ very much better Stop

Amin

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

399

Telegram

Washington, D.C.,
August 13, 1948.

Amin,
Quaid-e-Azam Camp,
Ziarat.

Telegraph progress negotiations Stop

Ispahani

1. James here refers to Jinnah.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

614

400

Telegram

Confidential.

Governor-General's Camp,
Quetta,
August 17, 1948.

Ispahani,
PAREP,
Washington.

James¹ progressing very satisfactorily Stop

Amin

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

401

Washington, D.C.,
August 17, 1948.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

Had it not been for the statement of the Cabinet released two days ago regarding your health, I would not have inflicted a letter upon you. We are told that you propose to return to Karachi by the end of this month. This news is most disquieting.

I beg of you not to return to Karachi before the end of September. If you find Ziarat too cold, you can move to Quetta. You must, however, take complete rest and keep away from work, interviews and worry irrespective of the immediate or even long term consequences. You must rest and go absolutely easy until you regain

1. James here refers to Jinnah.

the strength that you have lost through over-exertion and over-work.

I shall not weary of telling you how important, nay essential, it is for the Nation that you have created to have you as its head for many, many years to come. You are its priceless jewel.

I was delighted to receive confidential information, telegraphically, this afternoon that your health has considerably improved since I saw you at the end of last month. Some more rest and quiet will make you as fit and strong as you should be.

May Allah bless and protect you. Ameen.

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

402

Telegram

Washington, D.C.,
August 25, 1948.

Amin,
Residency,
Ziarat.

What's week's news¹ Stop

Ispahani

1. Enquiry regarding Quaid-e-Azam's health.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

616

403

No 469-9.5 (c)

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S HOUSE
KARACHI

Camp Quetta.

1st September 1948.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter showing anxiety for my health.

My return to Karachi is not fixed and you need not worry that I will be unwise to hasten my return. Besides the Doctors do not allow me to do so.

Thank you very much for all your concern. There is nothing to worry.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

H. A. Jinnah R

His Excellency Mirza Abol Hassan Isphani,
Ambassador of Pakistan to the U.S.A.,
2343, S Street North West,
Washington D.C.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

404

Telegram

Confidential.

Camp Quetta,
September 6, 1948.

Ispahani,
PAREP,
Washington.

Steadily progressing, marked improvement¹ Stop

1. Quaid-e-Azam's health.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

405

Telegram**Top Secret.**

Governor-General's Camp,
 Quetta,
 September 8, 1948.

Ispahani,
 PAREP,
 New York.

Doctor Illahi Bakhsh and Riaz Ali Shah consider immediate consultation with lung specialist and top general physician imperative **Stop** They recommend Doctor Hinshaw of Mayo Clinic Minnesota but of course final choice rests entirely with you **Stop** Please arrange immediate specialist to reach Quetta repeat Quetta by quickest repeat quickest air-route **Stop** Wire arrangements **Stop**

Amin

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

406

Top Secret.

Governor-General's Camp,
 Quetta.
 n.d.

Ispahani,
 PAREP,
 New York.

Continuation my telegram of September 8 kindly

618

intimate immediately names of specialists selected by you **Stop** Needless to say they should not repeat not be Jews **Stop**

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

407

Personal.

Washington, D.C.,
September 8, 1948.

My dear Amin,

I must thank you very much for your responses to my telegraphic enquiries. The news is most encouraging and I hope and pray that before long our beloved will be as strong as he used to be.

I am as busy as ever. Work in the Embassy is increasing every month.

I am leaving on a long tour of South America on the 11th and hope to be back in Washington on the 3rd or 4th of next month.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
M. A. H. Ispahani

F. Amin Esquire,
Quetta, Baluchistan.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

408

Telegram**Most Immediate.****Top Secret.****Washington, D.C.,
September 10, 1948.****Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Karachi.**

Please advise Ilahi Baksh, Governor-General's Camp, Quetta, immediately, that after obtaining topmost advice, have selected Doctor McLeod Riggins of 140 East 54th Street New York, whom we are persuading to proceed earliest. Riggins is very renowned chest and lung specialist, also reputed to be entirely capable of a general checkup. If Riggins, on examination, considers calling someone else, he will advise. Impossible to get anyone away earlier than the middle of next week because it involves personal arrangements, passport and other details. Will do utmost to expedite. Will advise flight details on completing arrangements. All communications this regard must be to Washington not repeat not New York.

Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Telegram

Most Immediate.

Top Secret.

Washington, D.C.,
September 11, 1948.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Karachi.

Reference our telegram dated September 10. Ambassador met Doctor McLeod Riggins in New York today. Doctor leaving New York Tuesday fourteenth repeat fourteenth instant by Pan American flight No. 4 for Karachi. Please arrange to have him met and place at least one aide-de camp in attendance during his stay. The following reports are essential. Please inform Doctor Ilahi Baksh immediately to have them ready on Riggins' arrival:

- (a) Complete blood count.
- (b) Non-protein nitrogen.
- (c) Blood sedimentation rate.
- (d) P.A. chest film and lateral chest film. Also Bucky chest film.
- (e) Urinalysis.
- (f) Stool cultures and microscopic examination.
- (g) Sputum (1) pyogenic culture (2) concentrated examination of sputum for T.B. (3) culture of sputum for fungi (4) microscopic examination for other organisms.
- (h) If not recorded recently, electro-cardiogram required.

Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

410

Telegram

Washington, D.C.,
September 11, 1948.

Miss Jinnah,
Governor General's House,
Karachi.

I sincerely share your loss and mourn with you. Quaid-e-Azam as you know was not only my leader and friend but like a father to me. His demise has left a wound that will not heal so long as I live. I pray for the peaceful repose of his soul and may God give you courage to bear your irreparable loss **Stop**.

Hassan Ispahani

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

411

Telegram

Washington, D.C.,
September 12, 1948.

Liaquat Ali Khan,
Prime Minister,
Karachi.

The Father of our Nation is no more. He has left us at a time when we most need his experience, guidance and inspiration. His battle for the freedom for Muslims, his selfless service to the people he loved so dearly and for whom he died should be sources of inspiration to

every Pakistani and Muslim. Not only did he lay in his lifetime the firm foundation of a great structure but he was spared long enough to see its completion. It is now for his people in every sphere of life to pursue his ideals at this critical hour of our existence. It is essential for us all to work as one man with the determination and single purpose to make our country what our beloved Quaid-e-Azam wanted it to be. By this determination alone and by ceaseless effort to do what our Quaid-e-Azam would have done can we bring peace to his soul. Knowing you as I do I am confident you will rise to the expected stature and with your experience and training pilot the ship of our Nation through the tempestuous seas and shoals which have been its lot ever since we achieved our independence **Stop**

Hassan Ispahani



APPENDICES

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XIII	Fazlul Huq to Linlithgow.	October 10, 1942
XIV	Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, to Linlithgow.	November 16, 1942
XV	Fazlul Huq to Jinnah.	February 5, 1943
XVI	Jinnah to Fazlul Huq.	February 10, 1943
XVII	Jinnah to Fazlul Huq.	February 11, 1943
XVIII	Fazlul Huq's case against People's War , a Bombay newspaper.	February 2, 1945
XIX	U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 42 (1948) on Palestine.	March 5, 1948
XX	U. N. Security Council Resolution on Kashmir.	April 21, 1948
XXI	Obituary: The Father of the Nation.	September 12, 1948



APPENDIX I

M. A. Jinnah to Fazlul Huq.

Bombay,

October 4, 1936.

It is with considerable pain and great regret that I have to address this letter to you. During my visit to Calcutta at the request of various leaders including yourself, I discussed with you and your party the question of forming one solid Muslim Party under the aegis of the All India Muslim League and its Central Board of which you were one of the members, according to the policy and the programme already defined by the Board. After prolonged discussions, you agreed on behalf of your group on August 20, 1936 and you were good enough to put down the substance of the terms in black and white over your signature. It runs as follows :

‘I have received the following proposals made by the Nawab of Dacca .

‘I am willing to agree that Musalmans belonging to different parties in Bengal accept the All India Muslim League as the only representative organisation of the Muslims and further agree to work under the banner of the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board provided that every member of the organisation shall sever his connection with any other political organisation’.

‘I have no objection to the above proposal, with this modification that the proviso provided every member of the organisation shall sever his connection with any other organisation be omitted. Apart from other considerations, I feel that as long as any other political body does

not run Muslim candidates for election except through the machinery of the All India Muslim League, there should be no objection to anyone being member of any such political organisation'.

'The Proja Samities have been existing now for a number of years as non-communal institutions, engaged in special kind of work and, as such, it would not be fair to restrain people from joining the Proja Samities merely because the Muslim members of the Proja Samities agree to run their elections under the League ticket and through the League election machinery only'.

Letter to Mr. Ispahani

On the same day you wrote another letter to Mr. Hassan Ispahani, which runs as follows :

'I could not tell you everything in detail as the night was far advanced and I was very much upset. The Nawab Bahadur's attitude was fairly pugilistic and if I had followed his example, there would have been a riot, in front of Jinnah. I was burning with indignation at the manner in which the members of the United Muslim Party want to brow-beat the poor workers of the Proja Samity. I shall feel very much grateful if you kindly convey to Mr. Jinnah my last words to him on the question of compromise. I am adding a note separately which I would ask you to hand over to him'.

'We have told Mr. Jinnah under what minimum conditions we can consent to the elections being run by the Muslim League. It is for him, as the head of the League, to decide whether he will accept these terms or not. It is not for any outsider to suggest whether there should be modification of the conditions. For instance, it is not open to any outsider to say that the Proja Party cannot retain its separate entity before the members of their party become members of the Muslim League. All that now remains for Mr. Jinnah to consider is if the other political organisations are willing to come under the banner of the League, and if so, under what conditions he

would allow the doors of the Muslim League to be opened to the new comers. I am very busy today with court work, otherwise I would have gone to see you. You can have a talk with Rezai Karim and possibly I will meet you at Momin's¹ lunch today'.

The following is your (Fazlul Huq's) note :

'1. Elections are to be run on the ticket of the Muslim League. This presupposes that the candidates for election must be members of the Muslim League and must have signed the creed of the League and the declaration recently made by Mr. Jinnah.

2. Election Board will be set up by Mr. Jinnah in consultation with whomsoever he thinks necessary.

3. Before a person can be considered eligible for membership of the Election Board, he must have been duly enrolled as a member of the Muslim League and must have signed the creed as well as Mr. Jinnah's programme. No promise to sign the creed or the programme at a future date will be considered'.

After these two letters were received the various groups met and there was no question for the All India Muslim League or the Central [Parliamentary] Board or the Provincial [Parliamentary] Board which we were forming that it should accept the policy and the programme of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity **in toto** or in part. It is absolutely untrue that I individually accepted the policy or the programme or the principle of that party.

In the meeting of the groups that took place, you raised the question that the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board should incorporate in their manifesto the abolition of the Permanent Settlement. The matter was discussed at considerable length in the presence of yourself and some members of your group, and it was

1. Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, a Muslim political leader of Bengal.

agreed by you that, that question should not be pressed, as you were satisfied that, in the first instance, it was not possible for the Bengal Legislature to undertake such a measure without the previous consent of the Governor and for the matter of that the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India; secondly it was such a vital matter that before it can be adopted, the Central Board should be consulted; and thirdly, it was not for the moment practical politics. Thereafter, the only question that was left for consideration was the quota of representation for various groups to constitute. But you suddenly decided at this most critical moment to leave Calcutta. However, you were good enough to send me your proposal as to the quota, on August 23, late at night over your signature again. Your proposal was as follows :

Proja Party	10
Muslim Party	10
Bengal Muslim League	5
New Muslim Majlis	5
	<hr/>
Total	30

No Nomination

I think you will agree with me that your leaving Calcutta at this critical moment was most unfortunate and unjust to me. However, you were good enough to communicate with me on the telephone, before your departure, that you had left the authority with the Secretary of your Party, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, who was good enough to continue on your behalf alongwith some other members of your group. Ultimately the agreement was arrived at substantially on the very lines which you had indicated and agreed upon. And here again, I must make it clear that the only question that was left over after your departure was the question of the number and the quota to be allotted to the various groups. On the 25th I received a letter from the Secretary of your Party, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, which is as follows :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On behalf of the Nikhil Banga Proja Samity, we agree that the total number of Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board should consist of 48 members and be chosen by the representatives of various groups as follows :

- 15 by the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity,
- 15 by United Muslim Party,
- 7 Muslim League,
- 7 [New] Muslim Majlis,
- 4 Non-party [members] to be chosen by you.

We will submit the names of our representatives according to the quota of 15 allotted to us after consulting our Executive Committee as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Shamsuddin Ahmad
(Secretary)

Upon that I placed the agreement which was approved of by all the groups on August 23 before the Bengal [Muslim League Parliamentary] Board and the members of the Central [Muslim League Parliamentary] Board, who alone had the authority to constitute the Board.

The Agreement was as follows :

An agreement was arrived at between the representatives of the United Muslim Party, the League and the Muslim Majlis that the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board for Bengal be constituted consisting of 33 members according to the following quota :

- | | |
|----------------------------|----|
| 1. The United Muslim Party | 15 |
| 2. The Muslim League | 7 |
| 3. The Muslim Majlis | 7 |

4. Independent non party mem- bers to be nominated by Mr. Jinnah	4
Total	<hr/> 33

After this agreement had been arrived at, the Secretary of the Nikhil Proja Krishak Samity intimated that they were willing to join the Muslim League Parliamentary Board for Bengal and a quota of 15 for the Samity was agreed upon. As soon as the Executive Committee of the Samity sends the names of their 15 representatives, they will be added to the Muslim League Parliamentary Board of Bengal.

Only Representative Organisation

It was agreed further by all the parties that the Muslims belonging to different parties in Bengal accept the All India Muslim League as the only representative organisation of the Muslims and agree to work under the banner of the Muslim League Central [Parliamentary] Board in accordance with the policy and the programme already defined by it and that the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board would be autonomous so far as provincial matters are concerned, subject to acceptance by it of the general policy and programme defined by the Central Parliamentary Board and affiliation to that Board.

It was also agreed that none of the organisations, who were a party to this agreeemnt, should set up any machinery or run election in any manner except and only through the machinery of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board of Bengal and that they agree to run the election on the League ticket and through the League election machinery only so far as the Musalmans are concerned.

After this report of agreement amongst all parties had been put by Mr. Jinnah before the representatives of Bengal on the Muslim League Central Parliamentary

Board, who had the power to constitute the Board, according to the rules of the Central Parliamentary Board, it was resolved :

‘That the Board consisting of the following 33 members be constituted and that as soon as the Executive Committee of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity send the names of their 15 representatives they shall be added to the number of the Board now constituted’.

Before I left Calcutta, the meeting of the Board so constituted was fixed for September 6, again in consultation with Mr. Shamsuddin, Secretary of your group, as he assured us all that he will be able to send the names of the representatives of the Samity as soon as possible.

Offensive Statement

From the Press reports it seems that you [Fazlul Huq] issued a statement on September 1, before the Board could meet, which is not only full of misrepresentations but is offensive all round and in particular to your colleagues with whom you had agreed just a few days before to work. Again, I find from the Press reports that you issued a statement giving the account of your walk-out on September 9, 1936 as President of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity. Taking into consideration your statements, it leads me to the conclusion that you have deliberately broken the solemn agreement to which you were a party, because in your statements you say that you and your group insisted upon the question of the abolition of the Permanent Settlement. Not only that, but you insisted that all the members of the Board should accept and sign **in toto** the policy and the programme of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity. These are the words from your own statement.

Before the proceedings commenced, Mr. Shamsuddin, Secretary of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity asked and obtained the permission of the Chair to read

out a statement containing the aims, objects and programme of the All India Muslim League and the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity, and declared that all gentlemen present must accept and sign the creed and programme so defined before the representatives of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity could consent to be party to further proceedings.

This, in my opinion, was raising the same issue over again, which was abandoned long before the Bengal Agreement had been arrived at, and constitutes a breach of faith. The Secretary of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board, Bengal, has placed before me all the materials with regard to this controversy and he has drawn my attention to your conduct and attitude and so I am obliged to write this letter to you.

It is strange indeed that neither you, as the Leader, nor the Secretary of your group, has upto the present moment even shown the courtesy to draw the attention of the Central Board, to the controversy and the part that you have played. You know that you are a member of the Central Board and I think you owe, if not to me as President, to the Board to have drawn their attention to any difficulty or difficulties that may have arisen before breaking up so abruptly the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board and establishing a separate Board of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samity. You know that the Central Board has given me the power to deal with any member of the Board, who is disloyal or defies or commits a breach of fundamental principles and the policy and programme of the Central Board, to take such disciplinary action against him as may be necessary and also to remove his name from the membership of the Board. In the circumstances I call upon you to explain your conduct which is not only a violation of the fundamental principles and policy of the All India Muslim League Central Board, but is not worthy of any leader who really wishes to truly serve his people.



APPENDIX II

Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah.

Calcutta,
October 30, 1936.

You remember that you wrote to me a letter dated October 4, in the course of which you had the audacity to make certain allegations against me and the impertinence to call for an explanation from me for disloyalty to your League Parliamentary Board. This letter came into my hands very late, when I was in the midst of brisk touring in the interior of the districts. I could not send an immediate reply as I wanted to ascertain certain facts from several members of the Proja Samity, residing in different places before I could express opinion on some of your statements of facts. Although my enquiries are not yet complete, I feel I cannot withhold my reply any longer as it has already been too long delayed owing to circumstances over which I had no control.

It seems that you have a short and accommodating memory. Let me recapitulate for your benefit certain facts which you seem to have completely forgotten. On the day you arrived in Calcutta,¹ you got a splendid reception from the members of the Proja Samity, the Muslim League and other Muslim citizens of Calcutta. You must have noticed that at this function, the members of the United Muslim Party were conspicuous by their absence. Not one single Nawab Bahadur or Nawab or

1. According to Ispahani, Jinnah was received by three hosts at Howrah.

gallant Knight, or Bahadur or any other kind came forward to greet you. But this was not all. For the next three days you were completely busy talking to members of the Proja Samity, discussing with them, in all its aspects, the question of a concerted action by the Muslim League and the Proja Samity with regard to the forthcoming elections. Remember, that at this stage no other organisation came forward to meet you or discuss matters with you. In the course of these discussions you denounced the United Muslim Party as composed of 'reactionaries', 'boot-lickers' and so forth, and you said repeatedly that you could never conceivably work with them. At least twelve members of the Proja Party (such as Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, Advocate, Mr. Abul Mansur Ahmed of Mymensingh, Mr. Naimuddin Ahmed of Dacca, Mr. Rezai Karim of Dacca, Mr. Syed Azizul Huq of Barisal and others) heard what you said and will corroborate me. When the students met you at the Albert Hall, it was I who presided at the function, and here again you denounced all reactionaries and boot-lickers. Not one member of the United Muslim Party joined the function as they seem to have completely boycotted you.

On August 18, an agreement was drawn up between the Proja Party and the Muslim League, setting forth definitely the conditions under which the two organisations could co-operate in the matter of the election of Muslim members. Let me remind you that one of the essential conditions of this agreement was that the Proja Party should retain its separate entity and that the aims, objects and programme of the Proja Party should be accepted without any reservation by the Muslim League. The draft was the result of continued discussions for two days and much of the language used was yours. At the conclusion of the meeting, you gave your blessings to this Pact and you declared that it was a solemn covenant between the Proja Party and the Muslim League, which will have to be honoured by both the

organisations. After this, a strange thing happened. On August 20, 1936 you went to Government House, no one knows why or to meet whom (the whole affair having been treated as a State secret) but from the moment you came out of the precincts of Government House, you appeared to be a changed man. Everything about you seems to have undergone a change. You began to talk, for the first time, of your friends of the United Muslim Party — whom you had so long denounced as boot-lickers — and the necessity of co-operation between the Proja Party and the United Muslim Party. At last the inevitable happened. The members of the Proja Party could not tolerate your supercilious tone and autocratic behaviour and on the afternoon of August 21, the members of the Proja Party left you in disgust.

You say you never came to any agreement with the Proja Party. The original draft contains corrections in your handwriting and is still in your possession. But apart from this, your final words in ratification of the Pact between the Proja Party and the Muslim League were in the nature of the exhortation to the workers of both the organisations, uttered in the presence of 18 members of the Proja Party. The following gentlemen among others were present at the time and are my witnesses :

1. Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court.
2. Mr. Abul Mansur Ahmed, B.L., Pleader, Mymensingh.
3. Mr. Syed Maqbul Morshed, [Huq's nephew], M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court.
4. Mr. Naimuddin Ahmed, M.A., B.L., Pleader, Dacca.
5. Mr. Syed Azizul Huq, [Huq's nephew], B.A. of Barisal.
6. Professor Humayun Kabir of Calcutta.

7. Mr. Rezai Karim, M.A., B.L., of Dacca.
8. Nawabzada Syed Hassan Ali Chaudhury of Mymensingh.

It is needless to multiply names. The issue is a simple one. You deny that there was any agreement between the Muslim League and the Proja Party, whereas 18 gentlemen, each and everyone of whom holds positions in society no less honourable than yours, assert to the contrary. It is obvious on which side lies the truth and it follows that you are proved to be both 'unreliable and untruthful'. Let your conscience, if you have any, be your judge.

There is also a piece of circumstantial evidence which proves that there was something fishy about your connection with the United Muslim Party after your return from Government House on August 20, and that you are now hiding the truth. I have already reminded you that the United Muslim Party totally boycotted you when first you arrived in Calcutta. But at the time of your departure, the station platform was packed with Nawab Bahadurs, Nawabs, Knights and all available members of the United Muslim Party — men who never cared to peep at you previous to your visit to Government House. The following time-table will explain the developments :

- August 17, Jinnah's arrival in Calcutta. Total boycott by the United Muslim Party.
- 17, 18 & 19, continued negotiations between Jinnah and the Proja Party. The boycott by the United Muslim Party continues.
 - 18, Reception to Jinnah at the Town Hall. Boycott continues.
 - 19, Address to Jinnah by students. Boycott going strong. Solemn covenant between Jinnah and the Proja Party in the nature of an offensive and defensive alliance.

20, Jinnah pays a visit to Government House. Details not available, as it was a State secret.

21, 27, Jinnah's solicitude for the United Muslim Party develops from hour to hour till at last the victory of the United Muslim Party is complete.

27, Jinnah's departure. Station platform packed with 'boot-lickers' who gave their saviour from Bombay a hearty send-off.

Please note that out of the crowd that collected at the platform on the occasion of your departure from Calcutta, only 2 per cent were Bengali-speaking Muslims.

On August 22, negotiations were opened by a friend for bringing about a compromise between the Proja Party and the other groups. The Proja workers were so indignant at your conduct that at first they resented the very idea of fresh negotiations but after repeated attempts, I succeeded in persuading the majority to co-operate with you in forming the Board. As regards the quota, I gave the following as my last word.

10 — Proja Party.

10 — United Muslim Party.

5 — New Muslim Majlis.

5 — Muslim League.

No Nominations

No Nominations

The last condition (No Nomination) was a **sine qua non**, because I was anxious to avoid the possibility of undesirables coming into Board and influencing the elections. You say our Party Secretary agreed to the changes introduced by you finally, during my absence from Calcutta, as regards the quota and the introduction of nominations. I told you repeatedly that the Proja Party was dead against the introduction of the system of nomination.

Even though the Secretary may have given his consent, you should have realised that it was a violation of fundamentals, and you should never have decided on going against my express wishes without a reference to me. You know that I was at Madaripur and I could have given my opinion by wire or could have come over to Calcutta for a day. But you never gave the slightest importance to the principles on which I had persuaded my Party to come back to fresh negotiations, and it is a pity that you did not realise that by acting as you did, you were putting me in an awkward position with my Party. When I returned from Madaripur, I found the Proja workers furious. I pacified them by personal appeals and by a majority we decided to send our quota according to your decision. We went to the preliminary meeting. We could not continue on account of the contemptuous attitude of some of your henchmen towards the Proja Party and their intolerable arrogance and refusal to listen to our just and legitimate proposals and to honour the solemn Pact arrived at through you, between the Proja Party and the Muslim League. A detailed account of what happened at the preliminary meeting has appeared in the Press and the President of the meeting, Maulvi Abdul Karim, M.L.C., has fully corroborated our version and given the lie direct to the version of the Ministerial Party. The Editor of the **Musalman**, Maulvi Mujibur Rahman, who is now gaping in wonder why we came out of the meeting, saw everything with his own eyes and himself left the meeting in protest.

You say that during the course of the negotiations I should not have left Calcutta and it was unjust and unfair to you that I did so. You know that I had to go on unavoidable professional work at Madaripur after all my attempts at getting an adjournment of the case had proved futile. It was I and my party that suffered most by my absence, as it was when I was away, that matters got into a mess and the consequent unpleasant developments took place.

You have had the impertinence to ask for an explanation from me. Let me remind you that I have been associated with the Muslim League for a longer period than any other Muslim politician in India now living and that I had attained the highest eminence in the counsels of the League long before you had even entered its portals. You are now the President of the League, but I held this very position as long ago as 1919 and I presided at the Delhi Session of the All India Muslim League in 1918. It was after the Bengal Muslims had been practically driven out of the League owing to the intrigues at Delhi and Simla, that you managed to get yourself pitchforked into this position. You should have obeyed the elementary rules of good manners and courtesy before you ventured to write to me in the strain you have adopted.

You are not working for Muslim solidarity at all but seem to be playing a deep game in concert (as many suspect) with the bureaucracy, to stifle the rising aspirations of Muslim India. The League Parliamentary Board is a curious creature of your fancy and is breeding dissensions in Muslim ranks. Some people think that you are impartial, but really you are not so, because you are vitally interested in supporting your Board as against everything else. The Punjab, the U.P. and Bihar have openly revolted against you and, let me assure you, that the Bengal Presidency Muslim League have treated your Parliamentary Board with deserved contempt. The Bengal Muslim League are co-operating with the Proja Party and have severed connection with your League Parliamentary Board. Your conduct in Bengal has surprised everyone, except perhaps those whom you used to denounce mercilessly when first you set foot in Calcutta. You seem to be a curious bundle of inconsistencies. In your private talks you are an advocate of communal organisations for safe-guarding Muslim rights. But when you appear on a public platform, you pose as the chosen hero of Indian

nationalism who cannot think of any politics save and except what is founded on Hindu-Muslim unity. This is political cowardice of the worst kind and hateful to every honest heart. As for myself, I have made my position so very clear in my numerous statements to the Press that I need not repeat what I have often said. When you wrote your letter, you must have done so without reading what I had stated in public.

Just a few words more before I conclude. It is abundantly proved that you did enter into a solemn agreement with the Proja Samity which you now deny. A lie is bad enough, but it is worse when the lie leads to disastrous consequence and you try to throw the blame on others. I have heard from reliable sources in Simla and elsewhere that you have been circulating the vilest of rumours about me, without the slightest justification, casting serious reflections on my character. This conduct on your part is utterly mean and despicable. If you have got the slightest proof as to what you say, you should have the courage to speak openly instead of gossiping in the lobbies of Legislatures or whispering to people in Garden Parties.

I call upon you to explain your conduct which apparently does not seem befitting a gentleman.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Press.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

APPENDIX III

Fazlul Huq to Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary,
All India Muslim League.

Calcutta,
September 8, 1941.

With reference to your telegram dated August 25, and the subsequent letter dated August 26, enclosing a copy of the decision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, asking me to resign from the National Defence Council, I wish to state as follows :

It was early in July that the Viceroy conveyed his wishes to me through my Governor that I should serve on the proposed National Defence Council as the Premier of Bengal representing this province. I signified assent because I felt it my duty to do so. I knew that I was being selected in my official capacity as Premier, and therefore, no objection to my being a member of the Defence Council could probably arise. I was, however, surprised to read a statement from the President of the League as soon as the personnel of the Council was announced, that he considered my action as well as of some other members of the League so highly objectionable that he was constrained to consider as to what action should be taken to express his disapproval of our conduct. I, at once, issued a short statement explaining the position and contending that the Premiers were selected in their official capacity, and, therefore, they could not, as long as they remained Premiers of Provinces, refuse to render any service demanded of them by His Excellency the Viceroy.

Unconstitutional

I thought the position was clear and the matter would rest there; but I was extremely pained to find that the statement prematurely made by the President of the League had given a wrong lead to Muslim public opinion, and there was an outcry calling upon us to resign from the membership of the Defence Council. I thought that the clamour made by individual Muslims and a section of the Muslim Press was only the result of a misconception of the entire situation and would subside in proper time, but I was amazed to read a statement issued by the President of the League from Hyderabad dated July 30, in which he declared that it had been decided to take disciplinary action against us. There was no ambiguity in the language and the words used indicated an accomplished fact.

I maintain that this action of the President was unconstitutional in the highest degree. However much he might have been empowered by the Madras Resolution [of the AIML] to take action against any erring member, he should never have done anything without hearing our explanation and without giving full consideration to whatever facts and arguments we may have had to place in support of our action. This is an elementary constitutional right which everyone can claim and which can be overridden only in the case of a grave emergency which, however, cannot be pleaded in the present case.

I also maintain that his subsequent decision to refer the matter to the [AIML] Working Committee was meaningless and the Working Committee acted as I had apprehended. The Working Committee endorsed the action of the President because they had no other alternative before them. If they had refused to ratify the President's action, it would have amounted to a vote of no-confidence in the President and this contingency the Working Committee were not prepared to face.

It is for this reason that the Working Committee passed the resolution, a copy of which you have forwarded to me calling upon me to resign unconditionally from the National Defence Council.

Procedure Condemned

Before proceeding further, I cannot help commenting on the manner in which the President dealt with this matter from the very beginning. It appears that he received a communication from His Excellency the Viceroy through the Governor of Bombay on July 21, intimating to him that the Premiers had been approached to serve on the Defence Council in a certain capacity. Whatever might be the interpretation of the expression used in the letter in connection with the controversy as to whether we were selected as Premiers or as representative men, the fact remains that the President knew of our selection at least one day before the names were published. It was, therefore, the clear duty of the President to inform us either by telegram or by telephone that he disapproved of what had taken place, and that he would like us to resign from the Defence Council. He might have even added a hint that if we did not resign he would be obliged to take disciplinary action against us. But he did nothing of the kind. He kept waiting and watching till our names were published and then he came out with his thunder that he had decided to take disciplinary action against us.

I submit that even ordinary courtesy required that he should have given us at least a warning before he announced his decision to take disciplinary action. He may not yet realise, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the procedure he adopted has placed us in an extremely awkward position; he gave us no opportunity to explain our position, and took us unawares as if he was anxious to make a public exhibition of his authority. I maintain that this procedure has converted a very simple affair



into a complicated political problem in the history of Muslim India in recent time.

No Breach of League Policy

I wish to say a few words about my reading of the constitutional question involved in this controversy. I maintain that the acceptance of membership of the Defence Council does not in any way involve a breach of the League principles or policy. What the League rejected, last year, was the offer of the Viceroy to form an expanded Council composed of Indian States and the representatives of the various political parties of India. The present Defence Council will not be composed of Indian States and representatives of political parties but Indian States and representatives of various provinces. I maintain that this makes a fundamental difference and, therefore, the membership of the Defence Council does not come within the 'mischief' of the Resolution adopted by the League in spite of the declarations made by the President at the meeting of the Working Committee that we had been selected as representatives of the Muslim community. I maintain that we were selected because we were Premiers. From this point of view also, the membership of the Defence Council does not involve a violation of the principle and policy of the League. But this is not all.

Ever since the outbreak of the War, I have not only been taking the keenest interest in promoting the War effort, but have been using my position, both official and non official, to induce the people of Bengal to co-operate with me in support of this War effort. I have been at the head of all the organisations functioning in Bengal with a view to making the nation's War purposes' funds as successful as possible. I have been instrumental in securing funds from the public to an extent which would bear a favourable comparison with the efforts of other public men in India. I have delivered public

speeches by hundreds, and spoken on radio in aid of the War effort. Uptil now the President has not expressed disapproval of these efforts, but on the contrary has even allowed prominent Muslim League leaders to act likewise throughout India. Having regard to all that I have been doing regarding War organization and War committees, my membership on the Defence Council pales into insignificance. I consider it absurd that with these instances of co-operation in Bengal, I should now be called upon to non-co-operate with the Government of India at the Centre. On merits, therefore, there is no case made out against us, and I maintain that the President's action subsequently ratified by the Working Committee, was unjustified.

The Working Committee was good enough to give me ten days' time to consider the situation and announce my decision. These ten days are now over, and I feel I must not keep my friends in suspense any longer. I do not admit that my acceptance of membership of the Defence Council is an act of disloyalty to the League, or constitutes a breach of the principles which should regulate public conduct. I do not also admit that my conduct in accepting a membership of the Defence Council has the disapproval of the majority of the Muslim community of India. Except for a few non-Bengali residents in Calcutta and a few non-Bengali workers in the mills, I do not find any indications that the Muslims of Bengal, as such, are in a mood to condemn my membership of Defence Council. As regards public opinion outside my province, I find that there is a large volume of public opinion in my favour.

A friend from Lucknow has sent me a long letter which shows that it is not quite correct to say that the whole Urdu Press is supporting Mr. Jinnah. There are numerous Urdu papers who are strongly opposing Mr. Jinnah's dictatorial policy, and have no faith in the Quaid-e-Azam.

I have also received letters from members of Jamiyat-ul-Ulema, both in Bengal and outside, who have strongly supported me and advised me not to resign the membership of the Defence Council. As a matter of fact, I have been flooded with letters and telegrams which prove conclusively that I have a strong volume of public opinion behind me, supporting my action in accepting membership of the Defence Council.

Incorrect Interpretation

I still hold the view that the President was wrong in putting an incorrect interpretation on our conduct and that he had no justification in announcing to the world that he had decided to take disciplinary action against us. I still maintain that his action throughout has been unfair and unconstitutional and that he has unnecessarily wounded our feelings. I maintain that I have done nothing contrary to the interests of the Muslim community, and that, the membership of the Defence Council, in spite of the of the Defence Council, I have created a situation which may lead to a split in the ranks of Muslim India is baseless and without foundation. Considering all things, therefore, I do not find any justification for resiling from the position which I had originally taken up to stick to the membership of the Defence Council, in spite of the view that has been expressed by the President of the League and endorsed by its Working Committee.

I find, however, that there are other matters which should be taken into consideration. The indiscreet and hasty statement made by the President announcing to the world that we were guilty, and thereby a feeling in the minds of the Muslims that we have accepted membership of the Defence Council for motives of personal interests or with a view to obliging high officials has been productive of the most baneful consequences. Very few of the present generation of Muslim politicians know the services I have rendered to the League or to the Muslim

community. I am dealing with descendants of my compatriots of the past who are easily misled by slogans because they are ignorant of my past credentials. I do not wish to use any boastful language, but I claim that if a full and complete list were made of the definite, distinctive and constructive work which has been done by various leaders in the cause of Islam and the Muslims of India, I will have no cause to be ashamed of my record. While many a leader has indulged in passing mere resolutions expressing pious wishes, I claim that I have always given proof of putting those resolutions into practice. Unfortunately, however, modern politics has become the slave of slogans and sentimentalism.

There is also another point which I cannot ignore. I find that an impression is gaining ground that I am being forced to remain a member of the Defence Council by high officials and that there is an unseen hand which is working behind the scenes, and which is compelling me to persevere in a course of conduct which is resented by Muslim India. I emphatically declare that I am not being hampered in any way in exercising an independent judgment, nor has anything happened which could in any way interfere with any decision that I may choose to take.

I find, therefore, that I have been faced with an embarrassing dilemma. If I allow my sober judgment to prevail, I feel I ought to adhere to the Defence Council. But I also feel that my continuance in the National Defence Council, especially after other Premiers have vacated their seats, would create a situation which would lead to a split in the ranks of the Muslim community in India. In such an event, I would be held responsible for the situation and the responsibility may also be thrown on other personages who have not had the slightest desire to interfere in these matters, but whose detachment from this controversial question is not within the knowledge of the public. In these circumstances, I feel that no use-

ful purpose would be served by my being a member of the National Defence Council. I am, therefore, going to request His Excellency the Viceroy through my Governor to give me leave to tender my resignation from the membership of the National Defence Council.

In taking this step, I have had before me the sole desire to avoid a conflict in the ranks not merely in the Muslim League but also in the Muslim community in India. In this respect, the reasons for my resignation are different from those of Sir Sikandar Hyat. He is alleged to have resigned because he felt convinced that he had acted under a misconception of facts; I resign because although I am convinced I was perfectly right in accepting membership of the Council, my continuance in the Council would jeopardise the interest of the community.

Sir Sikandar feels he was wrong and has rectified the mistake; I feel I was right, but I cannot continue to be a member in view of possible consequences.

For Unity's Sake

I know that in deciding to resign from the membership of the Defence Council, I am going back upon my previous decision to continue to be a member, and that I am deliberately accepting a position which militates against my own judgment. But I have been led to this decision by the sole desire to avoid a greater evil which might manifest itself in a domestic feud at a time when we should close up our ranks for the great task which lies ahead of us in defending the best interest of our community and our country. Although, therefore, I am resigning from the membership of the Defence Council, I am not doing so because I accept the interpretation of the Muslim League President but because I have to take note of the circumstances around me, and the consequences of my insisting to be a member of the National Defence Council.

This, Sir, is the position, but before I conclude I wish to record a most emphatic protest against the manner in which the interests of the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab are being imperilled by Muslim leaders of the provinces where the Muslims are in a minority, popularly known among the Muslims as the minority provinces of India. Except in Bengal and the Punjab which together account for nearly 50 millions of Muslims and nearly 50 per cent of the total Muslim population of India, the remaining 50 millions of Muslims are scattered throughout the continent in such a manner that they are in a most hopeless minority in the so-called minority provinces, in some cases the Muslim minority dwindling to about 4 or 5 per cent of the population. It is evident that these Muslim brethren of ours can never hope to be in the enjoyment of even an effective voice in the administration, leave alone the prospect of their ever being in power. It is conceivable that they cannot realise, nor even imagine, the advantages of the Muslim community being in a dominant position in the administration of Bengal and the Punjab. Nor do they realise the responsibilities of the Muslim Premiers of those provinces. Naturally enough, they think that just as all their own political prospects are bleak and barren, even so is the case with the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab. Naturally enough, they do not care for the repercussions on the politics of the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab of any decision they may take with regard to Muslim India as a whole. I would ask the Muslim leaders of the minority provinces to remember that if they meddle too much with the politics of the majority provinces, they will do so at the peril of the interest of the entire Muslim community of India. For my part, I will never allow the interest of 33 millions of the Muslims of Bengal to be put under the domination of any outside authority, however eminent it may be.

A Warning

At the present moment I have a feeling that Bengal does not count much in the counsels of political lea-

ders outside our province, although we constitute more than one-third of the total Muslim population of India. Even in this controversy, the leaders of the minority provinces never cared to take into consideration my particular responsibilities and difficulties and wanted to drown my voice with meaningless slogans which may suit their own conditions of political helplessness, but which are utterly unsuited to the conditions prevailing in my province. I was condemned before I could put before the President my point of view. This condemnation of mine was endorsed by Muslim leaders all over India before they had even the means of knowing why is it that I had accepted the Viceroy's invitation to serve on the National Defence Council. And the irony of the whole situation is that my critics forget my lifelong services to the community and the difficulties under which I have held the banner of my community aloft in the teeth of opposition from the most highly cultured, the most highly organized and the most powerful non-Muslim community in India. I have felt very strongly the manner in which circumstances have been so stage-managed that I have now no other alternative but to act against my considered judgment. I confidently hope that the political dictators in future will act with greater foresight, wisdom and caution, so as to prevent the creation of situations from which escape can be effected only by a course of action which is revolting to sound sense or even conscience.

It follows from the considerations set forth above that it is impossible for me to continue any longer to be a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League. Much as I deplore this course, I feel that I cannot usefully continue to be a member of a body which shows scant courtesy to provincial leaders and which ar-

rogates to itself the functions which ought to be exercised by the provincial executive.

I should like to make it clear that in view of the peculiar circumstances obtaining in what is known as the majority provinces in India, namely, Bengal and the Punjab, the proper course for the President to follow in a matter under discussion should have been to defer the question at issue to the decision of the provincial Muslim League. The President of the All India Muslim League has signally failed to discharge the heavy responsibilities of his office in a constitutional and reasonable manner.

The letter of mine may be treated as a letter of resignation from the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League. In tendering my resignation, I should also like to enter the caveat that recent events have forcibly brought home to me that the principles of democracy and autonomy in the All India Muslim League are being subordinated to the arbitrary wishes of a single individual who seeks to rule as an omnipotent authority even over the destiny of 33 millions of Muslims in the province of Bengal who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim politics.

As the matters dealt with in this letter are of public importance, I am releasing its contents to the Press.



APPENDIX IV

Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy and Tamizuddin Khan to
Fazlul Huq.

Calcutta,
October 18, 1941.

We regret to find that you feel aggrieved at the fact that we were parties to the Resolution adopted at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League held on September 13, which was represented to you as being tantamount to a vote of no-confidence in you. We can assure you that we never entertained any such intention. On the other hand, we definitely opposed a specific motion of that nature and it was summarily rejected. But as you are no doubt aware, your letter to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League created certain misunderstandings.

We lately had opportunities of discussing the matter with you and we were happy to be assured by you that nothing had happened to shake your belief in the necessity of maintaining the solidarity of the Muslims of India and in the advisability of their working unitedly under one organisation. We were also relieved to find that you never had any intention to isolate Bengal from the rest of Muslim India.

Your letter, however, to the Secretary of the Muslim League had been interpreted by the Muslims of India in a manner widely different from your intention and we would, therefore, earnestly request you to take steps in the interests of Muslim solidarity to clarify the position and thereby remove all misunderstandings.

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APPENDIX V

Fazlul Huq to Nazimuddin.

Calcutta,

October 18, 1941.

I have received a letter of today's date which you, along with Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, have addressed. It is a fact that I did feel hurt when I found that three of my colleagues were parties to the Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League which were obviously antagonistic to me. In view, however, of the expression of regret contained in your letter and personally conveyed to me and in view of the assurance that none of you intended those resolutions to convey in any sense lack of confidence in me, I am prepared to allow the incident to be closed.

So far as my letter to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League is concerned, I am taking suitable steps to disabuse the minds of such Muslim brethren as have interpreted the letter in a manner contrary to my intentions. In fact I have already written to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on this subject with whom I intend to correspond further if necessary. But I don't feel that any special clarification of the position is called for because nothing could be farthest from my thoughts than driving a wedge between Muslim Bengal and the rest of India for the very simple reason that I always desired no less than anyone else the solidarity of Indian Muslims working as one united people under one organisation for the attainment of their political, social, cultural and economic progress. Nor does it seem necessary for me to

refute the charge that I have defied the authority of the All India Muslim League because nowhere in my letter to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League have I questioned the authority of that body to take decisions on important all India issues involving Muslims of India, including those of Bengal.

Minority Provinces

As regards minority provinces, I may justly claim that I have rendered services in the past to my brethren living in these provinces and perhaps no one has done more to ventilate their grievances than myself. It is due to my efforts, more than anything else, that my Muslim brethren in those provinces are enjoying considerable weightage in their representations in Legislatures.

Sir Syed Wazir Hassan and Sir Syed Raza Ali bear me out completely on this point. What I intended to convey in my letter was the fact that in many respects, the problems confronting the provinces where the constitution is functioning are different from those in other provinces where the constitution stands suspended and that it is not always possible for the people of these latter provinces to appreciate fully the difficulties with which we are faced. In view of the fact that our correspondence refers to a matter in which a large section of the public are interested, I propose that both these letters be released to the Press.

APPENDIX VI

Fazlul Huq to John Arthur Herbert, Governor of Bengal.¹

En route to Naraingunj,
May 2, 1942.

Dear Sir John,

Bengal problems have been to us more or less like Chinese puzzles, and the most baffling of all have been the Ministerial situation and the attitude of the Muslim League. At one time I considered the situation to be hopeless, but I think I can now see some light and can suggest a way out of the tangle.

To begin with, there can be no doubt that the propaganda carried on by Sir Nazimuddin & Co. in the name of the Muslim League is a dishonest move solely by way of personal vendetta against me and to crush me politically, if possible. All talk about the Muslim League having been betrayed by me and Muslim interests having been jeopardised is nothing but bunkum. Their whole propaganda is nothing but a personal crusade against me, and no question of principle is involved. If I go out of the picture, all difficulties of their co-operation with the Ministry would be removed. The first proposition, therefore, is that I should be out of the picture and should stand out having nothing to do with the administration of the Province. As Your Excellency knows, I am prepared to accept this position. Not that I admit the justice of the case against me, but I am prepared to abdicate

1. Linlithgow Collection, MSS. EUR.F125|42.

in the larger interests of the Province. The next question is about the Chief Minister. I think that we need not trouble ourselves about this. Syama Prasad told me that Your Excellency has remarked that there is no need necessarily, of a Chief Minister. It may seem somewhat astounding, but I think Your Excellency has taken the correct view. There is no provision in the Government of India Act about any Chief Minister, and the Act only speaks of Ministers and a Council of Ministers. It is laid down only in the Rules of Business that a Chief Minister is to perform certain duties but those duties can be equally performed by the Governor. In these circumstances, it would not very much matter if I resign and no Chief Minister is appointed in my place. The structure, as we have it, will remain as it is, with liberty to Your Excellency to make additions or alterations. Normally one would have thought that if the Chief Minister resigns, the other Ministers should also necessarily resign, but in the view that I am putting forward, the resignation of the Chief Minister means no more than the resignation of any of the other Ministers.

I would suggest that four more Ministers be appointed, so that when I go out of office, there may be 12 Ministers functioning. Of these four Ministers, I would suggest that two Ministers should be marked out as members of the War Cabinet to deal with nothing else than matters connected with the War. If Sir Nazimuddin does not join the Cabinet as a whole, he can have no objection to join the War Cabinet.

The result will be, therefore, that 10 Ministers would be functioning as Ministers carrying on the work of administration, and two Ministers will form the War Cabinet, leaving it open to members of other groups to come and join this War Cabinet. In the circumstances proposed, no party can have any reasonable objection to

offer co-operation to Government. I would expect Sir Nazimuddin and someone else from the Muslim League, for instance, Abdur Rahman Siddique or Ispahani to join at least the War Cabinet. As for myself, I would like to have the Speaker's job with special allowance to be settled in consultation with Your Excellency.

These are my suggestions in outline, and it is for Your Excellency to consider details and work them out by the time I reach Calcutta on the evening of Monday next. I would respectfully suggest that Malcolm Carter be asked to get busy considering details and possibilities. He is a good friend and extremely resourceful and remarkably sound.

I conclude by making an earnest request to Your Excellency to treat me as a friend, who has been loyally serving the Crown under enormous difficulties. My relations with my Governors have always been of the most cordial character, and I wish the same relations to continue in spite of everything that might have taken place. I do not like the manner in which the mischievous propaganda of the Muslim League is doing incalculable harm to the Muslim community of Bengal, and also offering definite hindrances to our War efforts. These hindrances at any rate should cease because War efforts must be treated as imperative and above everything else. I do not for a moment admit that I deserve all the wild things that are being said about me, but I take the situation as it is, and wish to make it possible for peace and tranquility to be restored to the Province. Above all, I would like to see an atmosphere created which will not only help our War efforts but stimulate the loyal instincts of the people of Bengal. I consider loyalty to my King and country of greater importance than considerations of personal interest and I have therefore always been ready to offer Your Excellency my resignation, provided this sacrifice on my part leads to some desirable results. I have

indicated one solution which I consider within the range of practical politics and at the same time free from revolutionary changes. These are mere suggestions, and I hope Your Excellency will give them the consideration they deserve.

I would suggest that the Advocate-General may be consulted immediately, regarding the constitutional position. Malcolm Carter may have personal discussions with the Advocate-General so that the whole question may be discussed from all points of view.

Suggestions indicated graphically.

H. C. M.

Group A.

1. Nawab Bahadur.
2. Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim.
3. Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan.
4. Shamsuddin Ahmed.
5. Muslim (M. 1).
6. Muslim (M. 2).

Group B.

1. Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee.
2. Santosh Kumar Basu.
3. Pramatha Nath Banerjee.
4. Upendranath Barman.
5. Hindu [Scheduled Caste (H.1)].
6. Hindu (Caste H.2).

Group C (War Cabinet).

1. Representative of Group A.
 2. Representative of Group B.
- (a) H.C. M. goes out.
- (b) One each from Groups A, B or more to form the War Cabinet (Group C).
- (c) Representatives from Groups unrepresented in main Cabinet may join War Cabinet (Group C).

**Yours sincerely,
A. K. Fazlul Huq**

P.S. — After I had signed the above letter, it struck me that there are indications in the Government of India Act that there can be among the Ministers a Chief Minister who would be chosen in the first instance by the Governor and commissioned to advise him as to the other Members of the Cabinet. This may obviously be the case when the composition of a new Cabinet has got to be made. The question that arises is, what would be the procedure when the Chief Minister leaves an existing Cabinet and what constitutional effect can his exit have on the Cabinet itself? Is it necessary to go through the formality of choosing someone as the Chief Minister, or can the Governor proceed on the tacit understanding that Mr. X is in the position of a Chief Minister, and, in the judgment of the Governor, he is able to form a stable Ministry and on whose advice all the other Ministers may be selected? Or is it necessary that all the Ministers should resign and then the formality, as in the case of forming a new Cabinet, should be gone through?

However this may be, it represents no difficulty. Even if the whole Ministry were to break down, Mr. X may be chosen as the Chief Minister and a new Cabinet can be found. This of course will be my mutual arrangement between the various groups. I am only mentioning this point so that this aspect of the matter may also be considered by Your Excellency.

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APPENDIX VII**Telegram**

Linlithgow to Amery.

New Delhi,
May 17, 1942.

Important.

Private and Personal.

Your private and personal telegram of May 14. No. 604. (1) Canadian High Commissionership. I have been discussing with Aney and have just heard from him that he favours taking this matter further. I think it would probably be best that the preliminary discussion with Mackenzie King should be undertaken through you, and if you think that Canadian Government would still be prepared to proceed with the idea of exchange of High Commissionerships I should greatly welcome it. As you will see from paragraph 5 (2) of my letter of May 1, 1942 we might be able to fit Fazlul Huq into it, and in that event we might at once ease the Bengal political position, provide suitably for Fazlul Huq and start the new High Commissionership off with someone of high standing who has been a Provincial Premier for over five years. But my mind remains open on that, and the first thing is of course to secure Canadian agreement to the creation of the post.

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APPENDIX VIII

Fazlul Haq's Move For A New Progressive All India Muslim League.¹

Calcutta,
June 21, 1942.

I am writing this letter to you in the confident hope that the matters which I have taken the liberty to discuss will receive your serious consideration.

You know that for the last seven months my political enemies have made the whole country resound with denunciations concerning me and my Cabinet and that I have been branded as one of the worst possible characters in human history. It has been publicly alleged that I have been a traitor to the cause of Islam, and that I have betrayed the Muslims very much as Mir Jafar is alleged to have done at Plassey.

During all these months more than 500 meetings have been organised by my political opponents with the permission and under the protection of my Government and at each of these meetings, speaker after speaker has spoken the vilest of lies about me and invented the grossest untruths, in order to blacken my character before my community. I have not said or done anything yet to counteract this mischievous propaganda. I felt that if I were to take the field against my opponents, there will be charges and counter-charges resulting in a serious split in the Muslim community.

I find, however, that my forbearance has been mistaken for weakness and that many of the leaders of

1. I.P.

my community from whom I could have expected ordinary justice have been believing in these wild and ex parte propaganda and some have even joined this campaign of vilification against me. The student community have been sought to be utilised for strengthening the campaign. The impressionable minds of our youths have been deeply stirred by the wild accusations that have been made against me and bands of our young men had been sent about the country carrying on the campaign into every nook and corner of Bengal. I have suffered all these vilifications in the fervent hope that truth would ultimately triumph and that the fabric of lies and vilifications which have been built up by my political enemies would collapse in course of time. Unfortunately, however, I am faced by the fact that a section of Muslims of Bengal seem to have forgotten all my past services to the country and the community and have easily swallowed the atrocious lies that have been circulated about me. I feel that I cannot keep silent any longer.

Misrepresentations

What has happened in my case has been nothing either new or peculiar. Throughout the ages, even prophets and messengers of God have not been able to escape either the vicious tongue of the traducer or the malicious pen of the prejudiced writer. The noblest characters in history have been held up to ridicule and subjected to misrepresentations whose pernicious effects even centuries of attempts on the part of admiring posterity have not been able completely to efface. Even our Holy Prophet has not only been no exception to this rule, but perhaps its most conspicuous exemplar. I am not therefore surprised at what has happened to me. I have only myself to blame for what has happened. I have been anxious to avoid a split in the community, even at the risk of allowing my political enemies to go on unchecked with their vicious propaganda. The inevitable has happened. Misrepresentations now hold the field, and I find I will have to make tremendous efforts to extricate my

my reputation from the avalanche of lies under which it now lies buried.

The propaganda that has been carried on against me has had a definite object in view. It has been the aim of my political enemies to create prejudice against me in order to crush me politically and have their way to a possible political success. The moment was opportune for a conspiracy of vengeance and the circumstances also favoured the conspirators. The dissolution of the Cabinet on December 1, 1941 had raised high hopes in the minds of some of the Ministers of the old Cabinet, but the turn which events took after the dissolution took them completely by surprise. The formation of the new Cabinet upset all their calculations and absolutely sealed their fate. They found themselves suddenly in the wilderness, whereas they had expected to be in the enjoyment of the highest political power. But they were not without friends. There were many who had suffered disappointments in life in consequence of administrative measures of which I was suspected to have been the author. They had a programme ready. Islam was proclaimed to be in dire need of unselfish champions of the faith. The flag of the Muslim League in Bengal was declared to be tottering and had to be upheld.

The ex-Ministers and their friends proclaimed to the world that I had betrayed the cause of Islam by a treacherous conspiracy of which they had become the victims in their attempts to defend the faith. But they did not stop at mere proclamations. With misleading slogans they began their whirlwind campaign in order to hoodwink the unwary Muslims of Eastern Bengal. Everything seemed to favour them. Our Government gave them free permits to hold meetings. The tale they had to tell was so speciously worded that their words carried conviction to unwary minds. Funds began to pour in and the hospitable columns of independent journals became available to my political enemies, not for propa-

ganda alone but for propagation of the most atrocious lies that perverted human ingenuity could invent.

These being the authors of the campaign and these being their methods, I would next ask my friends to consider what is it that they have been alleging against me. In the first place, they say that by forming the new Ministry, I have betrayed the Muslim cause just as Mir Jafar is said to have done at Plassey. But what are the facts? Before the Cabinet crisis came, I was the Chief Minister, the Leader of the Coalition Party, the Leader of the Assembly, the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and I enjoyed every post of honour and dignity in the Province. There was therefore nothing better to which I could aspire, or for which I could go into a conspiracy to bring about a new order of things.

Rumours Contradicted

On the contrary, my present antagonists had everything to gain if they could oust me from power, as it was certainly the ambition of their leader to replace me as Chief Minister and to enjoy all the honours and privileges attached to that office. This he could not possibly do unless there was a vacancy or in other words unless I had either voluntarily vacated office as Chief Minister or had been removed from that office by a vote of no-confidence of the House or dismissed by His Excellency the Governor. Neither of these eventualities was possible and for that reason they adopted the only course left to them, namely to force a dissolution of the Cabinet by tendering their resignations. This is exactly what they did. As my friends are aware, there were mischievous rumours afloat towards the end of November that I was going to form a new party by dissolving the previous Coalition Party. All these rumours were absolutely false and in order to remove doubts and misunderstand-

ings I published the following statement which appeared in the newspapers of November 30, 1941 :

Statements have appeared in the Press which indicate that as the outcome of disunity in the Cabinet, I have accepted the leadership of a new party to be called the Progressive Coalition Party. I desire it to be known that there is no truth whatever in these reports. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that as Chief Minister and Leader of the Coalition Party in the Assembly it would be unconstitutional for me to enter into negotiations with parties now in Opposition with the object of forming a new party. It is my desire to maintain the solidarity of the Coalition Party no less than that of the Ministry and to ensure that the decisions of the Coalition Party are accepted by every member of the Party.

Nothing could have been more explicit. But in spite of this statement, my political enemies tendered their resignations quite abruptly on December 1, 1941 and this brought about the dissolution of the Cabinet. They then tried their utmost to oust me from power by forming a coalition with the Congress, the Krishak Projas, the Hindu Mahasabha and other groups and they spared no pains to come into some kind of understanding with all the groups who were then in Opposition in order to oust me from power. This is not a random statement, but a definite assertion of facts for which I possess conclusive proofs. Providence, however, protected me. All their efforts met with dismal failure and I then took the opportunity of forming a coalition with those very parties whom they had unsuccessfully approached previously, and who undoubtedly afforded material for forming a more representative Ministry than the previous one. Had it not been for this step that they had taken on December 1, the former Ministry would have continued to function and the present state of things, whether satisfactory or otherwise, would never have come into existence, but out of evil cometh good, and I leave the matter at that.

Baffled in all their attempts, my political enemies turned in despair to Mr. Jinnah for assistance. They misrepresented facts and invented lies in order to induce Mr. Jinnah to intervene and to oust me from the Muslim League. They did it in the hope that if I were ousted from the Muslim League, I would be deserted by the Muslim MLAs and would therefore be unable to form a Cabinet. Mr. Jinnah behaved towards me in his usual autocratic fashion. He sent me a telegram on December 6, saying that my conduct amounted to treachery and he called upon me to submit my explanation, if any, within 48 hours. I certainly resented the rudeness of the language used by Mr. Jinnah but I ignored the language and thought that I should explain to him what the position actually was. I, therefore, sent him a telegram appealing to him as the President of the League to come and find out the facts for himself and then decide what action he should take. Far from giving me a hearing, Mr. Jinnah again telegraphed to me on December 8, that I should submit my written explanation so as to reach him on December 10. I wired back to say that I could not possibly submit any explanation unless I was given some idea as to the facts that had been alleged against me. I also pointed out that it was not possible to write out an explanation and send it to him within the time fixed because papers would have to be posted by the evening of that very day if they were to be available to him at Delhi on the 10th. But Mr. Jinnah was deaf to reason or appeal. In his usual autocratic fashion he passed *ex parte* order on December 10, expelling me from the League.

I maintain that this is undemocratic and utterly un-Islamic. A section of the Muslims have behaved towards me in a manner which shows how little they are influenced by the teachings of Islam.

Muslim League Affairs

And this brings me to a consideration of the state of things in the Muslim League itself. You are fully

aware that the All India Muslim League and its branches are at present being dictated by a coterie of politicians who do not brook opposition and who are determined to have everything in their own autocratic fashion. The whole atmosphere is entirely un-Islamic and undemocratic. It is the will of one man that prevails and the members of the League are generally not permitted to have any will or opinion of their own, and this one man is more haughty and arrogant than the proudest of the Pharoahs. To add to our miseries, this superman has been allowed to exercise irresponsible powers which even the Czars in their wildest dreams might have envied. The present Muslim League atmosphere is un-Islamic. I feel very strongly that the Muslim League should be under the guidance of real and genuine Muslims. Before anyone can claim to be a Muslim Leaguer, he must first be a true and genuine Muslim.

All these considerations have led me to the conclusion that it is high time that we organised a Progressive All India Muslim League which will, it is hoped, in the course of time replace the un-Islamic Muslim League of India. We fully realise that it is essential for the Muslims to have a distinct political organisation of their own to safeguard essentially Muslim interests. The present All India Muslim League has forfeited its claim to be considered such a political organisation for various reasons.

In the first place, its leadership has passed into the hands of a coterie who are autocratic in their dealings and who do not allow free expression of public opinion. Secondly, the whole power in the League is vested in one man, who is the President and known as the Quaid-e-Azam, whose will is law and who is not bound to give any reasons for any steps he may take either with regard to public matters or with regard to the internal administration of the League. Thirdly, as a result of this state of things, free expression of opinion in the League, has been utterly stifled. Fourthly, the present

All India Muslim League does not include within its fold various essential sections of the Muslims of India. Chief among these are the Jamiyat Ulèma-i-Hind, who are admittedly the most learned of the Muslim divines and who are considered as authorities on Muslim theology and culture; the Momins, who constitute a considerable section of the Muslim population of India; the Ahrars of the Punjab; the Khuda-i-Khidmatgars of the North West Frontier Province; the Khaksars; most of the Muslims of Sind and other provinces.

But the most regrettable feature of the All India Muslim League is the fact that prominent members of the League do not hesitate to encourage hooliganism and goondaism in order to enforce the arbitrary decisions of the League leaders. And all this hooliganism and goondaism are backed by scurrilous writers in the Muslim League Press. Some of them not only publish the most atrocious lies themselves but refuse to publish versions which are not to their liking, even though these versions may represent the truth and their own versions may represent nothing but lies.

The Progressive Muslim League, which I visualise, would be distinctly Islamic in its ideals and would lead the Muslims to have a broad political outlook which, while maintaining the utmost fidelity to the best interest of Islam, will also keep in view the interest of the country as a whole. In other words, the ideal of the Progressive Muslim League will be Islam first and Islam throughout but without ignoring the legitimate rights of other communities. I feel that it is also necessary to inculcate the great truth that Islam came with a mission for the whole of mankind and that it preached to the world catholicism and toleration in the highest form. Unity between Muslims and other communities has got to be regarded as a fundamental necessity for the political advancement of India. The policy pursued by the present Muslim League is neither Islamic nor patriotic. It serves neither the Muslims nor anybody else. It pretends to be exclusively

Muslim, claiming to serve Muslims alone, but really leading even the Muslims to political ruin and disaster.

Progressive League

With a view to giving effect to these ideas, an organising committee has been formed in Calcutta with the Hon. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca as the President and Mr. Syed Badrudduja, M.L.A. as the Secretary. A Committee has also been appointed to help the President and the Secretary in the work of organisation. I am now appealing to you to rescue the Muslim League from the clutches of un-Islamic leaders before it is too late. The only effective way of doing this is to organise the Progressive Muslim League so as to bring within its folds Muslims of all shades of political opinion including all and excluding none, the basis of an universal Islamic fraternity. I appeal to you to organise the Progressive Muslim League in all villages and hamlets in Bengal so as to form village Leagues, sub-divisional Leagues and district Leagues leading up to a representative provincial Progressive Muslim League.

You are one of the leaders of the Muslim community and have distinguished yourself in the service of Islam. I have therefore ventured to appeal to you for help and co-operation and I hope I have not appealed in vain. As soon as a sufficient number of primary and district Leagues are organised, I shall call a meeting of all the different units of the Progressive Muslim League to a conference, in order to discuss and decide upon details regarding the rules and regulations of the League and also the immediate programme of work of the Progressive Muslim League.

When we have fully organised this League, it is my intention to develop it into an All India organisation as early as possible. We are sure to meet with opposition from those whose vested interests will be threatened, but we must go ahead and I am sure that with the mercy of Providence, we shall succeed in the end.

I shall be grateful to have your reply in order that I may be able to clear up any misunderstandings that may arise regarding the various matters that I have discussed in this letter. My ambition will be to convert to my views those who may now differ from me, and I shall gladly accept even your refusal to co-operate with me, in case I fail to convince you by reason and logic of the absolute justice and righteousness of my cause.

Finally, I wish to make the point perfectly clear. I know that my efforts to organise the Progressive Muslim League will lead to a split in the Muslim community, but my political opponents have left me no other alternative. I have waited so long that I feel I have passed beyond the line of personal political safety. I can wait no more. It is they and not I who will be responsible for the consequences. Mr. Jinnah passed an order of expulsion on me without the slightest justification and his followers in Bengal for personal and other reasons are busy organising the League in order to crush me politically. I feel that it will not be in the interest of the Muslims of Bengal that any Muslim League should function in Bengal in which I will not be allowed to take part. Of all Muslim political leaders I have the greatest right to lead the League. I propose to do so, and with the mercy of Providence, I am determined to succeed in my efforts.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

APPENDIX IX

John Arthur Herbert to Linlithgow¹

Dacca,
July 28, 1942.

Dear Linlithgow,

I continue to be concerned about Huq, and I should like to elaborate a little the appreciation contained in my last fortnightly report with regard to his attitude towards Gandhi's movement.

Huq is at heart a Proja Party man. His main interests lie among the peasants, and he like Gandhi has been fed with stories of hardships resulting from enforced evacuation and the operation of the denial policy. His principal concern at the moment therefore seems to be to obviate causes of complaint rather than to denounce the Congress proposals as injudicious and fifth columnist. In this attitude he is, of course, influenced by two other considerations.

He is anxious to recover Muslim support and his negotiations with the League are clearly designed for that purpose. He has risen to his present position in his capacity as a Muslim leader, and until recently he was able to gain strength as a champion of Islam. It is profoundly vexatious to him to find himself at present attacked by the League as a traitor to his community and to his faith; and his attempt to form a separate Progressive Muslim League does not seem likely to lessen the invective which is being directed against him. On the other

1. Linlithgow Collection, MSS. EUR. F 125|124.

hand, despite his uneasy relations with his Hindu colleagues, he is anxious to retain the support of the Hindu Mahasabha. These relations are undoubtedly difficult, for Syamaprasad Mookerjee acts as a constant goal and persistently upbraids him for his weakness in failing to get his more extreme demands approved by me.

There is also a third factor which operates upon his judgment. He feels that he deserves some reward for his 5 years' leadership of the Ministry, and he is extremely disappointed that his request for an appointment abroad, which will be suitable to his position and beneficial to his prestige, has not so far produced any result. He was anxious to go to the Hedjaz in some capacity such as Envoy Extraordinary, and thereby not merely to show himself a better Muslim than Jinnah, but also to demonstrate that trust was reposed in him by the highest authorities in India.

It seems to me that there is possible danger of these considerations inducing him to adopt at least a complacent and passive attitude towards Gandhi's projected movement. He may well argue to himself that if the Crown will not help him, the Congress may, and that if he cannot patch up his quarrel with the League, his best hope of retaining power is to hold it as the principal Muslim collaborator with Congress. It is for this reason that I wish to press again the suggestion that his request for a foreign appointment should be seriously considered. If it could be accepted to his satisfaction, many of my present difficulties would be solved and it would be possible to eliminate the unfortunate consequences which might flow from having in this Province, a Ministry decidedly lukewarm in its opposition to Civil Disobedience.

Yours sincerely,
J. A. Herbert

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APPENDIX X

Linlithgow to John Arthur Herbert.¹

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
August 4, 1942.

My dear Herbert,

Many thanks for your letter of July 28, about Huq. It has crossed my letter to you of July 27, on the same subject, and I fear that the position remains very much as stated in that letter. It will be quite impossible for me to consider (nor will His Majesty's Government, I am certain, for a moment look at it) any suggestion of sending Huq as an 'Ambassador' to the Middle East. I had previously asked Amery to ascertain from the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office whether any objection would be seen to a visit by him to the Holy Places on the assumption that ample notice would be given to permit arrangements to be made locally, the suggestion being that Huq might be sent as a representative of the Government of India to investigate the conditions in connection with pilgrimage or on some such pretext and that he might in that way be employed for, say, six months, during which time it is just conceivable that something else might turn up for which he could be considered. I have just heard from Amery that on the assumptions stated the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office would not in fact see any objection. But this is something far less ambitious than anything that Huq has in mind, and I should be very strongly averse to making any offer to him unless I

1. Linlithgow Collection, MSS. EUR. F125|124.

thought that was going to be accepted. Apart from that, we have to remember, given his present anxiety to come to terms with Jinnah that it is quite on the cards that (I say nothing about the price) he may be able to reach some accommodation with Jinnah when he sees him at Bombay, and if he does, either:

- (a) he may be sufficiently comfortable in Bengal not to wish to hand over the Prime Ministership, or —
- (b) it may be very difficult for him, given Jinnah's attitude on this sort of matter, to accept special employment under Government.

Nor would Huq, I imagine, be at all anxious to take on a job which would only last for six months or so, while there could of course be no question of our sending him to the Middle East or elsewhere as the representative of the Muslim Community.

I have set out the position as I see it quite frankly. I would be grateful if you would not communicate to Huq anything I have said above, but would like to have your own reaction to enable me to think things over further.

Yours sincerely,
Linlithgow

APPENDIX XI

John Arthur Herbert to Linlithgow

Government House,
Calcutta,

August 11, 1942.

Dear Linlithgow,

Many thanks for your letter of August 4, about Huq. I am inclined to think that an appointment of the kind which you suggest is likely to satisfy him if it is coupled with terms suitable to his position and with permission to undertake propaganda in support and defence of Islam. The sort of terms which I have in mind are a salary of Rs. 3,000 per mensem, which is what he received now as Chief Minister together with liberal travelling and halting allowances. In compliance with your wishes I have not communicated your suggestion to him, but during a conversation which I had with him today, I cast a fly in this direction and he instantly swallowed it. Will you therefore let me know as soon as possible whether you can make a firm offer of an appointment on the lines contemplated? I am particularly anxious to have a bargaining counter of this character, in view of the fact that Huq has now revived his proposals for additional Ministers, and on account of the possibility of some of the present Ministers not being prepared to enforce action against the Civil Disobedience movement.

Yours sincerely,

J. A. Herbert

Let us try to help.

L.¹

1. L stands for Linlithgow.



APPENDIX XII

Fazlul Huq to Linlithgow¹

c/o The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar,
1, Bhagwan Das Road,
New Delhi,
October, 1942.

I enclose herewith notes which will give His Excellency an idea of the subjects I am going to discuss. This will economise time.

One set is for His Excellency and another for your goodself.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Fazlul Huq

P.S.—As this is Ramzan fast and I am fasting, I will not be in a position to have the honour of lunching with His Excellency. I hope you will please see that newspapers may only mention the interview (if they like) but not that I had lunched also.

In order to appreciate my present difficulties with my Governor, it is essential to go back to the events that led to the dissolution of the former Cabinet and the installation of the present one. For at least a year before the events that led to the Cabinet dissolution in December 1941, there was definitely a conspiracy among some members of my former Cabinet to oust me from power and put Sir Nazimuddin as the Chief Minister. The cons-

1. Linlithgow Collection, MSS. EUR. F125/124.

piracy was hatched very carefully in secret, and although there were indications that there was something wrong in the relations between my colleagues and myself, they took care to conceal the real state of facts as much as possible. Now and then little events threw light on the position, and though my suspicions were strong, I affected not to know anything and allowed matters to continue smoothly. The trouble broke out in right earnest on the announcement of my nomination to the National Defence Council. I need not recapitulate all that took place because everything finally ended with my resignation from the National Defence Council in October and my reconciliation with the Muslim League. A few days afterwards a motion of no-confidence was tabled against Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy. This was the signal for the break-out of hostilities, and on the December 1 there was a mass resignation by the conspiring Ministers which forced my hands also to resign, and led to the downfall of the former Cabinet.

Sir Nazimuddin and many others have admitted that not only was there a plan, but that the plan was hatched and nursed with the knowledge of His Excellency the Governor. In other words, it is openly stated by the Muslim League Opposition that it was arranged that as soon as the Ministry was dissolved, His Excellency would send for Sir Nazimuddin and the Ministry would be formed immediately with Sir Nazimuddin as the Chief. Events, however, so shaped themselves that immediately after the dissolution of the Cabinet, all the groups gathered round me and I was in a position to claim an overwhelming majority in the Assembly of which I was acclaimed to be the Chief. It was, therefore, not possible for the Governor to send for Sir Nazimuddin and although my Governor seemed to be dodging the situation for some time, he had ultimately to send for me on the December 12 to form the Cabinet. I felt that the Governor's attitude towards me was not at all friendly, although he told me that he had always been my friend. I will not refer to this chapter at all, because it does not concern me at the

present moment except as a background for a correct appreciation of all that has followed.

I detected that the Governor was not very happy with the present Cabinet, because it included men like Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Ministers from Sarat Bose's group. Then came the disastrous economic depression and various other depressing factors which made the political situation extremely gloomy in consequence of the entry of Japan into the War. At each step the Governor was complaining that the Ministers were not properly doing their duty to encourage War efforts. He was complaining that the Hindu Ministers were not only not doing their duty properly, but also that they were not declaring their open condemnation of the anti-British feelings which apparently prevail in the country.

When things were going on in this way, I felt very strongly that the present Cabinet should be expanded. The various groups that compose the present Progressive Coalition party were not fully represented in the Cabinet and I, therefore, wanted that more Ministers should be appointed to give proper representation to the various groups in order to add to the stability of the Cabinet. Besides, the expansion which I wanted was long overdue and ought to have been conceded as a matter of course. As there were 11 portfolios, naturally 11 Ministers should have been appointed to take charge of these respective portfolios, but we could not appoint all the 11 Ministers at the start in view of the difficulty I felt in choosing one Muslim and one Scheduled Caste Minister. But each time that I discussed the subject with my Governor, he managed to put me off on some ground or other. His main reason has always been that it is necessary to have a complete Cabinet in Bengal and that efforts should be made to include the Muslim League. Each time that this point of view was pressed on me, I pointed out to him that the Muslim League will never join a Cabinet of which I was the Chief, and that it was needless to wait for them. I even wrote to him letters pressing my point,

and finally I suggested four names, but even then my Governor would not agree. Trouble after trouble manifested itself and at one time I felt the position so intolerable that I was goaded to write a rather strong letter to my Governor. I enclose a copy of that letter to show how strongly I felt on certain points and how my Governor was pursuing a policy of definite obstruction, and of rendering my administration constitutionally impossible. In this letter I have pointed out certain matters in which the Governor had unnecessarily interfered and made matters difficult for the Ministers. I solicit a careful perusal of the various matters to which I have referred, and it will be found that the Bengal Governor has been bent upon pursuing a policy of unconstitutional interference with his Ministers which is not merely unauthorised, but also practically condemned by the Government of India Act.

Since I wrote that letter of August 2, various other incidents manifested themselves. One was the appointment of the Legal Remembrancer and the Judicial Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Mr. Younie who had been holding this post suddenly died, and, the question came up for choosing his successor. The next man on the Civil List was an Indian Judge and the next below him was a European, who, by common consent, was thought unfit for the post; and the next available Judge was an Indian member of the Indian Civil Service. I decided on careful consideration that there is no reason to supersede the claims of the Indian officer who was just below the late L. R. on the list, and I therefore passed orders appointing him as the L.R., and pointed out that if he were not immediately available, owing to ill-health, the next Indian who came below him should be appointed. The Minister-in-Charge of the Judicial Department entirely agreed with me and we both recorded our views very strongly on the notes on the file. The Governor would not agree and expressed his views to us, but we adhered to our notes. In the end he has, however, ruled out our

views and appointed a European Judge who is far below these Indian Judges in order of seniority and who has no special claims which would justify the supersession of the Indian Judges.

Then comes the question connected with the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Events have shown that the motions of Mr. Tamizuddin Khan and the European Group were planned to put the Ministry into difficulty with the Congress Group. From the talk I had with the Governor, it seems that he was in sympathy with the motion of the European Group. I told His Excellency that the House having adjourned *sine die* should be prorogued, otherwise the members would be entitled to draw T.A. and D.A. allowances which would cost the Province several thousand rupees unnecessarily. I also pointed out that there would be no harm done if the Assembly were prorogued, because the Governor could always summon the Assembly whenever he thought necessary and there was Government business to be transacted.

I hope I have stated enough to show that a serious situation has arisen in Bengal. I have purposely avoided referring to small matters such as nominations to District Boards and Municipalities, although even here the Governor is busy with interference. I have only referred to essentials. The first and foremost is the question of the expansion of the Cabinet and the appointment of the Parliamentary Secretaries. I may mention here that in Bengal we have got 11 portfolios, and if each portfolio is entrusted to one Minister, there ought to be at least 11 Ministers. At the present moment we are only nine, and therefore there can be no objection to the appointment of two more Ministers immediately. Besides this, I have always held the view that it is necessary to have a separate portfolio for Civil Defence and War Propaganda. I also require another Minister, because I myself feel very much that I have been overworked beyond measure during the last six years, and I require a little rest for which purpose I have an idea to give up all con-

nections with portfolios and thereby freeing myself from file work. All things considered, I have a very strong case for four Ministers (two Hindus and two Muslims), and unless this reasonable request of mine is conceded, I do not see how I can carry on the administration in Bengal. The question of summoning of the Assembly is also a vital one, and in this matter, I hope His Excellency the Viceroy will come to my help and do all that is constitutionally possible to induce His Excellency the Governor of Bengal to accede to my views regarding the expansion of Cabinet and the appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries and the prorogation of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

I wish to refer to one other very important point. The Bengal officials have become extremely obstructive. They feel that the Governor is the appellate authority and they can go to the Governor with complaints against the Ministers any time they like. The seriousness of such a situation cannot be overestimated.

A. K. Fazlul Huq



APPENDIX XIII

Fazlul Huq to Linlithgow¹

‘Calcutta Mail’,
Delhi,

October 10, 1942.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am afraid I could not place sufficient emphasis on the necessity of an immediate expansion of my Cabinet. This is a matter in which the Governor cannot disregard the wishes of the Chief Minister. If I do not get the expansion, I will have to make a public statement, because otherwise all the groups that are supporting the present Government in Bengal are pressing for an expansion of Cabinet, are throwing the whole blame on me, saying that I am not pressing the matter seriously with the Governor. I do not know if I can trouble Your Excellency in this matter, but it would be a great help to me if Your Excellency were to write to my Governor, in any way Your Excellency thinks best, in this matter of expansion of Cabinet and appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries, I ought to have a free hand. I have found out this time during my stay in Delhi that there is no chance of the Muslim League coming into any Cabinet at the present moment. There is, therefore, no reason for not expanding my Cabinet. My health has practically broken down, and I cannot carry on with 8 Ministers. I am writing these few lines in order that Your Excellency may take immediate action.

With deepest regards and respects,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
A. K. Fazlul Huq

1. Linlithgow Collection, MSS. EUR. F125|124.



APPENDIX XIV

Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, to Linlithgow¹

Calcutta,
November 16, 1942.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

It was not possible for me in the course of the short interview which Your Excellency was pleased to grant me, to express my earnest desire for an opportunity to serve in the Middle East in a manner suited to my personal inclinations and the needs of the Empire. I feel confident, however, that during the last few months I have been able to make my case sufficiently clear to Your Excellency. The only thing that has been troubling me is the fact that although Your Excellency seems to favour the idea, there does not seem to be any immediate prospect of any early realisation of my ambition in this respect. Time is the essence of the whole scheme, and I would like very much to be about working in right earnest in order to prepare in the Muslim States of the Middle East a solid ground for the establishment of British control and a bulwark for the defence of the Indian Empire. I shall ever remain grateful to Your Excellency if you were to take early steps to give me the possibility of realising my fondest dreams in this respect.

With best regards,

I am, yours sincerely,
A. K. Fazlul Huq

1. Linlithgow Collection, MSS. EUR. F125|124.



APPENDIX XV

Fazlul Huq to Jinnah.

Calcutta,
February 5, 1943.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am determined to solve the Bengal tangle and to put an end to the meaningless strife which is having the most undesirable consequences on the prospects of the Muslim community in Bengal. Through the mercy of Providence, I have an assured position in the Bengal Legislative Assembly and can carry on for an indefinite period till the end of the War and one year after. But I am going to sacrifice all that I now possess for the sake of my country and of the solidarity of my community. The step that I am taking will show that I am not to be blamed for the unfortunate events that have taken place in Bengal during the last fifteen months and that I have been more sinned against than sinning. I do not, however, wish to rake up the unpleasant past, but to concentrate on the future.

I gathered from the last words you told me in the course of my last interview with you that in case I liquidated the Progressive Coalition Party and resigned from my office as Premier, you would lift the ban which has been put on me. I have thought carefully over the situation and with a view to facilitate my coming back to the League, I am ready to tender my resignation which will mean the automatic dissolution of the Progressive Coalition Party. May I now get a line from you to tell me that I have understood you all right and that the ban put on me will be lifted as soon as I tender resignation of my

office as Premier? If so, I will take the step I have indicated, and I hope you will render the barest possible justice by taking me back to the League, as soon as your conditions are satisfied.

If I come back to the League, it will be a matter of party politics in Bengal for Muslim members and Muslim leaders to determine as to who should be the Chief and what should be the composition of the Bengal Cabinet. So long as we do not contravene the rules and principles you have laid down, I hope you will not impose your decisions on the steps we may take in Bengal for securing the best possible administration for all communities in the country.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Fazlul Huq

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APPENDIX XVI

Jinnah to Fazlul Huq.

Bombay,
February 10, 1943.

Dear Mr. Huq,

I am in receipt of your letter of February 5, 1943.

In the course of the interview that you had with me following your letter of November 13, 1942, I maintained that our decision was entirely due to your wrong conduct and action that you took and that you have already done a very great harm to the Muslim cause of which you are better aware than anybody else. I reassured you that I have no personal feelings in the matter nor was I, or am I, influenced by any outside agency or any particular individual.

I took the decision of expelling you from the Muslim League because your conduct and action was a gross breach of discipline and fundamental principles and policies of the All India Muslim League organisation. Thereupon, you expressed your regret and assured me that you were repentant and also expressed your willingness to abide by whatever proposal I would consider fair. You told me that all that you wanted was that the ban should be lifted and that you were ready and willing to remain as an ordinary member of the League and serve the organisation in any capacity that the League may assign to you. In your letter of November 13, 1942 also, before I gave you an interview, you stated: 'I can assure you that I will abide by the discipline of the party and the instructions of the President of the Muslim League'. Thereupon, I made the following suggestions to you subject to the final sanction of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League:

(1) That you should express your regret for what you have done. If you have now come to the conclusion that you should be re-admitted as a member, it is due to the organisation whose membership you value so much, that you should show repentance on your part. Otherwise, if members were expelled and allowed to be re-admitted, as if nothing had happened, it would not only be inconsistent with the self-respect of the organisation but would be destructive of the elementary principles of discipline.

The first point, therefore, that I suggested in my last interview with you, was that you should express your regret for what you have done.

(2) That you should liquidate the Progressive Coalition Party or completely dissociate yourself from it and resign from your office as a Premier. I told you that I was prepared to see that the ban should be lifted and that you and other Muslims, who were expelled should be eligible for membership of the Muslim League, and of the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Assembly. Thereafter, the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Assembly will take such decisions as may be necessary from time to time with regard to the matters arising in connection with and relating to the Legislature and the administration of the Government of Bengal in consonance with the fundamental principles and policy of the All India Muslim League, subject of course to one overriding provision which is embodied in the Resolution number two of the Working Committee dated October 22, 1939, and confirmed by Resolution number one of the Council of the All India Muslim League, dated February 25, 1940 which run as follows:

The Working Committee hereby empowers the President to advise, guide and issue instructions to Muslim League parties in the various Provincial Legislatures in the event of some sudden emergency arising. The Muslim League parties shall give effect to or carry out such instructions as may be issued by the President.

At the interview in November 1942, you agreed to carry out these conditions within a fortnight but I heard nothing further from you till now.

Before I close, I must say that I cannot appreciate the tone, the language and sentiments expressed by you in the first paragraph of your letter because although you conclude it by saying, 'I do not however, wish to rake up the unpleasant past but to concentrate on the future', you have already indulged to a considerable extent in raking up the past. I must also repudiate and cannot agree with what you say in this paragraph as it is contrary to real facts. I am obliged to say this because if you really wanted to bury the unpleasant past and intended to concentrate on the future you should not have started with such a preamble, as is contained in this paragraph of your letter.

Nor do I understand the last paragraph of your letter, especially when you say: 'I hope you will not impose your decision on the steps we may take in Bengal for securing the best possible administration for all communities in the country'. Perhaps it is a mistake and I suppose you mean Bengal. Nor do I understand what is the meaning of your suggestion that I should not impose my decision on the steps you may take in Bengal.

However, it seems to me that the last paragraph of your letter need not be discussed further, in view of what I have already explained and stated above, namely, the conditions to be complied with in order to facilitate your being re-admitted to the Muslim League organisation.

I shall move in the matter as soon as the above conditions are satisfied by you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

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APPENDIX XVII

Telegram

Jinnah to Fazlul Huq

Bombay,

February 11, 1943.

Reference your telephonic call and our conversation have already posted reply to your letter of February 5 **Stop** Reply immediately on receiving my letter **Stop** I propose releasing correspondence to avoid circulation incorrect and misleading version **Stop**

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APPENDIX XVIII

Fazlul Huq's case against **People's War**, a Bombay newspaper.

February 2, 1945.

The hearing was resumed on Wednesday before Mr. R. Gupta, Chief Presidency Magistrate, in the case in which the editor, printer and publisher of the **People's War** of Bombay are being tried on a charge of defamation, on the complaint of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, ex Premier of Bengal, in connection with the publication of an article entitled 'Fazlul Huq Scared' which appeared in the issue of the above paper on November 26 last.

Examined by Mr. K. C. Gupta, Advocate, Mr. Fazlul Huq stated that he was one of the original organisers of the All India Muslim League and was its President for one term. He also presided over the Delhi session of the League in 1918. In December, 1941 he was expelled from the League by its President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, on account of certain differences. He asked for an enquiry which was denied to him by Mr. Jinnah.

The article 'Fazlul Huq Scared' in the issue of the **People's War** contained statements which were untrue.

Q:2 Mr. Gupta — You find in the article there are allegations of panic. Were you ever in a panic

A:3 I was never in panic in my life.

1. **Star of India**, Feb., 1945.
2. Q stands for Question.
3. A stands for Answer.

Q: Is there any truth that you approached Sir Nazimuddin to ask Mr. Jinnah to allow you back into the Muslim League?

A: It is absolutely false. I never approached Sir Nazimuddin.

Q: You have been described in this article as a 'disrupter' of the League for years. Is it true?

A: It is maliciously false.

Q: Is there any truth in the statement that you have become very weak and, therefore, you agreed to get back to the League on the condition that you will have no office, no Ministership for two years.

A: It is entirely false.

Mr. Huq was then cross-examined by Mr. A. S. R. Chari, Advocate of Bombay, before the framing of the charge.

Mr. Huq stated that he was proud of the position he held in the Muslim League. In the Lahore Session of the League in 1940, he moved the Resolution which was now called the Pakistan Resolution, although he did not use then the word Pakistan. At the time he moved the Resolution, there were shouts of 'Sher-i-Bangla Zindabad'.

Q: Mr. Chari — Would you say that this Pakistan Resolution is a demand which is aimed against the freedom of India.

A: The Resolution that I moved is certainly not aimed against the freedom of India.

Q: Would you agree that millions of

Musalmans of India support this Resolution today

A: Yes, knowingly or unknowingly. (Laughter).

Q: Would you say that the Muslim League is a reactionary organisation?

A: As it is at present, it is a reactionary organisation.

Q: I take it that when you were in the Muslim League, it was a progressive organisation?

A: About a year and half ago from now it was a progressive organisation in my opinion, whether I was in it or not, that does not matter.

Q: Could you tell us what was that converted it into a reactionary organisation

A: The slogan of Pakistan which was started about a year and half ago, has contributed to the communal ill feeling which now prevails in India. I, therefore, consider it to be reactionary.

Explaining Mr. Huq stated that when the Muslim League began to emphasise about Pakistan, the Hindu Mahasabha began to lay emphasise on 'non Pakistan' and imperceptibly the communal breach widened. He believed that the aim of the Muslim League as stated in its constitution was still in the Resolution that he had moved in the Lahore session of the League.

Q: Did you say then that the Musalmans should be ashamed of being members of the League?

- A: Why should I say that?
- Q: Would you agree with me if I say that the Muslim League is a national organisation of the Musalmans of India.
- A: I do not understand what is meant by national organisation of the Musalmans. I consider the Indian National Congress as the national organisation of the people of India.
- Q: Will you agree with me that the Muslim League is the only authoritative organisation of the Musalmans of India?
- A: At the present moment it is considered to be so.
- Q: Do you consider it as the authoritative organisation?
- A: I do not consider that it is the authoritative organisation of the Musalmans of India but of a section of Musalmans. I consider that the League is considered to be the only authoritative organisation of the Musalmans of India by British imperialists and reactionary elements in India.
- Q: You therefore consider it to be humiliating to go back into the Muslim League
- A: Yes, as it is now, but I want to go back, to reform it.

When the hearing was resumed before Mr. R. Gupta, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Fazlul Huq, the complainant, further cross-examined by Mr. A. S. R. Chari, Advocate, stated that there was at present a ban

against his entry into the Muslim League, and if the ban was lifted unconditionally, he would like to go back into the League but not if any conditions were imposed.

Q: Do you apprehend any conditions?

A: No, I apprehend nothing, but there are reactionaries in the Muslim League who might put some conditions. Mr. Jinnah had in the past offered me re-entry on certain conditions, which I refused.

Q: Would you be very angry if anyone says that you are a petty office seeker?

A: I will never be angry because there are nonsensical talks all over the world. The office comes to me. I do not seek office.

Mr. Huq proceeded to explain that if the ban was lifted unconditionally, he would be ready and willing to serve the League as an ordinary member and would serve the organisation in any capacity they directed him, provided it did not interfere with his own political views. If the ban was lifted, as stated above, he would be member of the League, subject to its discipline.

Q: If Mr. Jinnah tells you not to seek for any office for two years, will you take it as humiliation?

A: Certainly, I will consider it humiliating and object to such a condition being imposed on me. I held this opinion throughout.

Mr. Huq continued that in November 1942, he was the Chief Minister of Bengal and he wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah about his joining the League Party. Correspondence then ensued, but Mr. Jinnah misunderstood

him and wrote him another letter explanatory of many things that he had written in previous letters. Mr. Jinnah released the correspondence to the Press without consulting him or without including his last letter. Mr. Huq could not say if Mr. Jinnah has received his last letter before the correspondence was released to the Press.

Further cross-examined, Mr. Huq said that he was the leader of the Krishak Proja Party at the time of the general elections in 1936. He contested the election and was returned. In that election, nine Muslims were returned from his home district of Bakergunj, of whom eight were returned on his tickets while the ninth was vacillating but ultimately joined his party. Not a single Muslim League candidate was returned from his district, which was a Muslim majority district. After that he became the Chief Minister and formed his Cabinet. Sir Nazimuddin was the Home Member and they were colleagues in that Cabinet for 4½ years. Sir Nazimuddin was now the Premier and the leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party.

Mr. Huq agreed that the influence of the League over the Musalmans was today greater than it was in 1937. This also applied to his own district, Bakergunj.

Q: Would you contradict the statement made in the **Star of India** (shown) that the members of the Muslim League in the Bakergunj district are today 1,60,000?

A: A large number of these persons have become members of the League only in order to get control of shops, grain shops and other advantages. They were not really members of the League in the real sense of the term. They would leave the League tomorrow if it went out of office in Bengal.

Q: Would you say that your influence as

an independent Leader today is as great as it was in 1937?

A: With sensible people it is quite all-right.

Q: Would you say that your influence over the Musalmans of Bakergunj is today as great as it was in 1937?

A: I cannot say that until an election is held but I hope it is at least as great.

Q: Is it a fact that about a dozen of Muslim MLAs belonging to the Krishak Proja Party have now joined the Muslim League Party?

A: They come and go.

Mr. Huq was then re-examined by his Advocate, Mr. K. C. Gupta. Asked if the circumstances when he carried on the correspondence with Mr. Jinnah in 1937 still existed, Mr. Huq replied that at the time the correspondence was published, he was anxious to form an All-party (Government) and therefore he approached Mr. Jinnah because without the Muslim League such a government could not be formed. But now he did not think of approaching Mr. Jinnah because he knew that Mr. Jinnah would not listen to him as long as the ban against him remained.

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APPENDIX XIX

U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 42 (1948)
of March 5, 1948.

Appealing for prevention or reduction of disorders
in Palestine.

The Security Council having received General Assembly Resolution 181(II) of November 29, 1947 on Palestine, and having received from the United Nations Palestine Commission its first monthly report and its first special report on the problem of the security in Palestine.

1. Resolves to call on the permanent members of the Council to consult and to inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine and to make, as the result of such consultations, recommendations to it regarding the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view to implementing the resolution of the General Assembly. The Security Council requests the permanent members to report to it on the results of their consultations within ten days; and

2. Appeals to all Governments and peoples, particularly in and around Palestine, to take all possible action to prevent or reduce such disorders as are now occurring in Palestine.

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APPENDIX XX

U.N. Security Council Resolution of April 21, 1948.

.....recommends to the Government of India and Pakistan the following measures as those which in the opinion of the Council are appropriate to bring about cessation of the fighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to accede to India or Pakistan.

B. **Plebiscite**

6. The Government of India should undertake to ensure that the Government of the State invite the major political groups to designate representatives to shape equitably and fully in the conduct of the administration at the Ministerial level, while the plebiscite is being prepared and carried out.

7. The Government of India should undertake that there will be established in Jammu and Kashmir a Plebiscite Administration to hold a plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan.

8. The Government of India should undertake that there will be delegated by the State to the Plebiscite Administration such powers as the latter considers necessary for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite including, for that purpose only, the direction and supervision of the State forces and police.

11. The Government of India should undertake to prevent and to give full support to the Administrator and his staff in preventing any threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in

the plebiscite, and the Government of India should publicly announce and should cause the Government of the State to announce this undertaking as an international obligation binding on all public authorities and officials in Jammu and Kashmir.

12. The Government of India should themselves and through the Government of the State declare and make known that all subjects of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, regardless of creed, caste or party, will be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State, and that there will be freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit.

13. The Government of India should use and should ensure that the Government of the State also use their best endeavour to effect the withdrawal from the State of all Indian nationals other than those who are normally resident therein or who on or since August 15, 1947 have entered it for a lawful purpose.



APPENDIX XXI

September 12, 1948.

'From God do we come and unto God do we return'

Holy Quran

The Quaid-e-Azam Passes Away

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, creator of Pakistan and its first Governor-General, passed away at 10.25 p.m. on Saturday, September 11, 1948 at Karachi. He had come to Karachi from Quetta on the previous day against his physicians' advice and ordered an emergency meeting of the Pakistan Cabinet.

This tragic event has stunned the whole of Pakistan. Over half a million (about eighty per cent of the population of Karachi) turned out to attend his burial.

The Father of the Nation lived long enough to see his dream come true. Though he is no more, the nation lives as his everlasting memorial. The nation had full need of him today — of the guidance and inspiration of which he was the source. But the words he uttered, shortly before his death, will long cheer and encourage the Nation: 'Pakistan is firmly and well established. I have no fears. Men may come and men may go, but Pakistan, by God's grace, will live forever'

He has also left behind his example for the people to follow — the example of a man who worked himself to death in the cause of the Nation. And the end could not overtake him except in the saddle.

May his soul rest in peace.



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