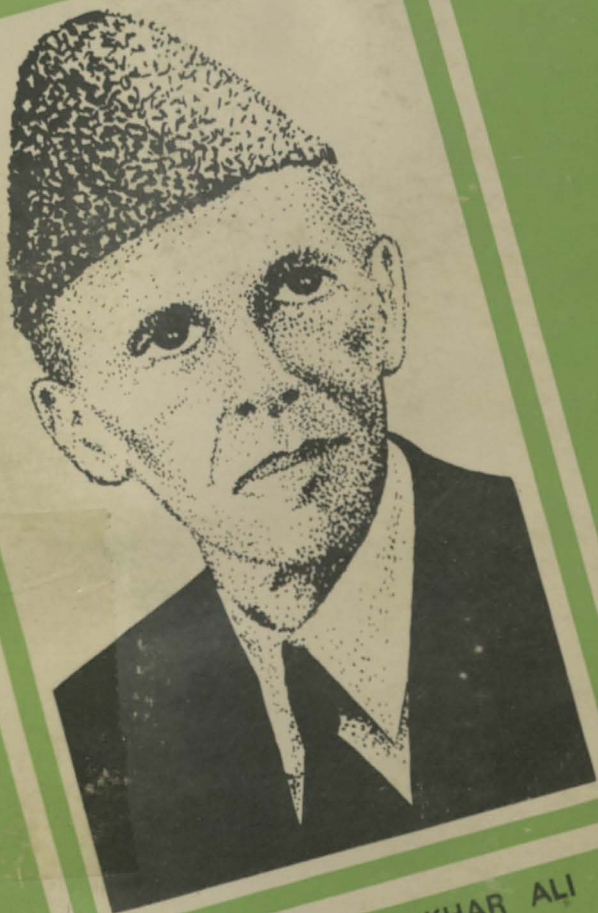


**QUAID-E-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
A TOWERING STATESMAN**

**A
BRIEF
APPRAISAL**



BY: MALIK IFTIKHAR ALI

QUAID-E-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
A Towering Statesman of Asia

A Brief Appraisal

By
MALIK IFTIKHAR ALI



SARDAR JHANDIR LIBRARY
MAILSI (PAKISTAN)

ACC. NO.

CALL NO.

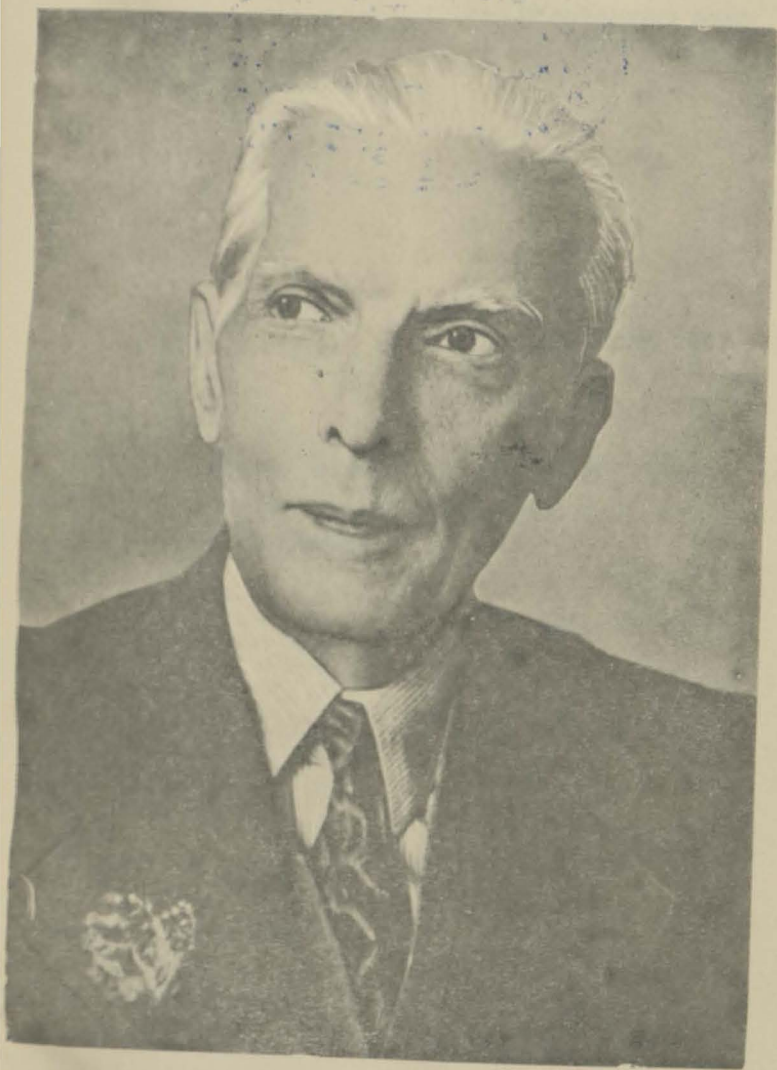
B
8639F



TECHNICAL SUPPORT BY
CHUGHTAI
PUBLIC LIBRARY

Printed by

A. Salam Khan at Ferozsons Ltd., 32, Empress Road, Lahore.



A portrait of the Quaid-e-Azam

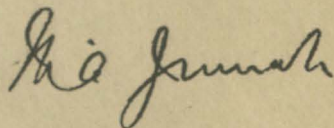
10 AURANGZEB ROAD
NEW DELHI

21st April, 1947.

Dear Sir,

I have received the book entitled "Iqbal" by Atiya Begum, which you sent me and I thank you for it. I shall certainly read it with interest.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Hasan Yar Jung', written in a cursive style.

Nawab Hasan Yar Jung,
Academy of Islam,
Hyderabad (Deccan).

PREFACE

Quite a number of books have been written on the Quaid-e-Azam and the relentless struggle which was launched by him in carving out a separate home-land for the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

I have studied some of the books which have so far been published on the founder of the largest Muslim State in South East Asia. Mr. Isphani's book on the Quaid-e-Azam stands out as an authentic account of the life story of this towering personality of Asia. I have greatly benefitted from Mr. Isphani's book and I have no hesitation in acknowledging the fact that of all the biographies so far published on the Quaid-e-Azam, Mr. Isphani's book is perhaps the best contribution made in high-lighting the manifold facets of Quaid-e-Azam's great personality and the qualities with which Nature had so richly endowed him.

In this book, I have made an humble attempt to narrate some of the facts which have come to my knowledge because of the close association of the Quaid-e-Azam with my late father, Malik Barkat Ali.

In the first article, I have given some glimpses of the Quaid-e-Azam. In the second article, I have given my own appraisal of this towering statesman, jurist and politician of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, who came to the rescue of the Muslim community of India when its culture, religion and heritage was threatened by the Hindu Congress and the British Imperialists.

I am beholden to Sardar Muhammad Iqbal, former Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court who has taken the trouble of writing a foreword for this book.

Towards the end, I hope and trust that the suggestions made by me for filling up the gaps in the life-story of the Quaid-e-Azam would receive the consideration of the high-level Committee which has been set up by the Prime Minister of Pakistan for the purpose of compiling an authentic biography of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, whose memory and heroic achievements shall always inspire the present and future generations of our beloved country.

Long live Pakistan.

Malik Iftikhar Ali

Lahore

Dated :—March 17, 1977

FOREWORD

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah can truly be regarded as the greatest hero of the Muslims of the Indo-Pak sub-continent. He symbolized in himself the hopes and aspirations of a hundred million people. History furnishes but a few examples of such close identification of the genesis of a nation with the life of one man. At a time when they were in deep slumber, he galvanized them with enthusiasm, gave them a clear vision of their glorious destiny, and brought them on one platform. It was his unswerving faith in his mission, his unshakeable commitment to moral ends and ethical values and his persistent stand against strong and sometimes vicious opposition that made possible the creation of a new nation out of an exhausted and disarrayed people. With his sincerity of character, tenacity of purpose and readiness to sacrifice, he won implicit confidence and undisputed country-wide loyalty of Muslims.

It is unfortunate that as yet no comprehensive biography of the Father of the Nation has appeared. This is perhaps due to the fact that the relevant material is scattered and scarce. It is time that all possible sources are tapped to collect every

source material so that the future historian has the means before him of giving a more meaningful and a more balanced and sober assessment of his life and achievements.

In his present articles on the life of the Quaid-i-Azam, Malik Iftikhar Ali has not only given an excellent bird's eye-view of the life of the great leader, giving at one or two places his personal anecdotes, but has also made very valuable suggestions for preservation of the contemporary material and collection of facts from all possible sources.

As a lawyer, Mr. Jinnah was an embodiment of the highest standards of the legal profession. His qualities of excellent strategy, dignified eloquence and convincing reasoning gave him an enviable position at the bar. It has been said that it was a treat to watch him arguing his case in the courtroom. His battles at the bar made him a legend. On the basis of my long association with the legal profession, I can say that his life as an advocate has not been fully explored. Mr. Iftikhar Ali has rightly suggested that this phase of the Quaid's life should also be completely unearthed.

Mr. Iftikhar Ali has done his job with love and enthusiasm. I am sure his book will be welcomed by all lovers of the Quaid-i-Azam and the country he created.

Lahore.

Dated:—March 17, 1977

MUHAMMAD IQBAL
Ex-Chief Justice
Lahore High Court.

1

SOME GLIMPSES OF THE QUAID-E-AZAM

THE first time when I saw the Quaid-e-Azam was in the year 1936 when I was studying in the 8th Class. The Quaid-e-Azam had come to Lahore in 1936 for setting up an Organizing Committee in the Punjab for the purpose of establishing Muslim League District Committees in the Province.

It so happened that the Quaid-e-Azam's visit to Lahore coincided with the marriage of my elder brother, Malik Shaukat Ali, and my late father, Malik Barkat Ali, had particularly requested the Quaid-e-Azam to attend the Valima ceremony.

The Quaid-e-Azam arrived at the time fixed for participating in the Valima function and I do not think more than a dozen persons present at the function knew that he was Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

After taking meals, the Quaid-e-Azam left the function and my father saw him off to the car which was waiting outside for him. I was then very fond of obtaining autographs of important political personalities.

At that particular time, I did not possess an autograph book with me. I, therefore, got hold of a piece of paper and as the Quaid-e-Azam was about to enter the car, I presented him with the same and made a request that he might kindly sign his autograph. The Quaid-e-Azam at once retorted that he would not sign on a blank piece of paper.

At this point, my father intervened and informed the Quaid-e-Azam that I was his son and then the Quaid-e-Azam smilingly signed on the piece of paper and made a remark, "Young boy, I am sure that you would not misuse my signatures."

The next time I saw the Quaid-e-Azam was in 1937 at the Lahore Railway Station when he had come from Bombay accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah to set up a Parliamentary Board in the Punjab Province for fighting the forthcoming general elections which were to be held under the Government of India Act, 1935.

I think there were hardly 35 to 40 persons present at the Lahore Railway Station to receive the Quaid-e-Azam. My father was the first to welcome the Quaid-e-Azam and entered his compartment. Miss Fatima Jinnah first got down on the Railway platform followed by the Quaid-e-Azam and my father.

While the Quaid-e-Azam was shaking hands with the persons who were present at the Railway Station, the electric current went off. The Quaid-e-Azam humorously remarked "Gentlemen, you see that as soon as I put my foot on the plat-



*The Quaid-e-Azam with members of the Islamic Society and Academy of Islam,
Hyderabad Deccan. (June 1946)*

form of the Lahore Railway Station, the lights of the Unionist Party are off."

The next evening the Quaid-e-Azam was to address a public meeting outside the Mochi Gate. This was to be the inaugural speech of the Quaid-e-Azam in connection with the elections which were going to be held under the Government of India Act, 1935.

The public meeting was presided over by Allama Iqbal and there was a crowd of not less than 50,000 persons. The Quaid-e-Azam spoke in English *extempore* and lucidly explained the objectives of the Muslim League. Although he spoke in English and more than 80% of the audience did not understand the English language, yet there was such force and velocity in his speech, which lasted for about 40 minutes that kept the audience spell-bound. I still remember some of the words which were used by the Quaid-e-Azam in his speech.

Turning his face to the Pressmen, he declared in a surcharged tone "The Governor of this Province does not live far away from here. Please convey to him on my behalf that he must fully honour the assurances given by the Secretary of State for India in the House Commons to the effect that no official interference shall be allowed in the conduct of the elections and that the elections shall be held free of any official pressure whatsoever".

The Quaid-e-Azam then uttered a stern warning that if the Governor of the Province did not honour the assurance strictly, both in letter and in spirit, in which it had been given

by the Secretary of State for India, then he would see to it that he was removed from his exalted gubernatorial seat.

The Quaid-e-Azam opened his speech with the remark that he had first come to the Province of the Punjab, because it was backward educationally, economically, socially and politically.

The next time I saw the Quaid-e-Azam was in March, 1940, on the occasion of the historic session of the All India Muslim League which was held in what was then known as the Minto Park.

The Quaid-e-Azam entered the Pandal accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah amidst loud cheers and thunderous applause. After the recitation from the Holy Quran, the Quaid-e-Azam who was to deliver the Presidential Address announced amidst vociferous and deafening cheers and full-throated slogans of "Pakistan Zindabad", that the Lion of Bengal, the late Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq, would move the Lahore Resolution which later came to be known as the Pakistan Resolution.

After the Resolution had been seconded, the Quaid-e-Azam delivered his Presidential Address *extempore*, except for two extracts which he read out and one of which was taken from one of the speeches made by Lord Moreley on Indian affairs in the House of Commons and the other was a personal letter written by Lala Lajpat Rai of Hindu Mahasabha to Mr. C.R. Das.

The Quaid-e-Azam spoke for about 90 minutes amidst

repeated applauses of "Allah-e-Akbar" and "Pakistan Zindabad". The Quaid-e-Azam in his Presidential Address explained and elucidated the rationale of the Pakistan Resolution point by point. I distinctly remember that after covering a particular point or an argument, he would forcefully throw down his monocles.

The late Mian Bashir Ahmed of 'Humayun' had earlier recited a poem in praise of the Quaid-e-Azam. In one of the verses, Mian Bashir Ahmed had expressed the poetic thought that the Quaid-e-Azam's "Arrow never misses the target of his shooting". The Quaid-e-Azam made a pointed reference to this particular verse of Mian Bashir Ahmed and said that he did not believe in playing a double game and was deadly opposed to any sort of duplicity in politics.

The next time I saw the Quaid-e-Azam was when he came over to Lahore in response to an invitation from my father to meet a group of Muslim members of the Unionist Party, led by a certain landlord, who had expressed their willingness to join the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Provincial Assembly, which, at that time, comprised only one member i.e., my late father Malik Barkat Ali. In response to this invitation, the Quaid-e-Azam came to Lahore probably in 1941 or may be, in 1942.

My father gave a tea-party at our residence at 19, Temple Road, Lahore, for the special occasion. Nearly 20 to 25 Muslim members of the Unionist Party came to attend the function along with their landlord leader. We had prepared a special cake for the occasion which was to be cut by the Quaid-e-Azam and in this cake which was in the shape of India, the

territories which were to be included in the future State of Pakistan, were covered up with green cream.

I presented the cake to the Quaid-e-Azam for cutting the same. He very carefully cut only the green parts of the cake. I requested him to cut a little more but he remarked that he would not like to encroach, even by one inch, upon the territorial limits of the other State, as had been depicted in the cake. Later, the Quaid-i-Azam was closeted with the landlord leader of the group. He held talks with him for about 20 minutes. He then called for my father and told him that he could not depend upon the person he had met and that my father had erred in his judgment. The Quaid-e-Azam told my father clearly that the move on the part of this person was motivated by his desire to be included in the Cabinet of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. Actually, the next day that very person was sworn in as a Minister in the Unionist Cabinet.

The next time when I met the Quaid-e-Azam was in Srinagar in September, 1944, where the Quaid-e-Azam had gone for rest and recreation, along with Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah. A businessman of Srinagar, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed, who maintained a jewellery-cum-carpet shop at the Residency Road in Srinagar and was also running a travelling agency had arranged for a white-painted house-boat for the Q.A. His son, Khawaja Ghulam Mohammad, who, some years back, held the portfolio of a Minister in the Azad Kashmir Government was in those days staying with us in Lahore, while he was pursuing his studies in law.

The Quaid-e-Azam had developed friendship with Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad and it was his habit that in the evenings, he

used to walk upto the shop of Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed and stayed there for a few minutes before returning to the house-boat.

I was staying in Srinagar as a guest of Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed after having appeared in the M.A. Political Science Examination. Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed had told the Quaid-e-Azam that one of Malik Barkat Ali's sons was staying with him for a few days. The Quaid-e-Azam told Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad one evening that he should communicate to Malik Barkat Ali's son that the Quaid would like to meet him the next day at 12-45 (A.N.) at the house-boat.

Accordingly, I reached the left bank of the River Jhelum at 12-35 (A.N.) . But unfortunately I could not get any boat for crossing over to the other side of the River for about 20 minutes. When I arrived at the Quaid-e-Azam's house-boat, the time was about one'o clock (A.N.) and I saw the Quaid-e-Azam alighting from the footsteps, while Miss Fatima Jinnah was preceding him.

As soon as the Quaid saw me, he enquired from me whether I was Malik Barkat Ali's son. I replied in the affirmative. The Q.A. remarked that I was already late by 15 minutes. But it was very kind of him that despite the fact that I was late he readily agreed to meet me.

He beckoned me to follow him on the staircase which led to the top of the house-boat (a canopy) a part of which was covered with a beautiful carpet. Two sofa sets were lying there. After Miss Fatima Jinnah had seated herself, the Quaid-e-Azam also sat down on the central safa and asked me to sit down on the sofa seat which was just near his sofa.

The Quaid-e-Azam first enquired from me as to what I was doing. I told him that I had just appeared in the M.A. Political Science Examination and had come over to Srinagar on a holiday for a fortnight. The Quaid-e-Azam advised me that after my M.A. I should take up legal studies and follow in the footsteps of my late father. I sometimes wonder how different would have been my career, had I followed the advice of the Quaid-e-Azam.

I told him that it was my great desire to go to London after having obtained my B.A. Degree to become a Barrister but World War II had completely upset my plans. In response to this statement of mine, he told me that there was nothing to prevent me from joining the Law College in Lahore after doing my M.A.

After these brief personal remarks, the Quaid-e-Azam enquired from me whether I had read the morning newspapers, particularly the 'Dawn, I replied candidly that as I was on a holiday visit in Srinagar, I preferred to read the newspapers in the evening. The Quaid-e-Azam promptly retorted that one must read the newspapers in the morning and that I should adopt this as one of my regular habits. I promised to do so in the future.

The Quaid-e-Azam then changed the topic and made a pointed reference to a statement of my late father Malik Barkat Ali, which had appeared in the newspapers on that very day on the implications of what was then known as the 'C.R. Formula.' Referring to this statement, the Quaid-e-Azam warmed up a little and said that there was so and so and so and so. (I would

not like to mention the names of the persons referred to by the Quaid-e-Azam in this context) who had issued public statements to the effect that the C.R. Formula had almost conceded the substance of Pakistan. These persons, he said, were in reality dying after offices. He observed that there was nothing wrong in holding political offices but these should be held with honour, dignity and self-respect.

He added that my father was perhaps the only person who had hit the nail on the head and had clearly exposed the deceptiveness and hollowness of the Formula. He further remarked that my father's statement was the only solitary pronouncement which clearly stated that the C.R. Formula amounted to the acceptance of what my late father had described as "truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan". The Quaid-e-Azam then uttered a few words of praise for my late father and said that sometimes he really wondered how beautifully and clearly my father expressed his political views in his public statements. He told me that he had so much liked the two expressions which had been used by my father in his public statement, namely, "truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan" that he was going to use the same very expressions while addressing a meeting of the All India Muslim League Council which he had convened in Lahore in October, 1944, for pronouncing the All India Muslim League's verdict on the C.R. Formula.

I stayed with the Quaid-e-Azam for about 25 minutes, when I took leave of him and Miss Fatima Jinnah. The Quaid-e-Azam warmly shook hands with me and was kind enough to issue instructions that his boat should drop me at the other bank of the river.

The last time when I saw the Quaid-e-Azam was in the middle of April, 1946, when I was serving in New Delhi as an Under-Secretary in the Chamber of Princes. Government service, both at the Provincial and Central levels, had been banned for all my brothers including myself, and I had, therefore, to seek employment in the Chamber of Princes in New Delhi, which organization was a non-governmental body.

My father died on April 5, 1946, and I came over to Lahore to attend to his funeral ceremonies. After staying in Lahore for a week or so, I left for Delhi to resume my official duties. As soon as I reached my office the next morning, I was informed by my P.A. that there were a number of calls for me from Mr. K.H. Khurshid (now practising as an Advocate of the Lahore High Court) who was then serving as Private Secretary to the Quaid-e-Azam. I immediately rang up Mr. Khurshid and enquired from him as to what was the matter. He informed me that the Quaid-e-Azam had particularly asked Mr. Khurshid whether any one of Malik Barkat Ali's sons was staying in New Delhi and that he had informed him that one of them was in New Delhi. The Quaid-e-Azam had told Mr. Khurshid that he should remain in touch with him because the Quaid-e-Azam was anxious to pay personal condolences to one of the members of the bereaved family.

A few minutes after I had spoken to Mr. Khurshid, I received a telephonic message from him that I should call on the Quaid-e-Azam the next day at 10-Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, at 4-45 P.M. I reached 10-Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi at 4-35 P.M. and walked into the room of Mr. Khurshid where I saw the

late Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, who became Governor-General of Pakistan, waiting for an interview with the Quaid-e-Azam which had been fixed for 5-30 P.M.

Mr. Khurshid introduced me to Mr. Ghulam Mohammad and the latter then took the opportunity of expressing his deep grief over the death of my father and affectionately patted me on the back. He also told me that he had written a letter to my eldest brother expressing his condolences over my father's death.

At 4-40 P.M. the Quaid-e-Azam came out in the verandah accompanied by Mr. Dalmia and enquired from Mr. Khurshid whether Malik Barkat Ali's son had arrived. Mr. Khurshid went out of the room and informed the Quaid-e-Azam in the verandah that one of his sons was sitting in his room. The Quaid-e-Azam asked Mr. Khurshid that he should be shown into his drawing room. Accordingly, Mr. Khurshid brought me to the door of the drawing room.

As soon as I entered the drawing room, I found that the entire room was full of tobacco smoke and I could not see the spot where the Quaid-e-Azam was sitting. Instantly, the Quaid-e-Azam walked upto the door and gripped me by his hand and took me along with him. I wanted to sit at a distance from him out of respect for the Quaid-e-Azam, but he made me sit on the sofa by his side.

The Quaid-e-Azam told me that on hearing about the death of my late father, he was extremely anxious to go over to Lahore for a day and express his personal condolences over the death of my father but that he was too much engrossed in

political negotiations of a crucial nature and, hence, he could not find time to go to Lahore.

He enquired from me whether I had read the tribute which the Quaid-e-Azam had paid to my father in the meeting of the All India Muslim League Convention held in New Delhi a few days back which was attended by all the newly elected Muslim League Legislators from all over the country. I said that I had read the tribute in the Press, an extract from which is reproduced below:—

“He (Mal'k Barkat Ali) was from the very beginning a true and loyal member of the Muslim League, and on all occasions, he rendered the greatest services to Muslim India. His advice and his staunch support on all critical occasions were of the greatest value to the Muslim League and myself. Muslim India has lost in him a great man and I have lost in him not only a colleague and a collaborator but also a friend.”

I noticed that the Quaid-e-Azam was visibly grieved over the death of my father. While consoling me, he expressed the view that my father had left him at a time when he had needed him most. Raising his right arm, the Quaid-e-Azam said that he felt as if his right arm had been cut off.

He told me that I should communicate to all the members of my family personal condolences on his behalf. The Quaid-e-Azam said that I should also assure my brothers that whenever there was any problem facing the family, any one of us could see him without any hesitation and that he would do everything legitimately possible to solve the difficulty.

While expressing his condolences, the Quaid-e-Azam remarked that my father had really committed suicide. I took the word 'Suicide' in the literal sense and informed him that it was not true and that my father had died while he was arguing a case in a court of law. The Quaid-e-Azam's reply was that he had been informed that my father had suffered from a serious heart attack a couple of months back and that he had been advised by his doctors to have complete rest at least for a period of three months. He said the very fact that my father had flouted the medical advice and had gone to the courts while he had not yet fully recovered from his illness, did amount to suicide. The Quaid-e-Azam again consoled me in quite a loving tone and it was really gracious on his part that he saw me off right upto the verandah.

He enquired from me whether I had any transport to go to my residence. I told him that I would manage to get a taxi but he asked Mr. Khurshid to instruct the chauffeur to drop me at my residence.

I observed particularly that during my 20 minute's stay with the Quaid-e-Azam, he spoke to me in a very affectionate manner. My image of the Quaid-e-Azam was that he was rather a cold person, but the warmth with which the Quaid had received me and had consoled me completely dispelled this image from my mind.

The Quaid-e-Azam was truly a towering personality and he could aptly be described in the words of Shakespeare:—

“His life was gentle and the elements had so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the World that
“This was a man.”

2

QUAID-E-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH—A TOWERING STATESMAN, JURIST, POLITICIAN AND FOUNDER OF THE STATE OF PAKISTAN

A century ago on 25th December, 1875, was born in Karachi, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, whom Destiny had chosen, in the words of Allama Iqbal as the "only Muslim in India to whom the (Muslim) community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India and perhaps to the whole of India." He was the eldest son of a hide merchant, named Jinnah Poonja, and he had three brothers and three sisters who were younger to him, Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah being the youngest sister. He received his early education from the Sind Madrass School in Karachi. He matriculated from the Mission School, Karachi. An Englishman, Frederick Leigh Croft, working as an exchange broker, both in Bombay and Karachi, was greatly impressed by the talented boy and prevailed upon his father to send him to London for the study of law. Quaid-e-Azam was only 16 years old when he sailed from Bombay across the Arabian Sea for London. He joined the Lincon's Inn for the pursuit

of his legal studies and he passed the Bar Examination in two years and thus at the age of 18 he became a barrister. In his own words, he had joined Lineon's Inn because there on the main entrance, the name of the Holy Prophet of Islam was included in the list of the great law-givers of the world. After having obtained his Bar Degree, Quaid-e-Azam stayed in London for two years and during this period, he met several important English Liberals, including Lord Morley. He used to visit the House of Commons frequently and was greatly impressed by the speeches of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Mr. Gladstone. Quaid-e-Azam once said that the liberalism of Lord Morley had greatly thrilled him in those days. It will be recalled that in one of his Eid Day messages before the establishment of Pakistan, he had quoted from Lord Morley's famous book "On Compromise". While he was in England, he had the rare opportunity of watching and participating in the election of the first Indian, Dadabhai Naoroji, "the Grand Old Man of India" to the British House of Commons. Dadabhai Naoroji was a Parsee, sixty-seven years of age at the time of his election. For many years, he had settled down in England as a businessman. It is note-worthy that Dadabai Naoroji was elected with a narrow majority of only three votes. It was during the election campaign of Dadabhai Naoroji that Quaid-e-Azam came under Dadabhai's political influence and imbibed the spirit of liberalism with which "the Grand Old Man" was richly endowed. Fourteen years later, Quaid-e-Azam served as Honorary Secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji. During his four years stay in England, the Quaid-e-Azam's only diversion or hobby, apart from his studies, was the interest which was evinced by him in the theatrical presentation of

Shakespeare's dramas. He once played the role of Romeo while touring England with a Shakespearian dramatic company.

Quaid-e-Azam returned to India (Karachi) in the autumn of 1896 when he was only 20 years old. His mother had died while he was abroad and his father's business activities had also greatly shrunk. Quite naturally, he felt depressed in Karachi and, in 1897, he sailed for Bombay. During the first three years of his legal career in Bombay, he could not make any headway, despite his best efforts. Early in 1900, he accepted the post of Presidency Magistrate against a temporary vacancy through the good offices of the Advocate-General of Bombay, John Molesworth. Thus came to an end the financial hardships which he had patiently endured for three years. He earned enough money to buy a carriage, to move to a better apartment and also to bring his youngest sister, Fatima, from Karachi and to send her to a Convent School. This relationship between brother and sister endured through 50 long years. In November, 1900, Quaid-e-Azam's temporary assignment as Presidency Magistrate came to an end. After this brief interval, Quaid-e-Azam resumed his legal practice in right earnest and his fortunes changed so quickly that he soon became one of the leading most advocates of Bombay. He was the solitary Muslim Barrister of Bombay who was in the forefront of the legal profession.

In 1906, when he was thirty years of age, the Quaid-e-Azam started taking active part in politics, and for his political activities, he chose the platform of the Indian National Congress, which political party was founded in 1885 by an Englishman, Mr. Hume in Bombay. When the Quaid-e-Azam entered

political life, the Liberal Party was in power in England. During the important 1906 Session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta, *Swaraj* or 'Self-Government' was adopted as the political goal of the Indian National Congress. Dadabhai Naoroji presided over the Calcutta Session. At this Session, the Quaid-e-Azam moved a resolution relating to Muslim law on "Wakf-e-Alal-Aulad". Thus, the first maiden speech made by him on the platform of the Indian National Congress was on a subject-matter which had a vital bearing on the long-range interests of the Mussalmans of India. In 1907, he attended the Session of the Indian National Congress at Surat, when the Congress was divided into two opposite camps, the Extremists and the Liberals. The latter group was led by G.K. Gokhale. The Quaid-e-Azam threw his weight with the Liberal Group and lent his fullest support to the point of view of Mr. G.K. Gokhale. Mr. Gokhale held the Quaid-e-Azam in great esteem and along with Mrs. Sarajoni Naidu, used to describe him as "An Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity".

Before the introduction of the constitutional reforms of 1909, the Quaid-e-Azam played a prominent part in the Muslim demand for separate electorates. As the result of his crusading campaign, the British Government had to concede the fair and just demand of the Muslims and the system of separate electorates was duly incorporated into the Government of India Act, 1909. Quaid-e-Azam stood as a candidate from Bombay and was returned as an elected member to the Imperial Legislative Council. In 1910, he had an exchange of hot words with Lord Minto, the then Viceroy of India and alleged in one of his speeches that South Africa was treating the

Indian immigrants harshly and even cruelly. The Viceroy, as President of the Imperial Legislative Council, took strong exception to the remarks of the Quaid-e-Azam and called him to order. It was highly courageous on the part of the Quaid-e-Azam that instead of withdrawing his remarks, he re-iterated his point of view that as an elected member, it was his bounden duty to state the true facts and he re-affirmed that the Indian immigrants were being treated by the South African Government, then a "friendly" part of the British Empire, in the harshest possible manner. This incident proves beyond any shadow of doubt that he was dauntless and fearless in speaking the truth and even the Viceroy's warning did not cow him down. It is again highly significant that the first Bill introduced by him in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911 related to the welfare of the Muslim community. It was called "the Mussalman Wakf Validity Bill". A paragraph of the speech made by him, while introducing the Bill, is worthy of quotation:—

"If you compel the Mussalmans to make Wakf in writing and in no other manner, you are, to that extent, overriding the Mussalman law, and, therefore, I, for one, am not prepared to accept any provision, which is, in any way, likely to over-haul or affect the personal law of the Mussalmans".

Thus from the very beginning of his political career, he vigorously espoused the cause and interests of the backward Muslim community. As an elected member of the Imperial Legislative Council, he made memorable speeches, both in the Legislature and on the political platform. Speaking on the

Indian Defence Force Bill in February, 1917, the Quaid-e-Azam expressed himself thus:—

“It is absolutely necessary that similar opportunities as those given to European British youth, should also be given to Indian boys”.

Speaking more candidly on the same subject, the Quaid-e-Azam expressed himself in the following words at the All India Muslim League Sessions held at Calcutta in December, 1917:—

“We are not going to submit to any of those three monopolies in the Government, in the Army, and in the commerce of this country. You (the Britishers) have enjoyed them for the last 150 years, but we are tired of it.”

Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity

He honestly, sincerely and ardently believed that the speediest and most effective way to achieve freedom from the British Imperialistic Rule over the Indian Sub-continent was that the two great communities, namely, Hindus and Muslims, should put up a united front against the British domination and should struggle together as comrades-in-arms, for the achievement of the independence of their Mother-land. He did not believe in the method of violence or the use of force, as a recourse to such methods would evoke equally violent repercussions and would thus provide an opportunity or excuse to the British rulers to adopt repressive and penalising measures. In his opinion, the use of force or the adoption of violent methods was to be reserved as the last and final resort to get rid of the Imperialistic domination. He made every

possible effort that the two communities should come closer to each other and eventually merge themselves into a nation, not religiously and culturally, but politically. In 1916, he arranged to hold the Muslim League Session in Bombay where the Indian National Congress Session was also to be held. After the two sessions were held in Bombay in 1916, he issued a public statement in January, 1916, in which he said "The Congress and the League were the two chief representative political organizations in India and the (Executive) Committee of the Muslim League, without the slightest prejudice to Mohammadan interests and with due regard to Mohammadan needs, would formulate a scheme of reforms and adopt it, as far as possible, in conformity with the scheme to be formulated by the Indian National Congress". He issued this statement in order to clarify his position, as certain prominent Muslim League leaders led by Suleman Haji Qasim were opposed to the holding of the League Session simultaneously with the Congress Session.

The Government of India Act, 1919, which was enacted on the basis of the scheme of reforms, which was jointly prepared by Lord Montague and Lord Chelmsford provided for "dyarchy" in public departments by dividing them into "reserved" and "transferred" Departments. The Quaid-e-Azam bitterly criticised the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, particularly the principle of "Dyarchy" by asserting that it failed to introduce responsible government at the Centre and make the Legislature supreme over the executive. I would quote his own words:—

"All Departments of the Government of India should be

left to the Legislature and the decision (of the Legislature) on all Bills should be final”.

It may be mentioned that in 1919, the Quaid-e-Azam resigned from the Indian Legislative Council on the Rowlatt Act issue.

He made every possible effort and worked hard to bring about Hindu-Muslim Unity. He was sincere, zealous and honest in these efforts, and he did not mind, if certain ill-informed quarters misconstrued his efforts as an attempt to merge the identity of the Muslim League with that of the Indian National Congress. The Quaid-e-Azam, on the other hand, invigorated the All India Muslim League and put new life into it, in order to make its voice really effective. His real objective was that these two separate organizations should first arrive at a political settlement mutually agreed upon and then present the same as a *fait accompli* so that the British Government could no longer exploit the two communities through its policy of Divide and Rule. But despite Quaid-e-Azam's earnest efforts, the Indian National Congress did not change its anti-Muslim policy. There was no change of heart on the part of the Hindus. Under the garb of false 'nationalism' the Indian National Congress was pursuing its policy of establishing Ram Rajya in a United India. Simultaneously, the state of Muslim League affairs, after its Allahabad Session, deteriorated to a great extent. Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan, a rabid Qadiani, was elected President of the Muslim League in 1931. However, in 1932, Sir Zafarullah was nominated as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and on his resignation as President, Mian Abdul Aziz

of Peshawar was chosen as its President, although no Muslim League Session was held in 1932. Thus the Muslim League fell into the hands of flunkeys and toadies of the British Government whose only objective was to gain high offices and positions in the Government by pleasing their British masters. In the Punjab, Allama Iqbal and Malik Barkat Ali joined hands together and made hectic efforts to revive the Muslim League. They renewed their participation in the affairs and activities of the Muslim League. The Quaid-e-Azam had felt so disgusted with the affairs of the Muslim League from 1931—1934 that in the middle of 1931 he left for England by way of self-exile. The split in the Muslim League continued till March, 1934. It was through the strenuous efforts of Allama Iqbal and Malik Barkat Ali that on March 18, 1934, the League Council met in Lahore and a resolution was adopted inviting the Quaid-e-Azam to return from England and lead the Muslims of the Sub-continent under the distressing circumstances. The late Agha Khan also exerted his personal influence with the Quaid-e-Azam towards this end. Finally, this split in the Muslim League was resolved in March, 1934, when Mian Abdul Aziz of Peshawar resigned in favour of the Quaid-e-Azam and the latter was unanimously elected as the President of the Muslim League.

After the Government of India Act, 1919, the next important milestone in the constitutional reforms came in the shape of the Government of India Act, 1935. Both the Congress and the Muslim League had accepted the Provincial part of the Act, while the Federal part of it was not to be implemented until certain modifications were made in it which were to be negotiated later after the Provincial Governments had

started functioning under the 1935 Act. However, both the political organizations decided to contest the elections, both to the Provincial Legislatures and the Central Legislature.

In 1936, the Quaid-e-Azam called a meeting at Lahore of the All India Muslim League in order to chalk out a programme for fighting elections to the Provincial Legislatures as well as to the Central Legislature. The meeting was attended, among others, by Allama Mohammad Iqbal, Malik Barkat Ali, Mian Abdul Aziz of Lahore, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Nawab Muzaffar Ali Qazilbash from the Punjab. Bengal was represented by Mr. M.A.H. Isphani and Assam by Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhry. The largest contingent came from the United Provinces comprising Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan, Moulana Shoukat Ali, the Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad and Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman. In all, the meeting was attended by 36-37 persons. As the result of its deliberations, a new Manifesto of the Muslim League was adopted, the most important part of which is reproduced below:—

“The main principle on which we expect our representatives in the various legislatures to work will be: (1) that the present Provincial Constitution and the proposed Central Constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic self-Government (2) and that, in the meantime, the representatives of the Muslim League in the various legislatures will utilise the legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the Constitution for the uplift of the people in various spheres of national life.”

As the result of the first general elections held under the

Government of India Act, 1935, the Muslim League was able to capture very few seats in the Provincial Legislatures. In the Punjab, only two Muslim League candidates were returned to the Assembly, namely, Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. The latter joined the Punjab Unionist Party immediately after his having been elected on the Muslim League ticket and became a Parliamentary Secretary in the newly formed Unionist Government of the Punjab headed by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. However, the Muslim League was able to capture a large number of seats in the United Provinces. In Bengal, the Muslims were divided into two political camps, the Krishak Praja Party led by Mr. Fazal-ul-Haq and the United Muslim Party which was led by the Nawab of Dacca. The Quaid-e-Azam, on the invitation of Mr. M.A.H. Isphani and Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, arrived at Calcutta on August 17, 1936. For several days on end, he tried hard to bring the two parties to unite under the banner of the All India Muslim League. But all his efforts failed to bring about the desired consummation, namely, to bring the two groups within the fold of the Muslim League. However, he did succeed in winning over the top leadership of the United Muslim Party and its leadership decided to join the Muslim League unconditionally, much to the bitter disappointment of the Fazal-e-Haq Group, as its younger extremist element demanded certain safeguards to which the Quaid-e-Azam could not commit himself in advance. As soon as the United Muslim Party decided to surrender unconditionally, Mr. Haq was cut to the quick and on further persuasion by the Quaid-e-Azam, he also agreed to join the Muslim League. But a few days later, Mr. Fazalul Haq backed out of the agreement and his

Paraja Party decided to contest the elections on its own ticket. During the elections, the Muslim League Party captured 40 seats and Mr. Haq's Party secured 38 seats, out of the 119 seats reserved for Muslims. Notwithstanding its strength, the Muslim League in its anxiety to maintain solidarity among the Muslims of Bengal offered the Prime Ministership of Bengal to Mr. Fazal-ul Haq who accepted the offer and thus after a long time, the Muslims were able to regain political power in Bengal. Even after the elections held under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Quaid-e-Azam continued to express sentiments of goodwill towards the Congress. In one of his speeches, the Quaid-e-Azam said that "ours is not a hostile movement. Ours is a movement which carries the olive branch to every community". However, the Congress leadership was inebriated with the unexpected success which was achieved by it at the polls. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in a mood of intoxication, which power had engendered in him, declared in a militant tone that there were only two parties in the country, the Congress and the British Government. To this, the Quaid-e-Azam retorted by asserting that there was a third party in the country and that was the Muslims. They (Muslims) were not going to be dictated to by any body.

In the Central Provinces, Bihar, Bombay and Madras, the Congress lured away individual Muslim Leagues and some independent Muslims by holding out allurements of office, and these individuals signed the Congress pledge in exchange for a Ministership or a Parliamentary Secretaryship. Only in the United Provinces, the League occupied a pivotal position. No Muslim had been elected to the U.P. Assembly on the Congress ticket. The Congress High Command did its

utmost to wean away the Muslim League group in the U.P. Legislature. But the Quaid-e-Azam saved the situation in the U.P. and the Azad-Khaliquzzaman parleys fell through. The Congress High Command adopted a similar attitude towards the Muslims in Bombay. Mr. B. G. Kher, the Chief Minister-designate saw the Quaid-e-Azam and requested him to give two names of his Muslim League Party to join in the Ministry. But here too the intransigence of the Congress High Command, and, in particular, Sardar Patel's haughty attitude intervened to prevent the formation of a Congress-Muslim League coalition Government in Bombay. Now the Quaid-e-Azam's faith in the Congress or Hindu Leadership had been completely shaken. He realised that the real aim of the Congress was to establish Ram Rajiya in the Sub-continent and to render the 90-million Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent as its camp-followers. As Mr. Dawarka Nath frankly admits, "This arrogance and lack of political foresight in July, 1937, was repeated time and again during the next ten years culminating at last in the division of the country into India and Pakistan."

The Parting of the Ways

The process of the parting of the ways had already started during the elections which were held under the Government of India Act, 1935. The final rupture came when Congress Governments came into power in the seven out of the eleven provinces of India from July, 1937, to October, 1939. The atrocities committed by these Congress Governments on the Muslim minorities have been fully narrated in the Pirpur Report. The Quaid-e-Azam's faith in Hindu-Muslim unity

was totally shattered when the Congress Governments were established in seven provinces of India. The culmination point was the Deliverance Day which was celebrated by the Muslims on 22nd December, 1939, when the Congress Governments in the seven Provinces came to an end. The Quaid-e-Azam declared in his Presidential Address at the All India Muslim League Session which was held in Lahore in March, 1940, as follows:—

“Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot, at any time, be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statutes. The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character but manifestly of an inter-national one and it must be treated as such. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of the Sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate home-lands by dividing India.”

After the passage of the Lahore Resolution in March, 1940, the Quaid-e-Azam launched a relentless, unceasing and heroic crusade for the achievement of the supreme goal of Pakistan. He concluded his Presidential Address at the All India Muslim League Session held at Lahore in 1940 with the following inspiring and stirring words:—

“I want you to make up your minds definitely and then think of devices and organize your people, strengthen

your organization and consolidate the Mussalmans all over India. . . . Come forward as servants of Islam, organize the people economically, socially, educationally and politically and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody."

At the advanced age of 64, lean and frail in physical constitution, he toured intensively and extensively throughout the Sub-continent of India and by his inspiring speeches and bold statements based on cold logic of facts and figures, he not only welded the various social, political and religious groups of Muslims, who were divided even within their own camps, into a well-knit and single organic whole but also infused a new spirit and a new life into their faltering hearts and was thus able to unite them into a single powerful entity. Thus for the first time after the fall of the Mughal Empire, the Mussalmans of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent emerged as a nation on the political plane. It is nothing short of a miracle that against heavy odds and even betrayals of some of his own co-religionists, he was able to unite a scattered, divided and disarranged community into a *Millat*. He had to fight on three fronts; against the powerful Indian National Congress, against the British rulers and against some of his own misled brethren who were too willing to play into the hands of the Congress. The trend of Quaid-e-Azam's thinking, during this crucial and critical time can be gauged from the notes scribbled by him during this period. The notes, in his own handwriting, are reproduced below:—

"It is said in certain quarters that I hold the key to solve the political deadlock. Things are said about me by some individuals which are very flattering and complimentary but

nobody has yet made any concrete proposal with any authority or sanction behind it of Hindu India."

"It is said that I alone have the power to get the Congress leaders released from the jail and achieve Indian freedom. Now simply it is far from correct to attribute such power and authority to me. The question of the release of the Congress leaders depends mainly on the power and authority of the Congress leaders, and Hindu public who are solely behind the Congress."

"The first question that requires consideration is—whether there is any real change of heart on the part of the Hindu leadership and Hindu public towards Muslim India and Muslim League. Secondly, whether Hindu leadership desires peaceful negotiations and agreement with the All India Muslim League and are prepared to drop their attitude of threatening and intimidating Muslims with civil war and coercing the British to ignore the Muslims and accede to the Hindu Congress demands at the cost and sacrifice of fundamental and vital interests of Muslims and other important elements in the life of this great sub-continent."

"I see no evidence of a genuine change of heart nor do I see any symptoms of any change of policy or programme on the part of Congressmen; whereas the Hindu Mahasabha claiming to speak on behalf of caste Hindus has recently at Cawnpur made their position quite clear and re-affirmed their policy that they are determined to subjugate the Muslims of India and establish Hindu Raj over the entire sub-continent of India, at any cost, and are ready and prepared to declare civil war, if the Mussalmans do not submit or surrender to

the clear-cut ultimatum contained in their resolution and further they are going to resort to direct action on or before the 30th of April, if the British Government do not submit and concede to their demand for "Akhand Hindustan" and denounce the Muslim India demand for Partition or Pakistan".

"What signs are there and what evidence is there that the Hindu Congress has changed, in the slightest degree, its policy and programme or attitude that it has made crystal-clear in its resolution of 8th August, 1942".

"Whereas the Hindu Mahasabah, the counterpart and left wing of the Congress, makes no bones about bringing Muslims under their yoke."

"Recently but all of a sudden, Mr. Amery (the then Secretary of State for India) has made an announcement of historical nature and has been studying the pattern of Akbar's (Mughal Emperor) Government as a model for him to follow for the post-war reconstruction of the world and the British Empire, of which India is the brightest jewel. White Hall is engaged in this research work of ruling India as Akbar and others did...viz. through maintaining India's geographical unity".

"Hindu-Muslim Settlement before or after Independence.

Congress says—after Independence.

Muslim League says—in order to secure independence, Hindu-Muslim Settlement must be before Independence."

1. "Congress proposal is not practical, to begin with.

2. Congress proposal must lead to anarchy, chaos and blood-shed.
3. That even at this cost of *heavy price*, we shall not succeed."

"British also say that unless there is an agreement between major parties, how can they and to whom are they to transfer power, which they are only too ready and willing to do so. They say they can duly transfer power to a system of Government, which will command the confidence and sanction of solid majority of *United India*, knowing fully well that such a consummation is *well-nigh impossible*."

"Gift for the new year by the die-hard (British) tories who wish to continue the imperialistic domination over India, rather than agree to what would lead to the freedom and independence, both of Muslim India and Hindu India. The question is: Shall we continue in slavery in a geographically united India or should we achieve freedom of both nations in a divided India, which would lead to Independence of both, within the shortest possible time"?

From the above notes, it would appear that the Quaid-e-Azam had reached the conclusion that there was no change of heart visible on the part of the Congress or Hindu leadership and, as such, there was hardly any possibility of arriving at a mutually agreed upon political settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress. By 1945, he was fully convinced that the only solution of the political impasse or deadlock, as it had then come to prevail in the Sub-continent of India, was to carve out of it two separate home-lands, one for the Muslims and the other for the Hindus.

The Quaid-e-Azam had rightly maintained that it was only the All India Muslim League which was the sole representative political organisation of the Indian Muslims. His claim was amply proved when the Muslim League swept the polls at the general elections which were held in 1946. The break-up of the seats won by the Muslim League in the eleven provinces of India was as follows:—

“Asam—31 out of 34; Bengal 113 out of 119; Bihar 34 out of 34; Orisa 4 out of 4; U.P. 50 out of 66, Punjab 79 out of 86; N.W.F.P. 17 out of 38; Sindh 28 out of 30, Bombay 30 out of 30, C.P. 14 out of 14, and Madras 29 out of 29.”

In April, 1946, the Quaid-e-Azam called a convention of the newly elected Muslim League members of the Provincial and Central Legislatures at Delhi which was attended by 470 legislators and at this most representative convention, a fundamental change was made in the Lahore Resolution of March, 1940. At this Convention, which was held under the chairmanship of the Quaid-e-Azam, a Resolution was moved by the late Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, the then Prime Minister of Bengal, which was adopted unanimously. It stated *inter alia* that “in the vast Sub-continent of India, 100-million Muslims were the adherents of a Faith which regulated every department of their life” and the Lahore Resolution was amended as follows:—

“The Zones comprising Bengal, Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sindh and Baluchistan in the north-west of India, where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be converted into a *Sovereign independent State*”

Thus the Delhi Convention took a historical decision to the effect that instead of two sovereign Muslim States as originally envisaged in the Lahore Resolution, there shall be only *one Sovereign Independent Muslims State*, viz., Pakistan. In this democratic way, the Lahore Resolution, which envisaged the setting up of two independent Muslim States, one in the North-Western Zone and the other in the North-Eastern Zone, was amended and a fundamental change was made with a view to the establishment of *one Muslim Independent Sovereign State* to be named as "Pak'istan." This radical change reflected the new stirrings and aspirations of the Muslims of the Sub-continent and thus firmly laid the foundation of the unalterable two-nation theory, a fact which had always existed, though in a dormant manner, but which found its first articulation in clear-cut terms, namely, that the Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations. The two communities had lived side by side and parallel to each other during the past 1,000 years but on account of their deep-rooted cultural, social and religious differences, had never, at any stage, merged themselves into a single national entity. The faith of the Mussalmans was fundamentally opposed to all that Hinduism stood for. Hinduism was entirely based on the concept of the caste system, one caste excluding the other, to the extent that 70 millions of Hindus were regarded by the Hindu community as Harijans or untouchables. On the other hand, Islam was democratic in nature, tending towards socialism and it opened its doors to all new comers. Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the Harijans, has written in his book entitled "Thoughts on Pak'istan" that "there was nothing new or sudden in the ideal of Pakistan. The only thing that has happened is that what was indistinct

appears now in full glory, and what was nameless has become a name”.

Thus through a gruelling struggle extending over a period of seven years, the Quaid-e-Azam led his *Millat* to its rightful Destiny, and succeeded in his mission of carving out a sovereign State for the Muslims of the Sub-continent, in the teeth of the bitterest opposition that the Hindus and the British overlords had forged together to frustrate the realization of this Destiny.

The Quaid-e-Azam's Ideology

The ideology of the Quaid-e-Azam as enunciated by him before and after the establishment of Pakistan may be summed up in one single word and that is “*Islam*.” He was an ardent believer in the philosophy of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and as elaborated in the precepts and teachings of the Holy Prophet of Islam (May peace be upon him). It is a comprehensive philosophy which covers all spheres and departments of human life. It was also scrupulously practised and implemented by the four Companions of the Holy Prophet who followed him as Caliphs. Throughout Quaid-e-Azam's political career, he attached the highest importance and always cherished the social, economic, cultural and political values of Islam.

In his Presidential Address to the All India Muslim League Session held at Lucknow as long ago as December 30, 1916, he had declared that “there are no people in the world who are more democratic even in their religion than the Mussalmans”. In an interview given to a representative of the Associated Press of America on July 1, 1942, the Quaid-e-Azam expressed himself in the following words:—

“We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation.”

Having himself experienced the trials and tribulations of life and having tasted the bitterness of poverty and penury for more than three years, since he returned from England after obtaining his Bar-at-lawship, he had always pleaded the cause of the masses and his heart had invariably throbbled with the sufferings and sorrows of the poor masses, who were being exploited not only by the British Imperialistic rule but also by a section of the Hindu community who had attained prosperity through the channels of commerce and industry and through their money-lending operations, which were conducted at exorbitant rates of interest. Mostly the Muslims were the victims of these transactions. In one of his speeches delivered on March 1, 1946, he said “I am an old man. God has given me enough to live comfortably at this age. Why should I turn my blood into water, run about and take so much trouble? Not for the capitalists but for the poor people”. Again on August 9, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam declared that “I am no believer in the mission of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The task is difficult, of course, but you must make earnest efforts to promote the interests of the masses without necessarily disturbing the equilibrium in the bargain.”

He had unshakeable faith in Islam and he was deeply

attached to the Prophet of Islam and the precepts and principles as propounded and practised by the Holy Prophet. Explaining the rationale of Pakistan, he declared on March 8, 1944, at Aligarh "Pakistan was not the product of the conduct or misconduct of the Hindus. It had always been there, only we were not conscious of it. Hindus and Muslims, though living in the same towns and villages, had never been blended into one nation; they were always two separate entities". In his address to the Karachi Bar Association on January 25, 1948, which was the occasion of the Holy Prophet's Birthday, the Quaid-e-Azam exclaimed "Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fairplay to everybody. What reason is there for any one to fear democracy, equality, freedom on highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fairplay and justice to every body". On April 17, 1948, he emphasized the need for complete unity among the people of Pakistan by saying that "We Mussalmans believe in one God, one Book, the Holy Quran, one Prophet. So we must stand united as one nation." In his speech at Lahore on October 30, 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam in a morale-boosting speech declared as follows:—

"You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers. You have only to develop the spirit of *Mujahids*. You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live upto your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory".

Again while speaking at Lahore on October 30, 1947, the

Quaid-e-Azam declared "Keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr."

The Quaid-e-Azam sincerely and zealously believed that of all the 'isms', Islam was the highest and the noblest. Speaking at Chi tagong on March 26, 1948, he observed "You are not only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Mussalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and *Islamic Socialism* which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly, you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. The targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually, we are free to conduct our affairs according to our own traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and freedom of man—these are the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in the Sub-continent."

He warned the Civil Servants to shed their old notions of prestige and importance, which the British rulers had engendered in their mind and to re-adjust and re-orientate their mental outlook, as they were no longer serving the foreign rulers but were serving their own people in the newly created State of Pakistan. Addressing the Gazetted Officers at Chittagong on March 25, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam told them clearly that "you are not rulers. You do not belong to the ruling

class; You belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants, maintain the highest standard of honesty, integrity, justice and fairplay. If you do that people will have confidence and trust in you and look upon you as friends and well-wishers. Again, addressing the Gazetted Officers at Chittagong on 15th March, 1948, he declared:—

“Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is the People’s Government, responsible to the people. Now that freezing atmosphere must go, that impression that you are rulers must go and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness, to try to understand the people. Wipe off that past reputation, you are not rulers. You must do your duty as servants, you are not concerned with this political party, or that political party, that is not your business; you are civil servants. Whichever gets the majority will form the Government and your duty is to serve that Government for the time being as servants, not as politicians. How will you do that? The Government in power must, for the time being, also realize and understand their responsibility that you are not to be used for this party or that. I know we are saddled with old legacy, old mentality, old psychology and it haunts our foot-steps, but it is up to you now to act as true servants of the people.”

On another occasion, while addressing Civil Servants, he declared “You may even be put to trouble, not because you are doing anything wrong but because you are doing right. Sacrifices have to be made and I appeal to you, if need be, to come forward

and face the position of being put on the black-list or being otherwise worried or troubled. It is you who can give us the opportunity to create a powerful machinery which will give you a complete sense of security”.

He had great love for and devotion for the ideals of the Holy Prophet of Islam. Paying tribute to the Holy Prophet on 25th January, 1948, Quaid-e-Azam said “Thirteen hundred years ago, he laid the foundations of democracy. The Prophet was a great teacher. He was a great law-giver. He was a great statesman and he was a great Sovereign who ruled. No doubt, there are many people who do not quite appreciate when they talk of Islam. Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fair-play, and justice for all. One God and the equality of man is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. In Islam, there is no difference between man and man. The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam”. Again, he declared at Sibi Durbar on 14th October, 1948, as follows:—

“It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations”.

In his broadcast talk to the people of Australia recorded on 19th February, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam proclaimed "The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (May peace be upon him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake; *Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it.* Islam demands the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome, in close association with us all those, who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan."

The Quaid-e-Azam was a firm believer in true democracy. He abhorred the idea of establishing one-party Government. "An opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power." In a Press interview on 25th January, 1948, he said that "he could not understand a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the Constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of Shariat." He said that he "would like to tell those who are misled that not only the Muslims but also the non-Muslims have nothing to fear." In his Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, he proclaimed in clear-cut words that equality of citizenship was the basic principle of the Polity or State of Pakistan. He declared in a solemn manner that all citizens would be treated on an equal footing, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. He expressed himself on that memorable occasion in the following terms:—

"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you

are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination between one community and the other, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. Now, I think, we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that, in the course of time, Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslim, *not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual*, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.”

In the economic domain, the Quaid-e-Azam's desire was that the economic system of Pakistan should be based on the true and lasting principles of Islam. He was totally opposed to the exploitation of one class by another, particularly exploitation of the masses. In his speech on the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan on 1st July, 1948, he declared:—

“The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us, it appears that only a miracle can save it from the disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man, and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the other hand, it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half century. The Western World,

inspite of its advantage of mechanization and industrial efficiency is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contended people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concepts of equality of man and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace, which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind."

In rearing up an economic system in Pakistan on Islamic principles, he laid the greatest stress on the development of agriculture and industry. In his own words "Pakistan is agriculturally the most advanced country in the Continent of Asia". On the development or growth of industries, he declared on 26th September, 1947, "By industrializing our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, we will give more employment to our people, and will also increase the resources of the State. I hope in planning your factories, *you have provided for proper residential accommodation and other amenities for the workers, for no industry can thrive without contended labour*". He wanted a clear-cut demarcation between the roles of the public and private sectors. He declared; "The number of industries Government have reserved for themselves consists of Arms and Munitions of War; generation of Hydel power and manufacture of Railway Wagons, Telephones, Telegraphs and Wireless Apparatus". On another occasion, he declared; "I believe in these modern

days, essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State. That applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for the law-makers to say, not for me”.

Outlining the foreign policy of Pakistan, the Quaid-e-Azam observed: “Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter”.

Referring to the Arab Struggle against the designs of Great Britain to carve out a Jewish State, the Quaid-e-Azam declared as early as 29th December, 1938:—

“I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice, if required, to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom. You know the Arabs have been treated shamelessly. Men, who are fighting for the freedom of their country have been described as gangsters and subjected to all forms of repression. For defending their home-lands, they are being put down at the point of the bayonet and with the help of Martial Laws. But no nation, no people, who are worth living as nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices, which the Arabs

of Palestine are making. All our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers. They are being subjected to monstrous injustices which are being propped up by British imperialism with the ulterior motive of placating international Jewry, which commands the money bags". In an interview given to a Reuter's correspondent on 25th October, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam made it clear that "the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision (partitioning the Arab territories for the creation of a Jewish State) which cannot be supported historically, politically or morally. In such a case, Pakistan will have no other course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs and will do whatever lies in its power to prevent, what, in my opinion, is an outrage".

Quaid-e-Azam attached the highest priority to Defence. He declared on January 23, 1948, that "while giving the fullest support to the principles of the United Nations Charter, we cannot afford to neglect our defences. However strong the United Nations Organization might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defenceless in this imperfect world invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak and, therefore, they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us". Speaking on 20th March,

1948, in what was then East Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam declared as follows:—

“The Martial spirit of Bengal is historically known and specially the part the Muslims played in the history of the past Bengal. That martial spirit, like many other great qualities, was oppressed, suppressed and the martial spirit was dead with a sort of damper put on—and in Bengal we go to a point when, as I said, Bengal did not count for military purposes. Now, in free Pakistan, which is going to be a great nation, one of the largest in the world, you have under sovereign, independent, free Pakistan, every opportunity to revive your martial spirit and show to the world what Bengal can do. It is in your hands. I am sure you realize that yours is the responsibility for the security and the defence of the State, and I am confident that you will not fail but serve it loyally and faithfully, ready to die for its security and defence.”

Of the three Defence Forces, he held the Air Force in high priority. Addressing the officers of the Pakistan Air Force Station at Risalpur on 13th April, 1948, he said:—

“There is no doubt that any country without a strong Air Force is at the mercy of an aggressor. Pakistan must build up her Air Force as quickly as possible. But aircraft and personnel in any number are of little use unless there is a true spirit within the Air Force and a strict sense of discipline prevails. I charge you to remember that only with discipline and self-reliance can the Pakistan Air Force be worthy of Pakistan.”

Many tributes were paid to the Quaide-e-Azam during his life time and after his death. I shall quote here some of the tributes which were paid to him during his life-time and after his demise.

(1) Mrs. Sarojino Naidu, who herself was a front-rank Indian leader and was a woman of great parts, being a talented poet, litterateur, and orator, paid him a glowing tribute in her introduction to a book which was published by her in 1918, being a collection of the Quaid-e-Azam's speeches, in the following words:—

“Perhaps it is written in the book of the future that he whose fair ambition is to become the Muslim Gokhale may, in some glorious and terrible crisis of our national struggle pass into immortality, as the Mazzini of the Indian liberation”.

Siri R.K. Shammukham Chetty, a prominent South Indian leader and a former Finance Minister of India described the Quaid-e--Azam as under:—

“Undoubtedly a great patriot, a great parliamentarian and a dominating personality of India. What has struck me as the most outstanding qualities of Mr. Jinnah is his uncompromising independence and sense of self-respect. He is the incorruptible politician *par excellence*. No consideration will ever make him lose his self-respect or give up his independence. The key to Mr. Jinnah's dominating position in India today is to be found in his uncompromising spirit of independence. Mr. Jinnah is a

a realistic patriot. While he yields to none in his enthusiasm to obtain the political emancipation of his country, he is not blind to the realities of the political situation. He is a believer in communal justice. It is on the edifice of communal justice that the political structure of India has to be built up".

"Political parties and individuals who claim a monopoly of patriotism may sneer at Mr. Jinnah, but he will stand out as a great nationalist and a real patriot."

Now I shall quote the tribute which was paid to the Quaid-e-Azam by Mr. B.G. Kher, who was the Chief Minister of Bombay after the attainment of Indo-Pakistan independence from the British yokedom, a personal friend of the Quaid-e-Azam who had always held him in the highest esteem. The words of his tribute are not formal in character, but have come right from the depths of his heart:—

"His fearless advocacy and uncompromising nature and independent manners towards those placed in authority made him a popular and successful advocate. He had a unique personality and implacable decisiveness which has made history. He had an indomitable will which brooked no opposition and permitted no second."

Sir Stefford Cripps spoke of the Quaid-e-Azam in the following words in a speech broadcast by him in the B.B.C. programme on September 18, 1948, i.e., seven days after the demise of the Quaid-e-Azam:—

"He was a man of the highest standards of probity and honour. He was a most charming and friendly host or

companion. He was a most accomplished lawyer, and a fine constitutionalist, willing to devote himself wholeheartedly to his people's cause, no matter what labour this entailed for him".

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose (brother of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose) leader of the Congress Party in Bengal, spoke of him "as a great lawyer, great as a leader of the Muslims, great as a world politician and diplomat and greatest of all as a man of action. By Mr. Jinnah's passing away, the world has lost *one of its greatest statesmen and Pakistan its law-giver, philosopher and guide*".



The Quaid-e-Azam explaining his point of view to some of his followers (1946)

3

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR COMPILING AN AUTHENTIC BIOGRAPHY OF QUAID-E-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, FOUNDER OF THE LARGEST MUSLIM STATE

I have studied some of the biographies which have so far been published on Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah written by Mr. A.H. Isphani, compiled by Hector Bolitho under the auspices of the Government of Pakistan and some other writers and I have also gone through the speeches and Press statements of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Founder of the largest Muslim State of the world, which have been published up-to-date.

The purpose of my writing this article is to make some humble suggestions for pin-pointing some of the gaps which require to be filled up in order to make the life-story of this towering personality of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, nay of Asia, who had dedicated his entire life for the betterment and welfare of the 100-million Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent before the creation of Pakistan and also played a leading and decisive role in the achievement of the

independence of what was then known as India," the brightest jewel in the British crown," from the British imperialistic domination. It was again Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who like a *Mujahid* and at the advanced age of 64 through strenuous efforts and hard struggle and against heavy odds, was able to achieve, what can only be described as a miracle, the goal of carving out of India, a separate independent and sovereign State for the 100-million Muslims of India. In the building up of the new State, he gave guidance to his people for establishing it on sound ideological basis, i.e. Islamic principles of equality, fraternity and brotherhood, for which he laid down his life and attained eternal martyrdom on the 11th of September, 1948. The Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in general, and the Muslims of Pakistan in particular, shall always cherish his memory with reverence and gratitude. As a Persian verse says:—

برگز نه میرد آنکه دش زنده شد لعشقی

شبت امت بر جریده عالم دوام ما

(He never dies who lives his life with a heart throbbing with true love; but his name shall live for ever inscribed on the pages of world history).

Now, I shall offer some humble suggestions for the consideration of the high-powered body which has been set up by the Prime Minister of Pakistan and which is headed by the Prime Minister himself for the specific purpose of compiling an authentic and complete biography of the Quaid-e-Azam, who can aptly be described as the most towering political leader, jurist and statesman of the entire continent of Asia

before the 14th of August, 1947. He may truly be described as a Muslim Mao-se-Tung or he may be likened to Sultan Salah-ud-Din Ayubi, whose name shall always shine as a scintillating star on the horizon of Islamic History, the only difference being that the Quaid-e-Azam was not a Sultan, but was a democratic leader of his nation, and was fully imbued with ideas of liberalism, tolerance and democracy. The Quaid-e-Azam undoubtedly was one of the greatest statesmen of the 20th century that the world has produced.

Very little is known about Quaid-e-Azam's childhood. The only living person of his family who can throw some light on his early childhood is his younger sister, Miss Shirin Bai, and I would, therefore, request the high-powered body set up by the Government of Pakistan for the purpose of compiling books authentic biography to depute a research scholar who may be able to cull out as much information from Miss Shirin Bai, who is fortunately still living at Karachi, and who being younger to the Quaid-e-Azam in age, is in the best position to narrate some facts about his early childhood. No time should be lost to appoint a seasoned research scholar who may preferably be well-versed in the Gujrati dialect as well as in the English language and who should be in a position to complete the job within a period of three months or so and who should stay at Karachi preferably in the vicinity of the residence of Miss Shirin Bai so that he can interview her at least on alternative days.

We know that the Quaid-e-Azam received his early education from the Sind Madrassah School. The same research

scholar can devote another three months and by studying the old records of the Madrassah, he can collect valuable information on the curricular and extra-curricular pursuits of the Quaid-e-Azam in so far as his elementary education was concerned, for example, what were his subjects; what position was obtained by him in the annual examinations and what were his hobbies in those days and in which particular sport or game or subject of study, the Quaid-e-Azam had evinced keen interest. After the completion of his early education, the Quaid-e-Azam had joined the Mission School at Karachi from where he had passed his Matriculation Examination. I am almost sure that like all other Mission Schools, the old records of the Karachi Mission School should be available for scrutiny and from studying the old records, with particular reference to the academic and extra-academic life of the Quaid-e-Azam, much valuable material can be discovered, for instance, his special aptitudes, what were his extra-academic interests; who were his contemporaries etc. etc.

It is fully known that after having passed the Matriculation Examination, the Quaid-e-Azam sailed from the shores of Bombay at the age of 16 and at the age of 18, he passed his Bar-at-law Examination from the Lincon's Inn. Before sailing for England, his father had married the Quaid-e-Azam with a young girl but she died while he was pursuing his studies abroad. I may venture to suggest that our present Ambassador in London, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, who is himself a Barrister, may be requested by the Government to undertake, as a labour of love, the task of finding out his academic and extra-academic activities through consulting the old relevant records of the Lincon's Inn, during these two years or at least

guide his first or second Secretary or alternatively, acquire the services of a young Muslim or British Barrister on remuneration, if necessary, who may be able to collect the relevant material from the old records of the Lincon's Inn, which would yield useful information and might unfold some aspects of the Quaid-e-Azam's personality during the two years which he spent at the Lincon's Inn before he was called to the Bar. This would cover the period of his life from 16 to 18 years of age.

After his Barristership, the Quaid-e-Azam practised in London for two years when he was only 20 years old. The Law Reports of these two years might throw some light on his professional activities. He was also fond of watching theatrical presentation of Shakespeare's famous dramas. He once played the role of Romeo in one of the Shakespearian theatrical companies.

During these two years, he used to visit the House of Commons and was greatly impressed by the speeches of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, both of whom became Prime Ministers of England and were leaders of the British Liberal Party which was then in power. He was also greatly impressed by the writings of Lord Morley, particularly his famous book "On Compromise". On an Eid Day message given by the Quaid-e-Azam to the Muslims of India before the achievement of Pakistan, he had quoted a paragraph from this scholarly and philosophical treatise written by such a renowned personality as Lord Morley. The Quaid-e-Azam, in the historic address delivered by him in March, 1940, at the sessions of the Council of the All India Muslim League held in Minto

Park, Lahore, (Now known as Iqbal Park) where the Lahore or Pakistan Resolution was adopted by the All India Muslim League as its final goal, also quoted from one of the speeches of Lord Morley. The Presidential address of the Quaid-e-Azam has been reproduced *verbatim* in the writer's booklet entitled "The Rationale of Pakistan". This address gives full justification and is based on convincing grounds as to why the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent had been compelled to choose the goal of Pakistan as their final and ultimate destiny.

During the two years of his stay in England after his Bar-at-lawship, the Quaid-e-Azam came in close touch with Mr. Dadabhoy Naroji, "the grand old man of India", who was the first Indian to be elected as a Member of the British House of Commons. The Quaid-e-Azam had also imbibed liberalism from Dadabhoy Naroji. It may be mentioned by way of interest that Dadabhoy was declared successful as an elected member of the British House of Commons by such a narrow majority as three votes as against his rival candidate. The Quaid-e-Azam took an active part in Dadabhoy Naroji's election campaign and it may well be that he might have made some speeches and issued some Press statements during the election campaign which might have been published in the "London Times" or some other English daily newspapers of London during this particular period and it would be worthwhile to trace out these news-items from the relevant files of the 'London Times' or the British press as a whole, prior to the holding of the general elections in England for electing the new House of Commons. In my estimation, these general elections were held sometime in 1895, when Dadabhoy Naroji was returned

as a member of the British House of Commons, most probably as a Liberal Party's candidate.

Quaid-e-Azam returned to Karachi in 1896 when he was hardly 22 years old. His mother had died while he was abroad and his father's business had also received a serious financial set-back. Under these stringent circumstances, the Quaid-e-Azam naturally felt depressed and in 1897, he sailed from Karachi for Bombay. During the first three years of his legal career at Bombay, he could not make any headway and he spent these three years under extremely difficult financial circumstances, almost bordering on poverty. Early in 1900, much against his wishes and under the compulsion of financial stringency, he was prevailed upon by John Molesworth, the then Advocate-General of Bombay, to accept the temporary post of Bombay's Presidency Magistrate, which had fallen vacant because the permanent incumbent of the post of Presidency Magistrate had proceeded to England on nine months' holiday. This temporary assignment came to an end in November, 1900. During these nine months' temporary service, the Quaid-e-Azam's financial position had improved to some extent and thus he was able to move to a better apartment and also called his youngest sister, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, from Karachi and got her admitted to a Convent School in Bombay for receiving her early education. This relationship between brother and sister lasted through fifty long years. It would be extremely useful to study the judgments delivered by the Quaid-e-Azam during his temporary tenure of service as Presidency Magistrate of Bombay. It would be worthwhile to send a research-minded Barrister from Karachi to Bombay, through the courtesy of the Indian Gov-

ernment, after ascertaining from the Indian Government through Pakistan's Embassy in New Delhi, whether the old law reports or files containing old judgments delivered by the past Bombay Presidency Magistrates were available or not in the records of the office of what was then the Bombay Presidency Magistrate's Office.

By December, 1900, Quaid-e-Azam, through his legal acumen and through sheer dint of hard labour, had crossed the financial hurdles which he had patiently faced for three long years and within a short period of six years when he was 30 years old, he was the solitary Muslim Barrister of Bombay who had come to occupy the foremost position in the legal profession. During these six years, the Quaid-e-Azam must have conducted a number of legal cases, both civil and criminal, and by then he was practising at the level of the Bombay High Court. The annual law reports of the Bombay High Court of these six years can easily be obtained from the Government of India through Pakistan's Embassy at New Delhi. The Quaid-e-Azam's presentation of his briefs and cases and the arguments advanced by him in support of his clients would throw valuable light on the legal talent and knowledge of the Quaid-e-Azam and the particular style of the presentation of his cases.

Quaid-e-Azam was a great admirer and lover of the Prophet of Islam, the last Prophet (May the peace of Allah be upon him). It is well known that he had chosen to pursue his legal studies at the Lincon's Inn, because there, outside the building, he saw the name of our Holy Prophet painted on a wooden board as "one of the great law-givers of the world."

Otherwise, London had other Inns like Grey's Inn where he could as well have pursued his legal studies. His love for the Holy Prophet of Islam was unlimited. In his speeches and public statements before and after the creation of Pakistan, he would always appeal to the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent to mould their lives in accordance with the teachings of the Holy Prophet. He always mentioned the revered name of the Prophet with true devotion and took pride in the fact that he was a humble follower of the last Prophet through whom the Almighty, in his infinite mercy, had imparted to mankind the code of life and conduct, by following which mankind could achieve not only material well-being but also spiritual satisfaction. The Quaid-e-Azam was a *Momin* in the fullest sense of the word as used by Allam Iqbal in his poetry. He lived the life of a *Ghazi or Mujahid* and achieved eternal martyrdom (شہادت) which is the cherished goal of all true Muslims. In his stirring appeals to the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, he always called upon them to follow in the footsteps of their Holy Prophet and, if they did so, no difficulty or conspiracy could stand in their way of achieving their final destiny, namely, the attainment of a separate home-land for themselves to be carved out of the Sub-continent of India, where they would be able to lead their lives, in accordance with the precepts and teachings of their Holy Prophet, the last of the Prophets. (Khatim-un-Nabiyin).

In the middle of 1931, the Quaid-e-Azam left for England as he had felt so disgusted with the attitude of the Congress or Hindu leadership for its persistent refusal to arrive at an honourable political settlement between the Congress and the All India Muslim League. He had worked so assiduously

hard to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. In other words, all his persistent efforts to prevail upon the Congress or Hindu leadership to come to an understanding with the Muslim League on mutually agreed upon political and constitutional issues on the basis of which the Independence of India could be expedited, without the intervention of the Imperialistic British Government, which was not prepared to voluntarily hand over such a precious jewel in the British-crown as India, did not produce any results whatsoever. The Quaid-e-Azam's strategy was that the Hindus and the Muslims should struggle together, shoulder to shoulder, for the achievement of their freedom and create such conditions that the imperialistic British rulers should be compelled to withdraw from India stage-by-stage, if not instantly. Another important factor which compelled the Quaid-e-Azam to leave for England was that the Muslim League, through the machinations and manoeuvres of the then Viceroy of India, had fallen into the hands of flunkeys and toadies of the British Government. This development took place after the Allahbad Session of the All India Muslim League which was presided over by the Quaid-e-Azam in the year 1930. Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan, a rabid Qadiani, was elected President of the Muslim League in 1931. However, in 1932, Sir Mohammad Zafarullah was appointed by the Viceroy as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for the meritorious services rendered by him to the British Indian Government and the All India Muslim League thus got rid of him. On Sir Zafarullah's resignation from the Presidentship of the All India Muslim League, one Mian Abdul Aziz hailing from Peshawar, a big landlord, was chosen in a drawing-room meeting of the Muslim League Council as President of the All India

Muslim League, and the irony of the fate was that he was made President of the Muslim League while no annual session of the All India Muslim League Council was held in 1932. The Muslim League thus became a drawing-room political organization. The Quaid-e-Azam was so much disheartened with the deterioration of the affairs of the All India Muslim League, coupled with the rigid communal and anti-Muslim Hindu mentality of the top-most Congress leaders, including Mr. Gandhi, late Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and his father Moti Lal Nehru, that he thought it advisable to keep himself away from the Indian political scene for some time and he thus imposed upon himself self-exile for nearly three years, i.e., from the middle of 1931 till the middle of 1934. It is obvious that the Quaid-e-Azam had not gone to England just on a long holiday trip or just to improve upon his health. He was then 55 years old and was enjoying good health, because of his clean and chaste habits and flawless character, free from all vices except that he was fond of smoking a pipe or smoking his special brand of cigarettes "Craven A". It was against his nature to lead an idle life or a purely professional life. He could not cut himself away from the political events which were then taking place in India. He must have led an active life in England, both professionally and politically. Besides his legal activities, he must have devoted a fair amount of his time for propagating the cause of the independence of India through his speeches and Press statements. As a Barrister, he must have pleaded a number of cases in the High Courts all over England and also at the level of the Privy Council. It is always the practice that when a Judge or a Division Bench of Judges or a Full Bench of Judges pronounces a judgment, the court, while de-

livering its judgment in a case always deals with the arguments and pleadings of the opposing counsels. It would be extremely useful to scrutinize the annual law reports of the High Courts of England and the law reports of the Privy Council during this particular period of three years, which would yield much useful information, for instance, whether the Quaid-e-Azam preferred to conduct civil or criminal cases, as well as the legal arguments and pleadings advanced by him in favour of his clients; which were the cases which were decided in favour of his clients and the authorities quoted by him on the basis of which the judgments were delivered in favour of his clients. Also which were the cases where judgments were delivered by the courts against his clients. Besides, he must have issued Press statements from time to time and made speeches which must have been published in the British Press as news-items. Hence our Prime Minister who is the Chairman of the Committee appointed for compiling an authentic biography of the Quaid-e-Azam is in the best position to devise ways and means for collecting all this valuable information, both professional and political, as well as his other activities, if any, during the course of the e three years.

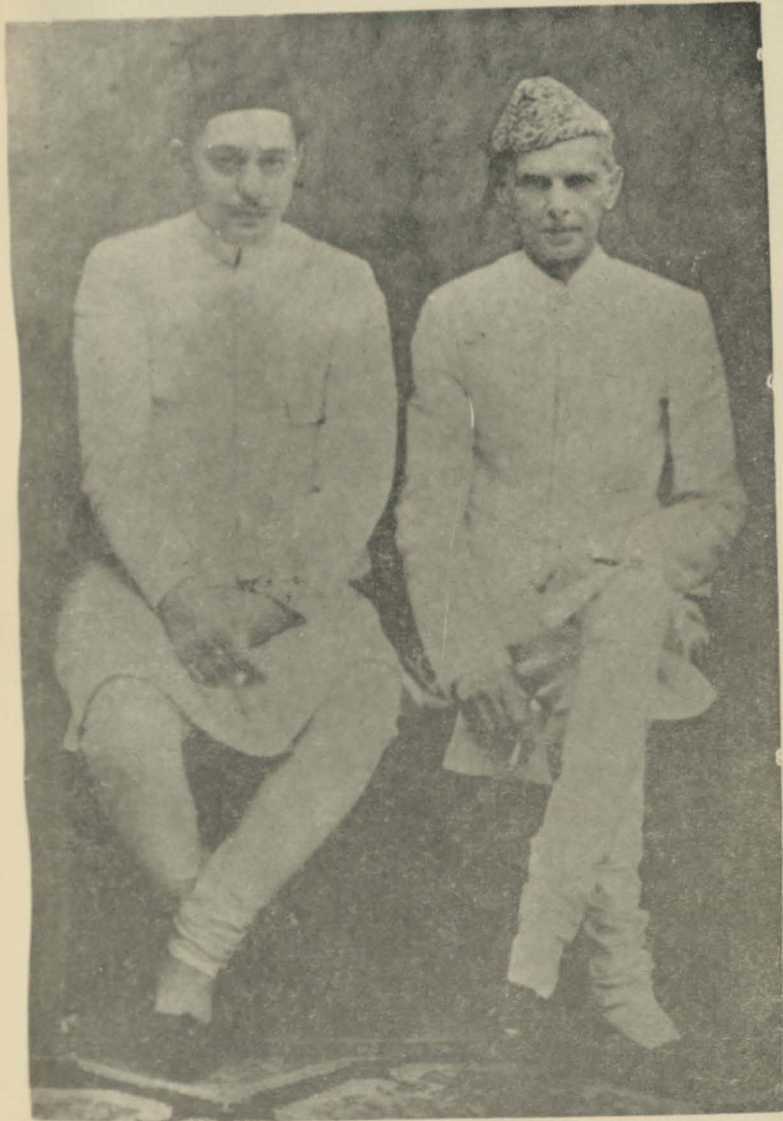
It was mainly through the appeals made by Allama Iqbal and my late father Malik Barkat Ali and also on the persuasion of the late Agha Khan, father of Prince Karim Khan, the present Agha Khan, that Quaid-e-Azam decided to return to India. In the words of Allama Iqbal, he was the "only Muslim statesman in India to whom the Muslims of India could look upto for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India and perhaps to the

whole of India." In March, 1934, after the Quaid-e-Azam had returned to India, Mian Abdul Aziz of Peshawar was prevailed upon by Allama Iqbal and others that for the future welfare of 90 millions of Indian Muslims, he should resign from the Presidentship of the All India Muslim League in favour of the Quaid-e-Azam. Simultaneously, by March 1934, the split in the All India Muslim League ranks had already been resolved, again through the strenuous efforts of Allama Iqbal, the late Agha Khan and my late father, Malik Barkat Ali of the Punjab. The split had been resolved between the two factions of the Muslim League, one of which was pro-British and the other was progressive in outlook and was doing everything possible to free India from the strangle-hold of the British Imperialistic rule. Thus the Muslim League again came into its own under the wise guidance of the Quaid-e-Azam. In 1936, the Quaid-e-Azam called a meeting at Lahore of the top-most leaders of the All India Muslim League in order to chalk out a programme of action for fighting elections to the Provincial Legislatures as well as to the Federal Legislature, and this meeting was attended, among others, by Allama Mohammad Iqbal, Mian Abdul Aziz Malwada of Lahore, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and Nawab Muzaffar Ali Qazilbash from the Punjab. Bengal was represented by Mr. A.H. Isphani and Assam by Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhry. The largest contingent came from the United Provinces comprising Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali (brother of Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar), the Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad and Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman. In all, the meeting was attended by 36-37 persons. As the result of the deliberations of the meeting, a new manifesto of the Muslim League was

adopted, the most important part of which is reproduced below:—

“The main principle on which we expect our representatives in the various legislatures to work will be (1) that the present Provincial Constitution and the proposed Central Constitution would be replaced immediately by democratic self-Government, and (2) that, in the meantime, the elected representatives of the Muslim League in the various legislatures will utilize the legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the Constitution for the uplift of the people in the various spheres of national life.”

As the result of the first general elections held under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Muslim League was able to capture very few seats in the Provincial Legislatures. In the Punjab, only two Muslim League candidates were returned, one was Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and the other was my late father, Malik Barkat Ali. The former joined the Punjab Unionist Party immediately after his having been elected on the Muslim League ticket and became a Parliamentary Secretary in the newly formed Unionist Government of the Punjab, headed by the late Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, who was before then Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. However, the Muslim League was able to capture a large number of seats in the United Provinces. To cut the story short, it was the wise statesmanship of the Quaid-e-Azam and his bold leadership that the scattered Muslim community of India was welded together into a Millat within a short period of four years. It was again in Lahore that the Pakistan Resolution was adopted in the Minto Park (now known as Iqbal Park) at the historic sessions of the All India Muslim League which



*The Quaid-e-Azam photographed with Nawab Hassan Yar Jang
of Hyderabad Deccan.*

was held in March, 1940. Between 1936 and 1940, the Quaid-e-Azam toured intensively and extensively throughout India and appealed to the Muslims to close up their ranks. The Presidential Address delivered by the Quaid-e-Azam at the session of the All India Muslim League Council is of historical importance and has been reproduced *verbatim* in the writer's booklet, "The Rationale of Pakistan" After the passage of the Lahore or Pakistan Resolution in March, 1940, when he was 64 years old, the Quaid-e-Azam launched a relentless, unceasing and heroic crusade for the achievement of the supreme goal of Pakistan, in the teeth of the bitterest possible opposition which was jointly put up by the British Government, the Hindu Congress and some of his own misguided co-religionists.

The speech made by him in 1937 in the Mochi Gate gardens in Lahore, which was presided over by Allama Iqbal, was fully reported in the Weekly "New Times", Lahore, which was started by my late father just for the purpose of propagating the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. I would appeal to the Chief Minister of the Punjab to issue orders that the old files of the "New Times" should be traced out, wherever they could be found. Under the law, three copies of the weekly "New Times" were required to be supplied to the Superintendent of the Press Branch of the Provincial Information Department. Some of the speeches and statements of the Q.A. were also reported by the Weekly "Star of India", which was published from Calcutta by Mr. A.H. Isphani and his elder brother. Our newly appointed Ambassador in Bangla Desh, Mr. Khurshid, can depute his Press Attache to cull out all these speeches from the old files

of the "Star of India" through the good offices of the Bangla Desh Government.

A worthy writer has recently published a book in Urdu under the title of ہماری قومی جدو جہد from January, 1940 to December, 1942. I do not wish to rebut some of the statements made by the worthy writer of this book which has been published by him in 1975 on the various issues raised by him but I shall be failing in my duty if I do not clarify the position, particularly the observations made by him as regards the validity or constitutionality of the amendment which was made at the Delhi Convention held in 1946 of the 470 newly elected Muslim League legislators, hailing from all the Provinces of India, including those Provinces where the Mussalmans were in a minority. The worthy writer was Publicity Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League during the years 1936-37. The Quaid-e-Azam had called in 1936 a meeting of the All India Muslim League Council in Lahore for chalking out a programme for fighting the elections which were going to be held to the Provincial Legislatures as well as the Federal legislature under the Government of India Act, 1935, and the worthy writer was then a member of the Council.

The Convention which met at Delhi was attended by the 470 Muslim League legislators who had been newly elected under the second general elections which were held under the Government of India Act, 1935. The late Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy moved the following Resolution which was unanimously adopted in order to amend the Lahore Resolution which was adopted on March 23, 1940, at Lahore. The wording of the Resolution is reproduced below:—

“The Zones comprising Bengal, Assam in the North East and the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan in the North-west of India, where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be converted into a sovereign independent State”.

Thus the word ‘S’tates’ which was mentioned in the Lahore Resolution was replaced by the word ‘State’. The unanimous adoption of the Resolution meant that instead of two sovereign independent States, there shall be only one sovereign independent state to be known as Pakistan, which appeared on the map of the world at the middle of the night on the 14th of August, 1947. Obviously, the Quaid-e-Azam must have made a spirited speech on this historical occasion. The speech can easily be traced out from the old record of the daily ‘Dawn’ which was then published from New Delhi and which is now being published from Karachi.

The worthy writer has raised a controversial issue as regards the validity or constitutionality of the amendment made in the Lahore Resolution, without realizing the crucial nature of the stage into which the tripartite political negotiations had entered at the particular point of time, the three parties being the All India Muslim League, the Indian National Congress or Hindu Congress and the British Government which was then represented by the last Viceroy of India, Lord Lewis Mountbatten, who, for one reason or another, was not favourably disposed towards the Muslim point of view. How could the ailing Quaid-e-Azam, under such tremendous pressure and tempo of circumstances find time for observing the formalities required like calling a meeting of the Subjects Committee of the All India Muslim League; convening a meeting of the Council

of the All India Muslim League etc. etc. for the adoption of this Resolution which had by then truly come to reflect the new political consciousness and awareness among the Mussulmans of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent and had truly mirrored the new urges and stirrings of the Muslim community, which had been welded into a Millat through the inspiring leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam. Even if the Quaid-e-Azam had observed all these formalities, the result would have been the same, namely, the unanimous approval of the Resolution. But there was hardly any time left for the Quaid-e-Azam to observe these formalities. Had the Quaid-e-Azam done so, there was a positive risk involved that during the time which would have been consumed by way of completing these formalities, some unfortunate event or happening might have occurred and the Resolution might have been delayed indefinitely, or might never have seen the light of day, thus causing a serious set-back to the supreme goal, namely, the achievement of Pakistan. Apart from this aspect, the Delhi convention which was attended by 470 newly elected Muslim League legislators, both of the Provincial Assemblies and the Federal Legislature, was fully competent to make the amendment which was adopted unanimously. These 470 legislators had been declared elected on the basis of adult franchise and thus enjoyed the confidence of the Muslim voters who had elected them. This Delhi convention had represented as fully as possible the support and confidence of the 100-million strong Muslim nation or Millat. As such, it is uncharitable on the part of the worthy writer to challenge the competence and authority of this Convention for having amended the Lahore Resolution.

The worthy writer has also made some irrelevant observations as regards the unsatisfactory boarding and lodging arrangements made for the delegates who had attended the historic session of the All India Muslim League which was held in the Minto Park, Lahore, (now known as Iqbal Park) where the Lahore or Pakistan Resolution was passed. The delegates had not come to Lahore to attend luncheons and dinners. They had gathered together for participating in serious national business affecting the future destiny, welfare and well-being of 10 crores of Indian Muslims. The important and serious business before them was such that they could hardly attach any importance, whatsoever, to personal comforts and conveniences. They would have gladly spent their nights on the lawns of the Minto Park; what to speak of personal comforts and luncheons and dinners. They had not come to Lahore on a pleasure trip.

With due apologies to the worthy writer, I must first make it clear that the worthy writer was a nominated member of the Muslim League Executive Council during 1936-37. In 1937, the Quaid-e-Azam, in order to secure the support of the late Sir Sakandar Hayat Khan, for the wider and more vital cause of the All India Muslim League, had devised a formula that so far as the Punjab was concerned, half of the members of the Punjab on the Muslim League Executive Council would be nominated by Sir Sakandar Hayat Khan and the other half would be nominated by the genuine Muslim Leaguers, among whom might be counted the ailing Allama Iqbal, my late father Malik Barkat Ali, Mian Amir-ud-Din, Syed Amjad Ali, Justice Badi-uz-Zaman Kaikaoos (retired Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan) and Justice Syed Shamim Hussain Qadri of the Lahore High Court. This is how the worthy writer was nomi-

nated as a member of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League. I may be permitted to say that the worthy writer has exaggerated the role played by him at a time when the Muslim League in the Punjab was in the initial stage of its re-organization. I do not deny the credit due to the worthy writer for the part played by him in publicizing the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League during the period 1936-37, when he was holding the office of Publicity Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League. But the importance of the role as depicted by the worthy writer in his book has been over-emphasized by him. He did not play such a crucial role which he claims for himself. The observations made by him as regards the constitutionality or otherwise of the amendment made in the Lahore Resolution at the Delhi Convention in 1946 cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. The Quaid-e-Azam was known for always acting in a constitutional manner as scrupulously as possible. The worthy writer did not attend the Delhi Convention as he had by then joined service in some sort of an assignment with the B.B.C., London, much before the creation of Pakistan. As such, the worthy writer lacks all credentials for making any observations in so far as the amendment of the Lahore Resolution is concerned. I agree with the worthy writer that in the Lahore Resolution, the words used were "two independent sovereign states". This is factually correct; otherwise, there was no need to call a special Convention at New Delhi for amending the Lahore Resolution. This Convention was held on 9th April, 1946.

The Quaid-e-Azam also attended the Third Round Table Conference and the speeches made by him at the Third Round

Table Conference can be easily traced out from the proceedings of the Third Round Table Conference which were compiled by the British Government in the form of an official publication. The British Government was then headed by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. After listening to the speeches delivered by the Quaid-e-Azam at the Third Round Table Conference, which was also attended by Indian National Congress stalwarts including Mr. M.K. Gandhi, Moti Lal Nehru, Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Setalwad etc. etc. the tribute paid by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, to the Quaid-e-Azam is worthy of quotation. I cannot reproduce from my memory the exact words used by him but the purport of his tribute may be reproduced in the following words:—

“The question before the Third Round Table Conference is whether India is politically ripening towards the attainment of Dominion *Status* of the Statute of Westminster variety. My answer to this question is that a country which can produce a man of the calibre of Mr. M.A. Jinnah is positively ripening politically towards the attainment of Dominion Status as envisaged in the Statute or Act of Westminster of 1931”. (The Statute or Act of Westminster laid down *inter alia* that in this Act, (1) “The expression ‘Dominion’ means any of the following Dominions, that is to say, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State and New Foundland, and (2) the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, shall not apply to

any law made after the coming into force of this Act, namely, the Statute or Act of Westminster, 1931, by the Parliament of a Dominion, and (3) It is hereby declared and enacted that the Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation. (The combined effect of sections (2) and (3) of the Statute or Act of Westminster was to render a Dominion Parliament sovereign in law-making, while remaining a member of the British Empire).

Shakespeare has written in his famous drama "Julius Caesar" and the words used by Antony while mourning the assassination of Julius Caesar are as follows:—

"The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft *interred* with their bones."

These dramatic words do not apply to our great political statesman. Even his worst opponent was not hesitant to admit that he was incorruptible and that, under no circumstances, he could be tempted to compromise with his deep-rooted political convictions.

I would end this article by quoting a few tributes which were paid to the Quaid-e-Azam by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who herself was a front-rank Congress leader and was a woman of great parts, being a talented poetess in English, a litterateur and a great orator. She paid a glowing tribute to the Quaid-e-Azam, after the Quaid-e-Azam had passed away to his new abode from whose territory no mortal man ever returneth. This tribute was paid by her when she was holding the exalted position of the Governorship of the

United Provinces in Bharat. The words of her tribute are reproduced below:—

“The Quaid-e-Azam was, indeed, the father of the new State and one of the most distinguished and charming figures in our contemporary history. May his followers honour his memory by striving increasingly to create an atmosphere of peace and unity, which alone can give reality and permanence to Mohammad Ali Jinnah’s cherished dreams and ideas. May our common bereavement bring the two nations closer together in growing friendship and co-operation for the service of humanity”.

Again, in a loving letter, addressed by her to Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu expressed her grief in the following words:—

“You know how deeply I share your sorrow. Many thousands of mourners have offered their tributes of admiration for their great leader, but I send you, in the poignant sense of my grief, an imperishable flower of memory and affection to lay on the grave of my dear beloved friend.”

Mr. Clement R. Attlee, Prime Minister of Britain in 1948, in his tribute expressed himself in the words which follow:—

“In Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan has lost her most distinguished citizen. For many years, he devoted his great abilities to the cause of the Muslim community in India. He came to the conclusion that there must be a separation between India and Pakistan

and having so decided, worked untiringly to bring this policy to fruition. He was outstanding as a leader and Pakistan will find it hard to replace him."

Mr. George Marshall, Secretary of State, U.S.A. paid his tribute in the following glowing words:—

"The Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a leader, unique among men through the medium of his own faith, and unswerving dedication to the cause to which he gave his life. He not only conceived and brought into being one of the greatest nations of the world but stood at its helm during its initial difficult phase and brought it into co-operation with the rest of the world through the instrumentality of the United Nations. Respected by all who knew him, whether political friend or foe, for his deep personal integrity and honesty, his education in undivided India and abroad, his wide experience in the legal profession, and in Government and politics, his progressive and constructive contribution in all the fields, won him a highly esteemed place among elderly statesmen, not only of Asia, but of the world."

"The loss of Mr. Jinnah's guiding genius will be deeply felt not only in his own country but throughout the family of nations. He has left to his followers and to the future statesmen of Pakistan an example of energetic devotion to duty and ideals which, I am confident, will inspire the people of Pakistan to continue to play a constructive role in world affairs".

Nature had endowed the Quaid-e-Azam with a lofty vision, and a heart-warming manner of speech, which qualities are required of a true leader of a people. Allama Iqbal has poetically expressed the qualities of a true leader and all the words of the Allama's verse quoted below aptly apply to the Quaid-e-Azam:

نگاہ بلند سخن دلنواز جان ہر سوز
یہی ہے رخت سفر میر کارواں کے لئے

The Quaid-e-Azam loved his people deeply and this love ran through the very veins of his blood. These indeed are the qualities required of a leader who is at the head of a caravan and who can successfully lead his people to their destination.

The Quaid-e-Azam was, indeed, the most towering statesman of Asia before 1947 and personalities of the depth of his forward-looking vision and lion-hearted courage are born after centuries in this world.

ہزاروں سال نرگس اپنی بے نوری پہ روتی ہے
بڑی مشکل سے ہوتا ہے چمن میں دیدہ ور پیدا

"The narcissus weeps for thousands of years for her lack of sight and as a result of her weeping, it is after thousands of years that a person of lofty vision is born in this garden, i.e., in this temporary world."



Handwritten text in Urdu script, likely a title or author's name, located below the library stamp.

The Grand-Axis loved his people deeply and this love ran through the very veins of his blood. These indeed are the qualities required of a leader who stands at the helm of a nation and who can successfully lead his people to their destination.

The Grand-Axis was indeed the great forerunner of man of Asia before 1947 and his leadership and the depth of his forward-looking vision and his tireless courage are both after centuries in the world.

Handwritten text in Urdu script, possibly a quote or a note related to the text above.

"The ancient recipe for thousands of years for her lack of light and as a result of her working in the thousand years that a person of lofty vision is born in this eastern, the the inspiring world."

