THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE AND ALLAMA IQBAL'S ALLAHABAD ADDRESS 1930

(Archives of Freedom Movement Volumes No.153 & 154)

Compiled & Edited

by

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"In fact had it not been for the perseverance and tenacity shown by Mr. Shamsul Hasan, the doors of the office of the All India Muslim League would long have been closed."

Muhammad Yaquh, M. L. A. Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League (Annual Report, 1930)

Dedicated to the zeal and enthusiasm of
Syed Shamsul Hasan (1885-1981,
Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim
League, whose commitment to the Muslim
cause has always inspired me.

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PREFACE

All praises belongs to Allah Almighty who is the creator of knowledge and countless blessings, respects and peace be upon His last messenger Syedina Muhammad who is the distributor of knowledge among the humanity.

The Allahabad Address of Allama Muhammad Iqbal has been a focus of attention of the scholars since long. While its various aspects have been researched and discussed at length, the inner story of organizing the 21st Annual Session of the All India Muslim League (AIML), which provided a platform to Allama Iqbal for delivering his legendary and historical speech, are still little known to the academic world. This book is a modest attempt to fill this gap. For the first time, images and edited text of the contents of two volumes of the AIML records which deal with the Allahabad Address, along with an introduction and biographical notes, are being presented for the academia.

It may be mentioned that the AIML is perhaps the only political party of the Indo-Pak sub-continent whose documents, publications and office files have been by and large preserved in an excellent manner. This enormous collection includes minutes of annual sessions, meetings of central and working committees, presidential addresses, annual reports, set of rules and regulations issued from time to time, constitutions and manifestos, and correspondence made between the AIML head office and its various branches spread all over India. This corpus has been conserved in more than five hundred volumes which are catogrized under different subjects. Moreover, almost

three thousand AIML publications have also been preserved and classified. This massive assortment, known as *Archives of the Freedom Movement*, has been stored in a special unit of the University of Karachi and its copies are available in the prominent educational and research institutions of the country. For the present volume, the copies available at the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad have been consulted.

While undertaking this work, several individuals extended their cooperation to me for which I am extremely grateful to them. I am particularly thankful to the officers and staff of the Academics and IT Section of the Iqbal Academy for providing excellent technical support to me. I am especially beholden to Mr. Muhammad Numan Chishti, System Analyst and Mr. Fahim Arshed, Software Engineer for their constant availability whenever a need arose. Likewise, Mr. Usman Akbar and Mr. Ishaq Bashir obliged me with accurate scanning and typing while Mr. Ejaz Saleem designed an impressive title. Special thanks are also due to Mr. Zahid Hussain Abro, Senior Editor, Quaid-i-Azam Paper Wing, Islamabad for providing me some primary sources for this book.

At the end, I pay my respects to my parents and thanks to my wife Nadia and other family members who provided me all possible facilities for undertaking this job. My son, Muhammad Anas-i-Mustafa delighted me with his smile which was a constant source of joy during the laborious research work. Without the support of all of them, it was just impossible for me to finalize this work.

Dr. Nadeem Shafiq Malik

13-Dusehra Ground, Rawalpindi nsmqq@hotmail.com "...the All India Muslim League has served the political interests of the country and the Muslim community for the last 24 years. It is recognized as the sole accredited political organization of the Muslims of India. Its doors are open to all. It offers a platform for the ventilation of all shades of political thought and by its constitution is bound by the decision of the majority."

An extract from the Circular Letter of Muhammad Yaqub to the Members of the All Inida Muslim League, 24 July, 1930

Introduction

The All India Muslim League (AIML) was passing through the most critical phase of its history in the third decade of the twentieth century. By establishment of two rival Muslim political parties namely the Central Khilafat Committee (CKC) and the All Parties Muslim Conference (APMS) respectively, it had already lost the honour of being the sole organization representing the political aspirations of the Indian Muslims. Its political reputation received further blow in 1927 when it fractioned itself into two rival groups, named the Calcutta League and the Lahore League over the question of supporting the Simon Commission and the Delhi Proposals. Although both the factions were ultimately re-united in March 1930, but its activities in the political arena were on the decline by every passing day. Its annual session could not be convened in 1929 and in the whole year of 1930, only four general and one emergency Council meeting could take place.1 The number of members attending its meetings was also decreasing. Though it had more than two thousand registered members in the country, but to garner seventy five of them for a meeting was considered to be a big achievement. In fact, the AMIL leadership was trying her best to enroll seventy five new members from Delhi to overcome the problem of maintaining the quorum.² The lack of interest among the Muslim Leaguers in the affairs of the party could be judged from the fact that the AIML Council had constituted a committee in its meeting held on the 1st of March 1930 to revisit and amend its old and

¹ Archives of the Freedom Movement (A.F.M.) Vol. No. 154, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p 55-56.

outdated constitution. However, no meeting of the said committee could be held in the entire year.³ Similarly, the tenure of AIML's Honorary Secretary Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu had expired on the 31st of December, 1929 but for months, no one could be elected for this post.4 In addition to that, the financial position of the AIML was also deteriorating. Not only the Head Office had no reserve funds, but it had accumulated a debt of hundreds of rupees. After repeated requests and efforts, only 87 rupees were collected in 1930 through contributions of its members. However, the day to day work of the AIML was being managed by the generous donations made by the Quaide-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the frequent good-credit loans from its Joint Secretary S. M. Abdullah.⁵ Due to the foregoing reasons, special care was taken by the party leadership in the selection of the venue for the annual sessions of the AML so that its members could easily reach the location and the issue of quorum could be resolved. Further, the sponsors could take care of the expenses of local hospitality of the guests and the expenditure of the annual meeting.

During those turbulent times, the personality who worked ceaselessly to keep the AIML active and to make its annual sessions possible, was its Office Secretary, Syed Shamsul Hasan (1892-1981). He continuously kept the attention of the AIML leaders focused on holding the annual session of the League and made practical arrangements for convening the session, first in Lucknow, and then in Banaras and finally in Allahabad. His services were openly acknowledged and warmly appreciated in the annual report of the AIML for the year 1930, which stated that had it not been for the perseverance and tenacity shown by Shamsul Hasan, the offices of the AIML would long have been closed. Fortunately, he got the patronage and full

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75-76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁶ Ibid. p. 77. Syed Shamsul Hasan was born in Bareilly in 1892 where his father Dr. Amir Hassan was living in those days. He did his matriculation from Agra and got expertise in typing and short hand from a commercial institute.

support of a sincere leader, Muhammad Yaqub (1870-1942), who was working as the Honorary Secretary of the AIML in 1930.⁷ In fact, it was through the efforts of these two devoted leaders that despite of all difficulties and problems, the AIML managed to organize its annual session at Allahabad in 1930.

Since the annual session of the AIML could not be held in 1929, the arrangements for the next session were initiated in the

He joined All India Muslim League's office in 1914 as personal assistant to Sir Wazir Hasan, Secretary, AIML. Very soon, he was transferred to the League's head office and appointed as Office Secretary where he worked till independence on the same post. He also worked in the head office of Pakistan Muslim League. At the time of partition, Quaid-i-Azam handed over his personal papers to Shamsul Hasan who kept them preserved from despoliation of time and now these are known as *Shamsul Hasan Collection*. It includes more than ten thousand documents. For details, please see: Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *Quaid-i-Azam ka Adhoora Khawah*, Karachi, 1991 and Syed Shamsul Hasan... *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, Karachi, 1976.

⁷ After the expiry of the term of Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kachlu, no one could be elected as Honorary Secretary of the AIML for several months. In February 1930, the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President of The India Muslim League forced Moulvi Muhammad Yaqub who was member of Legislative Council from Muradabad to work as Honorary Secretary till the next elections. Later on, the AIML Council confirmed his appointment in its meeting held in Delhi on 10th February, 1930 (A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 62-63) Moulvi Muhammad Yaqub was born in Muradabad on 27th August, 1879. His father, Muhammad Ismail was a lawyer by profession and was deeply involved in religious and educational movements, particularly Nadvatululama. After completing his education from Aligarh, Moulvi Muhammad Yaqub joined his father's profession and started taking part in municipal and national politics. He became member of the AIML in 1908. Later on, he was elected as non-official Chairman of Muradabad Municipal Board. He was appointed as trustee of MAO College Aligarh in 1913 due to his national services. In 1920, he was elected as member of the Provincial Legislative Assembly and was appointed as leader of the Quaid-i-Azam's Azad Party. He presided over the annual sessions of the AIML session held in U. P. in 1926 and Calcutta in 1927. In 1929, he was elected as member of All India Palestine Conference, Bombay. He served as Honorary Secretary of the AIML from 1930 to 1935. In 1938, he was appointed as member of the Council of State and served on this position till his demise. He died on 23rd November, 1942. For details see., Abdul Rauf Urooj, Rijal-e-Igbal, Karachi, 1988. pp 433-34.

beginning of 1930. A committee was constituted by the AIML Council in its meeting held on 14th March, 1930 to recommend the time and venue for the AIML's annual session.8 Later on, the Muslims of Poona, through a resolution offered that the annual session might be held at Poona. On 18th June, 1930, Muhammad Yaqub sent a letter to all elected members of the AIML Council inviting their attention to the need of holding the annual session of the League in view of the possible publication of the Simon Commission Report. He, therefore, invited recommendations from the Council members so as the issue could be finalized in the coming meeting of the AIML Council to be held in July, 1930. 10 He also highlighted that under normal circumstances, the months of July or August were considered suitable for holding the annual session but the meeting of the Central Legislative Assembly had been convened at Simla in July, therefore July was out of question. On the other hand, the general elections were going to be held in the country in September which made it extremely difficult to hold a successful session in August.¹¹

The details of the replies of the members of the AIML Council to the Head Office are not available. However, A. H. Gaznavi, a distinguished Muslim Leader from Bengal, informed Muhammad Yaqub through his letter dated 28 June, 1930 that since the recommendations of the Simon Commission had already been published, the League should consider calling its annual session at the earliest to discuss these recommendations in detail. In this regard, he suggested holding the annual session at Simla during the session of the Central Legislative Assembly. The final decision in this regard was taken in the meeting of the AIML Council held on 13 July, 1930 in Simla

⁸ A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 10.

⁹ See letter from Ebrahim Haroon Jaafar dated 3rd April, 1930 addressed to Secretary AIML. *Ibid.*, p. 5. This offer was, however, not accepted by the AIML in its next meeting due to unknown reasons.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.,

where, in the light of the suggesstions and recommendations of the members, it was decided that the 21st annual session of the AIML would be held on the 16th and 17th August 1930 at Lucknow.¹³ It was further decided that Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Sultan Muhammad, Moulvi Fazal-ul-Haq and Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum would be invited, respectively, to chair the session.¹⁴

In the light of these decisions, the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was the President of the AIML at that time, sent a telegram to Allama Iqbal on the same day, requesting him to chair the Lucknow session. However, no response was received till 21st July, 1930.15 Shamsul Hasan, while conveying his worries on the delay, wrote to Muhammad Yaqub on 21st July, 1930 that the time of the session was approaching but the consent from Allama Igbal to preside over the session had not been received. He further pointed out that the invitation letters had, therefore, not been sent and consequently, the members travelling from the far off areas like Burma and Madras might complain of paucity of time. 16 He also indicated that about three thousand letters had to be sent both in Urdu and English and considerable time would be required for those letters to reach their destination.¹⁷ A similar letter was sent by another League member Ijaz Ali to Muhammad Yaqub on 20th July, 1930 stating that he had inquired from Malik Feroz Khan Noon on telephone if Allama Igbal had accepted to chair the Lucknow session to which Feroz Khan had responded by saying that he was unaware of the response. Ijaz Ali, then asked whether Jinnah had informed anything to him in that regard?¹⁸ Similarly, on 23rd July, 1930 a news item appeared in the Daily Ingilab informing that correspondence with Allama Iqbal inviting him to chair the

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 14-15.

annual session of the AIML was in process but he had not yet made a final decision in that regard.¹⁹

The first authentic news about Allama Iqbal's acceptance of the invitation to preside over the Lucknow session was broken by the *Ingilab* on 26th July, 1930. The news added that he was busy in writing his Presidential Address.²⁰ Consequently, an open letter from Muhammad Yaqub was published in all major Urdu newspapers making a formal announcement of the acceptance from Allama Igbal to preside over the Lucknow session. The letter made an appeal to the Muslims that people from all groups and political shades should attend the session and deliberate upon on the current situation to give expression their united demands from the AIML platform.²¹ Muhammad Yaqub further pointed out that the forthcoming session of the League had become all the more important on account of the critical political situation in the country, the law and order problem in the Frontier Province; important changes that were likely to be effected in the constitution of the Government of India, and the controversy that had arisen around the Simon Commission Report and the proposed Round Table Conference (RTC).²²

The preparations for the AIML annual session gradually gained momentum in Lucknow. On 22nd July, 1930, Munshi Ihtisham Ali, the renowned League leader from Lucknow, who was actively looking after the planning and arrangements of the session, informed Shamsul Hasan that the Provincial Council of the League would consider the matter in its meeting of the 25th

¹⁹ The Daily *Inqilab* (Lahore) 23rd July, 1930. Ghulam Rasool Mehr and Abdul Majeed Salik were very close to Allama Iqbal. They used to visit him regularly and discuss the issues of national importance. Due to this closeness, their paper i.e. *Inqilab* had been publishing even the minor news about Allama Iqbal with details. That's why the *Inqilab* is now important primary source for understanding Allama Iqbal's life and his ideas.

²⁰ *Inqilab*, 26th July, 1930.

²¹Inqilab, 31st July, 1930. For original copy of this correspondence dated 24th July, 1930, please *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 20-21.

July, 1930 and the Central Office should be informed about the final decision.²³

On 25th July, 1930 Munshi Ihtisham Ali wired the Secretary AIML informing him of the formal approval of holding the annual session at Lucknow by the Provincial Council.²⁴ On 28th July, 1930 he further informed Shamsul Hasan that a Reception Committee had been constituted on 27th July and requested the AIML head office to send the list of members so that, in addition to the general invitations, special invitation letters could also be sent to them.²⁵ However, it appears that Allama Iqbal was not been informed about these arrangements. In his letter of 1st August, 1930, written to Muhammad Yaqub, he observed that "It is not yet known whether any Reception Committee has been constituted in Lucknow. We have received no information as yet and people are making all sorts of inquiries."²⁶

In the mean time, eminent leaders of the AIML started confirming to the head office about their participation in the Lucknow session. For instance, Hakim Muhammad Sharif from Lahore, in his correspondence addressed to the Secretary, AIML dated 28th July, 1930 confirmed that the delegates from Lahore would accompany Allama Iqbal to Lucknow.²⁷ Habibur Rehman Sherwani from Aligarh, while confirming his participation expressed the hope that, unlike the participants of other Muslim congregations who made excursions or presentation of half baked proposals their objective, the participants of that session would present such a charter of action that would be relevant with the present turbulent events and the volatile political situation.²⁸ Shaukat Ali Advocate from Lucknow in his letter dated 7th August, 1930 addressed to the

²³ A.F.M., Vol. 153, p. 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 27-28.

Secretary AIML wrote, "I am glad to learn that the Muslim League has after all intended to do something for the present crisis. This is to inform you that my services and those of Hakim Syed Bashir Ahmad are at your disposal. We are ready to do anything in order to make your session successful." Khalil Qazi wrote that he understood the importance and need of the session and would try his best to attend it. A number of other leaders including Azizuddin Ahmad from the Diata State, Moulvi Abdul Ghani from Malda, Muhammad Hussain from Jonepur, Tufail Ahmad Manglori, S. M. Fazal Elahi and Syed Asad Raza of Poona also confirmed the head office regarding their participation in the Lucknow session through their separate letters. In the service of the session of the session of the session through their separate letters.

The AIML head office was shifted to Lucknow for twenty days due to the annual session with effect from 2nd August, 1930. Shamsul Hasan, while informing the temporary change in address, requested the post master to redirect all letters and money orders etc to 36, Circular Road, Lucknow for 20 days i.e. from the 2nd of August to the 22nd of August 1930.³² While updating about arrangements of the session, he wrote to Muhammad Yaqub on 4th August, 1930 that he had issued about 2000 circular letters both in English and Urdu nearly to all members of the AIML, throughout India inviting them to attend the forthcoming session. The Reception Committee headed by Munshi Azhar Ali Advocate had started its work and selected Ganga Pershad Memorial Hall for holding the session. Moreover, posters and handbills had been prepared to be distributed and pasted in the city. He further informed that the meeting of AIML Council would be held on 15th August at 4:00 pm at the residence of Munshi Ihtisham Ali.³³

The Inqilab, in its editorial of 5th August, 1930 while

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 36.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 30, 32, 29, 46, 47.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

discussing the AIML's Lucknow session, observed that keeping in view of the criticality of times, complex needs of the Muslim nation and importance of the session, the most suitable personality i.e. Allama Igbal had been chosen for presiding it. The paper expressed the hope that in the light of his address, the Indian Muslims would be able to finalize the best course of action for them.³⁴ On 6th August, 1930, Muhammad Yaqub sent a bulletin to almost all prominent newspapers of India informing that arrangements for the forthcoming session of the AIML were in rapid progress and advised that all members interested to attend the session should inform the League office at 131, Khiyaligani, Lucknow by the 14th August 1930, so that lodgings arrangement could be made according to their requirements. 35 Keeping in view the special importance of the meeting and the expected large gathering of the members of the League, the general public was informed that it had been decided to reserve only a limited number of seats for visitors, available for Rs. 15, Rs. 5 and Rs. 2. But those desiring to reserve their seats in advance should apply to the Secretary AIML as early as possible.³⁶ It was also explained that only the AIML members would have the right to participate in the proceedings and vote, but, the AIML's membership was open for all Muslims who had attained 21 year of age and were graduates. Muhammad Yaqub, therefore, advised to all those who wanted to become member of the AIML that the application forms should be submitted to the head office before 15th August 1930 with Rs. 5 as admission fee and Rs. 6

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³⁴ Inqilab, 5th August, 1930.

³⁵ A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 54-55. This bulletin was issued to the following newspapers: The Statesman, The Musalaman, The Jamhoor (Calcutta), The Pioneer, The Leader, The Star (Allahabad), The I.D.T., The Himmat, The Haqiqat (Lucknow), The Aligarh Mail (Aligarh), The Hindustan Times, The Millat, The Alaam, The Aljanat, The General News (Delhi), The Muslim Outlook, The Tribune, The Civil and Military Gazette, The Inqilah, The Zamindar, The Seyasat (Lahore), The Bombay Chronicle and The Khalifat (Bombay). Copies of this bulletin were also sent to Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. 36 Ibid.

as annual subscription.³⁷

On 6th August, 1930 Shamsul Hasan wrote to Muhammad informing him about the progress of the annual session. He stated that, "all arrangements had been finalized in Lucknow. A meeting of the Reception Committee was held last night which was attended by all dignitaries of the city. It was decided that expenses for meals of the guests should be borne by the Reception Committee. He further informed that mansions and houses had also been acquired for the boarding of the guests.³⁸ The *Ingilab* in its editions of 8th to 10th August, 1930 published several news items about the meetings of the APMS and the AIML and observed that through these gatherings, a demonstration of the strength and unity of the Muslims was intended and a vigorous reiteration of their demands would be made in these assemblages. Therefore, the paper advised that all those Muslims who were capable to reach Lucknow, must attend both the sessions.³⁹

On the one hand, the preparations of the AIML annual session were being made with great zeal and enthusiasm and, on the other hand, the Indian National Congress (INC) became active to sabotage the session through its agents called as the Nationalist Muslims. While conveying his concerns about these subversive moves, Allama Iqbal wrote a letter to Muhammad Yaqub on 1st August, 1930 stating, that "I further hear that the Congress People are busy with their intrigues in order to seize the forthcoming meeting of the League through Muslim Nationalists. It is in the highest interests of the Muslims of India that this meeting of the League should be kept as peaceful as possible and every possible precaution should be taken against any possible disturbance that might be contemplated." He further suggested that if needed, even the venue of the meeting could be changed and pointed out that "Delhi would"

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁹ Ingilab, 8th and 10th August, 1930.

⁴⁰ A.F.M., Vol. 153, p. 31.

be much more suitable if there was the slightest chance of such an eventuality."⁴¹ He further advised that "Instead of holding the meeting on the 16th or 17th of August we can hold it in the beginning or the middle of September. The weather will improve a bit by that time and the Punjab will, I think, be able to send a more powerful contingent."⁴²

Allama Iqbal wrote another letter to Muhammad Yaqub on 4th August, 1930 stating that for reasons mentioned in his previous letter, it was advisable to postpone the session till October, i.e. till after the elections were over. As for the change in venue, he explained that if Delhi was not suitable, the AIML might have the session at Lahore provided Feroz Khan Noon and others showed some interest in the matter. ⁴³ To forestall a possible objection, he added, "I think it does not matter if our representatives on the RTC have to leave for London in the first week of October. They may not join the session. Our resolutions can be wired to them. Moreover, it is possible that RTC may be postponed for more than a week." But, obviously, due to the poor financial conditions and other administrative problems, it was not possible for the League leadership to act according to those suggestions.

On 4th August, 1930 Allama Iqbal also sent a letter to Shamsul Hasan which reveals that despite all his reservations, he was ready to participate in the Lucknow session and wished the session to be a complete success. In the said letter, Allama Iqbal suggested that separate letters be sent from the AIML's head office to the invitees from Punjab emphasizing the need of their participation. Particularly, a special letter should be sent to Dr. Khalifa Shujaud Din, Secretary Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Lahore, so that a large number of participants from Lahore could attend the session. He also proposed that a

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Syed Muzaffar Husain Barni, *Kuliyat-e-Maqatib-e-Iqbal*, Vol. 3, Delhi 1993, p. 147-8. See also *A.F.M.*, Vol. 153, p. 33

⁴⁴ Ibid.

detailed announcement about the boarding and lodging arrangements for the participants coming from other cities should also be published. Forbidding making any arrangements for a reception in his honor, he explicitly requested that the Reception Committee might be asked on his behalf that they should not arrange for any reception. He told that he would stay at the residence of his old friend Barrister Muhammad Waseem. Since he had anticipated a reception, he had written him to not inform anyone about the time of his arrival at Lucknow and had accepted his invitation to stay with him on that very condition. From this letter, it is clear that Allama Iqbal was not considering chairing of the annual session of AIML to gain any personal fame. Instead, he wished to give a message of action to the Muslims of India

The League leadership in Lucknow was also aware of the possible subversive activities by the Nationalist Muslims and was taking precautionary measures in that regard. Shamsul Hasan, in his letter to Muhammad Yaqub on 4th August, 1930 informed that the Nationalists Muslims, at present, looked very indifferent, but it is rumored that they were making secret plans to upset the coming meeting. But, in his view, it was nothing but a rumor. 47 In another letter dated 6th August, 1930, Shamsul Hasan wrote to Muhammad Yaqub that the nationalist supporters of the INC were trying since long that the AIML's annual session could be postponed. However, assuring him of the peaceful convening of the session, he said that the number of their members in the AIML Council had been reduced considerably and many of their influential leaders were in jail. He added that since only League members could participate in the session's deliberations, hence, there was no chance of a disruption and questioned that what could they do after all, even if they participated?⁴⁸ He also informed that, as a further

⁴⁵ A.F.M., Vol. 153, p. 34.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

safeguard, the sale of visitors' tickets for Lucknow Session had been stopped, as the chances were there that opponents might send some hired miscreants to ruffle up the session by purchasing one to two hundred visitors' tickets.⁴⁹

From this correspondence, it is clear that the local Muslim League leaders were ready to counter the possible disturbances. But, very soon, another obstacle was faced in holding the session. Elections of the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils were being held in September, 1930 in the whole of India. Most of the Muslim leaders were busy in them and it was difficult for them to come to Lucknow from the far flung areas. Hence, the election activities forced the AIML leaders from many provinces to send their requests for postponement of the Lucknow session. Though dates for the Lucknow session were announced a long time ago, but, surprisingly, efforts for its adjournment were initiated just few days before the due date. On 6th August, 1930, Shamsul Hasan wrote to Muhammad Yaqub that he was in receipt of telegrams from Nawab Muhammad Yousaf and Feroz Khan Noon suggesting postponement of the Lucknow session. While opposing such efforts, Shamsul Hasan added that invitation letters had been sent to about two thousand Leagues members, and a considerably large campaign had been undertaken in the city for success of the session. Therefore, postponement of the session would bring a bad name to the AIML.⁵⁰ While assuring that the Lucknow session would be a complete success, he opinioned that both Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Yousaf should have tried their best to participate in the session instead of weakening it through the adjournment efforts.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 62. Nawab Muhammad Yousaf was a well-off person of Junpur and was actively involved in the matters of Muslim interest. He became member of the Provincial Assembly and later on a Minister too. The Muslim leaders visiting Allahabad were used to stay at his residence. Allama Iqbal also stayed at his house during his Allahabad journey in 1930 and he accompanied him to the venue of the annual session.

⁵¹ Ibid.

In addition to the foregoing, Shamsul Hasan also sent separate letters to Jinnah and Muhammad Yousaf on the same day i.e. 6th August, 1930. While forwarding Yousaf's telegram to Jinnah asking for postponement of the session, Shamsul Hasan disclosed that telegram of similar nature had been sent by Noon to certain leading members of the AIML residing in Lucknow urging them to wield influence on the League to postpone its session to a later date.⁵² Moreover, while referring to the letter received from Allama Igbal, wherein he had expressed his forebodings about the possible takeover of the session by the Nationalist Muslims, Shamsul Hasan opined that Noon and Yousaf also had the same fears when they suggested the postponement of the session.⁵³ While negating all those concerns, Shamsul Hasan assured Jinnah that these fears were unfounded because the nationalists were a negligible minority in the AIML Council and of most of their supporters were either indifferent or in jail. He requested Jinnah to persuade Allama Igbal, Yousaf and Noon to participate in the Lucknow Session without any reservations and with all their strength⁵⁴

In reply to Yousaf, Shamsul Hasan informed that "All the arrangements for the session are in progress. About two thousand invitations to the different parts of India including Burma have been issued. Reception Committee has been formed. Funds have been raised. Handbills and posters are being distributed. Many members from different parts of India have informed the office of their arrival. Allama Iqbal has already prepared his Presidential Address. Under the above circumstances, in my humble opinion, the question of postponement is too late."55 Expressing his confidence in the record success of the annual session Shamsul Hasan hoped that Yousaf would attend the annual session with

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 65-66.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid. The name of Allama Iqbal seems to be out of context, as, despite all his reservations, he was ready to participate and preside over the Lucknow Session.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65-66.

companions."56

In the mean time, those who were in favour of postponing the annual session started persuading Jinnah to postpone it in view of the elections.⁵⁷ Therefore, Jinnah who, till 3rd August, 1930, was not only in favour of holding the Lucknow Session on time, but had also indicated about his arrival a day before the session,⁵⁸ sent separate telegrams to Muhammad Yaqub and Shamsul Hasan on 6th August saying that he had no objection if the annual session was postponed subject to the consultation with the members of AIML Council.⁵⁹ Regarding his participation in the annual session, he added that it was doubtful due to elections in Bombay. He feared that some other members will also not be able to attend the annual session due to the elections.⁶⁰

However, the general public, the Muslim press, and even Allama Iqbal, were not aware of those attempts aimed at postponement of the Lucknow session. On 7th August, 1930, the *Inqilab* expressed its concerns that the Hindu politicians, through their Muslim agents, were trying to use the Lucknow Session for creating a new schism. The newspaper insisted that Muslim leaders from U. P. should counteract to completely thwart those efforts. It also stressed upon the Muslims, particularly those from Punjab and Bengal, to participate in large numbers in order to avoid any unpleasant situation. Muhammad Ayub, a worker of the AIML, asked Shamsul Hasan to provide him with names and addresses of prominent

⁵⁷ From a letter of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah addressed to Feroz Khan Noon, it appears that he had received applications from all provinces that Lucknow Session might be postponed for the time being. *Ibid.* p. 64.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, August 3, 1930, displayed in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.

⁵⁹ A.F.M., Vol. 153,p. 67-68.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ingilab, 7th August, 1930.

⁶² Ibid.

Urdu and English dailies as copies of League's bulletins were ready for dispatch."⁶³ In his letter of 9th August, 1930, addressed to the Secretary AIML, Allama Iqbal advised that the decisions of the Reception Committee should be published in newspapers of Punjab and other provinces so that the participants could have necessary information about the annual session. ⁶⁴ Allama Iqbal hoped that a large number of people from Punjab would attend the meeting. He also inquired about the timings of session to be held on 16th August 1930. ⁶⁵ On 11th August, 1930, editor of the Inqilab, Ghulam Rasool Mehr, confirmed Secretary AIML that he would attend the Lucknow Session. ⁶⁶ While dismissing rumors of postponement of the Lucknow Session, the Inqilab assured its readers on 12th August, 1930 that it would be held in time. ⁶⁷

In fact, the decision to postpone the Lucknow Session was made between the 9th and 12th of August, 1930 when pressure on Shamsul Hasan and Muhammad Yaqub was mounted beyond endurance. Noon sent a telegram to Muhammad Yaqub informing that the meeting of APMC scheduled for mid-August in Lucknow had been postponed and asked him to defer the AIML session also till the first week of October since the Muslims from Punjab would not be able to travel to Lucknow due to elections. He further argued that if the sessions of the AIML and the APMC were held separately, that would undermine the strength of Muslim unity. ⁶⁸ Ignoring that

⁶³A.F.M., Vol. 153, p. 69.

⁶⁴ Barni, op.cit., p. 148. See also A.F.M., Vol. 153, p. 71

⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶⁶ A.F.M., Vol. 153, p. 75.

⁶⁷ Inqilab, 12th August, 1930.

⁶⁸ A.F.M., Vol. 153, p. 70. Malik Feroz Khan Noon was born in Lahore on 7th May, 1893. He got his early education from Atchison College Lahore. Then, he went to Oxford for higher education. After his return in 1917, he become a member of the Punjab Assembly and served on this position till 1926. He served as Minister for Self Government from 1927 to 1930 and then as Minister for Education in 1930-31 during the rule of Unionist Party in the Punjab. He also served as High Commissioner of India to the United Kingdom from 1936 to 1941. After the end of that term, he became

telegram, Muhammad Yaqub sent a letter to all leading League members, persuading them to participate in the Lucknow Session despite all inconvenience. 69 Moreover, Syed Shamsul Hasan sent a telegram to Noon informing that he didn't agree with the proposal to postpone the session.⁷⁰ On 11th August, Jinnah wired to Shamsul Hasan informing him that his participation in the Lucknow session was not confirmed and recommended that, if needed, the session could postponed.⁷¹ Meanwhile, Noon also sent separate telegrams to Muhammad Yaqub and Shamsul Hasan insisting to postpone the session.⁷² In his telegram dated 12th August, 1930 Noon informed Muhammad Yaqub that in view of the applications received by Jinnah from different provinces, he had agreed to the postponement of Lucknow session. He, therefore, would advise for the arrangements to postpone the session. He also claimed that he represented the majority of AIML Council members from Punjab.73 It appears that Allama Iqbal had also received the suggestion for postponement, as he inquired from Shamsul Hasan through a telegram dated 11th August that if the Lucknow Session had been postponed, he should be informed accordingly.74

On 12th August, Noon wrote a detailed letter to Muhammad

member of the Governor General's Executive Committee (1941-42) and Minister for Defence (1942-45). He actively participated in Pakistan Movement. He remained member of Pakistan's Legislative Assembly from 1947 to 1950. He served as Governor of East Pakistan from 1950 to 1953 and worked as Chief Minister of Punjab from 1953 to 1955. He was appointed Pakistan's Foreign Minister in 1955. The great achievement during his term was the acquisition of Gawadar port from Oman. He worked as Prime Minister of Pakistan from December 1957 to October 1958. After the enforcement of Martial Law by President Ayyub Khan, he left political activities. He died on 9th December, 1970.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷⁰ A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 6.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* pp. 76.

⁷²A.F.M., Vol. 154, pp. 4-5.

⁷³ *Ibid*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Yaqub arguing for the postponement of Lucknow Session. He said that the Joint Secretary of the AIML had wired him to approach Jinnah for the postponement and that now when Jinnah had agreed, it appeared that the local leaders did not concur to the views of Jinnah.⁷⁵ He further explained that Jinnah had received representations from all provinces asking for the postponement of Lucknow session and if the public opinion from all provinces demanded for postponement, it would be better to do so. 76 Describing the political situation in Punjab, he added that he found it extremely difficult to persuade anyone there to participate in the session. He pointed out that everybody was busy either with his own election or was working for his friends.⁷⁷ In the light of the foregoing, Noon requested Muhammad Yaqub to reconsider his views and agree to the postponement which was being asked from all over India. He emphasized that it was essential that the AIML session should be a complete success and unless different Muslim leaders from the various provinces gathered in Lucknow, the duty of fostering Muslim community was a far cry. He assured that October was not very far, and by then they would have all done with the elections in September and would be free to devote their attention to the AIML. 78 In addition to the said correspondence, on the same day i.e. 12th August, 1930, other Muslim League leaders including Syed Murtaza and A. H. Ghuznavi requested Muhammad Yaqub in their separate telegrams to postpone the Lucknow Session in view of the elections.⁷⁹ However, despite all these requests, Muhammad Yaqub was adamant to hold the annual session on time. Therefore, in his letter to Shamsul Hasan dated 12th August, 1930 he inquired about the arrangements of the event and hoped that sufficient preparations must have been made to

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 153, p. 73-74.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. 154, p. 9-10.

avoid possible disturbance. 80 But, all his resistance broke down when he received a telegram from Jinnah saying that it was difficult for him to attend the Lucknow Session hence it might be postponed.⁸¹ After that final verdict, Muhammad Yaqub was left with no choice except to announce the postponement of annual session. In fact, he did not have the sufficient time to consult the Reception Committee constituted at Lucknow. In that situation, he informed all leaders including Jinnah, Allama Iqbal, Moulvi Shafi Dawoodi, A. H. Ghuznavi and Munshi Azhar Ali about the postponement of Lucknow Session through telegrams. 82 The news was also published in the Ingilab on 14th August with reference to Muhammad Yaqub stating that on instructions received from Jinnah and according to the wish of AIML members, the annual session of AIML scheduled to be held at Lucknow had been postponed. 83 Shamasul Hassan also sent a similar telegram to Allama Iqbal.⁸⁴

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Postponement of the Lucknow Session at the eleventh hour shocked the local leadership of AIML and caused severe outrage as they had been unaware of the moves at the higher level. In fact, they were busy all the time making their best efforts to make the event a success. Moreover, they were not even consulted in that regard due to paucity of time. Muhammad Yaqub sent another letter to Shamsul Hasan on 14th August, 1930 mentioning the disappointment caused due to the sudden postponement of the Lucknow Session. He explained that he was not responsible for that decision and had resisted it till the last moment. He requested the local members as well as the Reception Committee to keep up their good work for making the event in October a success.⁸⁵ He sent another

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.

⁸³ Inqilab, 14th August, 1930.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

⁸⁵ A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 15-16.

letter to Shamusul Hassan on the next day. He advised him to stay in Lucknow and, subject to the quorum, organize the meeting of the AIML Council and just pass a resolution for postponement of the annual session according to the advice of Jinnah and keep on working for the session to be held in October. ⁸⁶ It was clear from that correspondence that the AIML Leadership had reluctantly agreed to the decision of postponing of the annual session and they were quite serious to hold it in Lucknow in October.

Initially, it was decided to hold the annual session in the first week of October but no final dates were announced. Allama Igbal, in his letter addressed to Sved Nazir Niazi, informed that the postponed session would probably be held in Lucknow in the first week of October; however, it might be organized at some other place. He added that Lucknow was far from Punjab and many people were ready to go there but were afraid of the expenses of tour.⁸⁷ On 15th August, 1930 the *Ingilab* published a news item quoting Noon that sessions of the AIML and the APMC had been postponed till the first week of October since it was difficult for the delegates to participate due to election campaign.88 Despite all those estimations, no announcement from the AIML head office was published in the newspapers nor was the invitation letters issued. Therefore, on 29th August, 1930 Allama Igbal inquired from Shamsul Hasan through a letter about the fresh date and venue of the postponed session.89

In reply, Shamsul Hasan suggested to Muhammad Yaqub vide his letter dated 30th August, 1930 that the Reception Committee had raised a good amount of funds and the arrangements were also complete therefore the deferred session should be held in Lucknow. ⁹⁰ While opposing convening of the

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸⁷ Barni, op.cit., p. 156.

⁸⁸ Inqilab, 15th August, 1930.

⁸⁹ Barni, *op.cit.*, p. 158.

⁹⁰ A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 18.

AIML Council meeting just to finalize the dates, he suggested that in consultation with Jinnah, fresh dates could be announced through newspapers and invitation letters could provide further details.91 He also wrote a letter to Allama Iqbal on the same day informing him that the annual session would be held in Lucknow but the dates were not yet final. He further informed that correspondence with Jinnah was being made and he would be informed accordingly. He suggested that 7th and 8th of October would be appropriate as it suited some other leaders too. 92

In his reply dated 1st September, 1930 Allama Iqbal informed Shamsul Hasan that 7th and 8th October did not suit him since the Punjab High Court will start its work from the 7th October.93 He further suggested that 28th and 29th September would be more appropriate. 28th September fell on the last Saturday of the month and 29th was a Sunday so it would facilitate the delegates. The election activities in the Punjab would also end till 22nd September; since most of the candidates had been elected unopposed. However, Allama Igbal did not receive any reply. He, therefore, wrote another letter to Shamsul Hasan emphasizing need of an early decision and announcement of the date of AIML annual session so that appropriate time could be left for newspapers' campaigns.⁹⁵ But, the said letter also remained unattended. In fact, majority of the League leadership was busy in election activities in their respective constituencies whereas the President AIML and some other important leaders were preparing for visiting London to participate in the first RTC. Hence, the plan to hold the session at the end of September or first week of October could not be executed and once again the question of obtaining fresh dates came up for decision. It needs to be mentioned that

91 *Ibid*.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 19.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 20, In Barni, op.cit., p. 165, this letter has been given as undated'.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 19. Barni, op.cit., p. 164-5 has mentioned this letter as translated from English. But, it is originally in Urdu and is available in the A.F.M record.

the renowned Muslim leader Ibrahim Rehmat Ullah offered Allama Iqbal to accompany the Muslim delegation to the first RTC but he regretted due to his commitment to the annual session of the AIML.⁹⁶

On 24th September, 1930 Allama Iqbal informed the Secretary AIML that he was in receipt of a letter from Jinnah suggesting that a meeting of the AIML Council be convened to decide about the date and venue of the annual session. However, he had suggested that Jinnah should himself decide about the date while the venue should remain the same since the arrangements in Lucknow were in place. A change of venue would not only cause problems but the hosts would ask for more time to make the event a success.⁹⁷ In this regard, Allama Iqbal was of the opinion that correspondence with Jinnah should be made at the earliest so that the date might be announced before the 14th of October when Jinnah was scheduled to leave for England.98 He added that 18th October would be an appropriate date and success of the event would depend on early announcement of the date. On 25th September, 1930 Shamsul Hasan wrote to Munshi Azhar Ali in Lucknow and Muhammad Yaqub in Muradabad with reference to Allama Iqbal's said letter, emphasizing that Allama Iqbal was of the view that 18th October would be appropriate and requested them to suggest according to their convenience.⁹⁹

Although response to his earlier letters were still awaited, but on 29th September, 1930 Allama Iqbal wrote another letter to Shamsul Hasan stressing that the deferred annual session of

⁹⁶ *Ibid*.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 27. According to the Barni, op.cit., p. 172, this letter is without date. However, it is of 24th October. The date can be clearly read in the manuscript available in the A.F.M. It appears that Iqbal inadvertently wrote October instead of September; since he was suggesting the date of 18th October. Moreover, Shamsul Hasan had written to Moulvi Muhammad Yaqub on 25th September with reference to said letter. See A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 22.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

should be held in Lucknow before the meeting of APMC scheduled for 18th October. 100 According to Allama Igbal, convening a meeting of the AIML Council merely to decide about the date and venue was nothing but a waste of time. He was not hopeful that the members would first come to Delhi or Lahore to attend the Council meeting and then proceed to Lucknow or any other place for the annual sessions of AIML and APMC. 101 Allama Igbal also pointed out that session of the Punjab Legislative Council was expected to start from 12th October; therefore the participants from the Punjab would not be able to attend the meeting of the AIML Council. Finally, he also quoted opinion of Noon that the meeting of AIML Council was not necessary. 102 Since no response was received from the head office of AIML, Allama Igbal sent another letter to Shamsul Hasan on 12th October and inquired if the decision to hold the meeting of AIML Council had been made, he might be informed about the date and venue because no news in that regard had been published in the newspapers and people were making inquiries from him. 103 But, that letter also remained unattended. In the mean time, the Daily Siyasat, a renowned Urdu newspaper from Lahore, wrote that Moulana Muhammad Ali Johar had proceeded to London to attend the first RTC and suggested that Allama Iqbal might be elected as President for the deferred session of APMC. 104 October, 1930 the *Ingilab* published an editorial titled "Chairing All Parties Muslim Conference". It proposed that if there was a delay in holding the annual session of AIML or if it would not possible to hold the sessions of AIML and APMC together, Allama Iqbal should be persuaded to chair the meeting of the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 23. This letter is undated in Barni's op.cit., p. 170 but, first three sentences of this letter are not quoted as per Allama Iqbal's original text and one word i.e. 'venue' is missing.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ Ingilab, 7th October, 1930.

APMC so that the nation might benefit from his ideas. 105

From the above lines, it is clear that Allama Igbal and his colleagues were conscious of the rapidly changing political situation in India and wanted to present a united national course of action from the platform of AIML so that the Muslim point of view could be explicitly presented to the participants of first RTC being organized in England. However, despite of all those efforts of the AIML leadership and all good wishes of Allama Igbal, the annual session of AIML could not be held in Lucknow in October. Then, the Christmas holidays was the only option since any such political activity was only possible at the end of December. But, again, issue of selection of appropriate venue came to the forefront. The AIML leaders in Lucknow were hesitating from hosting the session in December. They were of the view that the session should be held in March, 1931 i.e. when the Muslim representatives of first RTC were scheduled to arrive back from London. 106

On 3rd November, 1930 Muhammad Yaqub wrote to Shamsul Hasan that it was the earnest desire of Allama Iqbal that the AIML annual session should be held. But, apparently, it was not possible before Christmas. He added that All Asia Educational Conference and All India Muslim Educational Conference were going to be held in Banaras during Christmas holidays at the end of year. Yaqub desired to hold annual session of the AIML there subject to invitation from the hosts as Allama Iqbal had also agreed with the proposal. Therefore, Yaqub advised Shamsul Hasan to go to Banaras to secure an invitation from there.¹⁰⁷

Though the majority of population of Banaras was Hindu and it was a sacred religious place from them, but, due to the meeting of Muslim Educational Conference a good number of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. Later on, the deferred meeting of the APMC was held in Lucknow on 30th November, 1930 under the chairmanship of Nawab Muhammad Isamil. the President of the CKC.

¹⁰⁶ A.F.M., Vol. 154, pp. 28-31.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Muslims were expected to be gathered there during the Christmas holidays. Since most of the members of the AIML and the Educational Conference were the same, it would have been helpful for both the organizations if their sessions were held at the same place and time. But, the AIML, due to its poor financial position was not able to afford the expenses of its annual session and was searching for a wealthy Muslim host. Therefore, Muhammad Yaqub sent Shamsul Hasan to Baba Kahlil Ahmad, host of the Muslim Educational Conference in Banaras to accept responsibility of hosting of the AIML session as well. In fact for the last two years, annual session of the AIML could not be held and due to extremely important issues being faced by the Muslim India, missing its session for the third year in the run, would tantamount to its end. 108 To assuage the possible apprehensions of Baba Kahlil Ahmad, Muhammad Yaqub assured him that the AIML was not anti-government in any way. Instead, it was making its efforts to secure religious and national rights of the Muslims. Moreover, the AIML completely disagreed with the Civil Disobedience Movement of the INC and a major reason for holding the session at that time was to prevent the Muslims for taking part in such activities of the INC.¹⁰⁹ That attempt was ultimately successed and Baba Khalil Ahmad agreed to host the annual session of AIML in Banaras. 110 Muhammad Yaqub, while thanking him for this support, informed him that an emergency meeting of the AIML Council was being held in Delhi on 10th December, 1930 to obtain a formal approval from the Council members. 111 On 3rd December, 1930 the *Ingilab* published the news with reference to Shamsul Hasan that Muhammad Yaqub was in receipt of an invitation from Banaras for holding the annual session of AIML there during the Christmas holidays. 112 Probably with reference to this news, Allama Iqbal wrote in his letter to Syed

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 $^{^{108}}$ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 35.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 36.

¹¹² *Inqilab*, 3rd December, 1930.

Nazir Niazi dated 9th December, 1930 that he might travel to Banaras. 113

Ш

On 4th December, 1930 Moulvi Tufail Ahmad a member of the AIML Council informed Muhammad Yaqub from Banaras that Baba Khalil Ahmad was managing meals for the delegates, but, the AIML would be required to hire tents for the stay of guests by its own. 114 The management of J. Narain College had refused to provide the venue for a political activity; 115 which caused another difficulty for the selection of an appropriate venue. Then, the proposal to arrange the session in the Town Hall was considered, but chairs were not available there due to several congregations going on in the city. 116 In order to coup with the situation, Tufail Ahmad suggested that the session of the AIML be arranged on the 30th and 31st December and the meeting of the Educational Conference be ended a day before it. 117 This would resolve the issue of availability of chairs. That difficult situation troubled Muhammad Yagub very much and through his letter dated 6th December 1930 he advised Shamsul Hasan to meet Tufail Ahmad and discuss the ways and means for its solution. 118 On 7th December, 1930 Tufail Ahmad, while further informing the Secretary AIML about the arrangements of annual session in Banaras told that chairs for organizing the session in the Town Hall would be required to be obtained on rent at the rate of one anna per chair per day. Moreover, there was only a space of three to four hundred chairs but the arrival of hundreds of guests was expected. 119 Regarding boarding of the delegates, he informed that only ten tents were available free of rent which were insufficient and requested the head

¹¹³ Barni, *op.cit.*, p. 180.

¹¹⁴ A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 37-38.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43-45.

office for arranging additional tents.¹²⁰ It is clear that the head office was facing great difficulties in handling the routine matters of the League and was not able to manage such a vast arrangement. Moreover, its financial position situation was also miserable.

While the AIML leadership was thinking to handle that situation, the Secretary AIML received a telegram from Syed Muhammad Hussain, member Council of the State and President Allahabad Muslim League, offering to host the annual session of the AIML during the Christmas holidays. 121 Next day i.e. 9th December, 1930 Muhammad Hussain again sent a telegram to the Secretary AIML offering to undertake the responsibility of meals, boarding and lodging for the delegates and again requested to hold the AIML annual session at Allahabad. Due to the unexpected administrative problems being faced at Banaras, the AIML leaders considered that invitation a providential help. In an emergency meeting of the AIML Council held on 10th December, 1930 they unanimously accepted the invitation of Muhammad Husain and resolved that the AIML annual session to be held in Allahabad under the chairpersonship of Allama Iqbal. 123 In addition to the administrative problems at Banaras, the AIML Council also noted that the Ulama and Tanzeem Conferences were also going to be held in Allahabad in those days and a good number of Muslims were expected to be gathered there. Moreover, Allahabad was only at a three hours journey from Banaras; thus, the common members of the Muslim Educational Conference and the AIML could easily travel between those two cities. 124 Unlike the previous decisions of AIML, Allama Iqbal immediately received intimation about the Allahabad session. Therefore, in his letter to Syed Nazir Niazi dated 11th

¹²⁰ *Ibid*.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹²² Ibid., p. 50.

¹²³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

December, 1930 he informed that venue of the AIML's annual session had been changed from Banaras to Allahabad and he would probably leave for Allahabad on 27th December, 1930. 125

The *Inqilab* in its publication of 18th December welcomed the AIML decision of holding annual session at Allahabad and hoped that under the leadership of Allama Iqbal, the session would be a success and at that critical time, would fulfill the duty of guiding and representing the Muslims. The newspaper stressed upon the Muslims of India to attend the Allahabad session with enthusiasm and listen to Allama Iqbal's Presidential Address who would guide the Muslims toward their objectives in his characteristic manner. ¹²⁶

The original name of Allahabad was Prayag. It was one of the oldest cities of India. Due to its location at the confluence of the rivers Ganges, Yamuna and, according to the Hindu mythology, the lost river Saraswati, it was also known as Tarbini. According to the Hindu traditions, sister of Raja Harsh used to visit that city for her offerings and charity every year. That's why Allahabad was a place of veneration for the Hindus and every year hundreds of thousands of Hindu pilgrims used to visit the city to participate in the Kumbh Mela and bathe in the sacred river. 127 It also had its special political importance in the undivided India. Famous Hindu leaders Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru hailed from that city. After joining the INC, Motilal Nehru dedicated its grand mansion 'Anand Bhavan' for the Hindu nation and renamed it to Swaraj Bhavan. The head office of All India Congress Committee was also located in that house. During his visits to Allahabad, Gandhi also used to stay there. 128

¹²⁵ Barni, op.cit., p. 184.

¹²⁶ Ingilab, 18th December, 1930.

¹²⁷ Ahmaduddin Marharvi, "Jalsa Allahabad ka Aankhon Dekha Haal", Monthly, Urdu Digest, April 1967, pp. 33-34. Also see, Mukhtar Zaman, "Dawazda Manzil se Manzil-i-Pakistan Tak" Nuqoosh, Iqbal Number, Vol. 121, September, 1977, pp. 409-501.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

General conditions of the Muslims in Allahabad were dismal and after the death of Akbar Allahabadi, no leader of a national stature existed among them. Though, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan belonged to Allahabad but he was away to London to attend the first RTC. ¹²⁹ In his absence, Hafiz Ghazanfarullah, Member of the League Council and his companions tried to manage the event as well as arrange for boarding and lodging of the guests. In addition, Rehm Ali Al-Hashmi, the editor of weekly *Star* (Allahabad) and Ahmad Din Marharvi, Research Scholar at Allahabad University also participated in publicizing and disseminating information of the event through newspapers, posters and handbills. ¹³⁰

But, it appears that Muhammad Hussain could not come up to the expectations of the AIML leadership. He neither announced final dates for the session nor informed the head office about arrangements of the event. Rafiuddin, a Muslim League worker, informed Shamsul Hasan in his letter dated 16th December, 1930 about the mismanagement regarding the event.¹³¹ On 19th December, 1930 Muhammad Yaqub wrote a letter from Bombay to Shamsul Hasan and informed him that he was trying his best to convince people to participate in the Allahabad session but the chances of success were slender. He advised him to get the information about the boarding arrangements of the guests and publicize it through the Associated Press. 132 Next day i.e. on 20th December, 1930 Muhammad Yaqub sent another letter to Shamsul Hasan. While rejecting the option of sending separate invitation letters to the delegates, he informed that he had managed to publish

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¹²⁹ Marharvi, *Ibid.*, p. 34. Dr. Shafaat was a Professor of History in Allahabad University. He was also a member of the Provincial Council from Muradabad. He had good command over constitutional matters which was even acknowledged by renowned lawyers like Sir Tej Bahadur Supro. He was also publishing a weekly newspaper *Star* from his own resources, which represented the Muslim point of view.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*.

¹³¹ A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 54.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

invitation in English and Urdu newspapers.¹³³ While conveying his concerns about the preparations, he informed that an agreement with Muhammad Husain had not been made for the dates of events till that time. He added that he had sent a telegram to Muhammad Husain suggesting that the session should start in the afternoon of 28th December and culminate in the evening of 29th December. He further added that on receipt of the reply from Syed Muhammad Husain, he will revised the AIML Council notice and dispatch it. He also advised Shamsul Hasan to go to Allahabad to check whether Syed Muhammad Husain had made appropriate arrangements for the event.¹³⁴

No progress was made in the next two days and even a persevering person like Shamsul Hasan who was unwavering in his views to hold the annual session at any cost also became disappointed. He wrote to Muhammad Yaqub on 22nd December that he did not receive the agenda till that day; perhaps because of non-receipt of reply of telegrams from Allahabad. In that situation, it was appearing appropriate that postponement of the annual session be announced through the newspapers as he was sure that even if the event was arranged in that situation while ignoring rules and regulations, nothing would be achieved except disgrace. A flood of complaints from the Leagues members would ensue and it would be very difficult to handle that situation. He suggested holding the annual session after the return of the Muslim participants from London in March, 1931. But, perhaps, after announcing and postponing the sessions at Lucknow and Banaras, Muhammad Yaqub was not in the favour of a third postponement. Therefore, on 22nd December, 1930 Muhammad Yaqub sent the corrected agenda of the Council meeting to Shamsul Hasan and advised him to immediately leave for Allahabad and update him about the arrangements of the occasion at the earliest. 135

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

While conveying his anxiety about non-finalization of the dates of the event, he added that Syed Muhammad Hussain had mismanaged the decision of the dates. Allama Iqbal wished to return back to Lahore on 31st December. Therefore, first session should be held in the afternoon of 28th December and remaining two sessions should be held on the 29th and the event should culminate in the same evening. ¹³⁶

The *Ingilab* published the news on 25th December, 1930 that the annual session of the AIML will be held in Allahabad from 29th to 31st December and Allama Iqbal would preside over it. It was further informed that he would leave Lahore in the evening of 27th December and would reach there on the 28th December. The newspaper appealed to the Muslims from the Puniab to participate in the event despite of shortage of time. 137 On 27th December, the *Ingilab* published the news that the office of the AIML had been shifted from Delhi to Allahabad for one week. Moreover, a number of leaders from different cities of the Punjab would accompany Allama Igbal to Allahabad. The newspaper also informed that and Seth Abdullah Haroon MLA (Karachi), who would also be in Allahabad during those days had been elected to chair the All India Tanzim Conference. A procession would be taken out of these leaders on their arrival at Allahabad. 138

On 27th December, the AIML leader from Fathepur Amir Hassan Khan informed the Secretary, Muslim League that if Allama Iqbal traveled through his city, he would give a grand reception in his honour at the railway station. He also requested that the renowned poet from U. P. Maulana Muhammad Ibrahim, also known as *Firdousi-i-Hind* be allowed to recite one of his poems on the current situation during the 30th December session. Representative of the *Ingilab* from Allahabad

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ingilab, 25th December, 1930.

¹³⁸ Ingilab, 27th December, 1930.

¹³⁹ A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 61. However, there is no evidence of recitation of any poem or giving of such a welcome reception to Allama Iqbal.

informed on 28th December that he had observed that all arrangements for the annual session of AIML were almost completed. Muhammad Yaqub had arrived. Offices of the Tanzim and the AIML had started functioning. He further informed that the meeting of the AIML Council would be held on 28th December and first open session will be held on 29th December at 8 AM in the ground outside Majidia School. Delegates would also stay in Majidia School. Allama Iqbal and Abdullah Haroon would arrive through Punjab Mail. They would be given a warm welcome at the railway station and a procession will accompany them towards the residence of Nawab Muhammad Yousaf, where both the dignitaries would stay.¹⁴⁰

A historic reception was given to Allama Iqbal at the Allahabad railway station. The gathering included both Muslims and non-Muslims. According to the people of Allahabad, they had not ever seen such a great reception. A large number of people gathered at the platform and even at the roofs tops of railway carriages A huge gathering was also present outside the railway station. People were shouting 'Long Live the Great Poet.' The Muslim Butcher community from Allahabad was not only influential and disciplined but had been taking active part in the national issues. Their members were used to walk in groups in the vanguard of the national processions with Lathis (wooden clubs), with which they pounded the ground and chanted Allahu Akhar at intervals. One of their team was present at the platform to welcome Allama Igbal. They recited Allahu Akbar in a loud voice as soon as the train stopped. 142 Due to the extremely large gathering, reception programs at the Muslim Hostel of Allahabad University as well as the Islamia College Allahabad had to be abandoned. 143 The welcome procession was also unique like the reception. Every space was

¹⁴⁰ Ingilab, 30th December, 1930.

¹⁴¹ Marharvi, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ For details, see *ibid*.

occupied in the entire way, streets, trees, walls and rooftops. The organizers had to make a great effort to bring the honourable guests to their lodgings. Allama Iqbal with his companions, accompanied by the great procession, reached the mansion of Nawab Muhammad Yousaf located at South Road, Allahabad, where they had to stay. 144

Unlike the wholehearted and enthusiastic reception at the railway station, the organizers of the annual session had made little efforts to ensure public participation. Political gatherings in Allahabad used to be held in a Mao Hall situated in a large garden outside the city and the annual session of the AIML was also planned for the same location. But, all of sudden, the venue was shifted to an unknown large mansion-house inside the city, where there was no hall at all and the inner courtyard had the capacity to accommodate only a few people. 145 The venue was a double-storied building located in Maohalla Yaqut Ganj at the Sher Shah Soori's Grand Trunk Road. Its huge portal opened out onto the road with its name 'Dawazda Manzil' inscribed on top of the gate. 146 The mansion was owned by a leading Muslim businessman Sheikh Rahim Buksh who was amongst the respectable educated Muslims of Allahabad. He always deemed it an honour for himself to sit in the company of the sufis, scholars and saintly people. 147 Two reasons were given for change of venue. Firstly, due to the local political factions and opposing camps, there were chances of protests and sabotage. Secondly, in view of the lack of awareness about the Muslim politics in the city, a small number of participants were expected. Therefore, the courtyard of the Dawazda Manzil' was considered a relatively safe and appropriate venue

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Eminent personalities who accompanied Allama Iqbal from Lahore included Sir 'Abd al-Qadir, editor *Makhzan*, Dr. 'Abdullah Chaghatai and the famous Punjabi poet and national worker, Malik Lal Din Qaiser.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁶ For details, see Zaman, op. cit., p. 499.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 500.

for the annual session. 148

IV

The twenty-first annual session of the AIML was inaugurated at the *Dawazda Manzil*' under the chairmanship of Allama Iqbal on 29th December, 1930 at 11:00 am. The number of attendees was very disappointing at the beginning and half of the chairs were vacant. Most of the participants were not comfortable with English and did not have the ability to understand the political issues. They considered the session to be a *mushaira* and had come there to enjoy Allama Iqbal's poetry. Very few dignitaries and scholars of the city were there, but a group of the students from the Muslim hostel of the Allahabad University had come to hear speech of their spiritual leader and they were listening to Allama Iqbal with great attention. Allama Iqbal had also focused his concentration to the young students during his address. 150

There is a difference of opinion about the number of attendees. Mufti Fakhar-ul-Islam, who was the President of the Allahabad Muslim League and a member of the U. P. Assembly before partition, assessed that about four to five hundred persons were present. Another Muslim League worker Abdul Hayi Abbasi, who also attended the session narrated that the number was even lesser and it also included some students from a *madrasah* who had come there, perhaps, just for recreation. Anyhow, according to the *Indian Annual Register*, 1930 the estimated number of attendees was six hundred and most of them were local. In addition, several honorary magistrates from Allahabad and other government employees were amongst the participants. Prominent local participants

¹⁴⁸ Marharvi, *ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ihid

¹⁵¹ Zaman, op. cit. p. 501.

¹⁵² *Ibid*.

¹⁵³ Shri Pandar Nath Mitra, ed., *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 2, July to December, 1930, Calcutta, p. 334.

included Nawab Muhammad Yousaf, Mufti Fakharul Islam, Abdul Hayi Abbasi, Ahmad Din Marharvi, Rehm Ali Al-Hashmi editor, weekly Star, Allahabad, Syed Muhammad Husain, member Council of State and President Reception Committee, Barrister Sheikh Zahur Ali, Dr. M. S. U. S. Jang and Sheikh Rahim Baksh. 154 It was estimated that several hundred delegates would come from other cities. However, they were not more than two dozen. The prominent figures included Muhammad Yaqub(Muradabad), Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan (Meerath), Husain Imam (Gaya) Sved Habib Shah (Lahore), Abdullah Haroon MLA (Karachi), Hafiz-ur-Rehman, Muhammad Azim (Ghazipur), Moulana Abdul Majid Sindhi (Hyderabad, Sind), Moulvi Abdul Qadir Qasuri (Lahore), Syed Zakir Ali (Lucknow), Moulana Abdul Majid (Badayoon), Seth Tayyeb Ali (Karachi), Moulvi Ala-o-Din (Meerth), Moulana Abdul Hay (Ghazipur), Khan Bahadar Barkat Ullah (Ghazipur), Shah Nazir Hussain MLC (Behar), Moulvi Abdul Kafi (Kanpur), Moulvi Abdul Samad (Badayoon), Azhar Ali MLA (Lucknow) etc.¹⁵⁵

The proceedings commenced at about 11 a.m. Syed Muhammad Hussain, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. In the course of his speech, he said that the Muslims had left no stone unturned in trying to arrive at some settlement with the Hindus, but the latter had failed to respond. He repudiated the charge that the Muslims, due to their communalism, were an obstacle in the progress of the country. He argued that if the mentality of the Hindus would change and the Muslims were assured that their traditions, their religion, their education and their language would not be annihilated, and that they would be treated like other sons of the soil, the Muslims would cease to bring up the question of

See Ibid., pp. 344-348, Zaman, Ibid., pp. 501, Marharvi, pp. 34-37, Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., Foundations of Pakistan, All India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947, Vol. I, Karachi, 1970, pp. 153-176.

 $^{^{155}}$ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Pirzada, *ibid.*, p. 153.

protection of their rights.¹⁵⁷ Muhammad Husain, while appreciating the approach of Muslim delegates to the first RTC, warned the Government that if the difficulties faced by the Muslim delegates to the first RTC were not addressed, the Muslims would not hesitate to make any sacrifice in order to secure their demands.¹⁵⁸

After the welcome note of Muhammad Hussain, Allama Igbal read his famous Allahabad Address. The Address was in English and its printed copies were also distributed to the attendees. Some of them couldn't get anything from it and put it aside. Some tried to read and understand it, but were on the first page even till the end of the meeting. Some read few initial pages and immediately opened last pages to know the conclusion, as in the case of a literary masterpiece. 159 According to a participant, Ahmad Din Marharvi, in addition to the students there were hardly twenty five to thirty persons in the session that could have read and understood the Presidential Address of Allama Igbal and unraveled its allusions and intricacies. 160 The session was assailed by an ambiguous silence and an insipid hush, occasionally broken by the applause rising from the stage. Obviously, the majority of participants were not capable of understanding Allama Iqbal's lofty political and philosophical approach. Hence, he focused his attention on the group of students while explaining important points.

During his address, Allama Iqbal referred to the Qur'anic verses and sayings of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and explanatory sentences for clarifying his ideas. When Allama Iqbal reached at the point where he was telling about the efforts of Hindu Muslim unity by the Mughal emperor Akbar and Kabir Bhagat, someone amongst the participants raised his voice reciting *Allahu Akbar* without any rhyme or reason.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁹ Marharvi, *ibid.*, p. 36. In next few pages, the style of narration has been borrowed from Marharvi.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

Allama Iqbal became disconcerted, raised his brow and discontinued his address for a while as he had realized that most of the attendees were not getting his point. 161 When he reached the point that the Muslims were justified in making the demand for an Islamic state in the Indo-Pak sub-continent, he paused for a while and used a unique political term to explain the idea which the majority of participants had not come across earlier. He added that he had meant by it 'An Imperium in *Imperio*'. The literate persons from the audience spontaneously exclaimed 'Subhan Allah' and the hall resounded with the voices of applause. Allama Igbal accepted the appreciation with a nod and his face brightened. 162 He, then, in a slightly louder voice gave his famous suggestion of creating a powerful Muslim state within or without the British India comprising the provinces with a Muslim majority. But, none of the audience at that time apprehended the point and Allama Iqbal did not get even as much admiration as he was used to receive for his verses. 163

All the chairs were filled towards the end of Allama Igbal's Presidential Address and some people were standing at left, right or the rear. Most of them had known Allama Iqbal as a great poet and they were not aware of his great political insight. Therefore, as soon as he finished his Address and went back to his seat an interesting situation arose. The entire audience requested him to recite his poetry. Even in normal situations, Allama Iqbal was not used to present himself as a poet and, unlike the common poets, had carried no ambition to recite his verses to the public. He was therefore not ready for that situation at all. But, on repeated requests from the audience, he recited a few of his verses about khudi in a subdued voice and without any interest. The audience asked for more but by that time Allama Iqbal had recollected himself. Then he addressed the audience in a tender, anguished tone and said that he would narrate a Hadith and if they followed it, all of their national

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

problems would be solved. Then he narrated a famous *Hadith* to them which says that "he who knows himself, knows his Lord" and then sat in his chair. 164 After the end of his Presidential Address, Muhammad Yaqub summarized main points of the Address in Urdu for those who did not understand English and with that the first session was adjourned. 165

Commenting on the scholarly Address of Allama Igbal and lack of understanding of the audience, Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman had written that none of those who were present in the session took any serious note of the contents despite explicit statements and explanations, nor came up with a suggestion that seconded Allama Igbal's ideas. How could it have been otherwise as, at that time, the AIML was a safe cradle of the feudal lords, land owners and knights of the British Empire? Perhaps, the meeting itself was not suited for presenting such pearls of wisdom. 166 Allama Iqbal was also aware of the greatness of his vivifying message and apathy of the Muslim elite and the audience. But he had seen the future. The dream of a poet had to become the voice rising from the hearts of the entire nation. Therefore, when, at the end of the session, Mufti Fakhar-ul-Islam and his fellows asked Allama Igbal in private as to how he had landed with those 'toddies,' hel replied with confidence, "Don't worry. They would not last. The nation will live long". 167

\mathbf{V}

The second part of the annual session of the AIML started on 30th December which was also presided over by Allama Iqbal. It ended after passing seven resolutions. ¹⁶⁸ It took only about three hours to consider the resolutions. According to the

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Pirzada, *ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

¹⁶⁶ Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Shahrah-e-Pakistan, Karachi, 1977, p. 509 quoted in Mukhar Zaman, op.cit., p. 502.

¹⁶⁷ Mukhar Zaman, op.cit., p. 501.

¹⁶⁸ Pirzada, *op.cit.*, p. 172.

political tradition of those times, resolutions passed at the end of such meetings had special importance as through them, collective demands were presented to the government. The politics of the AIML particularly revolved around such resolutions and statements as, before adoption of the Pakistan Resolution in 1940, it lacked greater public appeal and its leadership had mostly confined itself to the respectful appeals.

For the AIML's annual session of 1930, Amir Hassan Khan, the Muslim League leader from Fatehpore sent four draft resolutions to the Secretary AIML. 169 The first resolution protested against the favoritism shown by the British Premier Ramsay MacDonald towards the Hindus and warned him of losing sympathies of the Muslim rank and file. The second resolution recorded the AIML's appreciation for the Muslim delegates to the first RTC in pressing legitimate Muslim demands incorporated in the resolution of the APMC passed on 1st January 1929. At the same time, it requested them to impress upon the British public their importance in the light of majority aggrandizement and to be guard against machinations of the 'sworn enemies of Islam'. Through third resolution, the AIML condemned orders of the Jaipur State authorities prohibiting the Muslims to recite *Kalima* and making calls to the prayers.¹⁷² In the fourth resolution, policies of the French and Italian governaments regarding forced conversion of religion of Berbers and dispersing Muslims of Tripoli respectively were condemned. 173

In addition to these resolutions, drafts of five more resolutions are available in the AIML records. The first resolution reiterated demand of the AIML that Sind should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a new province. It was proposed by K. M. Aslam (Peshawar) and seconded by Ch.

¹⁶⁹ A.F.M., Vol. 154, pp. 61-62.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

A. Majid. 174 Second resolution was proposed by Muzaffar Hussain Chaudhary and seconded by D. A. Khan which demanded that the constitutional reforms should be introduced in Balochistan and the North West Frontier Province. 175 In an amendment moved by Abdullah Rafi, it was further demanded that the North West Frontier Province, Balochistan and all newly formed provinces by separation from other provinces, shall have the form of the government as the other provinces in India.¹⁷⁶ Third resolution which was proposed by D. A. Khan and seconded by Abu Tahir Muhammad Ahmad demanded that in all censuses in future the lower castes and untouchables should be placed under a separate category and not under the general designation of 'Hindus'. Fourth resolution moved by A. R. Ghazi and seconded by T. A.K. Sherwani and M. Tufail Ahmad was about legal and constitutional matters. Among other matters, it was demanded that Muhammadan Law as presently recognized by the Indian courts should not be amended or interfered with by means of any legislation in the Central or Provincial Legislature except by a majority of the Muslim members of Legislatures. 178 Fifth resolution which did not mention the name of the mover or seconder was dated 2nd December, 1930. It stated that this session of the AIML put on record its deepest sense of irrecoverable loss and sorrow at the most lamentable death of Lokumanya Tilak whose life long and most valuable services for the country and self sacrificing devotion to the cause of motherland could never be forgotten, and conveyed its sympathy to the bereaved family. 179

All those resolutions were considered in meeting of Subject Committee held in the afternoon of 29th December. The meeting was attended by twenty five members. ¹⁸⁰ After detailed

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

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¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁸⁰ Pirzada, *op.cit.*, p. 172.

consultations, seven resolutions were approved and presented in the second sitting of open session of the AIML presided by Allama Iqbal on 30th December, 1930. The first resolution which was unanimously approved, stated that "The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss on the sad deaths of Moulvi Mazhar-ul-Haq, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Sir Ibrahim Haroon Jafar and Syed Jalib, old and prominent members of the All India Muslim League, and conveys its condolence to the members of the bereaved families." Second resolution was moved by Husain Imam and seconded by Dr. M. U. S. Jung. It stated that the AIML resolved that as the Government of India's Dispatch on constitutional reforms failed to lead the responsible government, country towards recommendations contained in the Dispatch would not satisfy the Indian aspirations in general and the Muslim demands in particular. 182 Third resolution, which led to a prolonged debate and some opposition, was moved by Syed Habib Shah and ran as follows: "The All-India Muslim League, while appreciating the united efforts of the Muslim members to the Round-Table Conference in giving faithful expression to the Muslim opinion, strongly supports the resolution passed by the All-India Muslim Conference at Delhi on January 1, 1929, under the Presidentship of His Highness the Aga Khan, and hopes that the Muslim members will unite to abide by that resolution". 183

Moving the resolution, Syed Habib Shah remarked that it was a matter of gratification that the Muslim delegates to the RTC, though they were not chosen by the Muslims of the country, were still supporting the overall Muslims demands. He declared that whatever would be the decision at the RTC about the future constitution, the question of its acceptance or non-acceptance was a matter which concerned the Muslims in India, and, he asserted that they would not be prepared to abide by a

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

decision which did not safeguard the Muslim rights. ¹⁸⁴ Dr. M. U. S Jung next moved the following amendment to the resolution: 'Resolved that although M. A. Jinnah's 14 points constitute the minimum Muslim demands, yet having in view the larger interests of the country and also the complicated nature of the problem to be solved, and considering the difficulties which they may have to face at the spur of the moment, the All-India Muslim League considers it advisable not to restrict the full power of the Muslim members to negotiate a satisfactory settlement'. Dr. Jung, while pressing his amendment, referred to the circumstances which led a party of the Muslims to hold APMC at Delhi, and asserted that it would be against the prestige of the AIML League, which was an older political body than the APMC under reference, if the AIML adopted a resolution recorded by the APMC. ¹⁸⁵

Most of the speakers who followed, vigorously opposed the amendment of Dr. Jung. Abdullah Haroon of Karachi, while opposing the amendment and supporting the original resolution, asserted that he could not give any power to the delegates to the RTC. They were not, he said, elected by the Muslims, nor were they sent to the conference by them. The Muslim demands were before them; and if they wanted to carry on any negotiations, they might do so. But the terms of any settlement would have to be considered by the Muslims in India before they could be accepted. Hafizur Rehman took serious objection to Dr. Jung's attack on the representative character of the APMC. When discussion resumed after a while, Moulvi Muhammad Yakub regretted that the debate on the resolution had led to an unpleasant discussion due to some misunderstanding. The question before them, he said, was not whether the resolution of the APMC or Jinnah's 14 points represented the majority view. 187 Muhammad Yakub did not

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

appreciate the statements made by some speakers asserting that the Muslim delegates to the RTC should not be regarded as the Muslims' representatives, as such a declaration would not only lower the prestige of the Muslim leaders in London, but would also lead their opponents, and even the government to tell the Muslim delegates, on the latter's pressing the Muslims' demands, that their analysis did not represent the views of the Muslims of India. 188 Muhammad Husain remarked that the government would not have the face to tell the Muslim delegates that they were not representatives of the Muslims, as those delegates were selected by the Vicerov himself. And if the government thought that they were not representatives, why then were real representatives not invited to the RTC? He was of the view that their demands should be repeated before the Muslim representatives and they should be warned to not to accept anything less than those. Votes were taken, with the result that the amendment of Dr. Jung was rejected, and the resolution of Syed Habib Shah was declared carried. 189

Muhammad Yakub moved the next resolution which was seconded by Moulana Abdul Majid. It stated that "The All-India Muslim League, while fully realizing the particular conditions of the North-West Frontier Province, and recognizing the necessity of taking special measures for the safeguarding of the Frontier, is strongly of opinion that the continued political dissatisfaction in the province cannot be removed, nor can the local aspirations be satisfied with any scheme of administration which gives an inferior place to the province in comparison with other provinces in the country. The mover regretted that neither the report of the Simon Commission nor the Government of India's Dispatch led to a satisfactory solution of the problem of the North-West Frontier Province, nor did the government take any action on the repeated resolutions of the Central Legislative Assembly on the

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

subject.191

The session then considered the resolution moved by Maulana Abdul Majid which was seconded by Mouvli Abdul Qadir: 192 It stated that "The All-India Muslim League is emphatically of opinion that the Musalmans of India will not be satisfied with any Constitution that does not guarantee a) full Muslim representation on population basis in the legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal, b) the constitution of Sind into a separate province forthwith and without any condition, and c) the conferment of full powers on the North-West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan. This League declares that the Muslim insistence on the adoption of a Federal Constitution for India is contingent upon the clear understanding that the above-mentioned units shall, in the matter of provincial autonomy, be treated on the same footing as the other components of the Federation." In the course of his speech, the mover remarked that an attempt was being made on behalf of the Hindus, and also the British Government, that Muslims should not be in power in any province.¹⁹⁴ The only other resolution which aroused opposition was the motion of Husain Imam which was seconded by M. Azim and Syed Habib Shah. 195 It stated that "The All-India Muslim League considers it essential and imperative that statutory provisions should be made for the adequate representation of Musalmans in the cabinets as well as in the public services of the country." 196 Finally, the session, on motion of Zakir Ali, appointed a committee consisting of Mohammad Ismail Khan, Kazi Masud Hasan and Muhammad Yakub to revise and amend the constitution of the AIML.

Allama Iqbal, the President of the session, had to leave the

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 70-71.

¹⁹³ Pirzada, *op.cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁹⁴ Ihid

¹⁹⁵ A.F.M., Vol. 154, p. 70-71.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

meeting at about 11 a.m., after presiding for about an hour. On his departure, Muhammad Ismail Khan of Meerut was voted to the Chair. The audience at the meeting was smaller than on the previous day, and it was apparent that the number of League members present was below the requisite quorum. Dr. Jung, on a point of order said that, according to the rules of the League, the quorum at a meeting should be of 75 members, and he accordingly raised a point of order that there was no quorum at the meeting. Dr. Jung's objection was, however, overruled by Muhammad Ismail Khan, who said that objection of the lack of a quorum should have been raised at the first day's meeting; since the current meeting was an adjourned meeting, no quorum was needed. The proceedings of the session terminated after an expression of the AIML's feeling of gratitude to the and to the persons responsible for making arrangements for the session, moved by Muhammad Yakub and Zahur Ahmad. Muhammad Yakub remarked that it was true that the present session of the AIML was not as representative as its previous sessions; but that, he said, was due to numerous Muslim leaders being out of India. Such would be the case, he added, with any conference held at this juncture; and it was due to absence of its leaders that the INC had not held its session at the end of the year. 197

Allama Iqbal stayed in Allahabad for two days. As narrated by Abdul Hai Abbasi, in the afternoon of 29th December, 1930 Allama Iqbal had a walk with Barrister Zuhur Ahmed in the area and met with a number of people and shopkeepers. Next day Justice Sir Shah Muhammad Suleiman invited him to meals, but he couldn't participate due to his schedule to return to Lahore. But, he wished to offer *fatiha* at the grave of Akbar Allahabadi, therefore, Mufti Fakh-url-Islam took him to Purana Kala Danda graveyard where Akbar was buried. Allama Iqbal offered *fatiha* there and lamented on the wretched condition of the grave and remarked "what a miserable grave of such a great

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

man. 198

Despite the exemplary reception and great love and affection expressed by the people of Allahabad, Allama Iqbal's selflessness and humility underwent no change. Riaz Allahabadi, who was at that time a teacher of Urdu and Persian in a local school, narrates that he asked from Allama Iqbal about the meanings of one of his verses at the Allahabad railway station when he was just about to leave. Allama Iqbal said nothing of the shortage of time, but courteously took him by his hand and went to waiting area of the railway station and explained meanings of the verse. After a while, the train arrived and he left for Lahore. ¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Zaman, *op.cit.*, p. 501.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

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2. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Dehli) to the Members of the All India Muslim League Sub-Committee, 18 March 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

18. 3. 1930

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that the Council of the All India Muslim League at a meeting held on the 14th March, 1930 has elected you as a member of the Sub-Committee which will be consulted by the Honorary Secretary of the League to fix the date and venue for the next annual session of the All India Muslim League.

Yours sincerely Sd/-Muhammad Yaqub Honorary Secretary

- 1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah
- 2. Sir Shafi
- 3. Hon. Nawab Syed...
- 4. Maulvi Tufail Ahmad
- 5. M. Asaf Ali
- 6. Sir Ali Imam
- 7. A. H. Ghuznavi

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 4.

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3. Letter, Ebrahim Haroon Jaffar (Poona) to Muhammad Yaqub, 5 April, 1930*.

ہارون مینشن ایسٹ اسٹریٹ کیمپ پونہ ۵اپریل ۱۹۳۰ء

. . .

سلام مسنون! میں ... کے دوران میں بالمشافہ دعوت دے چکا تھا 'آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ'کا اجلاس یونہ میں منعقد کیا جائے۔

اب چونکہ مسلمانان پونہ کے لیڈر بھی اس مسکلہ کو ایک قریبی جاسہ میں منظور فرما چکے ہیں کہ ''مسلم لیگ'' کا اجلاس پونہ میں ضرور منعقد ہو اور آزیری سیریڑی صاحب کی خدمت میں اس دعوت کی اطلاع دی جائے۔

للذابطور یاد دہانی مکرر عرض ہے کہ اس دعوت کو شرف قبولیت عطا فرمائیں اور جلد مطلع کیجئے کہ کب اور کس تاریخ کو بونہ میں اجلاس ہوگا، امید ہے کہ آپ بخیریت ہوں گے اور دعوت قبول فرما کر شاکر توجہات فرمائیں گے۔فقط

خير طلب

ابراهيم مارون جعفر

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 5.

ارون منسفوات رشر

iprof

منات و دوران ميه المالث فروهم

د يحكا تفاد دال ندا سم كلي كا إجدى بوندى مندة بديا ماسك

آب چنکسسان نون کے لیڈری اس مسلود کی تیم بیبی علیہ ہی سناور فوا کیے ہیں کم یسلم بیٹ کا اعلام دنین خرد منعقد ہو، اور آنرین کیکٹریں ٹیے کی فدست میں دس دس سک اللاق د کا ٹی

دانداللور با د و فان کررون بی د این د دوت کو شرا تبولیت عملان کی د ورعدسلام کی کرک ب اورکس تاریخ کو کوندس با جدی بی اندان می و است داید بیرمت می گود د ورد و ت تبول داکر کر کرم بات زانجی سا

> فیرالملسب ا مرحم^ک روسو

4. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 10 April, 1930*.

مراد آباد ۱۹۳۰ پیل ۱۹۳۰

منشى شمس الحن صاحب السلام عليكم

مظفر نگر سے ایک خط آیا ہے وہ روانہ کرتا ہوں۔اس کا جواب بھیج دیجئے۔میں یہاں آگر بہت عدیم الفرصت رہا اور آپ کے واسطے خط کا مسودہ روانہ نہ کر سکا۔ اب انشاء اللہ جلد بھیج دوں گا۔

محمر يعقوب عفى عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 6.

البرل المراق - لروسيم المراق المراق - لروسيم المراق المراق - لروسيم المراق المراق

5. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Muhammad Yaqub, 12 April, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi. 12-4-30

جناب والا_السلام عليم

والا نامہ شرف صدور لایا۔ حسب الارشاد محمد کرم علی صاحب کے خط کا جواب دے دیا گیا۔ایک کابی قواعد لیگ کی بھی ان کی خدمت میں بھیج دی گئی۔

ابراہیم ہارون جعفر صاحب کا پونہ سے خط ملا۔ نقل اس کی آپ کے ملاحظہ کے لئے ارسال ہے۔ صاحب موصوف کو میں نے ان کے خط کی رسید بھیج دی ہے۔ صرف عبدالعزیز صاحب پٹنہ سے -/34 Rs وصول ہوئے۔ متعدد ممبران کے خطوط آئے مگر تمام گوشوارہ حساب کی طلبی کے ہیں۔

مرزا صاحب کی علالت طوالت کیر تی جاتی ہے۔ ایک عشرہ سے بغرض تبدیل آب و ہوا قطب کے قریب کسی محلّہ میں قیام پذیر ہیں۔

شہر کی فضا سرعت سے بدلتی جاتی ہے۔ گرفتاریاں ہو رہی ہیں۔ دن میں کئی کئی جلوس نکلتے ہیں۔ پرسوں مڑتال تھی چاندنی چوک میں متعدد مسلمانوں کی بھی دکانیں بند تھیں۔ میں دیکتا ہوں مسلمان بھی اس نمک کی تحریک میں جلدی یا بدیر، اپنے ہاتھوں کو آلودہ کیے بغیر نہیں رہتے۔

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 7-8.

All India Muslim Beague, Bullimaran Street, المرابي ما . والعام فرفسور من - والله عمر الماري في المورة - Bust prisite & bridgery - when कार्ति माण कर्ट महर ट्रंब में प्रिय के मार्थ हिंगा हु (10 m) - 600 w) (bis in is 1 3 p = 10 p = properties lines - participations - Grob U Borijs pku 2, مزاود و علاد طراف مر 80 م = - روعره = مر معرانيا in for and as willed 66000 - 6 01500,60) = 0600 = is in in in على فيدس - رادن وعالى خاندى دس سور معادن كى كانتي

مالک مکا ن نے -/Rs.17 اضافہ کرایہ کا نوٹس دیا ہے چونکہ بلی ماراں وکلاء کی ایک اچھی منڈی ہے۔ چند وکلاء کی ہمارے کمروں پر نظر ہے۔ چند معزز اصحاب کو در میان میں ڈال کر میں کوشش کر رہا ہوں کہ مالک مکان کو راضی کر لوں۔

اور کوئی نئی بات نہیں۔

فقط والسلام سمس الحسن

6. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to a Member of All India Muslim League, 12 April, 1930*.

All India Muslim League,

Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

12-4-30

مكرمي-السلام عليكم

حسب الارشاد جناب مولوی محمد یعقوب صاحب آئریری سیرٹری آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ نگارش ہے کہ مقامی استقبالیہ کمیٹی کے ممبران کو، اگر وہ لیگ کے ممبران کسی اجلاس میں رائے دینے کا حق نہیں رکھتے۔ اور نہ سبجیک کمیٹی میں ایسے ممبران شامل کیے جاسکتے ہیں۔ البتہ ڈیلیگیٹ کی انجمن کی طرف سے جس کا با قاعدہ الحاق لیگ سے ہو چکا ہو۔ دس روپیہ ادا کر کے رائے بھی دے سکتے ہیں اور حسب قاعدہ لے سبجیکٹ کمیٹی میں بھی شامل ہو سکتے ہیں۔

جناب کے ملاحظہ کے لیے ایک کائی قواعد لیگ ارسال خدمت ہے۔

فقط والسلام نیاز مند سید شمس الحسن اسسٹینہ ہیکرٹری

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 9.

All India Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street. Holhi. בשנטי טובוון צויקבי וונטענטין וויטים

 Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Delhi) to Members of All India Muslim League, 15 June, 1930*.

> All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

> > 15-6-30

Dear Sir,

You will remember that on the 14th March last the Council of the All-India Muslim League appointed a Committee to advise the Secretary as regards the place and date of the next Annual Session of the League. Now that the Report of the Simon Committee is soon going to be published, it seems desirable that the question of the holding of the Annual Session of the League should be taken in hand. Under ordinary circumstances the months of July or August should have been selected for holding the Session but the Legislative Assembly would be sitting at Simla in July therefore July is now out of question and as the general elections are going to be held in September next it seems very difficult to held a successful Session of the League before the general elections are over. I shall be very thankful if you will kindly inform me of your opinion at an early date so that the matter may be laid before the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League which I propose to call in the first week of July

> Yours sincerely Sd/-[Muhammad Yaqub] Honorary Secretary.

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 10.

8

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
BALLIMARAN STREET,

DELHI

15 - 6. 30

Dear Sir,

You will remember that on the 14th March last the Council of the All India Muslim League appointed & Committee to advise the Secretary as regards the place and time date of the next Kety/ Annual Session of the League . Now that the Report of the Simon Committee & is soon going to be published it seems desirable that the question of the holding of the Annual Session of the League should be taken in hand. Under ordinary circumstances the months of July or August should have been selected for holding the Session but the Legislative Assembly would be sitting at Simla in July thereofore July is now out of question and as the general elections are going to be 6% held in September next it seems very difficult to hold a successful Session of the Longue before the general elections are over. I shall be very thankful if you will kindly inform me of the opinion at an early date so that the matt r may be laid before the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League which I propose to call in the first week of July.

Yours fincerely

1day Scory

8. Letter, A. H. Ghuznavi (Entally) to Muhammad Yaqub, 28 June, 1930*.

18, Canal Street, Entally.

The 28th June, 1930

The Hon[orar]y Secretary,

All-India Muslim League,

Ballimaran Street,

Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No. 1526, dated the 18th instant. As I was away form Calcutta and returned only two days ago, I could not reply to your letter earlier.

The recommendations of the Simon Commission have already been published, and I should think that the League should take the earliest opportunity of considering these recommendations and other matters of moment at its annual session. It will be too late to hold the session after the election. In view of the grave political situation it is to my mind, desirable to hold the session at Simla during the Assembly Session. But the time is too short now, and there is perhaps no other alternative but to put it off.

Yours faithfully, Sd/-(A. H. Ghuznavi) M.L.A

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 11.

1

18. Canal Street & Entally 3

The 28th June 1930

The Hony Secretary,

All-India Muslim League,

Ballimaran Street,

Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No. 1526, dated the 18th instant. As I was away from Calcutta and returned only two days ago, I could not reply to your letter earlier.

The recommendations of the Simon Commission have already been published, and I should think that the League should take the earliest opportunity of considering these recommendations and other matters of moment at its annual Session. It will be too late to hold the session after the election. In view of the grave political situation it was to my mind, desirable to hold the session at Simla during the Assembly Session. But the time is too short now, and there is perhaps no other alternative but to put it off.

Yours faithfully,

(A. H. Chuznavi)M.L.A.

9. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Muhammad Yaqub, 2 July, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi. الله اكبر 2-7-30

جناب والا_السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

سید غزنوی صاحب کا خط ہمارے اُس خط کے جواب میں ہے جو چودہ مارچ جلسہ کو نسل کے منتخب شدہ ممبران کو بھیجا گیا تھا۔ آپ سے تعین اور وقت اجلاس سالانہ لیگ کے متعلق مشورہ چاہا گیا تھا۔ یو پی سے ایم ایل سی غالباً شریک جلسہ ساجولائی نہیں ہو سکتے۔ چونکہ اسی زمانہ میں ان کی کو نسل کے اجلاس نینی تال میں ہوں گے۔ چنانچہ اس کا اظہار مولوی طفیل احمد صاحب نے اپنے اس خط میں کیا ہے۔ امید ہے کہ جناب باہم وجوہ بخیریت ہوں گے۔

[سثمس الحسن]

^{*} AFM Vol. *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 12.

All India Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street,

10. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Muhammad Yaqub, 17 July, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street,

الثداكير

Delhi.

17-7-30

جناب والا-السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

جیسا کہ میں نے زبانی عرض کیا تھا ایک گشتی چٹی تمام ممبران لیگ کو جلد سے جلد روانہ ہونی چاہیے۔ان کی مناسب ترمیم و تنسخ فرما کر واپس فرما دیجئے تاکہ میں اس کو چھیوا کر جاری کر سکوں۔

بفضلہ یہاں سب بخیریت ہیں۔ یامین صاحب سے ملاقات ہوئی تھی۔ بہت دیر تک جناب کی صحت کے متعلق سوال اور جواب ہوتے رہے۔

گرمی یہاں خوب ہے۔ بارش خاصی ہوئی۔... بڑی کثرت سے آئی ہوئی ہیں۔ کانگریس کی سرگرمی بدستور جاری ہے

فقط والسلام آپ کا خادم سنمس الحسن

^{*} AFM Vol. *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 13.

All India Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street,

11. Letter, Aijaz Ali (Simla) to Muhammad Yaqub, 20 July 1930*.

لانگ ویو، شمله ۲۰ جولائی ۱۹۳۰ء

مکرمی جناب سیرٹری صاحب ...

سلام ممنون۔ جناب کا مسودہ پہنچا۔ چند ترمیمات کے بعد واپس کرتا ہوں۔ آج ملک فیروز خان صاحب کو فون کیا تھا کہ معلوم کروں آیا سر اقبال نے صدارت منظور کی ہے یا نہیں۔ انہوں نے جواب دیا کہ انہیں بالکل معلوم نہیں۔ شاید آپ کو جناح صاحب نے کچھ اطلاع دی ہو۔

میرے محترم دوست نواب فیض احمد خال صاحب کو ثقل ساعت کی شکایت ہو گئ ہے۔ میرا خیال ہے کہ ہندوستان ٹائمز یا شاید انقلاب میں ایک اشتہار نکلا کرتا تھا کہ ثقل ساعت یا Deafness کی کوئی حکمی[حکیمی] دوا ہے۔ ہندوستان ٹائمز آ جکل بند ہے مگر اس کے پچھلے پرچے جناب کے دفتر میں ہول گے۔ براہ مہربانی تلاش کر کے وہ اشتہار نکالیں۔ [اگر مل جائے] تو نواب صاحب موصوف کو بھی ...۔

محمد یامین صاحب کو میری طرف سے بہت بہت سلام کہہ دیں۔ اُن سے بھی درخواست کریں شاید وہ اشتہار ان کی نظر سے گذرا ہو۔

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 14-15.

یہاں کا موسم برستور ہے اور میری صحت بھی بدستور۔ ہروقت ابر رہتا ہے۔ بارش بھی روز ہوتی رہتی ہے۔ باہر آنا جانا مشکل ہے مگر بھزورت و مجبوری باہر نکانا پڑتا ہے۔ آپ اپنی اور عیال کی خیریت سے اور مقامی حالات کی مفصل اطلاع دیتے رہیں۔

اب تو احباب کے خطوط اور اخبارات ہی پر زندگی کی مصروفیت کا دار و مدار ہے۔ یامین صاحب کا خط عرصہ سے نہیں آیا اُن سے کہیے کہ تحریر میں اس قدر بخل نہ فرمائیں۔

مخلص

أعجاز

10/10/10 is 1-10/10 -15:00 and his faction)

12. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Muhammad Yaqub, 21 July, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

21-7-30

جناب والا_السلام عليكم ورحمةالله وبركاته

ایک عریضہ اس سے قبل 30-7-11ء کو ارسال خدمت کر چکا ہوں۔ جناب کی مصروفیتیں مجھ کو اجازت نہیں دیتیں کہ میں جلد جلد ان میں مداخلت کروں۔ مگر تنگی وقت اور سالانہ اجلاس کے انظامات کو مدنظر رکھتے ہوئے میرے لیے بجز اس کے کوئی چارہ کار نہیں۔ جس کامیں نہایت ادب سے معذرت خواہ ہوں۔

ساجولائی کی کونسل میں چار نام صدارت کے لیے تجویز ہوئے تھے۔ ڈاکٹر مر اقبال، سر سلطان احمد پٹنہ، فضل الحق صاحب کلکتہ، صاحبزادہ عبدالقوم علی الترتیب چنانچہ ڈاکٹر اقبال کو جناح صاحب نے ان کی منظوری حاصل کرنے کے لیے اسی روز تار بھی دے دیا تھا۔ جناح صاحب نے مجھے کہا تھا کہ بہت جلد اخبارات میں ان کی منظوری کا اعلان کردیا جائے گا۔ مگر جناح صاحب شملہ سے کاجولائی کو رخصت ہو گئے۔ ابھی تک کوئی اعلان اس کے متعلق نہیں شائع ہوا۔ اجلاس کی تاریخیں قریب آتی جا رہی ہیں اور انتظامات ابھی کچھ نہیں۔ میں نے لکھنؤ میں متعدد خطوط کھے۔ شاید دو ایک روز میں کوئی جواب ملے وہ سرکلر لیٹر اب تک جاری نہ ہوسے۔ صوبہ برما اور

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 16-17.

All India Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street, Delhi. امد ولو الل عنوا م و 17 و درما وسه رحلا بال - ما ت معرف وسلمات ومرافر دستری سر سے اوی دارہ کاراس عظمی مان مان مان در الله دستری سر سے اوی دارہ کاراسی יינו בעט ל בלן יט ל, לן סבורים עוב לבין יון ر معان من التي ما دره عدام على الرس - ما ك שישי נות לנולורים ונים של של ושונים לל ל ל ומנו של של ומנו בים של של היו ומנים של היו ומנים של היו ומנים של היו مر المعلى الم Och in in on one our selection objects

مدراس کے ممبرا ن کو تنگی وقت کی شکایت ہو گی۔ اور انگریزی اور اردو دونوں زبانوں میں نسخ جائیں گے۔ تین مزار کے قریب خطوط کے نسخ میں بھی کافی وقت کی ضرورت ہے۔

سالانہ اجلاس کی تاریخوں سے ایک روز قبل حسب معمول کو نسل کا جلسہ بھی ہوگا۔ میرے خیال میں بعد ۱۰ اگست شام کے وقت مفتی اختشام علی صاحب کی کو تھی پر ہو سکتا ہے۔ معلوم نہیں جناح صاحب کو اس سے اتفاق ہوگا یا نہیں۔

خجی [داودی] بومرہ جماعت کے پیشوا سیف الدین ابو طاہر صاحب ان کو غالباً آپ نے روپے کے لئے مراد آباد سے خط بھی لکھا تھا۔ آج دہلی تشریف لائے ہیں۔ رات کی ٹرین سے شملہ جارہے ہیں جناب بھی ان سے لیگ کی خاطر ملاقات اگر فرما لیتے تو بہت اچھا ہوتا۔ سنتا ہوں کہ بہت فراغ دست بزرگ ہیں۔ ان سے اچھی رقمیں حسن نظامی صاحب اور امام صاحب جامع مسجد نے حاصل کی ہیں۔

ایک اور مسودہ اس گشتی چھی کا آپ کی اپر وول [کے لیے] بھیجنا ہوں۔ یہ اس سے بہتر ہے۔ دستخط فرما کر واپس فرماد بجئے تاکہ میں اُن کو انگریزی اور اردو میں چھپوالوں اور جاری کر دوں۔

[سثمس الحسن]

the experience of the control and its افرد الدود دوا والدوس مع 6 مع رار دور حود د مع مود می وقت عوی اور تا مامور سے mi lang to grist o inici d' sha sign - wan نصه ١٥ الت نام عاوفت من اهنام معدى معدد كاري و ورن ع - अंग्रेड में कार्या के कार्य के के किए के किए -عى دره مى ى ك معاشرا الرفاروف وزوعان دندروس क्ट र्रिया च व्येष्ठाका । दि देश दिल्ला के का निकार कि نعد ما و صور - خارى دون سى مدى خاط سافات دروما ية ومد اعاما - ساون مرمت زم دمت زارس - عام احظی - crows 2/5- 2000 101 + 1000 - 2000 1000 1000 ופשה מו אונים ועל נו נו לבם נועל לים לים משוקדים וען ינונן سماءن - سردل عامر عد معطوط دوراز وول ومادف של יות יוש ומ בנו בי ול הונו על על הונים ביל וא וולו נו נונים.

13. Post Card, Ehteram (Lucknow) to Shamsul Hasan, 22 July, 1930*.

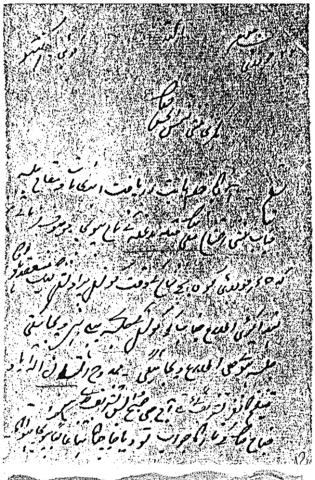
۲۲ جولائي ۱۹۳۰ الله کو تھي، ککھنو

مكرمي منشي سمس الحسن صاحب

تسلیم۔ آپ کا خط بابت دریافت انظامات و مقام جلسہ جناب منٹی اختشام علی صاحب قبلہ مدظلہ کے نام پہنچا۔ موصوف فرماتے ہیں کہ ۲۵؍جولائی کو ۵ بجے شام کے وقت کونسل پراونشنل لیگ منعقد ہوگا۔ للذا کوئی اطلاع جناب کو کونسل کے جلسے سے پہلے نہیں دی جاسمتی۔ جلسہ ہوتے ہی اطلاع دی جائے گی۔ ممدوح الثان اللہ آباد تنظیم کانفرنس تشریف لے گئے تھے آج ہی صبح واپس تشریف لائے ہیں جناح صاحب کے تار کا جواب تو دیا جا چکا تھا۔ غالباً پہنچا ہوگا۔ آپ لوگ یعنی عمال مسلم لیگ کب تک کلھنؤ آ وینگے۔ اجلاس کے لیے غیر معمولی کوشش کی ضرورت ہو گی۔

فقط احترام ۱۹۳۰ جوالکی ۲۲

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 18.





14. Telegram, Ehtisham Ali (Lucknow) to Muhammad Yaqub, 25 July, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

25-Jul-30

Lucknow

Sec[retar]y All India Muslim League

Delhi

League decided holding your session here

Council meeting at my place

Ehtisham Ali

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 19.

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15. Circular Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Delhi) to Members of All Inida Muslim League, 24 July, 1930*.

All India Muslim League,
Ballimaran Street,
Delhi.
24-7-1930

Dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in informing you that the Council of the All India Muslim League held at Simla on the 13th July 1930, has decided that the 2lst Annual session should be held on the 16th and 17th August 1930 at Lucknow. **Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal** has been elected the President of the forthcoming Session.

I need hardly point out that on account of the critical political situation in the country especially in the Frontier Province, the great changes that are likely to be effected in the Constitution of the Government of India, the keen controversy that has arisen regarding the proposals of the Simon Commission Report and the proposed Round Table Conference, the forthcoming Session of the League has an importance all its own.

As you know the All India Muslim League has served the political interests of the country and the Muslim community for the last 24 years. It is recognized as the sole accredited political organization of the Muslims of India. Its doors are open to all. It offers a platform for the ventilation of all shades of political thought and by its Constitution is bound by the decision of the majority. Political foresight therefore demands that Muslims of all shades of opinion should assemble at Lucknow for calm

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 20-21.

All India Muslim League Ballimaran Street Dolhi.

24. 7. 1930.

Dears Sir,

I have the honour to M inform, you that the council of the All India Muslim League held at Simla on the 13th July 1930, has decided that the 21st Annual Session should be held on the 16th and 17th August 1930 at Lucknow. Dr. Ser Inflamed September been elected the President of the forthcoming Session.

I need hardly point out that in view of the critical political situation in the country especially in the H.W.P., the great changes that are likely to be effected in the Constitution of the Government of India, the keen controversy that has arisen regarding the proposals of the LORM Simon Commission Report and the proposed Found Table Conference the forthcoming session of the Lorgue has an importance all its own.

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deliberation to give expression to their united demand from the platform of the All India Muslim League.

It is, therefore, earnestly desired that you should in no case miss the opportunity of participating in and guiding the proceedings of this perhaps the most momentous Session of the organization during its life. The decision to be arrived at the Session will make or mar the political future of the country for a long time to come and I would request you with all the emphasis at my command that you should in no case suffer the future of the Indian Musalmans to be jeopardized by depriving it of your valuable contribution at this critical juncture. I must also request you to be good enough to inform the office of the exact time and date of your arrival as also your special requirements as regards accommodation to enable us to make the necessary arrangements.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/Muhammad Yaqub,
Honorary Secretary

demands that Justims of all shades of opinion should assemble at Inches for calm deliberation to give expression to their united demand from the platform of the All India Bushis League.

It is, therefore, compostly desired that you should in no case miss the opportunity of participating in and guiding the proceedings of this perhaps the most momentus Session of the organisation during its life. The decision to be arrived at the Session will arbe or mar the political future of the country for a long time to come and I would request you with all the cambraic at my command that you should in no case suffer the future of the Indian Muscalanas to be jeometiced by depriving it of your valuable contribution at this critical juncture. I must also remeat you to be good enough to inform the office of the each time and date of your arrival as also your margial manifements as regards accompodation to earlie un to make the necessary arrangements.

I lywo the honour to be

your wont obedient servent

Conorary Steretary

Printed Circular Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Delhi) to Editors of Newspapers, 27 July, 1930*.

Kindly publish in your valued paper and oblige.

Muhammad Yaqub

All India Muslim League,
Ballimaran Street,
Delhi.
24-7-1930

Dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in informing you that the Council of the All India Muslim League held at Simla on the 13th July 1930, has decided that the 2lst Annual session should be held on the 16th and 17th August 1930 at Lucknow. **Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal** has been elected the President of the forthcoming Session.

I need hardly point out that on account of the critical political situation in the country especially in the Frontier Province, the great changes that are likely to be effected in the Constitution of the Government of India, the keen controversy that has arisen regarding the proposals of the Simon Commission Report and the proposed Round Table Conference, the forthcoming Session of the League has an importance all its own.

As you know the All India Muslim League has served the political interests of the country and the Muslim community for the last 24 years. It is recognized as the sole accredited political organization of the Muslims of India. Its doors are open to all. It offers a platform for the ventilation of all shades of political thought and by its Constitution is bound by the decision of the deliberation to give expression to their united demand from the platform of the All India Muslim League.

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 22.

Kindly bublish in gans valued paper a volinge. B. gasul

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE BALLIMARAN STREET

DELHI.

27th July, 1930.

DEAR SIR,

I have great pleasure in informing you that the Council of the All India Muslim League held at Simla on the 13th July 1930, has decided that the 21st Annual Session should be held on the 16th and 17th August 1930 at Lucknow. Dr Sir Mohamad Iqbal has been elected the President of the forthcoming Session.

I need hardly point out that on account of the critical political situation in the country especially in the Frontier Province, the great changes that are likely to be effected in the Constitution of the Government of India, the keen controversy that has arisen regarding the proposals of the Simon Commission Report and the proposed Round Table Conference the forthcoming session of the League has an importance all its own.

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[Yours Sincerely,]

[Mohamad Yaqub,] [Honorary Secretary]

17. Printed Circular Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Delhi) to Members of All Inida Muslim League, 27 July, 1930*.

الثداكبر

د فتر آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ بلی ماران، دھلی مور خہ کے ہم جولائی • ۱۹۳۳ء

جناب والا

دلی مسرت کے ساتھ میں آپ کی خدمت میں یہ اطلاع بھیج رہا ہوں کہ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی کو نسل کے اجلاس منعقدہ ۱۳ ہولائی ۳۰ء میں جو شملہ میں ہوا تھا یہ فیصلہ ہوا کہ ہے لیگ کی کو نسل کے اجلاس منعقدہ ۱۳ میں ۱۲ اور ۱۷ اگست ۳۰ کو منعقد ہوا۔ اس اجلاس کی صدارت کے لیے ڈاکٹر سر محمداقبال صاحب کا انتخاب عمل میں آیا ہے۔

غالباً مجھے آپ کی خدمت میں یہ عرض کرنے کی تو ضرورت نہیں کہ ملک کے موجودہ نازک سیاسی حالات کی وجہ سے عموماً اور صوبہ سر حدکے حالات کی وجہ سے خصوصاً جو اہم تبدیلیاں حکومتِ ہند کے دستور اساسی میں ہونے والی ہیں، نیز اس اختلاف راے کی وجہ سے جو سائمن کمشن کی رپورٹ اور مجوزہ گول میز کا نفرنس کے متعلق پیدا ہوچکا ہے۔ لیگ کا یہ اجلاس اینی ایک بہت ہی مخصوص اہمیت رکھتا ہے۔

جیسا کہ جناب کو بھی معلوم ہے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ نے گذشتہ چو بیس سال کے دوران میں ملک کے اور جماعت مسلمہ کے مفاد کی بہت کچھ خدمت کی۔ لیگ کی بید حیثیت کہ صرف وہی ایک ایس جماعت ہے جسے مسلمانانِ ہند کی سیاسی انجمن کہا جاسکے اب عام طور پر تسلیم کی جا چکی ہے۔ اس کے دروازے ہر شخص کے لیے کھلے ہوئے ہیں۔ وہ ایک ایس مجلس ہے جہال ہر

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 23.

جماب والأ

فالباً مجھے آبی فرمتیں برعرض کرنے کی توخورت بنین ملکے مرجودہ نادک سیاسی حالات کی وجرسے عمواً اور صوبیر سے دولات کی وجہ سے خصرصا جوابم تب بدلیاں حکومت برند کے ومتوراساسی میں ہوئے والی ہیں. نیزوں اخلاف کی وجہ سے جوسائم کمٹیشن کی رویٹ اور مجرزہ گول میز کا نفونس کے متلق پردا ہرجیا ہے. ویگ کا پراجلاس بنی ایک پہرت ہے تھیموں ایمٹ رکھتا ہے.

ان حالات کو مذنظر کھکر جناب سے یہ دلی ست والیے کر آئی سیا بی گئن کے ہما ہم تربی جا سیر شرکت و لا نوادد

اپنی رہنا گئی سے اسے ستفید کرنے کہ اس موقع کو آپ مرکز نا تھ سے وطیف دیں گے۔ ملک کے سیاسی سقیل کے ایک طویل مدت پہلی است ورخواست کر تاہوں کہ اپنی احداد کے ساتھ جنا ب سے ورخواست کر تاہوں کہ اپنی سیاسی تاکیے کے اس ناوک تربین موقع پہلی ہوئی میں ڈائن مرکز بڑو سیاسی تاکیے کے دوئر کو لینے کھو تو پہنچنے کی جیم تاریخ اوروقت کو الم نام کر مرکز ہیں منت فرما بیٹلی سے دوئر کو لینے کھو تو پہنچنے کی جیم تاریخ اوروقت سے نیز وَوالِن قیام کے مسئوں اپنی مخصوص خروریات مطلع فرماکر دمین منت فرما بیٹنگے۔ تاکہ منام اور بروقت انتظامات کے حاصر کر مائی ہوئے کہ میں کا دروقت منظامات کے حاس کی میں کا دروقت کے ایک کے حاس کی میں کہ میں کر اور انتہا کہ میں کہ کو انتہا کہ میں کر انتہا کہ دوریات کو کہ کہ کہ کو تا کہ میں کو دوئی کے دوریات کے دوریات کی میں کہ کو تا کہ میں کر کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کہ کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کی کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کی میں کو کھوٹن کر کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کی کھوٹن کے دوریات کی کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کی کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کی کھوٹن کی کھوٹن کی کھوٹن کے دوریات کی کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کر کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کے دوریات کو کھوٹن کو کھوٹن

قتم کی سیاسی رائیں آزادانہ ظاہر کی جاسکتی ہیں، اور اپنے قواعد وضوابط کے مطابق اس کے فیصلے کثرتِ رائے کے ذریعہ سے ہوتے ہیں۔ اس لیے سیاسی دور اندیشیوں کا مقتطے یہی ہے کہ ہر گروہ اور ہر خیال کے لوگ کھنو کے اجلاس میں شریک ہوں اور ٹھنڈے دل سے حالاتِ حاضرہ پر غور وخوض کرنے کے بعد اپنے متفقہ مطالبات کا اعلان آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے پلیٹ فارم سے کریں۔

ان حالات کو مد نظر رکھ کر جناب سے یہ دلی استدعا ہے کہ اپنی سیاسی المجمن کے اس اہم ترین اجلاس میں شرکت فرمانے اور اپنی رہنمائی سے اسے مستفید کرنے کے اس موقع کو آپ ہر گزہاتھ سے نہ جانے دیں گے۔ ملک کے سیاسی مستقبل کے ایک طویل مدت کے لیے بنے اور بگڑنے کا بہت کچھ انحصار اس لیگ کے فیصلہ پر ہے اور میں انتہائی اصرار کے ساتھ جناب سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ اپنی سیاسی تاریخ کے اس نازک ترین موقع پر آپ قوم کو اپنی بیش قیمت رائے سے محروم رکھ کر مسلمانانِ ہند کے مستقبل کو خطرہ میں ڈالنا ہر گز گوارانہ فرمائیں۔ میں آپ سے یہ بھی درخواست کروں گاکہ ازراہ کرم آپ لیگ کے دفتر کو اپنی سی فرمائیں۔ میں آپ سے یہ بھی درخواست کروں گاکہ ازراہ کرم آپ لیگ کے دفتر کو اپنی مطلع فرما کر بین منت فرمائیں گے۔ تاکہ مناسب اور بروقت انظامات کے جاسکیں۔ مطلع فرما کر بین منت فرمائیں گے۔ تاکہ مناسب اور بروقت انظامات کے جاسکیں۔

خادم ملت محریقوب ناظم اعزازی

18. Postcard, Ehteram (Lucknow) to Shamsul Hasan, 28 July, 1930*.

كو تقى، لكھنۇ اللە جولا كى • ١٩٣٠

مكرمي

تتلیم۔ ریسیپشن کمیٹی کل بن گئی۔ جلد آپ فہرست ممبران بھیج دیجیے تا کہ لوگوں کو علاوہ رسمی بلانے کے خصوصی خطوط کھے جا سکیں۔۔ضرورت ہے کہ خاص کوشش کی جائے۔

دفتر آپ کا کب تک لکھنو آوے گا۔

آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے قواعد کی صد کابیاں بھی ضرور بھیج دیجے۔

منثی اختثام علی صاحب قبلہ[کے] نام سے اپنی خط و کتابت فرمائے۔ یعقوب صاحب کب لکھنؤ آویں گے۔

فقظ

احترام

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 24.



19. Letter, Hakim Muhammad Shareef (Lahore) to Muhammad Yaqub, 28 July, 1930*.

Hakim Muhammad Sharif, Eye Doctor,

> Ruh-i-Hayat Buildings, Sharif Ganj,

> > Lahore, 28-7-30.

مائی ڈیئر یعقوب

السلام علیم۔ ہم لوگ لاہور والے سر محمد اقبال صاحب کے ساتھ کھنو کپنچیں گے۔ ۲۷ جولائی ۱۹۳۰ء کی چھی کائے۔ شکریہ قبول فرمایئ

خادم حکیم محمد شریف، آئی ڈاکٹر، لاہور

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 25.

HAKIM MOLAMMAD SHARIF,

SHARIF GANJ,

LAHORE, 193

من عرف من آنی در از لائد

20. Letter, Azizuddin Ahmad (Datia) to Muhammad Yaqub, 29 July, 1930*.

Datia, C. I.

The 29th July, 1930

Dear Sir,

In reply to your circular of 27th July, I have much pleasure to inform you that I will attend the meetings of the Muslim League at Lucknow. I will put up with the Raja Sahib of Jaharigirabad. So it is not necessary to make any arrangement for me.

Yours Sincerely

Sd/-Azizuddin Ahmad

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 26.



DATIA, C. I.

The 29th July 1930.

Dear Sir,

July. I have much pleasure to inform you the Lill will attend the meetings of the Luslim League at Lucknow. I will put up with the Raja Sahib of Jahari--pirabad. So it is not necessary to make any arrangement for me.

Brown Man

21. Letter, Habibur Rehman Sherwani (Aligarh) to Muhammad Yaqub, 29 July, 1930*.

LAY

٢٩,جولائي٠٩٩١ء

مکرمی جناب سیرٹری صاحب مسلم لیگ

السلام علیم ورحمۃ اللہ وبرکانۃ مطبوعہ اعلان مسلم لیگ کے اجلاس لکھنو (۱۱ ، کا جولائی) کی اطلاع لیے کر پہنچا۔ ممنون کرم ہوں۔ انشاء اللہ حاضر اجلاس ہوں گا۔ اپنے قیام کی بابت کوئی نکلیف مہتموں کو نہ دوں گا۔ میرا قیام خیالی گئج میں منشی اختشام علی صاحب رئیس کا کوری کے یہاں ہوگا۔ امید ہے کہ پروگرام پہلے سے معلوم ہو سکے گا۔ امید ہے کہ لیگ کا اجلاس بھی مثل دیگر مسلم سیاسی جلسوں کے نیم خام اور امید ہے کہ لیگ کا اجلاس بھی مثل دیگر مسلم سیاسی جلسوں کے نیم خام اور سرسری تجاویز کے پاس کرنے ہی کو نصب العین نہ بنائے گا بلکہ سیاسی رہنما ایبا پروگرام پیش کر سکیں گے جو اس ہنگامہ خیز واقعات آ ویز دور کے حسب حال ہو۔

اس کے واسطے سب سے اول لیگ کے تفرقہ مٹانے کی ضرورت ہے۔ یہ لاہور اور جمبئی کا قصہ کیا جاہل ملاؤں کے حلوے مانڈوں کے جھٹروں سے زیادہ خوشما... ہے؟ اگر لیگ متفقہ شکل میں نمایاں نہ ہو تو سات کروڑ مسلمانوں کی نمائندگی کیا معنی۔سات یا پنج مسلمانوں کی پنجایت بھی نہیں ہو سکتی۔

بہر حال وقت نازک ہے اور اب سے کیاہے ہمیشہ سے ہی رہا ہے۔ سوال یہ ہے کہ رہنمایان سیاسی نے اس نزاکت کے لیے کیا تیاریاں کی ہیں ؟

نیاز مند حبیب الرحمٰن شروانی (مسلم لیگ کا دیرینه خادم)

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 27-28

22. Post Card, Tufail Ahmad (Saharanpur) to Muhammad Yaqub, 30 July 1930*.

Saharanpur c/o Kazmi Sahib Advocate

30-7-30

Dear Sir,

I mislaid your notices of Lucknow meeting. Would you kindly send me a copy of them each.

Yours truly Sd/-Tufail Ahmad

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 29.

Saharanpur Go Kazmi Sahl Adrocule 30.7.30

Dear Lui,

Invitarid your notices of Lucknews theety would you Kendy sand me a copy of them each.

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THE ANNEXED GARD IS WIENDED.

23. Letter, Abdul Ghani (Malda) to Muhammad Yaqub, 1 August, 1930*.

Khan Saheb Maulvi Abdul Ghani Malda. Dated: 1-8-1930

Dear Sir,

I am in due receipt of your kind letter dated the 27th July inviting me to attend the sitting of the All-India Muslim League to be held on the 16th & 17th August 1930 at Lukhnow. I shall try to attend the Conference, God willing.

Will you please let me know what arrangement will be made for the lodging and boarding of the delegates, who will attend the Conference from Bengal?

Thanking you in anticipation and begging to leave, Excuse for the trouble

> I remain yours truly Sd/-Abdul Ghani.

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 30.

Khan Saheb Moulvi Abdul Ghani Malda, Dated /• 8. 1939

ilear Sie, your think letter- Lote the 27 July inceiting we to attend the sitting of the All- Sudia Modern Leage to be held n. the 10 \$ + 17 4 Lugues 4930. at- Latituro. Ishallby to attend the confirence, for Diling. Luca Vila - artingenuelsice in made for the lodging and boarding of the deligates, who were a ini ta Conference Asom Bongal? tem and begging & leng Excused for the rouble - Lemain yandstrug , Jadul Ehain

24. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Muhammad Yaqub, 1 August, 1930*.

Copy of a letter from **Doctor Sir Muhammad Iqbal**, Kt., M. L. C dated the 1st August, 1930, to Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.

Thanks for your letter which I received a few days ago.

It is not yet known whether any Reception Committee has been formed at Lucknow. We have received no notice up to the present moment and people are making all sorts of inquiries. I further hear that the Congress People are busy intiriging in order to capture the coming meeting of the League through Muslim Nationalists. It is in the highest interests of the Muslims of India that this meeting of the League should be as peaceful as possible. The Hindu Press has already begun the propaganda that the Nationalist Muslim Party in [six is] the most popular among Muslims. Every possible precaution should be taken against any possible disturbance that may have been contemplated by those who, I am told, are making secret plans to upset the coming meeting. It need be even the venue of the meeting may be changed. Delhi would be much more suitable if there is even the slightest possibility of the kind mentioned above. Instead of holding the meeting on the 16th or 17th, we can hold it in the beginning or the middle of September. The weather will improve a bit by that time and the Punjab will, I think, be able to send a more powerful contingent. Please also let me know how many copies of the address should be printed. I am thinking of printing only 500 copies. The League can, of course, print more if they so desire.

Hoping you are well.

[Muhammad Iqbal]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 31.

23

Copy of a letter from Dostor Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Kt., M.L.C dated the 1st August, 1930, to Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.

Thanks for your letter which I received a few days ago. It is not yet known whether any Reception Committee has been formed at Lucknow. We have received no notice up to the present moment and people are making all sorts of incuiries. I further hear that the Congress People are busy intriging in order to capture the coming meeting of the League through Muslim Nationalists. It is in the highest interests of the Muslims of India that this meeting of the League should be as peaceful as possible. The Hindu Press has already begun the propaganda that the Nationalist Muslim Party in the most popular among Muslims. Every possible precaution should be taken against any possible disturbance that may have been comtemplated by those who, I am told, are making secret plans to upset the coming meeting. It need be even the venue of the meeting may be changed. Delhi would be much more suitable if there is even the slightest possibility of the kind mentioned above. Instead of holding the meeting on the 16th or 17th we can hold it in the begining or the middle of September The weather will improve a bit by that time and the Punjab will, I think, be able to send a more powerful contingent. Please also let me know how many copies of the address should be printed. I am thinking of printing only 500 copies. The League can, of course, print more if they so desire.

Hoping you are well.

25. Letter, Muhammad Hasan (Machlishahr) to Muhammd Yaqub, 2 August, 1930*.

Machlishahr, Jaunpur, U. P.

2-8-30

Dear Sir,

In response to your circular letter re[garding] the annual session of the All India Muslim League to be held at Lucknow on 16th & 17th Aug[ust]. I have to intimate that I will attend it. As I will put up with my relative, therefore, I dont require any arrangement for accommodation.

Yours truly Sd/-Muhammad Hassan

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 32.

2 8.20 Dear Air loke re the annual cosso of the all India muslim league to be keld at hieranow on 16" + 17 ang. I Raw to intereste Mar I will askend it As I will Indus we reportative their I do 1 require any wrange "out for account dation all India muslim ! Bayar Ballinersu

26. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Muhammad Yaqub, 4 August, 1930*.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal M.L.C Lahore

Barrister-at-Law

4th Aug[ust], 1930

My Dear Maulvi Sahib,

Thanks for your letter which I r[e]c[eive]d yesterday. I r[e]c[eive]d a letter from Lucknow a moment ago. Mr. Shamsul Hasan, Ass[istan]t Sec[retary] of the League, informs me that the Reception Committee is making necessary preparations for the coming session. He further informs that there is some truth in the information that I gave you in my last letter. For reasons mentioned in my last letter, it is advisable to postpone the session till October, i.e. till after the elections are over. If Delhi is not suitable, we may have the session at Lahore in case Mr. Feroz Khan [Noon] and others take interest in the matter. I think it does not matter if our representatives on the R.T.C [Round Table Conference] have to start for London in the first week of Oct[ober]. They may not join the session. Our resolutions can be wired to them. Moreover, it is possible that R.T.C may be postponed for more than a week. I heard some such rumour the other day. But you know better.

> Yours sincerely, Sd/-**Muhammad Iqbal**

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^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 33.

wither.

DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL LAHORE. BARRISTER-AT-LAW. 4th. Ay. 000 hy sian hambore Salich, Shoules for jour Letter which I sed, rister I ned a litter for hudren a moment afo. Thomasal Herrom Ant. Sec. of The League informs That The Reception Committee is making necessor proportion for the coming service. The purther supposed that there is ison truth in the information That I gave I'm in my look letter : For reasons mantioned in my lash letter it is windle to port here The Simi Till oclober is. Till of is . The cheties are over . If Doll' winch soutable in may have the terrein of Latere si care in. Forey whom a Mans takes witerat in The unter. I timbe it does not matter of representativo on the R.T.C. have to Kinh The first work of och. They may not join the some . Our surventions can be wird to them

horrived for mon than a work. I have some

Sud rumour the Mir day. Dut you

mound affal

27. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Muhammad Yaqub, 4 August, 1930*.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore

Barrister-at-Law

لا ہور ، ہم اگست • ۳[19]

جناب من! السلام عليكم

آپ کا والا نامہ مل گیا ہے۔ جن حضرات کے ناموں کی فہرست آپ نے ارسال فرمائی ہے ان کے نام علیحدہ علیحدہ تا کید[ی] خطوط لیگ کے دفتر کی طرف سے جانے جاہے۔اس کے علاوہ ڈاکٹر خلیفہ شجاع الدین، سکرٹری پراونشل مسلم لیگ، لاہو رکے نام بھی تاکیدی خط کھیے تاکہ لا ہور سے بہت سے حضرات شریک اجلاس ہوں۔ ابھی تک پیہ معلوم نہیں ہوا کہ ماہر سے حانے والے لو گوں کے قیام کا کیا بندوبست لکھنؤ میں ہوگا۔ بہت سے لو گوں نے مجھ سے استفسار کیا ہے۔ان تمام امور کے متعلق اطلاع مفصل شائع ہونا ضروری ہے۔ مہر مانی کرکے ممبران استقبالیہ کمیٹی کی خدمت میں میری طرف سے عرض کیجیے کہ کسی قتم کے استقبال کی تیاری نہ کی جائے۔میں اپنے پرانے دوست مسٹر محمہ وسیم بیر سٹر کے ہاں قیام کروں گا۔ چونکہ مجھے استقبال کا اندیشہ تھااس واسطے میں نے ان کو لکھا ہے کہ میرے لکھنو کیہنینے کے وقت سے کسی کو بھی آگاہ نہ کریں اور اسی شرط پر میں نے ان کے ہاں تھہر نا اور ان کا مہمان ہو نا قبول کہا ہے۔ خطبہ صدارت قریباً تیار ہے۔ایک ہزار کی تعداد میں جھے گا۔ار دوتر جمہ کرنااور اسے رسالے کی صورت میں شائع کرنا میرے بس کاکام نہیں۔ غالباً مدیر انقلاب این اخبار کے لیے ترجمہ کریں گے جواخبار ہی میں شائع ہوگا۔اگر مسلم لیگ اردو ترجمہ شائع کرے، تو مجھے مخلص کو ئی اعتراض نہیں۔ فقط

محراقبال

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 34.

LAHORE. DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL, BARRISTER-AT-LAW. ار اداماند مر ال ع - من ورات و اول کار : اور این این از اور المحالی این از اور المحالی این از اور المحالی این ا

28. Telegram, Shamsul Hasan to Iqbal, 4 August, 1930*.

Indian Post and Telegraphs Department Inland Telegram

Doctor Iqbal,

Barrister,

Lahore.

Urdu translation of your address is essential. Kindly get them printed.

Shamsul Hasan

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^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 35.

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29. Letter, Muhammad Khalil Qazi (Bareli) to Shamsul Hasan, 4 August 1930*.

ذوالمحبرو الكرم سليم و نياز جناب كے اعزازى ناظم صاحب كے ٢٧ جولائى كے اعزاز نامه كے جواب ميں گذارش ہے كہ ميں صاحب الرائے تو تجھى نه ہوا۔ البته خدمتِ قوم كا ضرور شوق رہا۔ ليكن مسلسل علالت نے اس كو بھى مدت سے عمل ميں نه آنے دیا۔

اس جلسه کی اہمیت کو جانتا ہوں اور ضرورت کو سمجھتا ہوں اس لیے حاضری کی کوشش کروں گا۔

لیکن قیام کا جناب انظام نہ فرمائیں۔ایک خاص جگہ متعین ہے۔ حاضر ہوسکا تو وہیں سے او قات جلسہ پر حاضر ہوجاؤں گا۔

خادم محمد خلیل قاضی بر ملی ۴ اگست ۳۰ [19]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 36.



ودا مجر دامرم - تسع دنیاز - جاسے رزار نافیا. عام جولارے اغرارالم کے جوالے سن لااری ہے ۔ کس ما در ارار تو بی شوا - الله فذت قرم ما فرور نرق ریا -مین سل عات نے ارسور مدت ے علین ۔ رّنے دیا ۔ ان ملے کی اُنہیت کرمیا تنامو در زودے وجما ہو اسے مامر کی ونشی رونگا ۔ كين فيام ما مناب أسل مغرائن -- فاص جليه ستين ہے - حافر عو عا تورين = ارتا - حريم افر موسا داللا _

30. Letter, Abdul Wahab (Khairpur) to Muhammad Yaqub, 6 August, 1930*.

4

الله اكبر

از خیر پور۔ ۲ماگست ۱۹۳۰ء

مكرمى السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركانه

جناب کا مطبوعہ خط ملا ممنون کیا۔ میرا آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے اجلاس اور دیگر اجتماعات کھنو کمیں بالکل مجبور ہوگیا اجتماعات کھنو میں شرکت کا قطعی ارادہ تھا۔ لیکن افسوس ہے کہ میں بالکل مجبور ہوگیا ہوں۔ وجہ سے کہ… کی … جاگیر کو خطرہ لاحق ہوگیا ہے جس کے رفع کرنے کی سعی میں مشغول ہوں۔ دعا کرتا ہوں کہ اللہ تعالی مسلمانوں کی صیح رہنمائی فرمائے اور ہمارے بہترین مقاصد میں ہمیں کامیاب کرے۔

نیز جناب کی توجہ ایک حاضر امر کی طرف منحطف کرانا چاہتا ہوں۔اور وہ یہ ہے کہ اس وقت جو لڑائی برادران وطن گور نمنٹ کے ساتھ لڑ رہے ہیں اس میں جو مسلمانوں نے اپنے لیڈروں کی ہدایت کے موافق من حیث القوم غیر جانبداری کا رویہ اختیار کیا ہے۔ مجھے اندیشہ ہے کہ یہ غیر جانبداری مسلمانوں کو مفلوج کر دے گی اور رہی سہی ان کی قوتِ عمل ضائع کر دے گی۔اگر خدانخواستہ ایسا ہوا تو یہ غیر جانبداری مسلمانوں کے لیے مہلک ثابت ہوگی۔ گور نمنٹ برطانیہ کا جو تباہ کن برتاؤ مسلمانان مند کے ساتھ ہے وہ عالم اور ممالک اسلامیہ کے ساتھ رہا ہے اور جو سلوک مسلمانان ہند کے ساتھ ہے وہ کم از کم میرے نزدیک مابہ النزاع نہیں۔لیکن سوچنایہ ہے کہ اس لڑائی کے نتیجہ میں

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 37-39.

ساله موسمه المعنى أن - مرا أل المراب مداولا الروير الما رُدر عاد مو اداده ما - للا استم من ما اول قور بوت او مرده م ما في ال عالرومده الى بوليام عدوم الم فرا منول وفي د ماره و د البرلامة ن معيره ما فرما اورس المسرن مع مدر سي فاس بر مرمنا مى دورام و امرى دور ادان سود ادره وادر و ادر و در ادر و در اور ن مدائد جوراق من التي ترو نداري طار درا اصل رسي - والدم رم مینیره میندری می ولی و معزم روی در رسی می ارتی و - علی مین در المرفرة في من ال بواد برغمر و سرار ل من ول المراس المعرف ول - والم برى سر النافي برنادامون ما ارتمان زوا مدار الربي اور بو مور مرما مردا ין כני גיוני בין יותו טבווקו ביני - נעל יינים לי היינים לי היינים בינים לי היינים לי היינים בינים לי היינים ליינים ליינים ליינים ליינים לי היינים לי היינים ליינים לייני ومنداد حوق ما وال و ما در ما در المرار قوات ول اوه برادرا و טוינון - ונו ול היא מנותו בעו הוכוף פון נו ועון באט און جو مشتر کہ حقوق حاصل ہوں گے کیا مسلمانوں میں اس قدر قوت ہو گی کہ وہ برادران وطن کی اسلام دشمنی وطن سے حاصل کر سکیں۔ اور اس سے بڑھ کریہ کہ جبکہ برادران وطن کی اسلام دشمنی عالم آشکار ہو چک ہے اور ان کی ذہنیت میں آج بھی کوئی فرق نہیں ہے اور یہ ظاہر ہے کہ انہوں نے شدھی اور شکھن کے سلسلہ میں مسلمانوں کے ساتھ لڑائی لڑ کر خود کو مضبوط اور منظم کیا اور گور نمنٹ کے مقابلہ میں بہترین قوت برداشت ، یقین اور تنظیم کا ثبوت دے رہے ہیں۔ ہندووں کی ذہنیت کو دیکھتے ہوئے میرا خیال نہ ہے بلکہ جھے یقین ہے اور ایسایقین جیسا کہ دن کی روشنی کا اور شب کی تاریکی کا کہ موجودہ جنگ سے فراغ کے بعد ہندو پھر اپنی چوری قوت کے ساتھ مسلمانوں کے مقابلہ پر آئیں گے اور اپنی دیرینہ خواہش کہ مسلمان یا ہمارے غلام اور ہندو بن کر رہیں یا ہندوستان سے نکل جائیں، کی شکیل کی کوشش کریں گے اس وقت مسلمانوں کا کما حشر ہوگا۔

اگر ہمارے لیڈر اس خطرہ سے غافل رہیں تو میرے نزدیک وہ لیڈری کے لائق نہیں اور اگر قصداً چیٹم پوشی کریں تو بدترین سزاکے مستوحب ہوں گے۔

مسلمانوں نے غیر جانبدار بن کر اپنی جبلی شرافت کا ثبوت دیا ہے۔ مگر افسوس ہے کہ سیسیات میں اور بالخصوص اس زمانہ میں شرافت کا کوئی قدر دان نہیں اور شرافت کے بدلہ میں ہندوؤں سے یا انگریزوں سے شرافت کی امید رکھنا حماقت ہوگی۔ ضرورت ہے کہ ہمارے لیڈر مسلمانوں کے لیے کوئی الیی جاذب تحریک پیدا کریں کہ تمام مسلمان اس میں شریک ہو کر خود کو مضبوط اور منظم کر سکیں۔ اگر کوئی الیی جاذب تحریک نہ مل سکے تو بدرجہ مجبوری کچھ عرصہ کے لیے مصلحاً ہندوؤں کے مقابلہ پر ہی آیا جائے۔ گو اس سے موجودہ غلامی کی مدت میں اضافہ ہو جائیگا مگر میرے نزدیک موجودہ غلامی اس حالت سے بہتر ہے جس کے خواہش مند ہندو ہیں۔

سدد سر سر ما سروک کا دور مار ما ما ما و کا در معاول بد عمری مروار الر الل على شرات في مومد وعامر مر فروى مرسان مرادر فا فقوم آس زمانه من شرات فا وي مدود المرار جو کچھ میں نے عرض کیا ہے امید ہے کہ آپ اس پر غور فرمائیں گے اور لیگ کے جلسہ میں اور دیگر مجالس میں اس کے لئے کوئی راہ عمل نکالنے کی کوشش فرمائیں گے۔ نیادہ والسلام

خاكسار

محرٌ عبدالوہاب

موده و موری اور ساست المرور و ساست ار در مرا می اور در مرا در در مرا می از در مرا مرا می می مرا می مرا

31. Letter, Shaukat Ali (Lucknow) to Muhammad Yaqub, 7 August, 1930*.

Small Bar Association Lucknow

The 7th August 1930

То,

The Secretary,
All India Muslim League,
Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your printed letter. I am glad to learn that the Muslim League has after all stirred itself to do something on the occasion of the present crisis. This is to inform you that mine and Hakim Syed Bashir Ahmad's services are at your disposal. We are prepared to do anything which you direct in order to make your session successful. I will wait for the reply.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/M[uhammad] Shaukat Ali
Advocate
57, Canning Street,
Lucknow.

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 40.

The 7th August 1930.

The Secretary,
All India Muslim League,
Delhi.

ir?Sir

I am in receipt of your printed letter. I am

and to learn that the Muslim League has after all

itself
irred monto do something on the occasion of the

pagent crisis. This is to inform you that mine

pi Hekim Syed Bashir Abased's services are at your

appearance We are presented to do anything which you

rect in order to make your session successful. I

Yours faithfully,

Advocate. 57, Canning Street,

Lucknow.

32. Letter, Syed Mahbub Alam (Bankipur) to Muhammad Yaqub, 9 August, 1930*.

رمنه باغ- بانکی پور پٹنه ۱۹گست ۳۰[۱۹]ء مکرمی- تتلیم

آپ کا خط مورخہ ۲۷ جولائی پہنچا۔ مہر بانی کرکے مطلع فرمائے کہ لیگ کا اجلاس جو ۱۱ اور ۱۷ اگست کو لکھنؤ میں ہونے والا ہے وہ کوننی جگہ منعقد ہوگا؟ اور کس وقت سے شروع ہوگا؟ لیگ کے کونسل کے ممبروں کے قیام کے لیے کوننی جگہ تجویز کی گئ ہے اور کوئی ہوٹل یا کوئی اور جگہ مقرر کی گئ ہے تو اس کا خرچ کیا ہوگا۔

مہربانی کرکے ان سب باتوں سے جلد مطلع فرمائے۔ تاکہ میں اپی آمد سے آپ کو مطلع کر سکوں۔

آپ کا نیاز مند (خان بہادر) سید محبوب عالم

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 41.

33. Postcard, Tufail Ahmad (Saharanpur) to Shamsul Hasan, 11 August, 1930*.

مكرم... تشليم

میں انشا اللہ ۱۰ کی صبح کو ہی پہنچوں گا اور مسلم لیگ کے جلسوں میں شریک ہوں

اطلاعاً عرض ہے

والسلام، خاکسار طفیل احمہ از منگلور ضلع سہارن پور ۱۱ راگست[۱۹۳۰]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 42.



34. Letter, Abdul Jabbar (Ajmer) to Muhammad Yaqub, 11 August 1930*.

Hafiz Manzil Ajmer 11-8-30

My Dear Moulvi Sahib,

I very much regret my inability to attend the annual session of the League on account of my sickness. I so much wished to come over but my medical attendant advised me not to travel in this state of health.

I wish these sessions may prove a great success.

Yours Sincerely Sd/-Abdul Jabbar

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 43.

3,1-

35. Post Card, Abu Bakr (Rae Bareli) to Secretary, Reception Committee, 11 August, 1930*.

۱۹۳۰ کمت ، ۱۹۳۰

Jakia Kalan Rae Bareli

جناب سيرٹري صاحب [استقباليه كميثي]

السلام و علیم۔ ضلع رائے بریلی میں میرے خیال میں کوئی شاخ لیگ کی قائم نہیں ہوئی۔ اور میں مع پانچ دوسرے حضرات کے لیگ کی شرکت کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اس لیے مہر بانی فرما کر ریل کے چھ کلک مجھ کو بھیج کر مشکور فرمایئے تاکہ وقت پر ہم حاضر ہو سکیں۔ ٹکٹ سبجیکٹ کمیٹی کے بھی ہونا چاہئیں۔ تاکہ ہم اس میں بھی شرکت کر سکیں۔ قیام اور طعام کے بارے میں بھی اطلاع دیجے کہ اس کی کیا صورت ہوگی۔ جواب فوراً دیجے تاکہ وقت پر دے سکیں۔ جواب فوراً دیجے تاکہ وقت پر دے سکیں۔ مہر بانی ہوگی۔

S. M. Abu Bakr Atiq Jakia Kalan, Rae Bareli

P. T. O

مکرر عرض ہے کہ اگر پردے کا انتظام ہو تو اطلاع دیجئے ممکن ہے کہ نقابی حوریاں بھی شرکت کر سکیں۔

سيد ابو بر عفي عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 44.



36. Letter, Private Secretary to Ibne Hasan (Aligarh) to Muhammad Yaqub, 11 August 1930*.

Aligarh Registered God Save H. H. King GeorgeV Letter No. 507 Date 11-8-30 Time 3/PM

Important

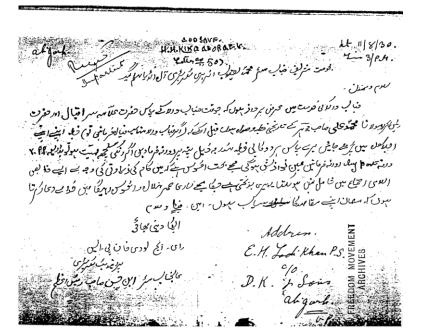
بخدمت شریف جناب مسٹر محمد یعقوب آنریری سیکرٹری آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ سلام مسنون۔

جناب والا کی خدمت میں عرض پرداز ہوں کہ جس وقت جناب والا کے پاس حضرت علامہ سر اقبال اور حضرت رئیس الاحرار مولانا محمد علی صاحب جوہر کے تاریخی خطبہ وصول ہوں قبل اس کے کہ (اگر جناب والا مناسب خیال فرمائیں تو) خطبہ اپنے اجلاسوں میں پڑھے جائیں میرے پاس ہر دو کائی خطبہ مندرجہ ذیل پتہ پر روانہ فرمائیں عین فرما دیں۔اگر ان کی کچھ قیمت ہو تو بذریعہ V.P.P ورنہ by post روانہ فرمائیں عین نوازش ہوگی۔ مجھے بہت افسوس ہے کہ میں کام کی زیادتی کی وجہ سے ایسے خالص اسلامی اجتماع میں شامل نہیں ہوسکتا۔ یہ میری بر بختی ہے جس کا مجھے ساری عمر ملال و افسوس رہے گا۔ میں خدا سے دعا کرتا ہوں کہ مسلمان اپنے مقاصد [میں] کامیاب افسوس رہے مین فقط والسلام

آپ کا دینی بھائی ای۔انچ لودی خان پی۔ایس پرائیویٹ سیکرٹری عالی جناب مسٹر ابن حسن صاحب رئیس اعظم

Address E. H. Lodi Khan P.S. c/o D.K. & Sons Aligarh. U. P.

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 45.



37. Letter, S M Fazul Ellahie (Delhi) to Shamsul Hasan, 11 August, 1930*.

Codes used A.B.C. 5th & 6th Editions Western Union, Bentley's, Rudolf, Mosse, Schofield's Phrase and Private. Tele Gram Fazul Phone No. 5146

From, S. M. Fazul Ellahie Fazul Building Katra Barain,

Delhi, 12 August, 1930

Branches at:-Bunder Road Karachi And Anarkali Lahore.

بخدمت سيد شمس الحنن صاحب

السلام علیم آپ کا خط ملا ہمارا ارادہ ابھی تک پختہ ہے کہ میں جمعرات کو یہاں سے روانہ ہوجاوں اور جمعہ کی صبح کو لکھنو پہنچ جاؤں۔ لیکن آپ جانتے ہیں کہ میری کاروباری مصروفیتیں الی ہیں کہ مجھے کسی وقت بھروسہ نہیں کہ کیا ضروری اور فوری پیدا ہو جائیں۔ بہر حال انشاء اللہ ضرور پہنچنے کی کوشش کروں گا۔….

ا بھی سری ... آیا ہے۔ مولوی محمدیقوب صاحب کا تار آیا ہے کہ اجلاس ملتوی کر دیا گیا۔ سوالیی ... آسکتا ہوں اور ایسے میں کیا فائدہ ہوگا۔ ... مل گئی یا نہیں رسید نہیں آئی۔

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 46.



38. Letter, Syed Asad Raza (Poona) to Muhammad Yaqub, 13 August, 1930*.

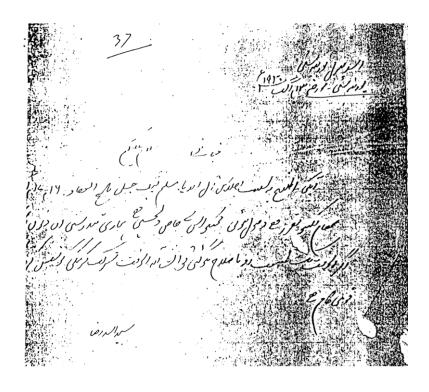
اسد منزل ، پونه سی، پونه سی، موَر خه ۱۳ اگست ۱۹۳۰

جناب من-السلام عليكم

آپ کی اطلاع بہ نبیت اجلاس آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ جس کی تاریخ انعقاد ۱۲، کام اگست بمقام لکھنو مقرر ہے وصول ہوئی۔ مجھ کو اس سے خاص دلیسی ہے۔ ہماری تندرستی ان دنوں ٹھیک نہیں۔۔۔۔ اگر اس وقت تک طبیعت رو باصلاح ہو گئی تو انشاء اللہ اس وقت شرکت کرنے کی کوشش کروں گا چونکہ قومی کام ہے۔

سید اسد رضا

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 47.



39. Telegram, Secretary, Dharbhanga Muslim League (Dharbhanga) to Muhammad Yaqub, 15 August, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

15-8-1930

Secretary [All] India Muslim League, Lucknow Syed Habibullhasan President Dist[rict] Muslim League going as delegate.

Secretary

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 48.

382 INDIAN POSTS	AND TELEGRAPHS DEPAR	RTMENT:
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40. Letter, General Secretary, Asansol Muslim League (Asansol) to Secretary, Reception Committee, 15 August, 1930*.

جناب سيرٹري صاحب "مجلس استقباليه" آل انڈيا مسلم ليگ

السلام علیم ورحمۃ اللہ وبرکاۃ۔ مقام مسرت ہے کہ ایک مرتبہ آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ... اپنی نوعیت میں لا ٹانی ہوگی۔ موجودہ سیاسی تغیرات نے اس کو اور زیادہ اہم بنا دیاہے مگر اس کی اہمیت اس وقت باقی رہے گی جبہہ اس کا کانسٹی ٹیوشن بالکل جمہوری طرز کا ہو۔ البتہ ہمیں ساتھ اس کو بھی مد نظر رکھنا پڑے گا کہ ہندوستانیوں میں اب بہت ہی زیادہ سیاسی بیداری ہو گئی ہے۔ بنا برین اس کے نصب العین میں اس قدر تغیر وتبدل کی ضرورت ہے کہ لوگوں کی سیاسی علو خیال سے متصادم نہ ہو۔ بعد اس کے مشکل ہے کہ جمہور مسلمانان کی توجہ اس کے جانب مبذول کی جاوے۔ مدعایہ ہے کہ مسلمانان ہندوستان کے لیے یہ اس وقت جاذب توجہ ہوسکتا ہے...۔ نصب العین کو ممکل آزادی کے درجہ کو پہنچا دیا جاوے۔ بہر حال آسن سول مسلم لیگ سے ایک دیلیگ تشریف لیے جارہے ہیں جن کا نام گرامی مفتی محمد ابراہیم ہے۔ امید ہے کہ آپ ان کے لیے رہائش کا سامان کم از کم بندوبست کر کے... بروقت روانہ کیا جاسکے۔

والسلام محمد حسین جبزل سیکرٹری مسلم لیگ آسن سول

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 49.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT ARCHIVES

41. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Lucknow) to Post Master, August 1930*.

Dear Sir,

As the office of the All India Muslim League is transferred from Delhi to Lucknow for 20 days i.e. from 2nd August to 22nd August 1930 due to the Annual Session, kindly redirect all letters, Money Orders etc to 36, Circular Road, Lucknow, for the said period.

Yours faithfully [Shamsul Hasan] Assistant Secretary [All India Muslim League]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 50.

Door Sir,

League is transferred from Delhi to Lucknow.
For 20 days i.e. from 2nd August to 22nd Agust
1930 //AM/A//FENISS/ due to the Annual Session
kindly redirect all letters Money Orders etc
to the//balleniss/

56. Circular Road, Lucknow. for the said period.

Yours fai.thfully

Assistant Secretary

42. Notice, Annual Session of All Inda Muslim League (Lucknow), 15 August, 1930*.

د فتر آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ ۱۳۱ خیالی گنج، لکھنؤ

آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کا اکیسوال سالانہ اجلاس ۱۲ اور کاراگست ۱۹۳۰ یوم شنبہ و کیشنبہ بمقام گنگا پرشاد میموریل ہال امین اباد پارک[لکھنو]

منعقد ہوگا۔ یہ اجلاس نہایت مہتم بالثان اور اہم ہوگا۔ مقدر اکابرین ملت ہندوستان کے ہم گوشہ سے شرکت فرماویں گے۔ اس اجلاس میں ہم طبقہ ہم خیال کے اصحاب شریک ہو کر مسلمانوں کے لئے متحدہ و متفقہ سیاسی لائحہ عمل تیار کریں گے۔ امید ہے درد مند اور بہی خواہ ملک و ملت مسلمان اپنی سیاسی تاریخ کے اس نازک ترین موقع کو ہاتھ سے نہ جانے دیں گے۔ اور اس اہم سیاسی اجتماع میں بہ تعداد کثیر شریک ہو کر شفتہ حالاتِ حاضرہ پر غور و خوض کرنے کے بعد اپنی چوہیں سالہ سیاسی انجمن آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے پلیٹ فارم سے اپنے متفقہ مطالبات کا اعلان کریں گے۔ ہجھ کو اُمید ہے کہ اپنی سیاسی تاریخ کے اس نازک ترین موقع پر آپ قوم کو اپنی بیش قیمت رائے سے محروم رکھ کر مسلمانانِ ہند کے مستقبل کو خطرہ میں ڈالنا ہم گزر نہ گوارا فرمائیں گے۔

نوٹ مر بالغ مسلمان اور گریجویٹ طالب علم لیگ کا ممبر ہوسکتا ہے۔ درخواست ممبری و قواعد و ضوابط لیگ دفتر آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ (۱۳۱۱ خیالی گنج لکھنوً) سے طلب فرمائیں۔ شرح ککٹ وزیٹرز دو روپیہ

محمد یعقوب ناظم اعزازیآل انڈیا مسلم لیگ

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 51.

ل در اسم مد کا الله وال مالاند الملاک ۱۱ ادر ۱۷ ارکت رسالا وم کنورکز سمنام لطامرا ومحود لا اس دادمادك حديث - مه دويل مات سيان ادراي بره مديد الارنات سدونان تروقرے قربت رمار سے - الى اولان كى رطق برخال عاص زرد مرد سمان ميد مده ومنزرماى ماع مادري . الديم ورومد اور می واه ملا وس ممان عمد ووالمرب محد و والمال المال in the said of the section of the said sedon زئے بریجسن درور سالان کا کا کا کا کا میں مدید کا دروست کول و قود عدو خرالط لیک دفتر آل وند باری مد (داما فال نج لیسی) ب EDOM MOVEMENT Notice of the Annual Session of AIML

43. Letter, Shamsul Hasan to Muhammad Yaqub, 4 August, 1930*.

4. 8. 30

Sir,

I am sorry I could not write you earlier. There was nothing so important. I have issued about 2000 circular letter[s] both in English and Urdu nearly to all the members of the League, throughout India inviting them to attend the forthcoming Session. I reached here on the 1st instant. A Reception Committee has been formed. Munshi Azhar Ali, Advocate, has been elected Chairman. Ganga Pershad Memorial Hall has been arranged for holding the Session. Council on the 15th Instant at 4.P.M. will meet at the house of Munshi Ehtisham Ali. Nationalists, at present, look very indifferent, but it is said that they are making secret plans to upset the coming meeting. But as far as I can ascertain it is nothing but a rumor.

A detailed account of Rs. 1000/-, your kind donation towards the funds of the League, will be submitted to you after the Session is over. I ... Rs. 500/- to S. M. Abdullah on account of the loan which I took from him for the office expenses from time to time. Rs 300 has been spent in paying up the salaries, house rent for the month of July, postage, printing charges of the agenda and circular letters. The balance about Rs. 200/- I have in my hand to meet the expenses here. I have got prepared posters and handbills to be distributed and posted in the city.

When you will reach here?

Yours Sincerely,

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 52.

4. 8.30

Sir,

I am sorry I could not write you earlier. There was nothing so important. I have issued about 2000 circular letter both in English and Urdu nearly to all the members of the League invition them to attend the forthcoming Session. I feather Net reached here on the 1st instant. A Receptention committee has been formed.

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FREEDOM MOVEMENT
ARCHIVES

44. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Lucknow) to Editor of a Newspaper, 6 August, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, 131, Kheyaliganj, Lukhnow,

6-8-1930.

Dear Sir,

I am herewith enclosing Bulletin No. 1 for publication in your esteemed paper.

I hope you would kindly publish the same at your earliest convenience and oblige.

Yours truly Sd/-Muhammad Yaqub Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 53.

All India Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street, Belbi

Coor Far.

Pallotin 15.1. for publication in your entered paper.

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all lists divide large

45. Bulletin, Muhammad Yaqub (Lucknow) to Editors of Newspapers, 5 August, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, 131, Kheyaliganj, Lucknow. 5-8-1930.

Bulletin No. 1

Arrangements in connection with the forthcoming Sessions of the All India Muslim League are in rapid progress. It is desired that all members interesting to attend the Session should inform the office at 131, Kheyaliganj, Lucknow by the 14th August 1930, so that the class of accommodation desired may be secured. There are many hotels both of Indian and Western mode of living and accomodation be secured from Rs 2/8 to Rs. 12/- per day, inclusive meals. In the middle of August Lucknow will be just mild at night and warm in day.

Having regard to the singular importance of the Session and inanticipation of a large assemblage of the members of the League, it has been decided to reserve only a limited number of seats for visitors. Visitor tickets of Rs.25/- 5/- and 2/- will be available but those desiring to reserve seat should apply to the Secretary as early as possible.

Only a very limited number of seats are reserved for the press and application will be dealt with in order of priority. Besides Associated Press and Free press none except representatives of Dailies need apply. Their will be no concession for any class. Enrolment as members is open to all Musalmans who are obove 21 years and not under graduatge students. The application for membership should be made before the 15th August 1930 and should be accompanied with Rs 5/- Admission fee and Rs 6/- Annual subscription. Only members will have the right to participate in the proceedings and to vote.

Sd/-Muhammad Yaqub Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 54.

44

All Indi 'Marlim Lorguo 131, Ehoyaliganj Lucknow.



Belletin No.I.

Arr necesta is pured a with the forthcoming Sessions the All India Media Io we are in rapid progress. It is desired that all members into the to the Media Session should inform the Office at 131, Kheyaling, but now by the 14th regest 1930 so that the class of accommodation desired may be secured. There are many Hotels both of Indian and Joston mode of living and accounted comple secured from Rs 2/8 to Rs 12/- per day, inclusive in is. In the middle of regest Inchance will be just mild at might and remain and accounted.

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Only a very limited number of seats are reserved for the press and applie times will be dealt with in order /of priority.

Pasides As act to fire and France Press none except representatives of Dailies need a ply. There will be no concension for any class for another the members in o by to it who are above 21 years and not tudents. The application for the traditional be made before the 15th August 1930 and should be measured with his 5/- Admission fee and his 6/- Annual substitution. Only removes will have the right parties at in the passage of a cover.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT

M. yakul.

46. Letter, [Shamsul Hasan to M. Ayub, 9 August, 1930]*.

Dear Sir,

Kindly issue the Bulletins to the following;-

1 111141)	isome the Bulleting to the	10110 11119,
The Editor,	The Statesman	Calcutta
//	The Musalaman	//
//	The Jamhoor	//
//	The Pioneer	Allahabad
//	The Leader	Allahabad
//	The <i>Star</i>	//
//	The $I.D.T.$	Lucknow
//	The <i>Himmat</i>	//
//	The <i>Haqiqat</i>	//
//	The <i>Aligarh Mail</i>	Aligarh
//	The Hundustan Times	Delhi
//	The Millat	//
//	The Al-Aman	//
//	The <i>Al-Jamiat</i>	//
//	The General News	//
//	The Muslim Outlook	Lahore
//	The Tribune	//
//	The Civil and Military	//
//	Gazzette	//
//	The <i>Inqlab</i>	//
//	The Zamindar	//
//	The Seyasat	//
//	The <i>Al-Fazal</i>	P.O. Qadian,/ Punjab
//	The Bombay Chronicle	Bombay
//	The Khalifat	//

To, M.A. Jinnah Esqr. Bar-at-Law, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Bar-at-Law, Macleod Road, Lahore Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub Saheb, President Legislative Assembly, Moradabad.The Hon[orable] Nawab Muhammad Yousaf, Minister Local Self Govt., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.

The Hon[orable] Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Minister Local Self Govt., Simla.

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 55.

1	(6
Sir,	
Kindly issue the Bulleti	ns to the following:-
The Editor,	The Stateman Calcutta
" "	The Mussalmin
· ·	The Jamhoor
11	The Pioneer Allahabad
"	The Leader Allah bad
1 - A	The Star
	The I.D.T. Lucknow
	The Himmat
	The Hagigat
7	The Aligarh Mail Aligarh.
	The Hindustan Times Delhi
	The Millat
	The Aleman
	The Aljaniat
	The General News
	The Muslim Outlook Ichore
"	The Tribune
"	The Civil and Military
"	The Inqlab
a a constant of the constant o	The Zamindar
1	The Seyasat
1	The Alfazal , P.O. Qadian, Punje
	The Bombay Chronicle Bombay
SEEDAM MOVEMENT	The Khilafat
REEDOM MOVEMENT	The Mittates
M.A. Jinnah Esqr.	Bar - t-Law, Malabar Hill, Bombay

M.A. Jinnah Esqr. Bar-at-Law, Malabar Hill, Bombay, Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Bar-at-Law, Macleod Road, Lahor Moulvi Mohammad Yakub Saheb, President Legislative Assemb Moradabad.

47. Extract, Draft Bulletin, All India Muslim League, [1930]*.

Having ... importance of the session and in anticipation of a large assemblage of the members of the League, it has been decided to reserve only a limited number of seats for visitors. Ticket of 25/-, 10/- 5/ and 2/- will be available, from 20th but those desiring to reserve seats should apply to the Secretary as early as possible. Seats will be alloted in order of priority. Donors of not less than 50/ will be seated on dias.

Only a very limited number of seats are reserved for the press and applications will be dealt with in order of priority. Besides A. P. I. [Associated Press of India] and F.P [Free Press], none except representatives of dailies need apply. Limited space is allocated to Ladies, purdah gallery for which tickets at Rs.2/- will be available. There will be no consseion for any class. Enlistment as members is open to all who are above 21 years and not under graduate students. Apply before... March... The applications...

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 56.

I Noming good to suportance of the Careron anticipation of a large site 2 th numbers of the League it has been dicided to sever in a hinted number of each visitoro, 2 hic. - of 25/2 10/-2 2/- ile de available tous but thos deining to receive re aftly & the leavelong as con as possible & seal ise he akajed in accordance it offer of prions. Joros of Sal role han sof will be realed on daise Dro complication tickets isto to issued to any one creept those Specially rivited Olf a very hinited number of Leat are reserved for the present applications with he deall with Deter & minis. Bende t.P. J ? 2. p some except to twee of daile preed apply. Limited space & akoked to we see burdat getter, for thick Ficholi at 2/- ite he about -att. The concertain for my class

48. Incomplete Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Secretary Reception Committee, [August 1930]*.

All India Muslim League Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

[Page] 2

...for the first annual subscription, shall be put up at the Council meeting of 25th instant for approval.

- 5. I am sending also two kinds of admission tickets for the members of the League i.e. (1) for ordinary members (2) for the members of the Council. These are sent as samples and I hope, your committee will kindly get 300 tickets of the first kind and 200 tickets of the second ready for the Nineteenth Session with the necessary alterations made thereon.
- 6. Besides the above tickets I hope your Committee will also get the following classes of tickets ready (a) Distinguished Visitors Tickets (b) Ordinary Visitors Tickets of as many classes as your Reception Committee thinks proper having regard to local circumstances, each class of ticket having a different value. The usual rates for Visitor's tickets in the past have been Rs.2/- Rs.5/- and Rs.10/- (c) Press Tickets for the Press gallery.
- 7. Besides tickets' it is usual to have distinctive badges provided for the ordinary members of the League as well as members of the Council and the members of the Reception Committee, also special badges for the President of the League, the President of the Session, the President of the Reception Committee and the Honorary [Secretary] of the League. I hope your

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 57.

All Judin Quelim Jengue Ballimaran Street,

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for the first annual subscription, shall be put up at the Council

- for the members of the League i.e. (1) for ordinary members (2) for the members of the Council. These are sent as samples and I hope your committee will kindly got /200 300 tickets of the first kind and 200 tickets of the second, ready for the Niniteenth Sessions with the necessary alterations made thereon.
- 6. Bouldes the above tickets I hope your Committee will also get the following classes of tickets ready (a) Distinguished Lisitors Tickets (b) Ordinary Visitors Tickets of as many classed a your Reception Committee thinks proper having regard to losely circumstances, each class of tickets having a different value. The usual rates for Visitor's tickets in the past have been Rg 2/Rs 5/T and Rs 10/- (c) Press Tickets for the Press gallery.
- 7. Besides tickets it is usual to have distinctive budges provided for the old ordinary members of the Reception of the Reception.

 Committee, also special budges for the President of the League, the President of the Sorsion, the President of the Reception Committee and the Honorary of the League. I hope your Reception Committee and these bid os prepared also.
- 8. Provisions for the sale of the Visitors Ticketd will of course be made by your Committee and although the proceeds of the Visitor's tickets telong to the League under Rule 25 I trust that your Reception Committee will endeavour to collect as much they as possible by the sale of such tickets. Money collected from the members of the been ion Committee to the sale of such tickets.

- Reception Committee will get these badges prepared also.
- 8. Provisions for the sale of the Visitors Tickets will of course be made by your Committee and although the proceeds of the Visitor's tickets belong to the League under Rule 25, I trust that your Reception Committee will endeavour to collect as much money as possible by the sale of the suck tickets. Money collected from the members of the Reception Committee...

49. Letter, Mangaing Editor, Bi-Weekly, *Sarfraz* (Lucknow) to Shamsul Hasan, 7 August, 1930*.

The Most Popular and Widely Circulated Paper of India Victoria Street, کراگست ۱۹۳۰ء,Lucknow

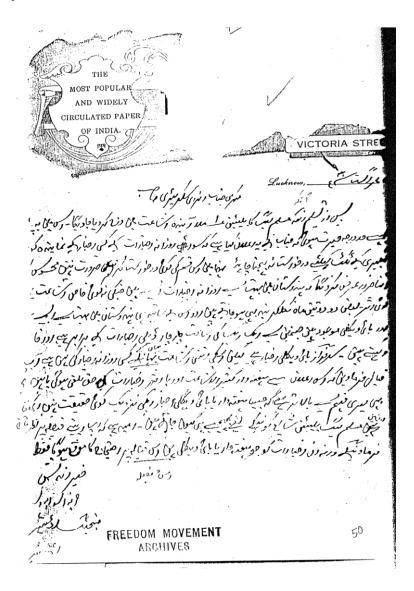
مکرمی جناب آنریری سیکرٹری صاحب

پی از تسلیم آنکہ مسلم لیگ کا بلیٹین نمبر 1 ملا۔ آیندہ اشاعت میں درج کردیا جاوے گا۔ اس میں یہ پڑھ کر مجھے حد درجہ جیرت ہوئی کہ جناب نے یہ اعلان کیا ہے کہ سوائے روزانہ اخبارات کے کسی اخبار کے نمائندہ کو گیاری کے کلٹ کے لئے درخواست نہ بھیجنا چاہیے۔ میں بھی اس قسم کی کوئی درخواست کی ضرورت نہیں محسوس کرتا اتنا ضرور عرض کروں گا کہ ہندوستان میں بہت سے روزانہ اخبارات ایسے ہیں جن کی نہ کوئی خاص اشاعت ہے نہ کوئی اثر۔ بعض دو دو تین ماہ نکل کر بند بھی ہو جاتے ہیں اور اس کے ساتھ ہی ہندوستان میں بہت سے ایسے … اور بائی ویکلی موجود ہیں جن میں سے ایک ایک کی اشاعت چار چار ڈیلی اخبارات کے برابر ہے۔ اور … جن میں جن میں سے آیک کی اشاعت چار چار ڈیلی اخبارات کے برابر ہے۔ اور … رہتے ہیں۔ سر فر از بائی ویکلی اخبار ہے۔ لیکن اس کی اتنی اشاعت یہاں کے کسی روزانہ اخبار ات کی حق تی خیل فرمائیں کہ اس اعلان سے ہفتہ وار کثیر الاشاعت اور بائی ویکلی اخبار آپ کے نزدیک کوئی حقیقت نہیں رکھتے۔ ان میں مسلم لیگ بلیٹن یا بائی ویکلی اخبار آپ کے نزدیک کوئی حقیقت نہیں رکھتے۔ ان میں مسلم لیگ بلیٹن فرماؤیں گے ورنہ ان اخبارات کو جو ہفتہ وار یا بائی ویکلی ہیں اس فیصلہ پر احتجاج کا موقع فرماؤیں گے ورنہ ان اخبارات کو جو ہفتہ وار یا بائی ویکلی ہیں اس فیصلہ پر احتجاج کا موقع فرماؤیں گے ورنہ ان اخبارات کو جو ہفتہ وار یا بائی ویکلی ہیں اس فیصلہ پر احتجاج کا موقع فرماؤیں

خير اندليش فريداسد...[?] مينجنگ اڙيڻر[سر فر از]

فقظ

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 58.



50. Letter, Shamsul Hasan to Managing Editor, Bi-Weekly *Sarfraz*, Lucknow, 7 August, 1930*.

All India Muslim League Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

مكرمي-السلام عليكم

والا نامہ مورخہ کہ اگست موصول ہوا۔ آپ نے جو کچھ ارقام فرمایا نہایت درست ہے۔ "سرفراز" جیسے مقترر ویکلی یا بائی ویکلی اخبارات کو ہم کو پریس ٹکٹ دینے میں ہر گز عذر نہ ہو سکتا۔ کسی آدمی کو بھیج دیجیے تاکہ جناب کی خدمت میں پریس ٹکٹ بھیج دیا جائے۔

فقط والسلام آپ کا نیاز مند سٹمس الحن اسٹینٹ سیکرٹری

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 59.

51. Letter, Shamsul Hasan to [President, United Provinces Provincial Muslim League], August, 1930*.

جناب والا-السلام عليكم

جیسا کہ جناب کو علم ہو چکا ہے کہ ... مسلم لیگ نے منعقدہ ۱۳ جولائی ۱۹۳۰ء ہمقام شملہ یہ طے کیا ہے کہ ۱۱ اور ۱۵ اگست ۳۰ء کو لیگ کا اکسوال سالانہ اجلاس بمقام کلھنو منعقد ہو۔اس کے متعلق جناح صاحب نے جناب کو شملہ سے تار بھی دیا تقال غالباً جناب کی پراونشل لیگ نے اس کے لیے استقبالیہ کمیٹی مرتب کر کے تمام انظامات کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لے لیا ہوگا۔ازراہ کرم مجھ کو مطلع فرمایئے کہ اس کی کمیٹی نے سالانہ اجلاس کی تاریخوں نے سالانہ اجلاس کی تاریخوں سامقام تجویز کیا۔سالانہ اجلاس کی تاریخوں سے ایک روز قبل گویا ۱۵ اگست کو حسب معمول لیگ کی کونسل کا جلسہ ہوگا۔ اس کے سے ایک روز قبل گویا ۱۵ اگست کو حسب معمول لیگ کی کونسل کا جلسہ ہوگا۔اس کے مقام ... میرے خیال میں اس کے لیے جناب کی کو تھی زیادہ موزوں ہوگی۔اس کے بڑے کمرہ میں تقریباً سو کرسیاں بہ فراعت آسکتی ہیں۔اگر جناب کی اجازت ہو تو ایجنڈا میں اجلاس کااعلان کر دیا جائے۔

وقت بہت کم رہ گیا ہے از راہ کرم جلد جواب مرحمت ہو تاکہ دعوت نامے اور ایجنڈے دفتر ہذاسے جاری کر دیے جائیں۔

امید ہے کہ آنجناب با ہمہ وجوہ عافیت سے ہول گے۔

آپ کا خادم سمس الحسن

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 60.

loborgine de la 2 2 2 contente, הנישנק בשי של בניון ליביטות ווולים וונורישים נטישון צון 10 0 1 20 3 C 1 10 (1) po in 10 -) 3, 6 10 (100) 111. בו נים וקטישון זו היים ליני נים ל בש בעול נורס צנו - 10 month of the 12 161 The 12 st fire a

52. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Lucknow) to Muhammad Yaqub, 6 August, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran, Delhi.

6-8-30

جناب والا۔ السلام علیکم

والا نامہ شرفِ ورود لایا۔ استقبالیہ کمیٹی واے جلے ہورہے ہیں۔ شہر کے تمام سربرآ وردہ اصحاب شریک تھے۔ مکانات اور کو ٹھیاں مہمان کے قیام کے لیے لے لی گئی ہیں۔ کل کے جلسہ میں بھی یہی طے ہوا کہ مہمانوں کے طعام کے کل اخراجات استقبالیہ کمیٹی برداشت کرے گی۔ نہایت سرگرمی سے انتظامات کیے جارہے ہیں۔

نیشنلسٹ پارٹی عرصہ سے کوشش کررہی ہے کہ یہ جلسہ ملتوی کردیا جائے۔ جیسا کہ فہرست ممبران کے دیکھنے سے واضح ہے کہ لیگ کی کونسل میں ان کی تعداد نہایت کم رہ گئی ہے۔ بہت سے ان کے بااثر حضرات جیل میں ہیں۔ چونکہ ووٹنگ سختی سے ممبران پر محدود ہے۔ اس لیے جلسہ میں کسی گڑبڑ کے اندیشہ کی گنجائش نہیں۔ وہ تھوڑے سے اگر شریک بھی ہوئے تو کیا کرسکتے ہیں۔ وزیٹر عکمٹ کی سیل میں نے روک دی ہے۔ چونکہ مکن ہے کہ مقابلہ سے اپنے آپ کو عاجز سمجھ کریہ لوگ سودوسو وزیٹر عکمٹ خرید کر یہاں کے شورہ پست لوگوں کو دے دیں اور جلسہ کو درہم برہم کرنے کی کوشش کریں۔ مہر چند لیگ کا مالی نقصان اس میں بہت ہے۔ مجھ کویفین ہے کہ ان شاء اللہ جلسہ نہایت مروب کامیاب ہوگا۔ میں نے ہی جناب کو تار دی تھی کہ خطبہ صدارت کی اردوکاییاں بنوالینا نہایت ضروری ہیں۔ لکھنو میں جلسہ، ایک شاعر اس کا صدر ہے۔ "ادب اردو" کے ارکان اس سے نہایت جزبز ہوں گے۔خود اردو…۔

[سثمس الحسن]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 61.

All India Mus

53. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Lucknow) to Muhammad Yaqub, 6 August, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

6-8-30

جناب والا-السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

یہاں تمام انظامات قریب قریب مکل ہیں۔ پہلا بلیٹن آپ کی طرف سے تمام اخبارات میں بھیج ویے گئے۔ مگر ابھی ایک تار نواب مجمد یوسف کا ملا۔ نقل نوشتہ ہے۔ اسی قتم کا ایک تار ملک فیروز خان صاحب نون کا راجہ صاحب سلیم پور کو ملا ہے۔ اجلاس کے التوا الیمی حالت میں جبکہ دو مزار خطوط ممبران کو بطریق دعوت نامے بھیج جا چکے ہیں اور اجلاس کو کامیاب بنانے کے لئے شب و روز ایک اچھا پروپیگنڈا کیا جا چکا ہے، اجلاس کو ملتوی کرنا نہایت بدنامی کا باعث ہوگا۔ نیشنلسٹ پارٹی کی کیا جا چکا ہے، اجلاس کو ملتوی کرنا نہایت بدنامی کا باعث ہوگا۔ نیشنلسٹ بارٹی کی طرف سے ان کو غالباً اندیشہ ہے۔ بہت سے اس پارٹی کے با اثر حضرات جیل میں طرف سے ان کو غالباً اندیشہ ہے۔ بہت سے اس پارٹی کے با اثر حضرات جیل میں ہیں۔ کو نسل میں ان کی بہت قلیل تعداد رہ گئی ہے۔ مجھ کویقین ہے انشاء اللہ ہمارا جلسہ نہایت کامیاب ہوگا۔ ڈاکٹر شفاعت احمد خان صاحب اور نواب محمد یوسف صاحب کو چاہیے تھا کہ اجلاس میں اور جماعت کے ساتھ شرکت فرماتے۔ اس التوا کی کوشش میں این قوت کو کمزور کرنے کا کیا فائدہ۔

[شمس الحسن]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 62.

All India Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street,

54. Letter, Shamsul Hasan to Muhammad Yaqub, 6 August, 1930*.

6-8-30

Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the telegram just received from Nawab Muhammad Yousaf. A similar telegram, it appears, has been sent to certain leading members of the League residing in Lucknow by Malik Feroz Khan Noon urging them to bring pressure on the League to postpone its session to a later date.

Moreover, a letter from **Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal** also discloses the fact that he is suspicious of the Nationalist party and its tactics and it seems that he fears lest that party should capture the League. I think Malik Feroz Khan Noon and Nawab Muhammad Yousaf are also labouring under the above mentioned supposed fear. As far as I could ascertain I am in a postion to say that these fears are baseless because most of the leading members of the Nationalist party, who are also the members of the Council of the League, are either indifferent or are in jail. Consequently, the Nationalist party in the Council of the League is in negligible minority. Please wire to **Dr. Iqbal**, Nawab Muhammad Yousaf, Allahbad and Malik Feroz Khan Noon to muster strong without any fear at the Lucknow, Session.

A copy of the bulletin issued to the press is enclosed herewith.

[Shamsul Hasan]

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^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 63.

6.8:30

Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the telegram just received from Newab Mohammad Yusuf. A similar talegram, had been sent as far as my internation cos, to certain leading members of the League residing in Lucknow, by Kalik Foroz Khan Moon urging them to bring presure on the League to postpone its session to a later date. Y/X// Moreover a letter from Dr. Sir Mohammad Inbal also discloses the fact that he is suspicious of the Nationalist party and its tactics and it seems that he fears lest that party should capture the League. I think Malik-Feroze Khan Moon and Nawab Mohammad Yousuf are Calso labouring under the above mentioned supposed fear. As far as I could ascertain I am in a nosition to say that they these fears are baseless because the leading members of the Nationalist party, who are also the members of the Council of the League, are either indifferent or are Consequently the Mationlists party in the Council of the League is in negligible Please wire then to Dr. Inbal minority. T Navab Mohamar d Yousuf Allahabada Malik Feroze khar Moon to muster strong without any fear at the Jucknow, Session.

to the press is suclosed here with.

55. Telegram, Muhammad Yousaf (Nainytal) to President, All India Muslim League, 6 August 1930.*

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Nainytal

6-08-30

President Muslim League Lucknow

Have recieved telegrams from provinces that people cannot attend Mulsim League meeting due to elections please postpond to other convenient date wire to Allahabad

Nawab Muhammad Yousaf

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 64.

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56. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Lucknow) to Muhammad Yousaf, 6 August, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

> 131, Kheyaliganj Lucknow 6-8-1930

Sir,

Your telegram addressed to the President of the League was received by me just now. A copy of the telegram has been sent to Mr. M.A. Jinnah for information and necessary action.

All the arrangements for the Session are in rapid progress. About two thousand invitations to the different parts of India including Burma have been issued. Reception Committee has been formed. Funds have been raised. Handbills and posters have been and are being distributed broadcast. Many members from different parts of India have informed the office of their arrival. **Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal** has already prepared his Presidential Address. Under the above circumstances, in my humble opinion the question of postponement is too late.

At the present juncture as far as I could ascertain the so called Nationalist party is trying its best to get the Session postponed because they are in negligible minority in the Council of the League and more specially because many of their leading members are at present in the jail. I am confident that the Session will be a record success.

I hope you will kindly attend meetings with your friends.

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 65-66.

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All India Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street, Belbi

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131, Kheyelinauj Ludhnov 6.8.1930.

Sir,

the League was received by me just now. A copy of the telegram has been sent to Mr. M.A. Jirah for information and necessary action.

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At the present juncture as far as I could ascertain the so called Nationlist party is trying its best to get the Session postponed because they are in negligable minority in the Council of the League and more specially because my

I have sent today a list of the members of the Council of the League to Dr. Shaffat Ahmad Khan as desired by him.

Yours obediently,

[Shamsul Hasan] Assistant Secretary

All andia Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street, Balbi.

many of their leading members are at present in the jail. There/ I am confident that the Session will be a record success, *AM/IXM/MEMISIONA/.

I hope you will kindly attend the meetings with your friends.

I have sont today a list of the members of the Council of the League to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan as desired by him.

Yours obediently

Assistant Socretary

57. Telegram, Jinnah (Bombay) to Muhammad Yaqub, 6 August, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Bombay 6-08-30

Maulvi Muhammad

Yaqub, Moradabad

I have no objection consult Council Bombay busy elections may unable attend

Jinnah

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 67.

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58. Telegram, Jinnah (Bombay) to Shamsul Hasan, 8 August, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Bombay 8-8-1930

Shamsul Hasan 131- Khayalganj [Lucknow]

No objection to postponement myself. Consult Council. Many people unable [to] attend owing elections.

Jinnah

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 68.

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59. Letter, Muhammad Ayub to Shamsul Hasan, 8 August, 1930*.

Abdul Aziz Road

8-8-30

Dear Shams ul Hassan,

Kindly let me know the names & addresses of Urdu and English daily say 20 each so that I may send the Bulletins you asked me to issue. The Urdu & English copies are ready.

Yours truly Sd/-

Muhammad Ayoob...

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 69.

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Diareimsunchaoran; huite lit me the hames + address of hoder I English daily Luy 2. each so that I may Just the Bolletie fan woked me to wine. The body Frylish Copies are ready forms Forly . and Trookdowing

60. Telegram, Feroz Khan Noon (Simla) to Muhammad Yaqub, 9 August 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Simla 9-8-1930

Hon'ble Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub Advocate-Moradabad

[Muslim] Conference meeting postponed. I hope you can postpone [Muslim] League to first week Oct[obe]r owing elections impossible for Muslims from Punjab to come. Force of unity will be spoiled if [Muslim] Conference and [Muslim] League meet separately.

Feroz Khan [Noon]

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 70.

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61. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Muhammad Yaqub, 9 August, 1930*.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, M. L.C. Lahore

Barrister-at-Law.

لا ہور ، 9ماگست • ۳ءِ

جناب من، السلام عليكم

آپ کا خط ابھی ملا ہے۔ استقبالیہ کمیٹی نے جو فیصلے کیے ہوں، آپ کو لازم ہے کہ ان کو صوبہ پنجاب اور دیگر صوبوں کے اخبار وں میں شائع کریں تاکہ لوگوں کو ضروری اطلاعات مل جائیں۔ امید ہے کہ پنجاب سے خاصی تعداد میں لوگ آئیں گے۔ یہ بھی تحریر فرمایئے کہ لیگ کا اجلاس ۲ امالگت کے روز کس وقت شروع ہوگا۔

ایڈرلیں کے اردوتر جمہ کے لیے اب نہ ہمت باقی ہے نہ وقت۔ کل ختم ہوگااور دو تین روز میں طبع ہوگا۔ فقط

محرً اقبال

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^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 71.

LAHORE.

62. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Lucknow) to Jinnah, 10 August, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, 131, Kheyalgunj, Lucknow. 10-8-1930

Dear Sir,

You must have learnt from my Circular letter dated the 27th July 1930 that the 21st Annual Session of the All India Muslim League will take place on the 16th and 17th instant at the Ganga Pershad, Memorial Hall, Aminabad, and the Council meeting, will take place on the 15th instant at 4. P. M. at the house of Munshi Ehtisham Ali Saheb, 131, Kheyaligani, Lucknow.

At this critical juncture when every section of Mussalmans is likely to attend the Session and there is every hope that the League may formulate a policy and programme which will carry the sanction of the community behind, I need hardly say that your presence is absolutely necessary. I, therefore, must earnestly request you to make it a point even at great inconvenient to attend the session.

Yours Sincerely Sd/-Muhammad Yaqub Honorary Secretary All India Muslim League

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 72.

All India Muslim Geague, Muthinghyng Algely, Helpi



131, Kheyaliganj Lucknow. 10.8.1930.

Dear Sir,

You must have learnt from my Circular letter dated the 27th July 1930 that the 21st minual Gession of the All India Muslim League will the place on the 16th and 17th instant at the General Pershad Memorial Hall, Aminabad, and the Council meeting will take place on the 15th instant at 4.P.M. at the House of Munshi Ehtishar Ali Scheb, 151, Kheyaliganj, Lucknow.

At this critical juncture when every section of Russelmans is likely to attend the Session and there is every hope that the League may formulate a policy and programme which will carry the sanction of the community behind I need hardly say that your presence is absolutely necessary I, therefore, must earnestly request you to make it a point even at great inconvenient to attend the Session.

Yours sincorely

Todor by Secretary Till India Muslim Leave

63. Letter, Feroz Khan Noon (Simla) to Muhammad Yaqub, 12 August, 1930*.

Victoria Place Simla East

12th August, [19]30.

My dear Maulvi Sahib,

Many thanks for your circular letter of the 10th instant. Your wire of yesterday shows that you are not inclined to agree to the postponement of the session [of] the League. You will recollect the Joint Secretary of the League wired to me to approach Mr. Jinnah for the postponement and now that Mr. Jinnah has agreed I find that local opinion is not agreeable to Jinnah views. I got a letter from Mr. Jinnah yesterday saying that representations had been made to him from all provinces asking for the postponement of the League session and he told me that he had written to you also and asked you to postpone the session of the League. When there is so much public opinion in all the provinces wanting postponement, the best course would be to postpone it. I am finding it very difficult to persuade any body in the Punjab to come. Everybody is busy with his election whether he is standing himself or working [for his] friends. Some of them are spread over in various ... and cannot got at. I have no doubt that you also have received representations from various provinces asking you also to postpone the League. I will again request you to reconsider your views and agree to the postponement which is being asked from all over the India. It is essential that the League should be a complete success and unless we can get important Muslim leaders from the various provinces to come to Lucknow, I am afraid we shall not have done our duty to the Muslim community. October is not very far off and we shall have all finish our elections in September and be free to devote our attention to the Muslim League. I am leaving here tomorrow

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 73-74.

61

Victoria Place, Simla East 12th August '30.

dear Maulvi Sahib,

Many thanks for your circular leter of the 10th instant. wire of yesterday shows that you are not inclined to egree to postponement of the session he League. You will recollect the Joint Secretary of the Land , wired to me to approach Mr. ah for the postponement and no. that Jinnah has agreed I find local opinion is not agreeable to Jinnah views. I got a letter Mr. Jinnah yesterday saying that representations had been made Min from all provinces asking id. the postponement of the League sion and he told me that he had written to you also and taked you postpone the secsion of the League. When there is so much 10 opinion in all the Provinces wanting postponement the beri would be to postpone it I am finding it very difficult to made any body in the Juniob to come. Everybod is busy with his Bion whather he is standing himself or working of the are spread over in var our will s Long and cannot be at. I have no doubt that you also have received representations various provinces asking you also to postpone the league. I will request you to reconsider your views and agree to the postpone-. which is being asked from all over the Tidia. It is essential the League showl be a complete success, and unless we can get tuslim leaders' from the various provinces to come to in I am afraid we shall not have done our duty to the Bushim October is not very far off we shall have all finish

for a tour and I shall come at Ambala Cantt, Circuit House, on the 14th. I shall be grateful you will kindly wire to me there on the 14th telling me what the final decision is.

With kind regards.

Your sincerely, Sd/-P.A for Malik Feroz Khan Noon

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub M. L. A., Secretary, All India Muslim League 131-Khialigunj, Lucknow. lections in September and free to devote our attention to the in League. I am leaving here tomorrow for a tour and I shall AmbalaCantt, Circuit House, on the 14th. I shall be grateful on will kindly wire to me there on the 14th telling me what the decision is.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely.

A come P.A.
for Kalik Firoz Khan Boon.

Mon'ble Khan Bahadur Haulvi Kuhammad Yakub H.L.A., tary All India Huslim League Khialiganj, 64. Letter, Ghulam Rasul Maher (Lahore) to Secretary, All India Muslim League*.

دفترروزنامه انقلاب

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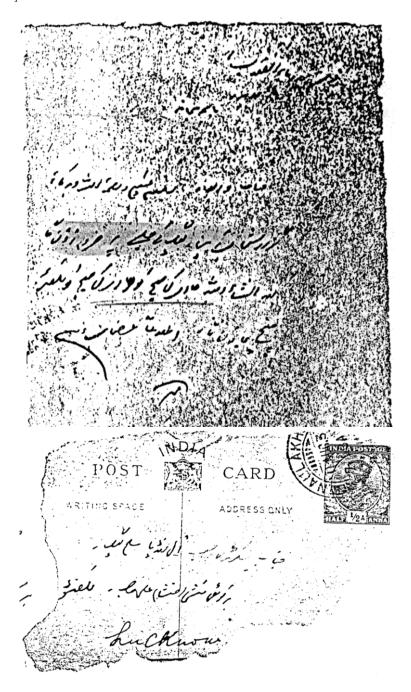
باسمه سجانه

جناب والا، السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

گزارش ہے میں لیگ کے جلنے پر ضرور آؤں گا اور ان شاء اللہ ١٦ کی صبح کو ککھنؤ پہنچ جاؤں گا۔اطلاعاً عرض ہے۔

[غلام رسول] مهر

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 75.



65. Telegram, Jinnah (Bombay) to Shamsul Hasan, 11 August, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Bombay 11-8-30

To,

Shamsul Hasan 131 Kheyaliguni, Lucknow

Bombay busy elections after your wire intimating proposed postponment sessions am not sure coming Lucknow postpone sessions if necessary.

Jinnah

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 153, p. 76.

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66. Telegram, Shamsul Hasan to Jinnah, 11 August, 1930*.

Council consultation before fifteenth impracticable arrangements complete your presence essential kindly wire arrival.

Shamsul Hasan

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 153, p. 77.

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Archives of Freedom Movement Volume No. 154

67. Table of Contents: Archives of Freedom Movement, Vol. No.154, Annual Session of All India Muslim League, (11 August, 1930 to 30 December, 1930)*.

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^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 154, p. 1-3.

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1.	Telegram from A.K. Ghuznavi to Mohel. Yakule	6.	12 Aug. 3
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1.	Mohel Yakul to Shamsul Hasais	12.	18 Aug. 30
1.	Dr. Sir Mohd. Igbal to Shamsul Hasan.	.13.	29 Aug.3
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1.	Shamsul Hasan to Mohd Yakul. Dr. Sir Mohd Iybul to Shamsul Hasan.	15.	30 #Aug.30 1st Sept.30
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1	Jabbar Khalid Ahmad to the Secretary		
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1	Yaqub	66	30th-December-1930
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10	Sir Muhammad Iqbal	67	30th-December-1930
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	Khan to Firoz Khan Noon.		
1.	Amir Hasan Khan to the scerelary	49.	27 Dec. 30
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68. Telegram, Feroz Khan Noon (Simla) to Muhammad Yaqub, 11 August, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

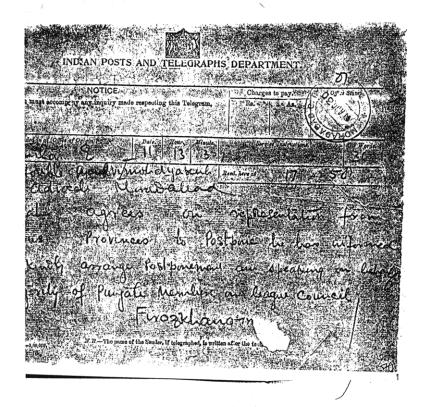
Simla 11-8-30

Honorable Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub, Advocate, Moradabad

Jinnah agrees on representation form various provinces to postpone. He has informed Sec[retar]y. Kindly arrange postponement. [I] am speaking on behalf of majority of Punjab members on [Muslim] League Council.

Feroz Khan Noon

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 4.



69. Telegram, Feroz Khan Noon (Simla) to Secretary All India Muslim League, 11 August, 1930.*

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department
Simla 11-08-30

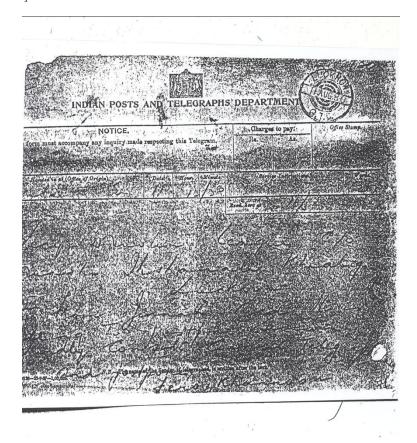
Sec[retar]y, Muslim League c/o Munshi Ihtesham Ali, Khialiganj, Lucknow.

Letter from Jinnah re[ceive]d. He is writing to postpone session.

Kindly consult Council. Telegraph and postpone.

Feroz Khan Noon

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 5.

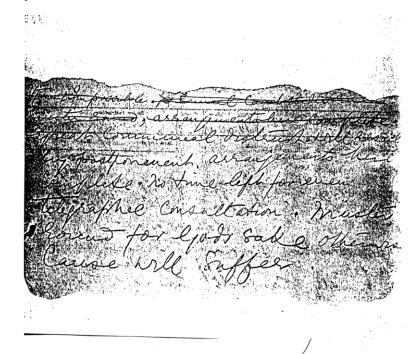


70. [Telegram, Shamsul Hasan to Feroz Khan Noon, August, 1930]*.

Great communal distrust will result by postponement arrangements here completed. No time left for even telegraphic consultation. Muster ground for God's sake otherwise cause will suffer.

[Shamsul Hasan]

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 154, p. 6.



71. Telegram, Iqbal (Lahore) to Shamsul Hasan, 11 August 1930*.

Indian Post and Telegraphs Department

Lahore 11-08-

30

Shamsul Hasan C/o Maulvi Ihtisham Ali Khialiganj L[uckno]w

Wire if [Muslim] League [session] postponed

Muhammad Iqbal

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 7.

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72. Telegram, Jinnah (Bombay) to Muhammad Yaqub, 12 August, 1930*.

Indian Post and Telegraphs Department

Bombay 12-8-30

Sec[retar]y Muslim League, L[uckno]w

Owing elections very inconvenient [to] attend. Kindly postpone the sessions.

Muhammad Ali J[innah]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 8.

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73. Telegram, Syed Murtaza (Madras) to Muhammad Yaqub, 12 August, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Trichinopoly

12-8-1930

Sec[retar]y Muslim League, Lucknow Kindly postpone League session owing to election

Syed Murtaza

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 9.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

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SYEDMUNTUZA

2 C/57

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram,

74. Telegram, A. H. Ghuznavi (Calcutta) to Muhammad Yaqub, 12 August, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Calcutta 12-8-1930

To,

Muhammad Yaqub, Moradabad,

Request you postpone Lucknow League Session first week [October] as impossible attending owing to election.

[A. H.] Ghuznavi

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 154, p. 10.

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*		Mr. Town		* /***********************************	X

75. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Simla) to Shamsul Hasan, 12 August, 1930*.

Tel: Address:-

"Prelegas."

Presedent Legislative Assembly

سىيىل، شملە

۱۱۲گست ۱۹۳۰ه

مخدوم و مکرم ... تشلیم

مجھے اس وقت تک معلوم نہیں کہ کھنو میں مسلم لیگ کے سالانہ اجلاس کے متعلق کیا ہو رہا ہے۔ میں نے صرف اخبار میں اس قدر دیکھا ہے کہ آپ کی صدارت میں کمیٹی استقبالیہ قائم ہو گئ ہے۔ آج ڈاکٹر مر مجمہ اقبال صاحب کا ایک خط میرے پاس آیا ہے جس کی نقل آپ کو ملاحظہ کے واسطے روانہ کرتا ہوں۔ جس چیز کا اندیشہ انہوں نے ظاہر کیا ہے وہ بالکل خلاف قیاس نہیں ہے بلکہ میں نے خود اس فتم کی افواہیں سیس ہیں۔ امید ہے کہ آپ ان کے دفعیہ کا پورا انظام کر سکیں گئے۔

میں انشاء الله یہاں سے کل مراد آباد چلا جاوں گا۔ براہ کرم مطلع فرمائیں کہ کلھنوئمیں کیا انتظامات ہو رہے ہیں

نیاز مند

محمد ليعقوب عفى عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 11.

Tele : Address :-"PRELEGAS." الاز افلاس سعل كما موراع - سرو in him our our on fit is enter it 216-0/6,00/ 1/21-e. Jugo الم بي المان من من الم من من الم من من الم دور الم دور الم را معرف جن معرفي اندانيه دومندن - عارك ده با مكل فندف في كم بنده على مير الدوركم الله دان رسی می سردر به می وال The Todain of the of

76. Telagram, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Azhar Ali, 13 August, 1930.*

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Muradabad 13-08-30

Azhar ali Vakil Kheyalganj, L[uckno]w.

Shamsul Hasan should wait. Letter follows.

Muhammad Yaqub

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 12.

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77. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 13 August, 1930*.

Tel: Address:-

"Prelegas."

Presedent Legislative Assembly

مرادآ باد

۱۹۳۰ اگست ۱۹۳۰ء

منشى تثمس الحسن صاحب

لیگ کا اجلاس ملتوی ہونے کے متعلق میں کل آپ کو خط لکھ چکا ہوں۔اس کے بعد آپ کا تار ملا۔

میں تو اب 10 کے جلسہ کے واسطے نہیں آ وں گا۔ لیکن آپ ابھی لکھنؤ کھہر ہیں اور 10 کو اگر کورم ہوجائے تو کو نسل کا جلسہ کرکے اس میں صرف سالانہ جلسہ کا حسب خواہش جمہور و خواہش مسٹر جناح التوا تا اکتوبر منظور کرالیجے اور میری رائے میں آپ لکھنؤ کھہر جائیں تاکہ اکتوبر کے جلسہ کے واسطے کام جاری رہے۔ مسٹر اظہر علی صاحب کو کو نسل کے جلسہ کا صدر کرا دیجیے۔ التوا کے تار میں نے تمام اخبارات کو کل ہی دے دیے ہیں۔

محمد يعقوب عفي عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 13.

Tele : Address :--" PRELEGAS." کتیک ، فیک متدن که یکر نسان میر کرید ف كور كا مون- درك مبدة بالا مرد مين تدرب مداع ميه ورايع نهي آدن کا سین - - ایس کاند نهیرین در ۱۵ کواکرکوس وه مای تد کدار و مرسرت در مرسر موس الان علبه ع حب فررش جهدر و وزرست ر متورد کرکتو بر شکوم کردیسی رو بیران کریس رَ ب كنهند مسرطاق كما ركته ره مدره ورايج فا ط ماري - سرزموري کو کوري علي صدر کراد: کو - رستار ۵ مرب نے ماکا وفیار ساکھ مل م دیدی سر

78. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Syed Shamsul Hasan, 14 August, 1930*.

Tel: Address:-

"Prelegas."

Presedent Legislative Assembly

مراد آباد

هما اگست ۱۹۳۰

منشى شمس الحسن صاحب السلام عليكم

آج آپ کا تار پہنچا۔ میں کل آپ کو خط لکھ چکا ہوں جو غالباً آج تار دینے کے بعد آپ کو ملا ہوگا۔ اس میں کو نسل کے جلسہ کے متعلق اپنی رائے لکھ چکا ہوں۔ میں محسوس کرتا ہوں کہ دفعتا اجلاس کے ملتوی کرنے سے لکھنو میں بڑی مایوسی ہو گی لیکن میں اس کا قطعی ذمہ دار نہیں ہوں۔ میں آخر تک جلسہ ہونے پر قائم رہا ۔ آخر تک میں نے ملک فیروز خان صاحب کا تار آیا صاحب کو تار دیا کہ جلسہ ملتوی نہیں ہو سکتا۔ لیکن پر سوں صبح کو جب جناح صاحب کا تار آیا تو میں مجبور ہو گیا اور سوائے اس کے التوا کروں کوئی چارہ نہ تھا۔ میں نے تمام اخبارات کو فوراً تار التوا کے پر سوں ہی دے دیے ہیں۔ آج بعض اخبارات میں وہ تار شائع بھی ہو گیا

آپ منٹی اختشام صاحب سے لکھیں کہ وہ میری مجبوری پر خیال کر کے لکھنؤ کے حضرات کو سمجھا ئیں کہ خفانہ ہوں بلکہ تمام انتظامات کو قائم رکھیں تاکہ اکتوبر کااجلاس بہت زیادہ کامیاب ہوسکے۔کل جو کچھ کارروائی ہواس سے مفصل مجھےاطلاع دیں۔

محمر يعقوب عفى عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 14.

Tele : Address :-آج ا کا اربدیا- س کل ایدواکد دیا مدن ج عاب اج ما بدوسر و بعد اكيموس مدك ادمي كول ملے ہتات رنبر سرا مکد کی موں - بیر مسوں مزر میں کا دختہ رمیاں بید متعلی کرے سے مکوئور برى مايدى مدكى يكر مواله معم دسودر يك مید ا مرکب مل مدن برفاع به افریک مورید ملک منیره رفال علی کوال میکارمد مترن این مهر ر ئىر برلون مىغ مەجب فيەن **چىرىچ** تار ئاياتومىر مېمومگ^{ىي} ا در لدر ایک که استدا کردن کواع به نتیا - میمندی رفعا سررت كو مع درات را للقداره برلون بوليسي سير سنى دخورت مىزەق، رئ بىر بىراگرىي -ر تب سن رست م قراسه کهتر که مهرار من من الم المنال المال ا

79. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 14 August, 1930*.

مراد آباد ۱۳ اگست ۱۹۳۰ء

منشى تثمس الحسن-السلام عليكم

آپ کا تار پہنچا۔ لیکن اس سے پیشتر صبح جناح صاحب کا تار آیا کہ جلسہ ملتوی کردو۔ اب اتنا وقت بھی نہ تھا کہ میں کمیٹی استقبالیہ سے مشورہ کر سکتا، للذا مجبوراً منشی اظہر علی صاحب کو اور جناح صاحب کو اور **ڈاکٹر اقبال** کو، مولوی شفیع داؤدی کو اور مسٹر غزنوی کو سب کو التواکے تار دیدیے اور اخبارات کو بھی تار دیدیے۔

اس التواکا بہت افسوس ہے لیکن مجبوری ہے کیا کیا جائے۔ میں آخر وقت تک جلسہ کے ہونے پر اصرار کرتارہا۔ چنانچہ رات ہی ملک فیروز خان نون کو بھی نیاتار دیدیا تھا تاکہ جلسہ ملتوی نہیں ہوسکتا۔

بہر حال اب آپ اس بات کی کوشش کریں کہ کمیٹی استقبالیہ کام جاری رکھیے اور اکتر کا جلسہ یور اکامیاب ہو۔

میریاس وقت لکھنؤ آنے کی ضرورت معلوم نہیں ہوتی۔

محمر ليعقوب عفى

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 15.

مردد مود بهرست سبع **وو**

سن شمن الرك - الدامليم تر بره من مر بهد فی مرکز روک سے مبتر من فائے کا مار کرد کی طب ملتوں کردد- رب زن ونٹ الم بن میں رمتعان سے سندرہ کرمکن مندا فیرورا منی و عبر میر هاس که درخه ده که در در کر کر رفعه ایک مهردر نفیع داه دل کو در سنری فزنزی کولیکاز رستد که تار دبر ردر رف روت کویس ماردسری -م ربقد الله بسب روز مي سير مبدور بيد ميد آفرد تستيم ما مرام ركزارا فيه نيم ررت برسك فير درفار ندن كوجر - il win , in port ; c , s = 6 1/1/01/5/24-8-10/18

80. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 18 August, 1930*.

مراد آباد ۱۸ اگست ۱۹۳۰ء

منثى تثمس الحسن صاحب-السلام عليكم

آج آپ کا خط پہنچا۔ حالات معلوم ہو کر اطمینان ہوا۔ آپ جناح صاحب اور مر محمد اقبال صاحب کو تار بھی دے دیجئے اور خطوط بھی لکھ دیجئے۔ اور منشی اختثام علی صاحب کے نام سے ملک فیروز خان صاحب نون اور نواب محمد یوسف صاحبان کو تار دے دیجئے۔ نواب محمد یوسف صاحب آج کل اله آباد ہیں۔

محمر يعقوب عفى عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 16.

والاباد

صحرر عبد

81. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Shamsul Hasan, 29 August, 1930*.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, M. L. C. Lahore

Barrister-at-Law.

جناب سمس الحسن صاحب! السلام عليكم

آپ کا خط مجھے مل گیا تھا۔ لیگ کے آئندہ اجلاس کے متعلق آپ نے کچھ نہیں لکھا۔اس بارے میں آپ مہر بانی کرکے مجھے اطلاع دیں کہ ملتوی شدہ اجلاس کب ہوگا اور کہاں تاکہ اگر اجلاس ہو تو میں ایڈریس میں ،جواس وقت پروف شیٹ کی صورت میں ہے ، ضروری ترمیم کر سکوں۔ فقط

محرً اقبال

لاہور،

۲۹ مراگست ۲۰ [۱۹] ۽

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 17.

82. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Muhammad Yaqub, 30 August, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

30-08-30

جناب والا_السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته_

میں نے جناح صاحب کو ۲۴ اگست کویہاں پہنچتے ہی عریضہ لکھ دیا تھا۔ آج داکم سر اقبال کا گرامی نامہ ملا۔ وہ دریافت کرتے ہیں لیگ کے ملتوی شدہ جلسہ کیلئے کونی تاریخیں مقرر کی گئیں اور اجلاس لکھنو میں ہوں گے یا کسی دوسرے مقام

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میرے خیال میں اجلاس لکھنؤ میں ہی ہونا چاہیں۔استقبالیہ کمیٹی کے پاس کافی روپیہ ہے۔انتظامات وہاں مکل ہیں۔ ...کے پروپیگنڈہ پرہم انشاءاللہ وہاں کی فضا کو درست کرسکیں گے۔

اجلاس کی تاریخیں مقرر کرنے کے لیے میرے خیال میں کسی جلسہ کونسل کے طلب کرنے کی ضرورت نہیں۔ جناح صاحب سے مشورہ کر کے اس کا پریس میں اعلان کر دیجئے۔ دعوتی خطوط میں اس کی اور وضاحت ہو جائے گی۔

میرا خود ایک ہفتے کے لیے حاضری کا ارادہ ہے۔اس سفر میں آپ کہیں تشریف تونہ لے جائیں گے۔جواب جلد مرحمت فرمایئے گا

فقط والسلام [سيّد شمش الحن]

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^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 18.

All India Muslim Bengue ع فاج من و به بوت و مان و ين و الرواد لرسال و المرافظ من و دورات رفين ما ما ما دورات المرافظ ما ما دورات المرافظ ما ما دورات المرافظ ما ما دورات الم Com a substitution of the property

83. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Iqbal, [30 August, 1930]*.

جناب والا، السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

نامہ گرامی باعث اعزاز ہوا۔ اجلاس کی تاریخوں کے متعلق جناح صاحب سے خط وکتابت ہورہی ہے۔ ان شاء اللہ بہت جلد جناح صاحب موصوف کے جواب آنے پر جناب کو مطلع کروں گا۔

غالباً اکتوبر کے پہلے ہفتے میں کاور ۸ زیادہ موزوں ہوں گی۔ غالباً بعض قائدین بھی یہی چاہتے ہیں، مقام اجلاس لکھنؤ ہی رہے گا۔

پنجاب پراونشل مسلم لیگ کے ممبران کو نسل کا انتخاب میں کیا تھا۔ ...
سال کی میعاد ان کی ختم ہو گئ ہے۔ حسب قاعدہ یکم مارچ تک جدید انتخاب عمل میں آجانا
چاہیے تھا۔ اگر انتخاب ... کو ممکل کر لیجئے۔ ... کرنے کے لئے امید واروں کے نام ارسال
فرماد یجئے۔

ملک فیروز خان صاحب نے اس کے متعلق شملہ میں وعدہ کیا تھا۔... کی طرف ... میر اارادہ ہے کہ خود دو یوم کے لئے حاضر خدمت ہوں لیکن تاریخ کا مرحلہ ذراطے ہو جائے۔

[ستيدسمس الحن]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 19.

Shamsul Hasan to Allama. V. luy

84. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Shamsul Hasan, 1 September, 1930*.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal	, Lahore
$ ilde{ ext{M.L.}}$	C.
Barrister-at-Law.	19

لاہور، کیم ستمبر ۳۰ء

ضروري

جناب سمس الحن صاحب- السلام عليكم

آپ کا خط ابھی ملا ہے۔ پراونشل لیگ کے متعلق جو خط و کتابت ضروری ہو، وہ خلیفہ شجاع الدین صاحب ہیر سٹر ایٹ لا، لاہور سے ہونی چاہیے۔ فارم ممبری و غیرہ انھیں کے نام ارسال فرمائے۔ ضروری اطلاعات وہی صاحب دیں گے۔ دیگر عرض یہ ہے کہ آئندہ اجلاس جہال بھی ہو، ک ، مراکقر رمیرے لیے موزوں نہیں۔ ابتخابات کا ہنگامہ پنجاب میں تو ۲۲ ستمبر تک ختم ہوجائے گا، اور مقامات کا حال مجھے معلوم نہیں۔ اکثر مقامات سے لوگ بلامقابلہ منتخب ہو گئے ہیں۔ اس واسطے میری رائے میں آئندہ اجلاس میں جائے مقامات سے لوگ بلامقابلہ منتخب ہو گئے ہیں۔ اس واسطے میری رائے میں آئندہ اجلاس والی جائے میں کو ہونا چاہے۔ ۲۸ ستمبر کو ہونا چاہے۔ ۲۸ ستمبر کو آخری ہفتہ اور ۲۹ کو اتوار ہے۔ اجلاس میں جائے گی، والوں کے لیے سہولت ہو گئ۔ یہاں کی ہائی کورٹ اکتوبر کے پہلے ہفتے میں کھل جائے گی،

مخلص

محرٌ اقبال

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 20.

LAHORE.

85. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Shamsul Hasan, 8 September, 1930*.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal,	Lahore.
M.L.C.	
Barrister-at-Law.	19

8th Sep[tember], 1930

ڈیر سید مثمل الحسن صاحب السلام علیم

اجلاس لیگ کی تاریخ سے آپ نے اب تک کوئی اطلاع نہیں دی۔ تاریخ جلد مقرر ہونی چاہیے تاکہ اخباروں کو پروپو گنڈا کرنے کے لیے وقت مل جائے۔ مجھ کو آج بمبئی سے ابراہیم رحمت اللہ صاحب کا خط آیا تھا کہ مسلم ڈیلی گیشن کے ساتھ انگلتان جاول، میں نے وہاں جانے سے انکار کردیا ہے۔ من جملہ دیگر وجوہ کے ایک وجہ یہ بھی ہے[کہ] لیگ کا اجلاس قریب ہے۔ ان کاڈیلی گیشن ہم اکتوبر کو بمبئی سے روانہ ہوگا۔ فقط

محرّاقبال

لاہور

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 21.

DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL,

BARRISTER.AT.LAW.

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86. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Muhammad Yaqub, 25 September, 1930*.

9-30-25 اظهر على صاحب يعقوب صاحب

ڈاکٹر سر محمد اقبال صاحب کے خیال میں ۱۸ اکتوبر ۱۹۳۰ء تاریخ انعقاد اجلاس لیگ مقرر کرنا زیادہ مناسب ہے۔ ازراہ کرم اپنی سہولت مد نظر فرما کر مطلع فرمائیں۔ اس کے متعلق آپ صاحبان کی کیا رائے ہے۔ جواب جلد مرحمت فرمائیں۔

سثمس الحسن

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 22.

87. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Shamsul Hasan, 29 September, 1930*.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal,

Lahore.

M.L.C.

Barrister-at-Law.

.....19

لاہور، ۲۹م ستمبر ۳۰ء

جناب من! السلام عليكم

آپ کا خط ابھی ملا ہے۔ میں کیا عرض کروں۔ پہلے عرض کرچکا ہوں کہ لیگ کا اجلاس آل انڈیا مسلم کانفرنس سر پہلر ہونا چاہیر۔ یه بہت ضروری امر سے اور اس حقیقت کو فراموش کردینا میرے نزدیک سخت غلطی سے **. باقی رہا کونسل کا اجلاس، سو میرے نزدیک جگہ اور وقت سیشن کے تعین کے لیے کونسل کا اجلاس کرنا وقت کا ضائع کرنا ہے۔ اجلاس لیگ لکھنو میں ہونا جاہے اور وقت تاریخ ۱۸ماکتوبر۔ اگر کونسل کا احلاس قواعد کی رو سے ضروری ہے تو بہتر ہے، جہاں آپ جاہیں کرلیں، مگر مجھے امید نہیں کہ لوگ پہلے کونسل کے اجلاس کے لیے دہلی یا لاہو رمیں جائیں،اس کے علاوہ آل انڈیامسلم کا نفرنس کے آئندہ اجلاس کے لیے ۲ماکتوبر کو لکھنؤ جائیں (راحہ سلیم پورکے خطوط اس مضمون کے حاری ہوئے ہیں) اور پھر کا نفرنس اور لیگ کے اجلاسوں کے لیے لکھنؤ یا کسی اور مقام کا سفر کریں۔ علاوہ اس کے پنجاب کونسل کا اجلاس ممکن ہے ۱۲ماکوررکے قریب ہو۔ پنجاب سے لوگ کونسل لیگ کے اجلاس کے لیے نہ آسکیں گے۔ ملک فیروز خاں صاحب کی رائے بھی یہی ہے کہ کونسل لیگ کااجلاس کر نا ضر وری نہیں ہے۔ زیادہ کماعر ض کروں۔ فقط

محمرً اقبال لاهور

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 23.

^{**} Emphasis by Iqbal.

DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

88. Postcard, Iqbal (Lahore) to Shamsul Hasan, 3 October, 1930*.

جناب تثمس الحسن صاحب

اگرلیگ کونسل کا اجلاس کرنے کا فیصلہ ہو چکا ہے تو مہر بانی کرکے مطلع فرمایئے کہ اجلاس کہاں ہوگا اور کون سی تاریخ کو۔ آپ کی طرف سے کوئی اطلاع اخبارات میں شائع نہیں ہوئی۔ لوگ مجھ سے دریافت کررہے ہیں۔ فقط

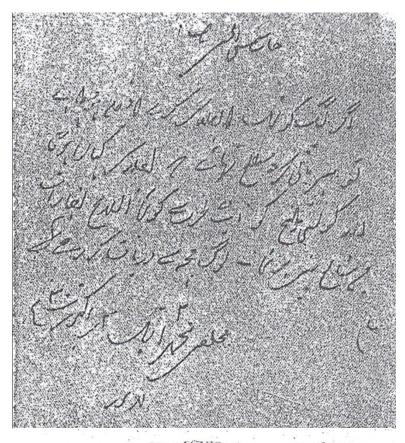
مخلص

محرًّ اقبال

سراكتوبر ۲۰۰۰[۱۹]

لابهور

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 24.





89. Letter, Hidayet Hussain (Cawnpore) to Muhammad Yaqub, 4 October, 1930*.

کان بور نهماکتوبر ۱۹۳۰ء

... ۔ آپ کا خط پینچا۔ طبیعت میری ابھی تک انچھی نہیں ہے۔ علاج برابر جاری ہے۔ ابھی تک میں نے ... کی طرف توجہ نہیں کی ہے۔ ذرا طبیعت انچھی ہو جائے تو پھر کسی کو بلا کر لکھوا لوں۔

میں نے جناح صاحب کو لیگ کی عمومی حالت کی طرف توجہ دلائی ہے۔ اور طلب نواب صاحب کو بھی لکھاہے لیکن لوگ تعریض یہی کرتے ہیں کہ صاحب لیگ کچھ کرتی ورتی تو ہے نہیں۔ چندہ اور ڈونیشن کس بات کا دیا جائے۔ محض کرایہ مکان اور تنخواہ ملازمان تو سیاسی جدوجہد کا نام نہیں ہے اوریہ اُن کا اعتراض ایک حد تک صحیح بھی ہے۔ بہر حال اس وقت مجبوری ہے کیا کیا جاوے۔ ... کو نسل ...زر بقایام شخص کا حساب لکھ کر سجیجے۔ میں ۴۴ ممبران کا الیکشن کرالوں گا۔ لیکن کھنٹو ایک ایسا مقام ہے کہ وہاں نیشنلسٹ صاحبان زیادہ تعداد میں آ جاویں گے۔

جھے کو غالباً دہلی علاج کے واسطے آنا پڑے گا۔ ... جنگ صاحب کا- Flat کے میرے خیال میں ہے اور ... ایسا... ہوگا۔ لیکن آپ ایک احتیما باور جی تلاش کر لیجیے گا کہ جو... صاحب کے تو قع کے مطابق کھانا یکا سکے اور ذراایمان دار ہو۔

والسلام [مدایت حسین]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 25-26.

90. Letter, Iqbal (Lahore) to Muhammad Yaqub, 24 October, 1930*.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal,

Lahore.

M.L.C.

Barrister-at-Law.

لا مور ۴ مم اكتوبر ۲۰ [19]

جناب من-السلام عليم

مسٹر جناح کا خط پرسوں آیا تھا کہ کو نسل کی میٹنگ طلب کی جائے اور اجلاس کا لکھنو گیا تاریخ اور جگہ کا فیصلہ کیا جائے۔ میں نے ان کو جواب میں لکھا ہے کہ اجلاس کا لکھنو ہی میں ہونا بہتر ہے کیونکہ کسی اور مقام کے انتخاب میں دقت ہوگی اور وہاں کے لوگ اس بات کا تقاضا کریں گے کہ لیگ کے اجلاس کو کامیاب بنانے کے لیے چندہ کرنے کے واسطے مزید وقت کی ضرورت ہے۔ لکھنو میں اجلاس کی تیاری ہو چکی ہے، اس واسطے موزوں یہی ہے کہ اجلاس وہاں کیا جائے۔ پریزیڈنٹ اجلاس کی تاریخ مقرر کردے۔ میرے خیال میں کماراکتور (ہفتہ) موزوں تاریخ ہوگی۔ آپ مسٹر جناح سے جلد خط و میں بت کرکے تاریخ کا اعلان کریں، کیونکہ اجلاس کی کامیابی کا دار ومدار اس بات پر [ہے] کہ تاریخ اجلاس کی اعلان جہاں تک ممکن ہو، جلد ہوجائے۔ مسٹر جناح ہمراکتور کو انگلتان تاریخ اجلاس کی اعلان کریں، کونکہ اجلاس کی کامیابی کا دار ومدار اس بات پر [ہے] کہ جارہے ہیں۔ فقط

محرّ اقبال

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 27.

LAHORE. R. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

91. Letter, Muhammad Jaffery to Shamsul Hasan, 24 October, 1930*.

برادرم-السلام عليكم

لیگ کے اجلاس کی اطلاع مل گئی۔ نوٹ لکھ رہا ہوں لیکن از راہ کرم یہ بتلا دیجے کہ لکھنو میں یہ اجلاس کس تاریخ کو ہونے والاتھا جسے ملتوی کردیا گیا۔ مجھے تاریخ ... اور فائل میں لاکھ تلاش کی لیکن نہیں ملی۔ عنایت ہو گی

آپ کا محمد جعفری

اس پہلے التوا کے بعد پھر کوئی جلسہ لکھنؤ میں طلب کیا گیا نہ ملتوی ہوا۔ لکھنؤ کے اصحاب کو بڑے دن کے زمانہ [میں] لیگ کے اجلاس کو کرنے میں کچھ پس و پیش ہے۔ چونکہ ایجو کیشنل کا نفرنس بنارس میں ہوگی اس لیے دیگر ممبران کی خواہش ہے لیگ کے اجلاس میں اس کا نفرنس کے ساتھ ساتھ ہوں۔ بہر کیف بہم ردو باتیں ہوں گی۔ ۲۰ دسمبر کی ایمر جنسی میٹنگ میں پیش ہوں گی۔

[سيدشمس الحن]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 28.

92. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 3 November, 1930*.

مرادآ باد س_منومبر ۱۹۳۰ء

منشى شمس الحسن صاحب

سر محمد اقبال کی بہت خواہش [ہے] کہ کسی طرح مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس منعقد ہوسکے۔
بڑے دن سے پیشتر کوئی صورت جلسہ کی مجھے معلوم نہیں ہوتی۔ امسال بڑے دن کی
تعطیل میں بنارس میں آل ایشیا ایجو کیشنل کا نفرنس اور آل انڈیا مسلم ایجو کیشنل کا نفرنس
ہونے کی والی ہے اس واسطے میر اخیال ہے کہ اگر بنارس میں لیگ کو بھی وعدہ مل سکے
تو وہاں جلسہ ہوسکے گا۔ سر محمد اقبال بھی اس پر رضامند ہوگئے ہیں۔ للذاآپ مرادآ باد
آ جائیں تو آپ کو یہاں سے بنارس جانا ہوگا تاکہ آپ وہاں سے وعدہ حاصل کرنے کی
کوشش کریں۔

محمد يعقوب عفى عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 29.

93. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Ajmer) to Azhar Ali, 23 November, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

حافظ منزل-اجمير مورخه ٢٣ نومبر ١٩٣٠ء

جناب والا-السلام عليكم-

مولوی محمد یعقوب صاحب کا گرامی نامہ جناب کی خدمت میں بھیجنا ہوں۔ازراہ کرم ایک روز کے لیے یہاں تشریف لے آئیں۔ تاکہ اس کے متعلق کچھ کوشش کی جاسے۔معاملات نہایت اہم ہیں اور آپ کی فوری توجہ کے محاج۔ امید ہے کہ جناب باہمہ وجوہ بخیریت ہوں گے۔

فقط والسلام خادم سيد تثمس الحسن

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 30-31.

All India Muslim Beague, Ballimaran Street.

1 - 000 - 0 - 0	
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1st Jan 1930	

21st Jan 1930

محترم بنده السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

Rs.2300 کے آپ بتاریخ ۴ نومبر بروقت پرونوٹ کھوا کر۔ آپ بتاریخ ۴ نومبر بروقت پرونوٹ کھوا کر۔ آپ وعدہ فرما گئے تھے کہ ... وغیرہ۔ ۔داخل فارم

94. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub to Syed Abdul Jabbar, 23 November, 1930*.

الثداكبر

مائی ڈئیر سید عبدالجبار صاحب-السلام علیکم

منتی سمس الحن صاحب اسٹنٹ سیرٹری مسلم لیگ کو آپ کی خدمت میں بھیجنا ہوں۔ غرض یہ ہے کہ اس سال بڑے دن کی تعطیل میں آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کا سالانہ جلسہ بنارس میں کیا جائے۔ بنارس میں کرنے کی یہ وجہ ہے کہ وہاں امسال آل انڈیا مسلم ایجو کیشنل کا نفرنس نیز آل ایشیا ایجو کیشنل کا نفرنس کے اجلاس بھی بڑے دن کی تعطیل میں ہیں۔ اور اس لیے اس زمانہ میں بنارس میں خاصہ اجتاع مسلمانوں کا ہوگا اور مسلم لیگ اور ایجو کیشنل کا نفرنس کے ایک ساتھ ہونے سے دونوں جلسوں کو ایک دوسرے سے تقویت پنچے گی اور دونوں کی رونق بڑھ جائے گی۔ دو برس سے مسلم لیگ کا سالانہ جلسہ نہیں ہوسکا ہوا اور اس وقت بھی جبکہ نہایت اہم سیاسی معاملات در پیش ہیں مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ نہیں مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ نہیں مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ نہیں مسلم لیگ کا جاسہ نہونے کے معنی مسلم لیگ کا فنا ہو جانا ہے۔

بنارس میں مسلم ایجو کیشنل کانفرنس کی مہمانداری بابا خلیل داس صاحب نے اپنے ذمہ لی ہے۔ اور اگر وہ ہی مسلم لیگ کی مہمانداری اور سرپرستی قبول فرمالیں تو مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس بنارس میں بہت آسانی کے ساتھ ہو سکتا ہے۔ بابا خلیل داس صاحب آج کل اجمیر شریف میں تشریف فرما ہیں اور اگر جناب دیوان صاحب قبلہ مدظلہ جناب بابا صاحب سے ارشاد فرما دیں گے تو وہ فوراً مسلم لیگ کو مدعو فرمانے پر رضامند ہوجائیں گے۔ جناب بابا صاحب کو اس بات کا یقین دلادیں کہ

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 32-34.

ماى دراددعد كازم - اللاطاع متی سی کود دست نوزی میم در و زنای در سور سوا مول - وی موسع كر رك من رك من العظم من الانشام من كا مادور على منادل من الم على منادل من كر في مع وهم سه كرومان وسال ال وندي منع المؤلمسي كانولى سر ال وكيسا كانولى ملادن لام في در مي دور دوراني المران عدد مام مي دوون لو دو اردولات ساتور تورک دورون کا دول فراح کا دورون کا ४ गणद में मार्गित है। है है है के से मार्गित में के मार्गित है

اسے دنے کی سے ۔ اور او وہ کی معرور کی معماراتی دور ارسی فول وناکی و

مسلم لیگ کسی طرح پر گور نمنٹ کی مخالف نہیں ہے۔بلکہ مسلم لیگ مسلمانوں کے مذہبی اور قومی حقوق کی حفاظت جائتی ہے۔ اور کائگرس کی موجودہ تح یک سے مسلم لیگ سخت اختلاف رکھتی ہے۔اس وقت جلسہ کرنے کی ایک بڑی غرض پیر بھی ہے کہ مسلمانوں کو کانگرس کی تحریکات میں شریک ہونے سے روکا جائے۔ دوسری بات یہ ایک سمجھا دینے کی ہے کہ مسلم لیگ کو مدعو کرنے سے مہمانداری کا بار کچھ زیادہ نہیں پڑے گا۔ مسلم لیگ اور ایجو کیشنل کانفرنس کے ممبر تقریباً ایک ہی ہوں گے اور جلنے بھی ایک ہی تاریخوں میں ایک ہی مقام پر ہوں گے۔ ممکن ہے کہ مسلم لیگ کو مدعو کرنے سے کچھ معزز مہمانوں کی تعداد میں اضافہ ہوجائے۔ لیکن اس کی وجہ سے جناب بابا صاحب کی عظمت بحثیت مسلمانوں کے ایک سیاسی لیڈر کے بہت زیادہ ہوجائے گی۔اور گور نمنٹ کے اعلیٰ حکام بھی اس کو بنظر استحسان دیکھیں گے۔للذا آپ میرایہ عریضہ جناب دیوان صاحب قبلہ مدخللہ کو دیکھا کر ان سے یہ فرمائے کہ وہ جناب یایا خلیل داس صاحب کو مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس مدعو کرنے پر آمادہ فرمادیں۔ اور بابا صاحب سے خط دعوت حاصل کرکے منثی سمس الحن صاحب کے ہاتھ روانہ فرما دیجے۔ چونکہ اب وقت بہت کم رہ گیا ہے۔اس لیے نہایت عجلت کی ضرورت ہے۔اور مجھے امید ہے کہ حضرت خواجہ غریب نواز کی درگاہ سے جو دعوت نامہ لکھا جائے گا وہ درگاہ شریف کی برکت سے مسلم لیگ کی کامیابی کا ماعث ہوگا۔

میں مسلم لیگ کے معاملات کے متعلق مشورہ کرنے کی غرض سے دہلی آیا ہوا ہوں اور ان شاءِ اللہ دو روز کے بعد مرادآ باد واپس ہوں گا۔

جناب دیوان صاحب مد ظلہ کی خدمت میں میرا آ داب عرض کردیجے۔ امید ہے کہ آپ بخیریت ہوں گے۔

خاکسار محمد یعقوب عفی عنه ازوت ملے رسی دید تری وی ادبی - اند محادث کی سے کر میرس و مرجور نے ممارداں کا ماد کی رفادہ"

رونے سرومانے کہ وہ فار ما فلودی وجہ کے سے کا دول مرکز کر غر الماده وطوى - اور مالماهم وطوع ما رائع من سمول والما دونه رماد کے ۔ ویل در وقت اللہ کے رال سے ده درگاه ارت کا رات مارس می فاسال دا و یک من معرسد تع معاملات ت معلی موده و شکی عرام سے دعی آما وا سره دورات المرد دوروز مع لا مراداماد والي س ما حاردلان وحسر مراحل فروسر مر الدام عرى أو ك -ر مدیعے کرار کرمٹ ہونے ۔

95. Letter, Baba Khalil Ahmad (Benaras) to Maqbool Ahmad, 23 November, 1930*.

Hold fast you the cord of Allah. One and all and let not yourself be divided

Baba Khalil Ahmad
Founder of the
"Salat Movement"

Jamate-Khuddame-Islam Victoria Park Benares City

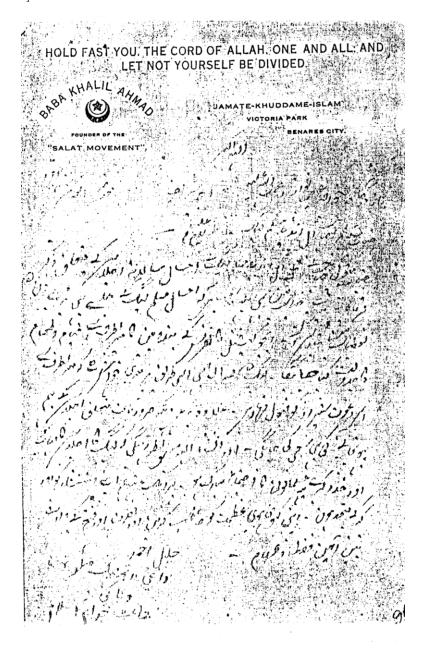
الله اكبر

از درگاه خواجه غریب نواز رحمة الله علیه، اجمیر شریف مور خه ۲۳ نومبر ۱۹[۹۹] جناب سیرٹری صاحب آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ، السلام علیکم

جناب متولی صاحب نے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے امسال سالانہ اجلاس کے متعلق ذکر فرمایا۔ بہت ... کہ امسال مسلم لیگ کے جلے بڑے دن کی تعطیل میں بنارس میں ہوں۔ ایج کیشنل کا نفرنس کے مندوبین کا میری طرف سے قیام و طعام کا بندوبست کیا جائے گا۔ لیگ کے ممبران بھی اس طریق پر میری خواہش ہے کہ میری طرف سے اس دعوتِ شیراز کو قبول فرماویں۔ علاوہ بریں دیگر ضروریات متعلق اجلاس کے بہم پہنچانے کی بھی سعی کی جائے گی۔ اور ان شاء اللہ میری نظر رہے گی اجلاس کے بہم پہنچانے کی بھی سعی کی جائے گی۔ اور ان شاء اللہ میری نظر رہے گی مبارک کہ مسلم لیگ کا اجلاس کامیاب ہووے اور خدا کرے بیہ مسلمانوں کا اجتماع مبارک ہو۔ "بہر وفا ہست کہ ما جمدوشیم"۔ اپنے انتشار کو دور کرکے متحد ہوں اپنی کھوئی ہوئی عظمت کو حاصل کریں اور نصرت اور فتح کے وارث بنیں۔ آمین فقط والسلام

خلیل احمد داعی تحریک صلوة، و بانی، جماعت خدام اسلام

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 35.



96. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Delhi) to Khalil Ahmad, 23 November, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

M. Shamsul Hasan Saheb, Assistant Secretary of the All India Muslim League, handed over your kind invitation to me this morning. It is so very nice of you to invite the All India Muslim [League] to hold their sessions at Benares during the forthcoming Xmas week. I am extremely thankful to you for your Islamic zeal and your keen interest in the welfare of the Muslim community. I am holding an emergent meeting of the Council of the League in Delhi on the 10 December to obtain formal acceptance of your kind invitation. I sanguin that by the grace of the Almighty God and under your sole stirring guidance, the Session will be a great success.

Yours brother in faith [Muhammad Yaqub]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 36.

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All gudia Musius Breet, Bullimaran Street, Belbi.

Dear Sir

M. Themsul Hasen Saheh, Assistant Secretary of the All India Muslim League, handed over your kind invitation to me this morning. It is so very nice of you to invite the All India Muslim to hold their Sessions at Benares during the forthcoming Xmas week. I am extremely thankful to you for your Islamic zeal and your keen interest in the welfare of the Muslim community. I am holding an Emergent meeting of the Council of the League in Bulhi on the 10 December to obtain formal acceptance of your kind invitation. I sunguin that by the grace of the Almighty God and under your sole sirring guidence the Session will be a great success.

Yours brother in faith

97. Letter, Tufail Ahmad (Benaras) to Muhammad Yaqub, 4 December, 1930*.

مكرمى جناب مولوى صاحب تشليم

آپ کو مبارک ہو کہ آپ کی لیگ کی دعوت ہو گئی۔ مگر آپ نے اعلان میں بابا صاحب کا نام نہیں لکھا۔ یہ ضروری تھا۔اب اُس کا اظہار کردیجیے۔

انشاء الله میں کل هر کو علی گرھ شام تک پہنچ جاؤں گا اور ملم تک تظہر وں گا۔ وہاں ڈائر یکٹر صاحب تشریف لا رہے ہیں اس لیے مصروف ہوں گا ورنہ ضروری مشوروں کے لیے آپ کے پاس حاضر ہوتا۔ شمس الحن صاحب کو میں نے تار دیدیا ہے کہ وہ چاہیں تو مجھ سے علی گڑھ مل لیں۔ آپ علی گڑھ تشریف لا سکیں تو پروگرام اجلاس بن جائے۔

سے کھانا کا انظام تو بابا صاحب کر رہے ہیں۔ خیم ہمیں کرایہ پر لینے پڑیں گے۔ اپنے حصہ کے خیمے آپ الہ آباد وغیرہ سے منگائے یا کوئی اور صورت اختیار کیجے۔

۳۔اجلاس کے لیے میں جے نراین کالج کے ہیڈ ماسٹر صاحب کے پاس گیا تھا انھوں نے کہا کہ پولیٹیکل جلسہ کی اجازت ہم نہ دے سکیں گے۔اس لیے دوسری جگہ انتظام کرنا پڑے گا۔ ٹاؤن ہال کے لیے درخواست دی گئی مگر اس میں کرسیاں ندارد ہیں۔آج کل مل نہیں سکتیں۔بڑی دقت ہے۔ سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ کیا کیا جاوے۔

والسلام خاکسار طفیل احمد از بنارس، مهمرد سمبر

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 37-38.

تحدود المرا العداس في م - 10 1. 10 - 10 1. 10 - 10 1 1 1 - m سے اللے کا کوں از مورت افتار کے ۔

ایک صورت یہ ہے کہ آپ ۳۰، ۳۱ کو مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ کریں اور ہم ایک دن کانفرنس کا کم کردیں تاکہ آپ کو کرسیاں مل جائیں۔

طفيل

98. Letter, Tufail Ahmad (Benaras) to Shamsul Hasan, 4 December, 1930*.

مكرمي... تشكيم

میں جے نراین کالج کے ہیڑ ماسٹر کے پاس گیا تھا۔ انھوں نے مسلم لیگ کا جلسہ کرنے کی اجازت نہیں دی کیونکہ وہ ساسی جماعت ہے۔ اب ٹاؤن ہال کی اجازت کی جائے گی مگر وہاں کرسیاں کہاں سے آئیں گی۔ایک صورت یہ ہے کہ آخر کی تاریخوں میں کانفرنس کی تاریخیں کم کرکے جلسہ ہو۔ غرضیکہ مشورہ کے بعد کچھ ہوسکتا ہے۔ میں علیگڑھ جارہا ہوں۔ ارد سمبر تک وہاں رہوں گا۔

والسلام خاکسار طفیل احمہ ۴ دسمبر [۱۹۳۰] از بنارس

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 39.

99. Telegram, Tufail Ahmad (Benaras) to Shamsul Hasan, 4 December, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Benares 4-12-1930

Shamsul Hasan Mulim League Ballimaran Delhi

Congratulations upon League's invitation going Aligarh for a week

Tufail Ahmad

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 154, p. 40.



100. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 6 December, 1930*.

مراد آباد ۲ دسمبر ۱۹۳۰ء

۸۶ کمبر الله اکبر

منشى شمس الحن صاحب- السلام عليكم

مولوی طفیل احمد صاحب کا خط آیا ہے وہ علی گڑھ آگئے ہیں آپ فوراً ان کے مورہ سے طے کریں اور پاس علی گڑھ ہے جائیں اور مفصل پروگرام ان کے مشورہ سے طے کریں اور معاملات کے متعلق بھی سب مشورہ ان سے لیں ان سے کہہ دیں کہ لیگ کا جلسہ جو آپ کے مشورہ سے اور آپ کے کہنے سے کررہا ہوں کام کی ذمہ داری آپ نے ایپ اوپر لی ہے اور آپ ہی سب کام انجام دیں گے۔ مولوی صاحب کا جو خط میرے نام آج آیا ہے وہ روانہ کرتا ہوں۔ میں ان شاءِ اللہ ۱۰(دس) دسمبر کی صبح کو دبلی بہنچ جاؤں گا۔ آپ و تک علی گڑھ ہی آ جائیں۔

محمر ليعقوب عفى عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 41.

101. Telegram, Tufail Ahmad (Benaras) to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, 7 December, 1930.*

I understand that two machines (1) large falcan and (2) al Double deming whis... affordable and for sale in the Govt. of India Press Aligarh. I beg to offer Rs.1100 for the machines & herewith enclose a cheque for Rs.100/- as earnest money. The balance will be reimitted on accepatanc of the offer.

The controlar of Printing & Staionary New Dehli

- (1) Large Falcon
- (2) One double Demy Wherfoble

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 42.

Deny blead and (2) a blouble
Deny bleaded are for sale
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We are forestern of orice land when the common of the comm

102. Letter, Tufail Ahmad (Delhi) to Secretary, All India Muslim League, 7 December, 1930*.

مكرمى تشليم

میں نے آپ کی خدمت میں عریضہ نبیت اجلاس مسلم لیگ لکھا تھا۔ اس کے بعد آج میں آپ کے دفتر میں حاضر ہوا تو اجلاس کی بابت حسب ذیل امور قابل ملاحظہ ہیں۔

ا ۔اجلاس کی نبیت میں نے جے زاین کالج کے ہیڈ ماسٹر سے جو ذمہ دار افسر ہیں دفتر میں مسلم لیگ کے لیے ہر چند کہا مگر سیاسی جماعت ہونے کی بنا پر انھوں نے مطلّقاً انکار کردیا۔

۲ - تب میں نے مولوی مقبول عالم صاحب سے ٹاؤن ہال کے لیے کہہ دیا اور اسی رات کو روانہ ہو گیا۔ مولوی صاحب نے فرمایا کہ وہ انتظام کردیں گے۔

س مگر ٹاؤن ہال میں کرسیاں ندارد ہیں۔ اور جو ہیں وہ مانگی گئی ہیں۔ اس خرمانہ میں مانگی ہوئی کرسیاں ملنی ناممکن ہیں اس لیے مجبوراً کرایہ پر لینی پڑیں گی۔ کرایہ فی کرسی ایک آنہ یومیہ ہے۔

۳ - کھانا بابا صاحب کانفرنس اور لیگ کو دیں گے چارپائیوں اور روشی کا انظام کریں گے۔ مگر موجودہ عمارت میں ۲۰۰ دمیوں سے زیادہ نہیں آسکتے اور مر طرف سے صدبا آدمیوں کے آنے کی خبر ہے۔ اس لیے کانفرنس کرایہ پر خیمے لے رہی ہے۔ چلتے وقت میں خیمے کانفرنس کے لیے کرایہ پر لینے کو کہہ آیا تھا۔ کیونکہ اب تک ہمیں صرف دس خیمے کرایہ پر ملے ہیں جو ناکافی ہیں۔

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 43-48.

میں نے آپ سے عرض کیا تھا کہ اللہ آباد وغیرہ سے خیمے آپ مانگ لیں۔ بالخصوص بڑے آدمیوں کے لیے ضرورت ہے۔ خیموں کا کرایہ فی خیمہ ... بتایا گیا تھا خیمہ کی پیائش20 x 16فٹ ہے۔ ممکن ہے کہ اس میں کچھ کمی ہوجائے۔ یہ امور آپ بیش نظر رکھ کر انظامات کریں۔

۵-... دسمبر کو ہمارے اسکول میں ڈائریکٹر صاحب رسم افتتاح پر آ رہے ہیں۔ میں اس روز حاضر ہونے سے قاصر رہوں گا۔

۲- ۱۱ کی سہ پہر کو میں سہار نپور جاؤں گا۔ اور ایک روز علی گڑھ آکر بنارس چلا جاؤں گا۔ اور ایک روز علی گڑھ آکر بنارس جانے سے قبل اگر پچھ ارشاد ہو تو علی گڑھ کے پتہ سے مطلع فرمائیں یا براہ راست مولوی مقبول عالم صاحب کو تحریر فرماویں۔

والسلام خاكسار

طفیل احمه از دبلی ۷اد سمبر

2- ٹاؤن ہال میں غالباً تین سو چار سو کرسیوں سے زیادہ کی گنجائش نہ ہوگی۔

۸ -آپ نے فرمایا تھا کہ آپ بابا خلیل داس صاحب کو صدر استقبالیہ کریں
گے۔ ہم نے اپنا صدر منتخب کیا ہے اور آپ کا خیال بھی ظاہر کردیا تھا اب اگر انھیں صدر کرنا ہے تو ان کے یاس چند خطبہ جات جلسہ کے حسب ذیل پتا پر بھیج دیجیے۔

مولانا شاہ خلیل احمد عرف بابا خلیل داس صاحب بنیا پارک بنارس۔ 9 - اگر دعوت منظور ہوجائے تواخبارات میں تار بھیج کریہ اعلان کرا دیں کہ دعوت بابا خلیل داس صاحب کی طرف سے ہے

103. Letter, Tufail Ahmad (Aligarh) to Shamsul Hasan, 8 December, 1930*.

صدر دفتر آل انڈیا مسلم ایجو کیشنل کانفرنس دیجے) سلطان جہاں منزل، علی گڑھ

مورنحه ۸-۱۲-۴۹۳۹

مكرم ... تتليم

جناب مولوی محمد لیعقوب کے دو والا نامے موصول ہوئے تھے۔ میں نے بہ القبیل ارشاد علی حسن صاحب کو پہلے کہہ چکا ہوں۔اطلاعاً عرض ہے۔

والسلام طفيل

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 46.

104. Letter, Tufail Ahmad (Aligarh) to Shamsul Hasan, 8 December, 1930*.

Aligarh 8-12-30

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I won't be able to attend the meeting. I agree to the acceptance of the invitation for the League at Banaras.

Yours truly, Sd/-[Tufail Ahmad]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 47.

Jague to the acceptan

105. Telegram, Muhammad Hussain (Allahabad) to Muahmmad Yaqub, 8 December, 1930*.

Indian Posts nd Telegraphs Department

Allahabad 15-12- 30

Sec[retar]y Muslim League, Ballimaran, Delhi.

Please accept invitaiton for annual session at Allahabad during Christmas.

Mohammad Hussain, President Tanzim

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 48.



106. Letter, Tufail Ahmad (Aligarh) to Muhammad Yaqub, 9 December, 1930*.

صدر دفتر آل انڈیا مسلم ایجو کیشنل کا نفرنس دیجے) سلطان جہاں منزل، علی گڑھ مور خہ ۱۹۳۰ء

مكرى جناب مولوى صاحب تشليم

میرے عریضے پہنچے ہوں گے۔اگر بابا صاحب کی دعوت منظور ہوجائے تو ازراہِ کرم آپ تین سال کے خطبہ جات صدارت "مولانا شاہ خلیل احمد صاحب عرف بابا خلیل داس صاحب بنیا پارک بنارس" کی خدمت میں بھیج دیجیے۔اس بعد کمیٹی کے اا تاریخ کی صبح کو منٹی شمس الحن صاحب کو میرے پاس بھیج دیجیے تاکہ پروگرام مسلم لیگ طے ہوجائے۔

خاکسار طفیل احمد از علی گڑھ

۹ د سمبر [۱۹۳۰]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 49.

Colina Loss sels con Colina de la contra del la contra de la contra de la contra del la contra del la contra de la contra del la contra de la contra de la contra de la contra del la contra

107. Telegram, Muhammad Husain (Allahabad) to Muhammad Yaqub, 9 December, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Allahabad 9-12-30 Sec[retar]y Muslim Leage Ballimaran Delhi

We will arrange for board lodging etc. Important events will be held here: M[uhamma]d Husain

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 50.

C. 3.



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INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

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WILL ARRANGE BOR BOARD LODGING ETC IMPORTANT EVENTS WIL

H ALLAHABAD 9*19 SECY MULIM LEAGUE BALLIMARAN DELHI

BE HELD HERE = MDHUSAIN =

This form must accompany any inquiry respecting this Telegram.

MGIPAh.-196-30-5-29-50,000.

108. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Members, All India Muslim League, 10 December, 1930.*

> All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

> > 10-12-30

مكرمي-السلام عليكم

بنارس میں انظامی د شواریوں کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے مسلم لیگ کی کونسل نے اللہ آباد سے دی ہوئی دعوت کو منظور کر لیا۔ وہاں علاء کانفرنس اور تنظیم کانفرنس اسی زمانہ میں منعقد ہوں گی۔ مسلمانوں کا ایک اچھا اجتماع ہو جانے کی توقع ہے۔ لیگ کے ممبران کے قیام اور طعام اور دیگر انظامات کا [بار] اللہ آباد کے مسلمان لیگ کے ممبران کے لیے آمادہ ہیں۔ بنارس سے اللہ آباد تین گھٹے کاسفر ہے۔ ممبران برداشت کرنے کے لیے آمادہ ہیں۔ بنارس سے اللہ آباد تین گھٹے کاسفر ہے۔ ممبران یہ سہولت آ سکتے ہیں، جاسکتے ہیں۔ مجھ کو افسوس سے کہ بابا صاحب کا دعوت نامہ مسترد ہوگیا۔ مگر وہاں کے انتظامات کی دقوں نے کونسل کو ایسا کرنے پر مجبور کر دیا۔

فقط والسلام [سيد سمس الحسن]

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 51.

All India Muslim League, Bullimaran Street, Bolhi

0-12-30

مرى - العلم

109. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Editor, *Millat*, 10 December, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi. 10-12-30

To

The Editor

Millat,

Dear Sir,

Kindly publish the following message in your valued paper and obliged.

"At an Emergency meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League held today, it was unanimously resolved to accept invitation from Allahabad Mussalmans received through Haji Syed Muhammad Husain to hold the Annual Session of the League under the presidency of **Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal**.

Yours faithfully,
[Syed Shamsul Hasan]
Assistant Secretary
[All India Muslim League]

-

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 52.

All Endia Muslim Beague, Bullimarau Street, Belbi.

10.12. 30.

To

The Editor

Dear Sir,

Kindly publish the following message in your valued paper and obliged.

" At an Emergency meeting of the Council
of the All India Muslim League held today it was
unanimously resolved to accept invitation from
Allahabad Mussalmans received through Haji Syed
Mohammad Husain to hold the Annual Session of the
League under the presidency of Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal

Yours faithfully

Assistant Secretary

110. Telegram, Muhammad Hussain (Allahabad) to Muhammad Yaqub, 15 December, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Allahabad

15 December 1930

Sec[retar]y Muslim League, Billimaran, Delhi. Send list of all your members.

Muhammad Hussain

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 154, p. 53.

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111. Letter, Rafiuddin (Allahabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 16 December, 1930*.

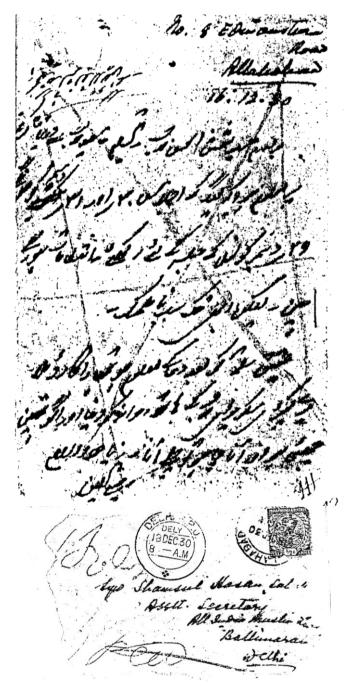
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برادرم سید سمس الحن صاحب سلیم سید صاحب سے دریافت کرنے پر معلوم ہوا کہ لیگ کے اجلاس ۳۰ اور اساد سمبر کو ہوں گے۔ ۲۹؍ دسمبر کو نسل کے جلسہ کے لیے اکٹھے انتظامات ہورہے ہیں۔ لیکن ابھی تک سب نامکل۔

عتیق سلمہ کو بعددعا معلوم ہو تمھارا کارڈ ملا۔ میرے کپڑے سکرٹری صاحب کے ہاتھ روانہ کر دینا اور اگر تمہیں چھٹی ہو اور آنا چاہو تو چلے آنا۔ زیادہ والسلام رفیع الدین

آپ کب تشریف لائیں گے۔

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 54.



112. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Bombay) to Shamsul Hasan, 19 December, 1930*.

تبمبئي

ااردسمبر ۱۹۳۰ء

منشى شمس الحسن صاحب السلام عليكم

آپ کے خطوط پہنچ۔ مجھے نہایت مسرت ہے کہ کمیٹی استقبالیہ کا کام خوب چل رہا ہے۔ خدا کرے کہ لیگ کا اجلاس کامیاب ہو۔ میں یہاں لوگوں کو شرکت جلسہ کے واسطے آمادہ کر رہا ہوں مگر یہاں کی حالت آج کل الیی خراب ہے کہ کامیابی کی کوئی امید نہیں معلوم ہوتی۔ معلوم ہوا ہے کہ مسلم کانفرنس والوں نے اپنا پٹنہ کا اجلاس بند کردیا ہے اب ان لوگوں کو بھی دہلی آنا چاہیے۔ آپ میرے نام سے مندرجہ ذیل صاحبان کو تار شرکت جلسہ کے واسطے فوراً روانہ کردیں۔

آنریبل ملک فیروز خان نون۔ شاہ مسعود احمد صاحب۔ راجہ صاحب سلیم پور۔ حاجی محمد حسین بیرسٹر اللہ آباد۔ مسٹر حسن ظہیر بیرسٹر کھنؤ۔ مولوی اختشام علی صاحب کھنؤ۔

آپ نے یہ نہیں لکھا کہ مہمانوں کے قیام کا وہاں کیا انظام ہے۔فوراً ایسوی ایٹڈ پرلیں کو اطلاع دیں کہ مہمانوں کے قیام کا کہاں بندوبست ہوا ہے۔ مولانا احمد سعید صاحب کو میں نے جواب لکھ دیا ہے اور ان سے استدعا کی ہے کہ اس کو شائع کر دیں اگر ... کریں توآپ فوراً ان کے دفتر سے نقل لے کر اس کو جلد اخبارات میں شائع کرا دیں۔ میں ان شاء اللہ کل یہاں سے پونہ جاؤں گا اور ۲۳ کو وہاں سے روانہ ہو کر ان شاء اللہ کل کی صبح کو سواچھ بے دبلی پہنچوں گا۔

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 55-56.

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أست خطوط بهد بر - جر الم سرت ع كريس إسف لها م ور فار اع - خرار من الله على وروى ما ما در ت کوک ند شرت درج ورج آمان دررا بدر کریم ۱۰ ا سلم مدن کر دیم انفران دانون به دنیا بنه کا دور مدر دیا ات دون مرکو کمد بر دیس ایاش- اسیر ایک مندر بردل ع. حصر المركز و الماء مسر المدر الحد المراكز المراكز Tisty of your deads it estimates فد ا روس دنسرے تعلی سر دوستار در فار تحدیث مردد کی Courre of Color of Color Amich د ہلی سے 20جدید ممبر بنانے کی کوشش ہونا چاہیے۔ تاکہ کورم کی دقت نہ رہے۔

محمد یعقوب عفی عنه سر سلطان احمد تو پیٹنہ بیں تار شرکت جلسہ کا دے دیں۔اور بیہ معلوم کرلینا کہ ۲۲مد سمبر کو سر محمد شفیع کہاں ہوں گے۔ ردرز مدردن رسه ه کریم کر به ای و در به در ای ای در بر بد در ای در بر در به در بر در به به در به در به در به در به در

113. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 20 December, 1930*.

مراد آباد ۲۰ همبر ۱۹۳۰ء

منشى سنمس الحسن صاحب السلام عليكم

میں کھنو گیا ہوا تھا، رات واپس آیا تو آپ کا خط اور تار ملا۔ ابنا وقت نہیں ہے کہ سالانہ جلنے کے واسطے علیحدہ علیحدہ خطوط وغیرہ روانہ کیے جائیں، اگریزی اور اردو اخبارات میں دعوت نامہ میں نے شایع کردیا ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ ابھی تک مسٹر محمہ حسین صاحب سے تاریخ جلسہ کا فیصلہ نہیں ہوا۔ انھوں نے ۱جمہد سمبر کے واسطے لکھا ہے میں ۱۹؍دسمبر کو پہند نہیں کرتا اس واسطے کہ آخر ہفتہ تک کوئی انظار نہیں کرتا اور لوگ چلے جاتے ہیں۔ کل میں نے محمہ حسین صاحب کو تار دیا ہے کہ ۱۸؍دسمبر کو سہ پہر کو جلسہ شروع کیا جائے اور صاحب کو تار دیا ہے کہ ۱۸؍دسمبر کو سہ پہر کو جلسہ شروع کیا جائے اور کونسل کا نوٹس درست کرکے روانہ کردوں گا اور آپ کو بھی لکھوں [گا] کہ آپ فوراً اللہ آباد چلے جائیں اس واسطے کہ معلوم ایسا ہوتا ہے کہ محمہ حسین صاحب نے فرراً اللہ آباد چلے جائیں اس واسطے کہ معلوم ایسا ہوتا ہے کہ محمہ حسین صاحب نے اب تک کوئی انتظام نہیں کیا ہے۔ میں نے آج صبح ان کو ایک تار اور دیا ہے جس اب تک کوئی انتظام نہیں کیا ہے۔ میں نے آج صبح ان کو ایک تار اور دیا ہے جس

محمد يعقوب عفى عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 57.

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مرادابار ۲۰ وسیر میں واع

114. Letter, Shamsul Hasan (Delhi) to Muhammad Yaqub, 22 December, 1930*.

All India Muslim League, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

22-12-30

جناب والا-السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

آج کی ڈاک سے بھی وہ مسودہ ایجنڈا نہیں ملا جس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اللہ اباد سے جواب آپ کے تاروں کا نہیں آیا۔ اس صورت میں یہ ہی مناسب معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ جناب اخبارات میں اعلان فرمادیں کہ چونکہ اللہ آباد سے انظامات کے متعلق کوئی اب تک اطمینان بخش جواب نہیں ملا۔ اس لیے سالانہ اجلاس لیگ بڑے دن کی تعطیلات کے ایام میں منعقد نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ مجھ کو یقین ہے کہ اس عجلت میں قواعدِ دستور کو ہاتھ میں رکھتے ہوئے بھی اگر ہم وہاں جلسہ کریں تو بجر بدنای کیے حاصل نہ ہوگا۔ میں ایک شکایات کا ایک طوفان بریا ہوجائے گا۔ جس کو subside [دبانا] کرنا مشکل ہوگا۔

ان شاء الله ماہ مارج میں جب کہ لندن سے مسلم ڈیلیکٹ واپس آ جائیں گے، لیگ کے اجلاس کیجے گا۔ لکھنو کے اصحاب کا بھی اسی پر زور تھا۔ ایک راے سے بذریعہ تار مطلع فرمائیں۔

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 58.

12-12-30

115. Letter, Muhammad Yaqub (Muradabad) to Shamsul Hasan, 22 December, 1930*.

مرادآ باد ۲۲ دسمبر ۱۹۳۰ء

منثى شمس الحن صاحب-السلام عليم-آب كاخطآيا-

ایجنڈا درست کرکے روانہ کرتا ہوں۔ اس کو جاری کرنے کے بعد آپ فور اً اللہ آباد چلے جائیں اور دیکھیں کہ انتظام کا کیا حال ہے اور مجھے وہاں کے حالات سے جلد اطلاع دیجیے۔ میں بھی انشاء اللہ ۲۵ دسمبر کو کسی وقت اللہ آباد پہنچوں گا اور آپ کو اطلاع دوں گا۔

حاجی محمد حسین صاحب نے تاریخ کے مقرر کرنے میں بڑی گڑبڑ کرر تھی ہے۔ سر محمد اقبال صاحب چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ اساد سمبر کو لاہور بینچ جائیں، اس لحاظ سے پہلا اجلاس لیگ کا ۲۸ دسمبر کی سہ بہر کو ہونا چاہیے اور باقی دواجلاس ۲۹ کو کر کے ۲۹ کی شام کو جلسہ ختم کر دیا جائے۔

میں نے حاجی محمد حسین صاحب کو تار دیے ہیں ان کے جواب کا انتظار ہے۔ بہر حال آپ ایجنڈا جاری کرنے کے بعد فورا اللہ آباد کو روانہ ہو جائیں-اخبارات کو اپنے اللہ آباد جانے اور آفس کھولنے کی اطلاع دے دیں۔

محمر يقوب عفى عنه

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 59.

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116. Telegram, Bashir Ahmad (Gurdaspur) to Feroz Khan Noon, 27 December, 1930*.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

Gurdaspur

27 December 1930

Malik Feroz Khan Noon thro[ugh] Sec[retar]y. Muslim League, All[ahba]d.

Muslims here support Delhi resolutions. Regret inability attend meeting reasons to health

Bashir Ahmad Khan

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 60.

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117. Letter, Aamir Hasan (Fatehpore) to Muhammad Yaqub, 27 December, 1930*.

Fatehpore, 27-12-[19]30

My Dear Mr

I am enclosing 4 draft resolutions to be moved and passed at the League sessions, in case they are considered necessary with or without modification. I would be quite willing to move any if assigned. I intend to give **Dr. Iqbal** hearty reception at the station if he passes by this route on the morning of 29th inst[ant]. I have made Maulana M[uhamma]d Ibrahim write a poem suitable to the occasion and he has drafted one which is splendid. You know he is called *Firadausi Hind* and has a reputation that counts in his sphere. All U. P. distinguished people appreciate his poems. Give him time on 30th to recite his poem at the League pendal.

Yours sincerely, Sd/-Amir Hasan Khan

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 61.

Fatehpore 27.12.30.

My Dear Mr

I am enclosing 4 draft resolution to be moved and passed at the League sessions in case they are considered necessary with or willing to move any if assigned. I intend to give Dr Iqual hearty reception at the station if he passes by this route on the morning of 29th inst. I have made Maulana Md Ibrahim write a poem suitable to the occasion and he has drafted one which is splunda. You know he is called Piraausi Hind and hase reputation that counts in his sphere. All U.P. distinguished people appreciate his poems. Give him time on 30th to recite his poem at the League pendal.

Yours Sincerely

Amy Hajun Glow

118. Draft Resolutions, proposed by Amir Hasan Khan (Fatehpore), Allahabad Session, 27 December, 1930*.

Draft Resolutions All- India Mulim League, Allahabad

- 1. The step-motherly treatment of the Premier even towards minimum Moslem demands has created a revolt in the Muslim Rank and File and has convinced them in their views that some political Magnates, do indirectly stimulate the subversion of Law and Order and ridicule Muslim devotion, loyalty and co-operation as trash. The Council of All-India Muslim League on behalf of 8 crores of Muslims places on record its emphatic protest against the minimizing tendency of such responsible heads and wishes to remind Mr. Macdonald that responsibility for the future would rest on his shoulders if, under the circumstances, Muslims, being disgusted, were to alienate their sympathies.
- 2. The Council of All India Muslim League records its appreciation of the Muslim delegates to The Round Table Conference in pressing legitimate Muslim demands incorporated in the resolution of the All India Muslim Conference passed on 1st January 1929, which are at its lowest and indispensably necessary for their existence in India and at the same time request them to impress upon the British public their importance in the light of majority aggrandizement and to be on guard against machinations of sworn enemies of Islam.
- 3. The Council of the All-India Muslim League has been shocked to learn that the Jaipur Durbar authorities have banned the Muslims of Chomoon from reciting Kalima and saying Azan which appears to be an organized attempt at annihilation of the Muslim religion and was bound to arouse Muslims to defend Islam at all costs.
- 4. The policy of the French Govt. in regard to the forced conversion of Berbers and of the Italian Govt. at disintegration of Tripolitan Muslims has greatly perturbed the Indian Muslims. The Council of All India Muslim League regards such steps as barbarous and uncivilized bound to arouse Muslim indignation through out the world.

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^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 62.

Draft Resolutions All- India Moslem League. Allahatad.

- 1. The step-motherly treatment of the Fremier even towards the minimum Moslem demands has created a revolt in the Moslem

 Fank and File and has convinced them in their views that some do Political Magnates (indirectly stimulate the subversion of Law and Order and ridicule Moslem devotion, Loyalty and co-operation as trash. The Counci of All- India Moslem League on behalf of &Crores of Moslems places on record its emphatic protest against the minimizing tendency of such Responsible heads and wishes to remind Mr Macdonald that responsibility for the future would rest on his shoulders if, under the circumatances, Moslems, being disgusted, were to alienate the eirveympathies.
- 2. The Council of All-India Moslem Leaguerecords its appreciation of the Moslem Delegates to The Found Table Conference is pressing legitimate Moslem demands incorporated in the resolution of the All-India Moslem Conference passed on 1st .Jan 1929, which are at its lowest and indispensably necessary for their existence in Indiahnd at the same time request them to impress upon the Fritish Public their importance in the light of Majority aggrandizement and to be on guard against machinations of the sworn enemies of Islam.
- 3. The Council of the All-India Moslem League has been shoked to learn that the Jaipur Durbar authorities have banned the Moslems of Chomoon from reciting <u>Kalima</u> and saying <u>Azan</u>, which appears to be an organized attempt at annihilation of the Moslem religionand was bound to arouse Moslems to defend Isalm at all costs.
- 4. The policy of the French Govt in regard to the forced conversion of Berbers and of the Italian govt at disintegration of Tripolitan Moslems has greatly perturbed the Indian Moslems. The Connoil of All-India Moslem League regards such steps as barbarous and uncivilized bound to arouse moslem indignation throughout the Dorld.

119. Draft Resolutions, Subject Committee, Allahabad Session, 29 December, 1930*.

Following resolutions will be moved in the Subject Committee on 29th December at 10 A.M.

1. This meeting of the All India Muslim League reiterates its demands that Sind should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a seperate province and urge that necessary measures be adopted for giving effect to it as early as possible.

Proposed by: M. M. Alam (Peshawar)

Seconded by: Ch. A. Majid

2. Resolved that in the opinion of the house reforms should be introduced in Balochistan and Frontier Province.

Proposed by: Muzaffar Hussain Chaudhary

Seconded by: D. A. Khan

Amendment:

The North West Frontier Province, Balochistan and all newly formed provinces by separation from other provinces, shall have the same form of the Government as the other provinces in India.

By: Abdullah Rafi

3. Resolved that in the opinion of this house in all census in future the depressed classes and untoucables be placed under separate categories and not under the general designation of 'Hindus'.

Proposed by : D. A. Khan

Seconded by: Abu Tahir Muhammad Ahmad.

...necessary and auxiliary including the power to suspend or annual the act executive or Legislative of a Provincial Government.

(b) The Supreme Court shall have no jurisdiction in cases where in commonwealth Government or parliament has acted

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 63-64.

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outlosis are dutions of the sound in the Subojet committee ou Lyta hose bor at 10. . . .

1. Then you ting of the 111 India and in feague rolter tog its domain that ind about he reserve defrom to that measure to its description that measure to its description that measure to adopted for iving effect to it we early as possible.

reserved by. - M.M. Aslam (Poshawar)

2. Resolved that in the opinion of the house reforms should be introduced in Baluchistan and Frontier Province.

Proposed by Mazzafar Husain Choudhari Gooondel by D.A. Khan

Amondmont:-

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By P Abdullahil Kafi

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in exercise of the power in the preceding sub clause.

- 4. That the division of subjects in the schedules I and 2 of the Nehru Report should be revised, so as to make the provinces as fully autonomous as possible.
- 5. That Muhammadan Law as at present recognized by the Indian courts shall not be amended or interfered with by means of any legislation in the Central or Provincial Legislature except by a majority of the Musalmans members of the Legislatures.

Moved by:_____A.R. Ghazi
Se[cond] by:_____T. A .K. Sherwani
M. Tufail Ahmad

2

to/ necessary and ammiliary including the power to succeed by annual the set executive//xis/sive or Legislative of a Provincial Government.

- (b) The Supreme court shall have no jurisdiction in cases where in commonwealth Government or parliament has acted in exercise of the power in the preceding subscalause.
- 4. That the devision of subjects in the schedules 1 and 2 of the Nehru Report should be revised, so as to make the brovinces as fully autonomous as possible.
- 5. That Mohammadon Law as at prosent recognised by the Indian courts shall not be amended or interfered with by means of any legislation in the Central or Provincial legislation except by a majority of the Mussalmans members of these degislatures.

Moved by. - A.R.Ghazi
Se. by. - T.A.K. Shorw ni
M. Tufail Ahand

120. Draft Resolutions, Allahabad Session, 29-30 December, 1930*.

Draft Resolutions

- I. The All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss on the sad deaths of Maulvi Mazharul Haq, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan, Sir Ibrahim Haroon Jaffar and Syed Jalib, old and prominent members of the League, and conveys its condolence to the member of the bereaved families".
- II. "Resolved that the All India Muslim League greatly appreciate the unanimity, political sagacity and strength with which the Muslim delegates to the Roundtable Conference have, so far, pleaded the cause of the community.

"Further resolved that although Mr. M. A. Jinnah's 14-points constitutes the minimum and irreduceable Muslim demands but having in view the larger interests of the country and also the complicated nature of the problem to be solved, and considering the difficulties which they may have to face at the spur of the moment, the All India Muslim League considers it advisable not to restrict the full power of Muslim delegates to negotiate a settlement not inconsistent with the basic principles of Muslim demands".

Proposed by:-

Seconded by:-

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 65-69.

Draft Resolutions

The All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss on the sad deaths of Moulvi Mazh arul Haq, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Seth Ibrahim Haroon Jafar and Syed Jalibold and prominent members of the League, and conveys its condolence to the members of the breaved families!

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of the moment the All India Muslim League
considers it adviseable not to restrict
the full power of Muslim delegates to
negotiate a settlement not inconsistant
with the basic principles of Muslim
demands".

Proposed by.-Seconded by.- III. "Resolved that in the opinion of the All India Muslim League the next installment of political reforms for India must be based on substantial realization of the Responsible Government, with adequate safeguards for the rights and interests of Musalmans and other minorities, placing this country on an equality with other dominions in the commonwealth of British Empire and nothing short of such a constitution would satisfy any section of the thinking population in the country.

"Further resolved that as the Government of India's dispatch, on proposals for the Constitutional Reforms fails to lead the country towards the responsible Government, the recommendations contained in the dispatch would not satisfy the Indian aspirations."

Proposed by:-Seconded by:-Supported by:-

IV. "Resolved that the All India Muslim League, while fully realizing the particular conditions of the N.W.F.P. and recognizing the necessity of taking special measures for the peace and security of the Frontier, is strongly of opinion that the continued political dissatisfaction in the province can not be removed nor can the local aspirations be satisfied with any scheme of administration which gives an inferior place to the province in comparison with other provinces in the country."

Proposed by:-Seconded by:- of the All India Muslim League the next instalment of political reforms for India must be based on substantial relise—tion of the Responsible Government, with adequate safegaurds for the rights and interests of Mussalmans and other minorities, placing this country on an equality with other dominions in the Common wealth of British Empire and nothing short of such a constitution would satisfy any section of the think—ing population in the country.

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VI. "Resolved that the attainment of *Swaraj* by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means, being the object of the League, the All India Muslim League strongly depreciate the Civil Disobedience and Non-payment of taxes movement prevailing in the country, which has lead its course into communism and anarchy, a cause which in the opinion of the League is highly prejudicial and detrimental to the best interest of the country"

Proposed by:-Seconded by:- to the provinces in comparasion with other provinces in the country."

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Proposed by .-Seconded by.-

V.- "Resolved that the All India
Luclim League considers it essential and
imperative that Statuary Provinces should
be made for the adequate representations
of the Mussalmans in the Cabinet as well
as in the Executive of the Country".

Proposed by .-

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The A[ll] I[ndia] M[uslim] L[eague] which VII. fully endorsing the demand of a Federal Constitution for India, with Residuary Powers in the Provinces, wants to make it quite clear that this... demand of Muslmans is confined only to a constitution for British India and relating to the affairs of B[ritish] India. But if the Indian states are also to be included in the Federation of States, the All India Muslim League strongly urges that the Federal Assembly including the Indian States should be quite separate from the British India Legislative Assembly and its function should be confined only to such affairs as are common between B[ritish] India and Indian States. In this Federal Assembly all the big and small Indian States will have equal votes irrespective of their importance and the number of their representatives.

Further resolved that in the opinion of the A[ll] I[ndia] M[uslim] L[eague] any intervention of the Indian States in the internal affairs of B[ritish] India would be highly prejudicial to the progress in B[ritish] India and lead to disastrous results.

The P. J. m. E. while pully wienowy th deves of a Federal Carolla for ham, with Rendery Down will provaces Wants to make quote chas that this dum of dum to a consilular for B. Incha reliking to the affairs of Brish In But y the man flits are also be well in the Jederah might All India mucha Leave strongly unges Wat to Federal Histories welling the Indian Kales Da be quite septiale form the B Indea Lyslohus Assurbly & ils functions Danes be Confined only to such affairs as are Came below the B. India. + In dia states. In this. Lederal Ass curly all the Bug & Swell Indian Kale mile I are equal volis mus fedin of this un forlance 4 the number of their representation Further resolved that in the ofine of the A.A. m. L. His authornation Indea States in the whould offind of B. India would be hopping By heir a lend to disasterans

2-12-30

This Special Session of the All Indian Muslim League puts on record its deepest sense of irrecoverable loss and sorrow at the most lamentable and untimely death of Lokumanya Tilak whose life long and most valuable services to the country and self sacrificing devotion to the cause of the motherland can never be forgotten, and conveys its sympathy to the bereaved family.

2.12.30

This Efecial Session of the All Judia Muslim Legues into on record its deepest sense of irrecoverable loss on whom at the most lamentable and untimely dealt of whomanya tilak whose life long and most valuable services the country and self sacrificing develor to the cause of his water was conveyed to sympathy to the recover family.

121. Resolutions, passed at Allahabad Session, 29-30 December, 1930*.

Text of Resolutions
Passed at the 21st Annual Session
of the
All India Muslim League
On the 29th and 30th Deember 1930
at Allahabad with

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal Bar-at-Law

in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1-

"That the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss on the sad deaths of Moulvi Mazharul Haq, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Sir Ibrahim Haroon Jafar and Syed Jalib, old and prominent members of the League and conveys its condolence to the members of the bereaved families".

(From Chair)

Resolution No. 2-

"That the All India Muslim League while appreciating the united efforts of the Muslim Members to the Round Table Conference in giving faithful expression to Muslim opinion, strongly supports the resolution passed by the All India Muslim Conference at Delhi on the 1st January 1929 under the Presidentship of H. H. Sir Agha Khan and hopes that the Muslim members will confine to abide by that resolution".

Proposed by:—Syed Habib Shah Saheb of Lahore Seconded by:—Sh. Zahur Ahmad Saheb of Allahabad Supported by:—Dr. Mufti Mohammad Sadiq of Qadian.

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^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 70-71.

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TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the 21st Annual Session

OF THE

All-India Muslim Lengue

On the 29th and 30th December 1930

AT ALLAHABAD.

With Dr. Sir Mohamad Iqbal Bar-at-Law in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1 .-

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Resolution No. 2 .-

"That the All India Muslim League while appreciating the united offorts of the Muslim Members to the Round Table Conference in giving faithful expression to Muslim opinion, strongly supports the resolution passed by the All India Muslim Conference at Delhi on the 1st January 1929 under the Presidentship of H.H. Sir Agha Khan and hopes that the Muslim members will confine to abide by that resolution".

Proposed by:—Syed Habib Shah Saheb of Lahore Seconded by:—Sh. Zahur Ahmad Saheb of Allahabad. Supported by:—Dr. Mufti Mohammad Sadiq of Qadian.

Resolution No. 3 .-

"Resolved that as the Government of India's despatch, on proposals for the Constitutional Reforms, fails to lead the country towards responsible Government the recommendations contained in the Despatch would not satisfy Indian aspiration in general and Muslim demands in particular".

Proposed by: -Hon. Syed Husain Imam Saheb of Gaya Seconded by: -M. U. S. Jung Saheb of Allahabad.

Resolution No. 4 .-

Resolved that the All India Muslim League, while fully realizing the particular conditions of the N.W.F. Province and recognising the necessity of taking special measures for the safeguarding of the Frontier, is strongly of opinion that the continued political dissatisfaction in the province can not be removed nor can the local aspirations be satisfied with any scheme of administration which gives an inferior place to the province in comparasion with other provinces in the country.

Proposed by:—Moulvi Mohammad Yakub Saheb M. L. A. Seconded by:—Maulana Abdul Majid Saheb of Badaun.

Resolution No. 5 .-

"Resolved that the All India Muslim League considers it essential and imperative that Statutory provisions should be made for the adequate representation of Mussalmans in the Cabinets as well as in the Public Services of the country".

Proposed by:—Hon. Syed Husain Imam of Gaya Seconded by:—M. Md. Azim Saheb of Ghazipore Supported by:—Syed Habib Shah Saheb of Lahore Resolution No. 3.—

"Resolved that as the Government of India's despatch, on proposals for the Constitutional Reforms, fails to lead the country towards responsible Government the recommendations contained in the Dispatch would not satisfy Indian aspiration in general and Muslim demands in particular"

Proposed by: — Hon. -Syed Husain Imam Saheb of Gaya

Seconded by:—M. U. S, Jung Saheb of Allahabad.

Resolution No. 4.—

"Resolved that the All India Muslim League, while fully realizing the particular conditions of the N. W. F. Province and recognizing the necessity of taking special measures for the safeguarding of the Frontier, is strongly of opinion that the continued political dissatisfaction in the province can not be removed nor can the local aspirations be satisfied with any scheme of administration which gives an inferior place to the province in comparison with other provinces in the country".

Proposed by:—Moulvi Mohammad Yakub Saheh M. L. A. Seconded by:—Maulana Abdul Majid Saheb of Badaun.

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Proposed by:—Hon. Syed Husain Imam of Gaya Seconded by:—M. M[uhamma]d Azim Saheb of Ghazipore

Supported by:—Syed Habib Shah Saheb of Lahore

Resolution No: 6. -

"That the All India Muslim League is emphatically of opinion that the Mussalmans of India will not be satisfied with any constitution that does not gaurantee (a) Full Muslim representation on Population basis in the Legislatures of the Puujab and Bengal. (b) Constitution of Sind into a separate Province forthwith and without any condition (c) Conferment of full powers on the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan.

This League declares that the Muslim insistance of the adoption of the Federal Constitution of India is contingent upon the clear understanding that above mentioned units shall in the matter of provincial autonomy, be treated on the same footing as the other components of the Federation."

Proposed by:—Moulvi Abdul Majid Saheb of Sind Seconded by:—Moulvi Abdul Qadir Saheb of Kasur

Resolution No. 7 .-

"Resolved that a committee of the following members be appointed to revise and amend the Constitution of the All India Muslim League to be placed before the next Session of the League. 1. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan Saheb of Meerut, 2. Kazi Masud Hasan Saheb of Meerut, 3. Moulvi Mohammad Yakub Saheb".

Proposed by:Syed Zakir Ali Saheb Seconded by:—Sh. Zahur Ahmad Saheb of Allahabad

MOHAMMAD YAKUB,

M. L. A.

Honorary Secretary.

Resolution No: 6.-

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Proposed by:—Moulvi Abdul Majid Saheb of Sind Seconded by:—Moulvi Abdul Qa.dir Saheb of Kasur Resolution No. 7.—

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Proposed by:—Syed Zakir Ali Saheb Seconded by:—Sh. Zahur Ahmad Saheb of Allahabad

> Muhammad Yakub, M. L. A. Honorary Secretary [All India Muslim League].

122. A page from Secretary, All India Muslim League's Annual Report, 29-30 December, 1930*.

The A[ll] I[ndia] M[uslim] L[eague] held 1st March 1930 accepted proposal of the Hon. Malik Feroze Khan Noon to form a committee to consider the desirability of an amendment in the Constitution of the League but it is to be regretted that owing to the illness of Maulana Muhammad Ali, who had [shown]... great interest in revising the Constitution of the League, the Committee could not undertake the task which was entrusted to it. However, the need of improving the constitution of the League is so great and so urgent that I would request you to appoint another Committee consisting of members who may be really willing to work an early date.

When I took over the charge of my office as Sec[retar]y of the League, I found the funds of the League in a most baren and embarrassing condition. Not only we had no balance in hand but the League was involved in debt to the extent of Rs.250/- An effort was made to improve the situation and although my appeal to the members did not receive a generous response and only Rs.887[87]/- were realized but the situation was saved by a handsome of donation of Rs.1000/- form Mr. M. A. Jinnah to whose earnest interest and unabating zeal, the League owes its existence.

The League also owes a great debt of gratitude to its Joint Secretary Mr. S. M. Abdullah of Delhi whose financial help in the form of a loan kept the work of the office going. The establishment of a reserve fund in order to keep the organization alive is the greatest...

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 72.

A.g. m. L. he & 12 monos 1930 accepted ropinal of the How were be forozekt le for a committee to cansules de deserbles of amendement in the constitutes of the at hut it is to be regreter that awing to the ens of manlane moldali, who has ence) great warest in seering the contra Legie, li Camella ent mat un link which was entrisk toil. Hewever need of improving it can alulin of the pur is so great a so argent- that, and heguest you to appoint an allis quarillie causing of manders who as he reactly welling to work at an early When I look over 12: Airse of my appear a League I pains the lima the Ledgue in a morte baran & harassing can di le su. Not only we had o halance in hand but Mi League our unolver in delle lotte excluse of s 250/-. In effort was made to un prove di cilualini + althaugh mu appeal to the members dis not ween a general. nes hauce a only as 887/- were realized but the situation was save s by a handsom danalin of man fund Rs 1000/ Hanny. m.a. quah - 60 ware carnet which a unabaling zeel the Logs Lea pur mos swames dis existance. deague also soes a great debl of gratilide to its funt beg mr. S. m. a 11. 11) one havarant help in

123. Annual Report, All India Muslim League, 1930, prepared by Muhammad Yaqub, 25 December, 1930*.

Annual Report

of the

All India Muslim League

For the Year 1930

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Prepared by

Muhammad Yaqub M.L.A

Honorary Secretary

At the

21st Annual Session of the League

held at Allahabad

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 73-78.

ANNHAL REPORT

of the

All India Muslim Longue

For the year 1930

Prepried by

Moulvi Mohamed Yakub M.L.A.
Honors y Cocretary

At the

21st /mmul Session of the Losgue held at ALLANABOD. Brother Members of the All India Muslim League & Gentlemen!

I owe you an apology for presenting a very brief and unostentatious report of the work which was done by the League during the short time when I had the honor to occupy the office of the Secretary of the All India Muslim League.

The final decision to hold the Session of the Muslim League was reached so late and so hurriedly that I had hardly any time to prepare anything to which the name of Report might be given and place it in your hands in a printed form. The Reports of the Honorary Secretaries, however, are more than often, looked upon as tiresome and are usually treated as 'taken for read'; therefore in submitting my scanty and uninteresting Report, I have at least the satisfaction of having saved the members from undergoing an unwelcome ordeal.

The term of the office of my learned predecessor Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu expired on the 31st December 1929 and as on account of circumstances no Annual Session of the League held last year, the vacancy could not be filled. In February last when Mr. Jinnah and I arrived at Delhi in connection with the Session of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Jinnah insisted upon me to take up the duties of the Honorary Secretary of the League casually till the next election took place and owing to the respect and regard which I have for Mr. Jinnah, I could not but obey his orders although entirely against my own personal wishes and the Council elected me as Secretary of the League at its meeting held on Delhi on the 10th February 1930.

The last eleven months during which I held the office have been fraught with most momentous events in the life of the country.

Since 1927 an unfortunate cleavage had occurred in the ranks and file of the League which resulted in the formation of a separate organization at Lahore. Soon after my election

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as Secretary of the League this unfortunate cleavage was recovered due to the generous spirit of reconciliation shown by Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Sir Muhammad Shafi. Amicable relations were again restored and both the wings again united.

Another important event which attracted the attention of the Council of the League was the historical announcement made by His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government inviting a Round Table Conference in England with a view to find a solution of the future constitution of the Government.

4 [four] Ordinary meetings of the Council and one Emergency meeting, at which the holding of the Annual Session at Allahabad was decided, were held during the course of the year.

It had been felt that the Constitution of the All India Muslim League had become antiquated and out of date and its revision was considered a matter of great urgency, therefore, the Council of the All India Muslim League held on 1st March 1930 accepted a proposal of the Hon. Malik Feroze Khan Noon to form a committee to consider the desirability of an amendment in the Constitution of the League but it is to be regretted that owing to the illness of Maulana Muhammad Ali, who had evenced great interest in revising the Constitution of the League, the Committee could not undertake the task which was entrusted to it. However, the need of improving the Constitution of the League is so great and so urgent that I would request you to appoint another Committee consisting of members who may be really willing to work an early date.

When I took over the charge of my office as Secretary of the League, I found the finance of the League in a most baren and embarrassing condition. Not only we had no balance in hand but the League was involved in debt to the extent of Rs.250/- An effort was made to improve the condition and although my appeal to the members did not receive a generous response and only Rs.887[87]/- were realized but the

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Since 1927 an unfortunate cleavage had occurred in the ranks and file of the League which resulted in the formation of a soperate organisation at Lahore. Soon after my election as Secretary of the League this unfortunate cleavage was recoved due to the generous spirit of reconciliation shown by Mr. M.'. Jinush and fir Mohermad Shafi. Anicable relations were again restored and both the wings again united.

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The League also owes a great debt of gratitude to its Joint Secretary Khan Sahib S. M. Abdullah Saheb of Delhi whose financial help in the form of a loan kept the work of the office going.

The establishment of a reserve fund in order to keep the organization alive is the greatest and most urgent need of the All India Muslim League and if Musalmans want to keep alive their oldest and most influential political organization, it is their duty to make a earnest effort for providing funds to the cofers of the League.

A Statement of Account showing income and expenditure for the last three years is given in Appendix 1.

As I have already stated my election as the Secretary of the League was only to fill up a casual vacancy and the experience of the last eleven months has fully demonstrated the necessity of electing a more capable and more energetic person to fill up the office of the Secretary and I hope that in this session we will be able in providing the League with a Secretary who would insure fresh life and activity in the institution.

Before I conclude I must express my deep appreciation of the zeal and enthusiasm with which Mr. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary of the League has performed his duties. In fact had it not been for the perseverance and tenacity shown by Mr. Shamsul Hasan, the doors of the office of the All India Muslim League would long had been closed.

Yours sincerely

[Muhammad Yaqub] M.L. A. Honorary Secretary 25th December1930 and out of date and its revision was considered a matter of great urgency, therefore the Council of the All India Muclim League held on let March 1930 accepted a proposal of the Hon. Malik Foreze Khan Noon to form a committee to consider the desirability of an amendment in the Countitution of the League but it is to be regretted that exing to the illness of Maulana Mohammad Ali, who had evenced great interest in revising the Constitution of the League, the Committee could not undertake the tank which was entrusted to it. However the need of improving the constitution of the League is so great and so urgent to the would re next you to appoint another Countitee consisting of members who may be reserved to stark willing to sork at an a rly date.

Then I took over the charge of my office as forcest my of the to gue I found the finance of the League in a most because and embaracing condition. Not only we had no believes in hand but the League was envolved in dobt to the extent of he 250/-. An effort was male to improve the condition and although my appeal to the manbe a did not recive a generous response and only as 837 were relixed but the cituation was seved by a handsome downtion of he 1000/- from Mr. M.A. Jimmah to whose carment interest and maketing seal the League over its existence.

The League also over a great debt of gratitude to its Joint Secretary Khan Saheb S.M. Abdullah Saheb of Delhi whose financial help in the form of a losn kept the work of the office going.

The cetablishment of a reserve fund in order to keep the organisation alive is the greatest and the most urgent need of the All India Muslim League and if Massachains want to keep alive their oldest and most influential politic 1 organisation it is their duty to make an earnest effort for providing funds to the cofers of the League.

A Statement of Account showing income and expenditure for the last three years is given in Appendix 1.

Secretary of the Louge was only to fill up a community of and the experience of the last eleven months has fully described a the necessity of electing a more coupled and more energetic person to fill up the office of the fearly and I hope that in this Session we will be able in providing the Lougue with a Secretary who would infunctively like and activity in the institution.

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Yours sinceraly

M.L.A.

Ronorary Secretary

Allahabad 25th December 1930 }

124. Letter, Abullisan (Peshawar) to Muhammad Yaqub, 30 August, 1930*.



Khilafat Committee, Peshawar

No.- ---- نمبر Dated 30-8-1930 ----

Dear Moulavi Sahib,

May I request you to kindly furnish this office with some copies of the Presidential address of **Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal** at the Allahabad Muslim League, for the purpose of circulation in Peshawar.

With thanks in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
Abullisan,
Secretary, Khilafat Committee,
Peshawar.

^{*} A.F.M. Vol. 154, p. 79.

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125. Presidential Address, Iqbal, (Allahabad), 30 December, 1930*.



Presidential Adress Allahabad Session Dec[ember] – 1930

By

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal

Printed & Published by
S. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary,
All India Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi
Price Ans 8.

^{*} *A.F.M.* Vol. 154, p. 80-120.



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Allahabad Session Dec. 1930.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal

Printed & Published by
S. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary,
All India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing
Press, Daryagani, Delhi.

Price Ans 8.

1945.

Gentlemen,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League at one of the most critical moments in the history of Muslim political thought and activity in India. I have no doubt that in this great assembly there are men whose political experience is far more extensive than mine, and for whose knowledge of affairs I have the highest respect. It will, therefore, be presumptuous on my part to claim to guide an assembly of such men in the political decisions which they are called upon to make today. I lead no party; I follow no leader. I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that, while assuming that the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam, I propose, not to guide you in your decisions, but to attempt the humbler task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions.

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Islam and Nationalism

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity - by which expression I mean a social structure, regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal – has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims both in India and outside India. Our younger men inspired by these ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe. In Europe, Christianity was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a vast Church-organisation. The protest of Luther was directed against this Church-organisation, not against any system of polity of a secular nature, for the obvious reason that there was no such polity associated with Christianity. And Luther was perfectly justified in rising in revolt against this organisation; though, I think, he did not realize that in the peculiar conditions which obtained in Europe his revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of ethics of Jesus by the growth of universal

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ISLAM AND NATIONALISM.

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity-by which expression I mean a social structure, regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal-has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims both in India and outside India. Our younger men, inspired by these ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe. In Europe

plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into a mutually ill-adjusted many, the transformation of a human into a national outlook, requiring a more realistic foundation, such as the notion of country, and finding expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines, i.e., on lines which recognize territory as the only principle of political solidarity. If you begin with the conception of religion as complete other-worldliness, then what has happened to Christianity in Europe is perfectly natural. The universal ethics of Jesus is displaced by national systems of ethics and polity. The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual, and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life. Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time. Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Mannichaean thought. Her best thinkers are realizing this initial mistake to-day, but her statesmen are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought, and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European states. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted states dominated by interests, not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted states, after trampling over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity, are today feeling the need of a federated Europe, i.e. the need of a unity which the Christian Church-organisation originally gave them, but which, instead of reconstructing in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy

Christianity was understood to be a purely monastic which gradually developed into a vast church-organisation. The protest of Luther was against this church-organisation, directed against any system of polity of a secular nature. for the obvious reason that there was no such polity associated with Christianity. And Luther was perfectly justified in rising in revolt against this organisation; though, I think, he did not realize that in the peculiar conditions which obtained in Europe his revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into a mutually ill-adjusted many, the transformation of a human into a national outlook, requiring a more realistic foundation, such as the notion of country, and finding expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines, i. e. on lines which recognize territory as the only principle of political If you begin with the conception of solidarity. religion as complete other-worldiness, than what has happened to Christianity in Europe is perfecly natural. The universal ethics of Jesus is displaced by national systems of ethics and polity. The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual, under the inspiration of Luther. A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is an impossible phenomenon; for here there is no Church-organisation, similar to that of Christianity in the middle ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have been revealed, but whose structure, owing to our legists' want of contact with the modern world, stands today in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments. I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam, whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has assimilated and transformed before many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a radical transformation of its own structure by the force of this idea, is hard to predict. Professor Wensinck of Leiden (Holland) wrote to me the other day: "It seems to me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up. It seems to me scarcely possible to state what the outcome will be for Christianity, still less what it will be for Islam." At the present moment the national idea is racialising the outlook of Muslims, and thus materially counteracting the humanising work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of standards different and even opposed to the standards of Islam.

I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion. To address this session of the All-India Muslim League you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states, and finally who believes that *Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny!* Such a man cannot but look at matters from his own point of view. Do not think that the problem I am indicating is a purely theoretical one. It is a very living and

and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life. Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be ronounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time. Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Mannichaean thought. Her best thinkers are realizing this initial mistake to-day, but her statesmen are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought, and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European states. The result is a see of mutually ill-adjusted states dominated by interests, not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted states, after trampling over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity, are to-day feeling the need of a federated Europe, i. e. the need of a unity which the Christian churchorganisation originally gave them, but which, instead of reconstructing in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it hit to destroy under the inspiration of Luther. A Inther in the world of Islam, however, is an

practical problem calculated to affect the very fabric of Islam as a system of life and conduct. On a proper solution of it alone depends your future as a distinct cultural unit in India. Never in our history Islam has had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it today. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment. Nor should the way in which I am approaching this important problem lead anybody to think that I intend to guarrel with those who happen to think differently. You are a Muslim assembly and, I suppose, anxious to remain true to the spirit and ideals of Islam. My sole desire, therefore, is to tell you frankly what I honestly believe to be the truth about the present situation. In this way alone it is possible for me to illuminate, according to my light, the avenues of your political action.

The Unity of an Indian Nation

What, then, is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national polities in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led, by a logical process of thought, to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the [Holy] Prophet's [P. B. U. H.] religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experient and

impossible phenomenon; for here there is no Churchorganisation, similar to that of Christianity in the middle ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have been revealed, but whose structure, owing to our legists' want of contact with the modern world, stands to-day in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments. I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam. Whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has assimilated and transformed before many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a radical transformation of its own structure by the force of this idea, is hard to predict. Professor Wensinck of Leiden (Holland) wrote to me the other day: "It seems to me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up. It seems to me scarcely possible to state what the outcome will be for Christianity, still less what it will be for Islam." At the present moment the national idea is racialising the outlook of Muslims, and thus materially counteracting the humanising work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of standards different and even opposed to the standards of Islam. I hope you will pardon

necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man," says Renan, "is enslaved neither by his race nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically re-making men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teachings of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and cooperation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognise facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her

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people have cultural affinities with nations in the East, and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of cooperation is discovered in India it will bring peace and mutual goodwill to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps, we suspect each other's intentions, and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual cooperation, we cannot afford to part with monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teachings of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is source of my life and behaviour; and which has formed me what I am by

believe to be the truth about the present situation. In this way alone it is possible for me to illuminate, according to my light, the avenues of your political action.

THE UNITY OF AN INDIAN NATION.

What, then is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national polities in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led, by a logical process of thought, to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the Prophet's religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experient and necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity

giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness. Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognise the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind they say: "To say from the larger view-point of nationalism that no communal provices should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international viewpoint that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation."

Muslim India within India

Communalism, in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stiffling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan

with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man," says Renan, "is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically re-making men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teaching of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste-units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of the North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy state. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population the state contemplated by the proposal would be much less than some of the present Indian provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division and perhaps of some districts where non-Muslims pre-dominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population – so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated state to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim minorities within its area. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feelings. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion the one of ideas or of bayonets. The Punjab with fifty-six per cent Muslim population supplies fifty-four per cent of the total combatant troops in the Indian Army, and if the nineteen thousand Gurkhas recruited from the independent state of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to sixty two per cent of the whole Indian Army. This percentage does not take into account nearly six thousand combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. From this you can easily calculate the possibilities of the North-West Indian Muslims in regard

nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought. not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the East, and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India it will bring peace and mutual good-will to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps, we suspect each other's intentions, and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which

to the defence of India against foreign aggression. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri thinks that the Muslim demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim states along with North-West border is actuated by a desire "to acquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India." I may frankly tell him that the Muslim demand is not actuated by the kind of motive he imputes to us; it is actuated by a genuine desire for free development which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India.

Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim states will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such states. I have already indicated to you the meaning of the word religion, as applied to Islam. The truth is that Islam is not a church. It is state, conceived as a contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth, but as a spiritual being understood in terms of a social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism. The character of a Muslim state can be judged from what the Times of India pointed out sometime ago in a leader on the Indian Banking Inquiry Committee. "In ancient India," the paper points out, "the state framed laws regulating the rates of interest; but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realization of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim states imposed no restrictions on such rates." I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from the internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

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circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrowminded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to th teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship if need be. Yet I love the communal -group which is the source of my life and behaviour;

Federal States

Thus it is clear that in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous states, based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. The conception of federation underlying the Simon Report necessitates the abolition of the Central Legislative Assembly as a popular assembly, and makes it an assembly of the representatives of federal states. It further demands a redistribution of territory on the lines which I have indicated. And the Report does recommend both. I give my whole-hearted support to this view of the matter, and venture to suggest that the redistribution recommended in the Simon Report must fulfil two conditions. It must precede the introduction of the new constitution, and must be so devised as to finally solve the communal problem. Proper redistribution will make the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy. The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word nation to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things however does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is the land of racial and religious variety. And to this, the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances, territorial electorates cannot secure adequate representation of all interests, and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims

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and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness. Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognise the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind they say: "To say from the larger viewpoint of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international viewpoint that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation."

MUSLIM INDIA WITHIN INDIA.

Communalism, in its higher aspect, than, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a hom-

of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

Federation as understood in the Simon Report

But in so far as the question of the powers of the Central Federal States is concerned, there is a subtle difference of motive in the constitutions proposed by the Pandits of India and the Pandits of England. The Pandits of India do not disturb the central authority as it stands at present. All that they desire is that this authority should become fully responsible to the Central Legislature which they maintain intact, and where their majority will become further reinforced on the nominated element ceasing to exist. The Pandits of England, on the other hand, realizing that democracy in the centre tends to work contrary to their interests, and is likely to absorb the whole power now in their hands, in case a further advance is made towards responsible government, have shifted the experiment of democracy from the centre to the provinces. No doubt, they introduce the principle of federation and appear to have made a beginning by making certain proposals, yet their evaluation of this principle is determined by considerations wholly different to those which determine its value in the eyes of Muslim India. The Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem i.e. the communal problem. The Royal Commissioners' view of federation, though sound in principle, does not seem to aim at responsible government for federal states. Indeed it does not go beyond providing means of escape from the situation which the introduction of democracy in India has created for the British, and wholly disregards the communal problem by leaving it where it was.

Thus it is clear that, in so far as real federation is concerned, the Simon Report virtually negatives the principle

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ogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frantier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy state. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population the state contemplated by the proposal would be much less than some of the present Iudian provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division and perhaps of some districts where non-Muslims predominate, will make

of federation in its true significance. The Nehru Report realizing Hindu majority in the Central Assembly reaches a unitary form of government because such an institution secures Hindu dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retains the present British dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation, partly because the British are naturally unwilling to part with the power they have so long wielded, and partly because it is possible for them, in the absence of an inter-communal understanding in India, to make out a plausible case for the retention of that power in their own hands. To my mind a unitary form of Government is simply unthinkable in a self-governing India. What is called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing states, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of federal states. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them as a distinct political entity.

Federal Scheme as discussed in the Round Table Conference

The necessity for a structural change in the Central Government was seen probably long before the British discovered the most effective means for introducing this change. That is why at a rather late stage it was announced that the participation of the Indian Princes in the Round Table Conference was essential. It was a kind of surprise to the people of India, particularly the minorities, to see the Indian Princes dramatically expressing their willingness at the Round Table Conference to join an All-India Federation and, as a result of their declaration, Hindu delegates-uncompromising advocates of a unitary form of government – quietly agreeing to the evolution of a federal scheme. Even Mr. Sastri who, only a few days before, had severely criticised Sir John Simon for recommending a federal scheme for India, suddenly became a convert and admitted his conversion in the plenary session of

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it isso extensive and more Muslim in population-so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated state to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim minorities within its area. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the Rritish. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sease of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion the one of ideas or of bayonets. The Punjab with fifty six per cent Muslim population supplies fifty four per cent of the total combatant troops in the Indian army, and if the nineteen thousand Gurkhas recruited from the independent state of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to sixty two per cent of the whole Indian Army. This percentage does not take into account nearly six thousand combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

the Conference - thus offering the Prime Minister of England an occasion for one of his wittiest observations in his concluding speech. All this has a meaning both for the British who have sought the participation of the Indian Princes, and the Hindus who have unhesitatingly accepted the evolution of an All-India Federation. The truth is that the participation of the Indian Princes – among whom only a few are Muslims – in a federation scheme serves a double purpose. On the one hand it serves as an all important factor in maintaining the British power in India practically as it is, on the other hand it gives overwhelming majority to the Hindus in an All-India Federal Assembly. It appears to me that the Hindu-Muslim differences regarding the ultimate form of the Central Government are being cleverly exploited by British politicians through the agency of the Princes who see in the scheme prospects of better security for their despotic rule. If the Muslims silently agree to any such scheme it will simply hasten their end as a political entity in India. The policy of the Indian Federation, thus created, will be practically controlled by Hindu Princes forming the largest group in the Central Federal Assembly. They will always lend their support to the Crown in matters of Imperial concern; and in so far as internal administration of the country is concerned they will help in maintaining and strengthening the supremacy of the Hindus. In other words the scheme appears to be aiming at a kind of understanding between Hindu India and British Imperialism - you perpetuate me in India, and I in return give you a Hindu oligarchy to keep all other Indian communities in perpetual subjection. If therefore the British Indian provinces are not transformed into really autonomous states, the Princes' participation in a scheme of Indian federation will be interpreted only as a dexterous move on the part of British politicians to satisfy, without parting with any real power, all parties concerned – Muslims with the word federation, Hindus with a majority in the centre, and British Imperialists - whether Tory or Labourite - with the substance of real power.

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From this you can easily calculate the possibilities of North-West Indian Muslims in regard to the defence of India against foreign aggression. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri thinks that the Muslim demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim states along the North-West border is actuated by a desire "to a cquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India." I may frankly tell him that the Muslim demand is not actuated by the kind of motive he imputes to us; it is actuated by a genuine desire for free development which is prectically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India.

Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim states will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such states. I have already indicated to you the meaning of the word religion, as applied to Islam. The truth is that Islam is not a church. It is state, conceived as a contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth, but as a spiritual being understood in terms of a social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism.

The number of Hindu States in India is far greater than Muslim states; and it remains to be seen how the Muslim demand for 33 per cent seats in the Central Federal Assembly is to be met within a House or Houses constituted of representatives taken from British India as well as Indian states. I hope the Muslim delegates are fully aware of the implications of the federal scheme as discussed in the Round Table Conference. The question of Muslim representation in the proposed All-India Federation has not yet been discussed. "The interim report," says Reuter's summary, "contemplates two chambers in the Federal Legislature - each containing representatives both of British India and States, the proportion of which will be a matter of subsequent consideration under the heads which have not yet been referred to the Sub-Committee." In my opinion the question of proportion is of the utmost importance, and ought to have been considered simultaneously with the main question of the structure of the Assembly.

The best course, I think, would have been to start with a British Indian Federation only. A federal scheme born of an unholy union between democracy and despotism cannot but keep British India in the same vicious circle of a unitary Central Government. Such a unitary form may be of the greatest advantage to the British, to the majority community in British India and to the Indian Princes; it can be of no advantage to the Muslims unless they get majority rights in five out of eleven Indian Provinces with full residuary powers, and one-third share of seats in the total House of the Federal Assembly. In so far as the attainment of sovereign powers by the British Indian Provinces is concerned the position of H. H. the Ruler of Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Jinnah is unassailable. In view, however, of the participation of the Princes in the Indian Federation we must now see our demand for representation in the British Indian Assembly in a new light. The question is not one of Muslim share in a British Indian Assembly, but one which relates to representation of British Indian Muslims in an All-India

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The character of a Muslim state can be judged from what the Times of India pointed out sometime ago in a leader on the Indian Banking Inquiry Committee. "In ancient India," the paper points out. "the state framed laws regulating the rates of interest; but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realization of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim states imposed no restrictions on such rates." I therefore demand the formationof a consolidated Muslim state in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power: for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer comtact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

FEDERAL STATES.

Thus it is clear that in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous states, based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interest, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. The conception of federation underlying the Simon Report necessitates the abolition of the Central Legislative Assembly as a popular assembly, and makes it an assembly of

Federal Assembly. Our demand for 33 per cent must now be taken as a demand for the same proportion in the All-India Federal Assembly exclusive of the share allotted to the Muslim states entering the Federation.

The Problem of Defence

The other difficult problem which confronts the successful working of a federal system in India is the problem of India's defence. In their discussion of this problem the Royal Commissioners have marshalled all the deficiencies of India in order to make out a case for Imperial administration of the army. "India and Britain," say the Commissioners, "are so related that India's defence cannot now or in any future which is within sight, be regarded as a matter of purely Indian concern. The control and direction of such an army must rest in the hands of agents of the Imperial Government. Now, does it necessarily follow from this that further progress towards the realization of responsible Government in British India is barred until the work of defence can be adequately discharged without the help of British officers and British troops? As things are, there is a block on the line of constitutional advance. All hopes of evolution in the Central Government towards the ultimate goal described in the declaration of 20th August 1917 are in danger of being indefinitely frustrated if the attitude illustrated by the Nehru Report is maintained that any future change involves the putting of the administration of the army under the authority of an elected Indian Legislature." Further to fortify their argument they emphasise the fact of competing religions and rival races of widely different capacity, and try to make the problem look insoluble by remarking that "the obvious fact, that India is not, in the ordinary and natural sense, a single nation is nowhere made more plain than in considering the difference between the martial races of India and the rest." These features of the question have been emphasised in order to demonstrate that the British are not only keeping India secure from foreign menace but are also the "neutral guardians of internal

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the representatives of federal states. It further demands a redistribution of territory on the lines which I have indicated. And the Report does recommend both. I give my whole-hearted support to this view of the matter, and venture to suggest that the redistribution recommended in the Simon Report must fulfil two conditions. It must precede the introduction of the new constitution, and must be so devised as to finally solve the communal problem. Proper redistribution will make the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy. The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word nation to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. And to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety of retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances territorial electorates cannot secure adequate

security." However, in federated India, as I understand federation, the problem will have only one aspect, i.e. external defence. Apart from provincial armies necessary for maintaining internal peace, the Indian Federal Congress can maintain, on the North-West Frontier, a strong Indian Frontier Army, composed of units recruited from all provinces and officered by efficient and experienced military men taken from all communities. I know that India is not in possession of efficient military officers, and this fact is exploited by the Royal Commissioners in the interest of an argument for Imperial administration. On this point I cannot but quote another passage from the Report which, to my mind, furnishes the best argument against the position taken up by the Commissioners. "At the present moment," says the Report, "no Indian holding the King's Commission is of higher army rank than a captain. There are, we believe, 39 captains of whom 25 are in ordinary regimental employ. Some of them are of an age which would prevent their attaining much higher rank, even if they passed the necessary examination before retirement. Most of these have not been through Sandhurst, but got their Commissions during the Great War. Now, however genuine may be the desire, and endeavour however earnest the to work transformation the overriding conditions so forcibly expressed by the Skeen Committee (whose members, apart from the Chairman and the Army Secretary, were Indian gentlemen) in the words, "Progress... must be contingent upon success being 'secured at each stage and upon military efficiency being maintained throughout must in any case render such development measured and slow. A higher command cannot be evolved at short notice out of existing cadres of Indian officers, all of junior ranks and limited experience. Not until the slender trickle of suitable Indian recruits for the officer class - and we earnestly desire an increase in their numbers - flows in much greater volume, not until sufficient Indians have attained the experience and training requisite to provide all the officers for, at any rate,

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representation of all interests, and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

FEDERATION AS UNDERSTOOD IN THE SIMON REPORT

But in so far as the question of the powers of the Central Federal State is concerned, their is a subtle difference of motive in the constitutions proposed by the Pandits of India and the Pandits of England. The Pandits of India do not disturb the central authority as it stands at present. All that they desire is that this authority should become fully responsible to the Central Legislature which they maintain intact, and where their majority will become further reinforced on the nominated element ceasing to exist. The Pandits of England, on the other hand, realizing that democracy in the cantre tends to work contrary to their interests, and is likely to absorb the whole power now in their hands, in case a further advance is made towards responsible government, have shifted the experiment of democracy from the centre to the provinces. No doubt, they introduce the principle of federation and appear to have made a beginning by making certain proposals, yet their evaluation some Indian regiments, not until such units have stood the only test which can possibly determine their efficiency, and not until Indian officers have qualified by a successful army career for high command, will it be possible to develop the policy of Indianisation to a point which will bring a completely Indianised army within sight. Even then years must elapse before the process could be completed."

Now I venture to ask who is responsible for the present state of things? Is it due to some inherent incapacity of our martial races or to the slowness of the process of military training? The military capacity of our martial races is undeniable. The process of military training may be slow as compared to other processes of human training. I am no military expert to judge this matter. But as a layman I feel that the argument, as stated, assumes the process to be practically endless. This means perpetual bondage for India, and makes it all the more necessary that the Frontier Army, as suggested by the Nehru Report, be entrusted to the charge of a committee of defence the personnel of which may be settled by mutual understanding.

Again it is significant that the Simon Report has given extraordinary importance to the question of India's land frontier, but has made only passing references to its naval position. India has doubtless had to face invasions from her land frontier; but it is obvious that her present masters took possession of her on account of her defenceless sea coast. A self-governing and free India, will, in these days have to take greater care of her sea coast than her land frontiers.

I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established, Muslim federal states will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India was a reality in the days of Mughal Rule. Indeed in the time of Akbar the Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals. I am perfectly sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army, based

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of this principle is determined by considerations wholly different to those which determine its value in the eyes of Muslim India. The Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem i.e. the communal problem. The Royol Commissioners' view of federation, though sound in principle, does not seem to aim at responsible government for federal states. Indeed it does not go beyond providing means of escape from the situation which the introduction of democracy in India has created for the British, and wholly disregards the communal problem by leaving it where it was.

. Thus it is clear that, in so far as real federation is concerned, the Simon Report virtually negatives the principle of federation in its true significance. The Nehru Report realizing Hindu majority in the Central Assembly reaches a unitary form of government because such an institution secures Hindre dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retains the present British dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation, partly because the British are naturally unwilling to part with the power they have so long wielded, and partly because it is possible for them, in the absence of an intercommunal understanding in India, to make out a plausible case for the retention of that power in their own hands. To my mind a unitary form of government is simply unthinkable in a selfbased on a federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of any invasion.

The Alternative

I have thus tried briefly to indicate the way in which the Muslims of India ought, in my opinion, to look at the two most important constitutional problems of India. redistribution of British India, calculated to secure a permanent solution of the communal problem, is the main demand of the Muslims of India. If, however, the Muslim demand of a territorial solution of the communal problem is ignored, then I support, as emphatically as possible, the Muslim demands repeatedly urged by the All India Muslim League and the All India Muslim Conference. The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates, in the Punjab and Bengal, or fail to guarantee them 33 per cent representation in any Central Legislature. There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact which originated in a false view of Indian nationalism, and deprived the Muslims of India from chances of acquiring any political power in India. The second is the narrow-visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interest of what may be called Punjab Ruralism resulting in a proposal which virtually reduces the Punjab Muslims to a position of minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal.

The Simon Report does great injustice to the Muslims in not recommending a statutory majority for the Punjab and Bengal. It would either make the Muslims stick to the Lucknow Pact or agree to a scheme of joint electorates. Despatch of the Government of India on the Simon Report admits that since the publication of that document the Muslim community has not expressed its willingness to accept any of the alternatives proposed by the Report. The

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governing India. What called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing states, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly, vested in it by the free consent of federal states. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them as a distinct political entity.

FEDERAL SCHEME AS DISCUSSED IN THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

The necessity for a structural change in the Central Government was seen probably long before the British discovered the most effective means for introducing this change. That is why at rather a late stage it was announced that the participation of the Indian Princes in the Round Table Conference was essential. It was a kind of surprise to the people of India, particularly the minorities, to see the Indian Princes dramatically expressing their willingness at the Round Table Conference to join an All-India Federation, and, as a result of their delegates-uncompromising declaration. Hindu advocates of a unitary form of government-quietly agreeing to the evolution of a federal scheme. Even Mr. Sastri who, only a few days before, had severely criticised Sir John Simon for recommending a federal scheme for India, suddenly became a convert and admitted his Conversion in the plenary session

despatch recognizes that it may be a legitimate grievance to deprive the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal of representation in the councils in proportion to their population merely because of weightage allowed to Muslim minorities elsewhere. But the despatch of the Government of India fails to correct the injustice of the Simon Report. In so far as the Punjab is concerned – and this is the most crucial point – it endorses the so-called 'carefully balanced scheme' worked out by the official members of the Punjab Government which gives the Punjab Muslims a majority of two over the Hindus and Sikhs combined, and a proportion of 49 per cent of the Houses as a whole. It is obvious that the Punjab Muslims cannot be satisfied with less than a clear majority in the total House. However, Lord Irwin and his Government do recognize that the justification for communal electorates for majority communities would not cease unless a two-third majority of the Muslim members in a provincial council unanimously agree to surrender the right of separate representation. I cannot however understand why the Government of India, having recognized the legitimacy of Muslim grievance, have not had the courage to recommend a statutory majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

Nor can the Muslims of India agree to any such changes which fail to create at least Sind as a separate province and treat the North-West Frontier Province as a province of inferior political status. I see no reason why Sind should not be united with Baluchistan and turned into a separate province. It has nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. In point and civilization the Royal Commissioners find it more akin to Mesopotamia and Arabia than India. The Muslim geographer Mas'udi noticed this kinship long ago when he said, "Sind is a country nearer to the dominions of Islam." The first Omayyad ruler is reported to have said of Egypt:

"Egypt has her back towards Africa and face towards Arabia." With necessary alterations the same remark describes

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of the Conference-thus offering the Prime Minister of England an occasion for one of his wittiest observations in his concluding speech. All this has a meaning both for the British who have sought the participation of the Indian Princes, and the Hindus who have unhesitatingly accepted the evolution of an All-India Federation. The truth is that the participation of the Indian Princesamong whom only a few are Muslims-in a federation scheme serves a double purpose. On the onc hand it serves as an all important factor in maintaining the British power in India practically as it is, on the other hand it gives overwhelming majority to the Hindus in an All-India Federal Assembly. It appears to me that the Hindu-Muslim differences regarding the ultimate form of the Central Government are being cleverly exploited by British politicians through the agency of the Princes who see in the scheme prospects of better security for their despotic rule. If the Muslims silently agree to any such scheme it will simply hasten their end as a political entity in India. The policy of the Indian Federation, thus created, will be practically controlled by Hindu Princes forming the largest group in the Central Federal Assembly. They will always lend their support to the Crown in matters of Imperial concern; and in so far as internal administration of the country is concerned they will help in maintaining and strengthening the supremacy of the Hindus. In other words the

the exact situation of Sind. She has her back towards India and face towards Central Asia. Considering further the nature of her agricultural problems which can invoke no sympathy from the Bombay Government, and her infinite commercial possibilities, dependent on the inevitable growth of Karachi into a second metropolis of India, it is unwise to keep her attached to a Presidency which, though friendly today, is likely to become a rival at no distant period. Financial difficulties, we are told, stand in the way of separation. I do not know of any definite authoritative pronouncement on the matter. But, assuming there are any such difficulties, I see no reason why the Government of India should not give temporary financial help to a promising province in her struggle for independent progress.

As to the North-West Frontier Province, it is painful to note that the Royal Commissioners have practically denied that the people of this province have any right to. Reform. They fall far short of the Bray Committee, and the council recommended by them is merely a screen to hide the autocracy of the Chief Commissioner. The inherent right of the Afghan to light a cigarette is curtailed merely because he happens to be living in a powder house. The Royal Commissioners' epigrammatic argument is pleasant enough, but far from convincing. Political reform is light, not fire; and to light every human being is entitled whether he happens to live in a powder house or a coal mine. Brave, shrewd and determined to suffer for his legitimate aspirations, the Afghan is sure to resent any attempt to deprive him of opportunities of full self-development. To keep such a people contented is in the best interest of both England and India. What has recently happened in that unfortunate province is the result of a step-motherly treatment shown to the people since the introduction of the principle of self-government in the rest of India. I only hope that the British statesmanship will not obscure its view of the situation by hoodwinking itself into the belief that the present unrest in the province is due to any extraneous causes.

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scheme appears to be aiming at a kind of understanding between Hindu India and British Imperialism—you perpetuate me in India, and I in return give you a Hindu oligarchy to keep all other Indian communities in perpetual subjection. If therefore the British Indian provinces are not transformed into really autonomous states, the Princes' participation in a scheme of Indian federation will be interpreted only as a dexterous move on the part of British politicians to satisfy, without parting with any real power, all parties concerned—Muslims with the word federation, Hindus with a majority in the centre, and British Imperialists—whether Tory or Labourite—with the substance of real power.

The number of Hindu states in India is far greater than Muslim states; and it remains to be seen how the Muslim demand for 33 per cent seats in the Central Federal Assembly, is to be met with in a House or Houses constituted of representatives taken from British India as well as Indian states. I hope the Muslim delegates are fully aware of the implications of the federal scheme as discussed in the Round Table Conference. The question of Muslim representation in the proposed All-India Federation has not yet been discussed. "The interim report, says Reuter's summary, "contemplates two chambers in the Federal Legislature—each containing representatives both of British

The recommendation for the introduction of a measure of reform in the N.W.F.P. made in the Government of India's despatch is also unsatisfactory. No doubt the despatch goes further than the Simon Report in recommending a sort of representative Council and a semi-representative cabinet, but it fails to treat this important Muslim province on an equal footing with the other Indian Provinces. Indeed the Afghan is, by instinct, more fitted for democratic institutions than any other people in India.

Round Table Conference

I think I am now called upon to make a few observations on the Round Table Conference. Personally, I do not feel optimistic as to the results of this conference. It was hoped that away from the actual scene of the communal strife, and in a changed atmosphere, better councils would prevail; and a genuine settlement of the differences between the two major communities of India would bring India's freedom within sight. Actual events, however, tell a different tale. Indeed the discussion of the communal question in London has demonstrated, more clearly than ever, the essential disparity between the two great cultural units of India. Yet the Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India is international and not national. He is reported to have said that "his Government would find it difficult to submit to Parliament proposals for the maintenance of separate electorates, since joint electorate were much more in accordance with British democratic sentiments." Obviously he did not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations; and that a system of separate electorates is only a poor substitute for a territorial solution of the problem. Nor is the Minorities Sub-Committee likely to reach a satisfactory settlement. The whole question will have to go before the British Parliament; and we can only hope that the keen sighted representatives of the British nation, unlike most of our Indian politicians will be able to pierce through the

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India and States, the proportion of which will be a matter of subsequent consideration under the heads which have not yet been referred to the Sub-Committee." In my opinion the question of proportion is of the utmost importance, and ought to have been considered simultaneously with the main question of the structure of the Assembly.

The best course, I think, would have been to start with a British Indian Federation only. A federal scheme born of an unholy union between democracy and despotism cannot but keep British India in the same vicious circle of a unitary Central Government. Such a unitary form may be of the greatest advantage to the British, to the majority community in British India and to the Indian Princes; it can be of no advantage to the Muslims unless they get majority rights in five out of eleven Indian Provinces with full residuary powers, and one-third share of seats in the total house of the Federal Assembly. In so far as the attainment of sovereign powers by the British Indian Provinces is concerned the position of H. H. the Ruler of Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Jinnah is unassailable. In view, however, of the participation of the Princes in the Indian Federation we must now see our demand for representation in the British Indian Assembly in a new light. The question is not one of Muslim share in a British Indian Assembly, but one which relates to represurface of things and see clearly the true fundamentals of peace and security in a country like India. To base a constitution on the concept of a homogenous India, or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war. As far as I can see, there will be no peace in the country until the various people that constitute India are given opportunities of free self-development on modern lines without abruptly breaking with their past.

I am glad to be able to say that our Muslim delegates fully realize the importance of a proper solution of what I call India's international problem. They are perfectly justified in pressing for a solution of the communal question before the question of responsibility in the Central Government is finally settled. No Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propaganda word - communalism expressively devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls the British democratic sentiment, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are seventy million, and far more homogenous that any other people in India. Indeed, the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure. Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious argument that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national i.e. lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the 'people of the Book. There are no social barriers between Muslims and the

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sentation of British Indian Muslims in an All-India Federal Assembly. Our demand for 33 per cent must now be taken as a demand for the same proportion in the All-India Federal Assembly exclusive of the share allotted to the Muslim states entering the Federation.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFENCE.

The other difficult problem which confronts the successful working of a federal system in India is the problem of India's defence. In their discussion of this problem the Royal Commissioners have marshalled all the deficiencies of India in order to make out a case for Imperial administration of the army. "India and Britain," say the Commissioners, "are so related that India's defence cannot now or in any future which is within sight, be regarded as a matter of purely Indian concern. The control and direction of such an army must rest in the hands of agents of the Imperial Government. Now, does it necessarily follow from this that further progress towards the realization of responsible Government in British India is barred until the work of defence can be adequately discharged without the help of British officers and British troops? As things are, their is a block on the line of constitutional advance. All hopes of evolution in the Central Government towards the ultimate goal described in the declaration of 20th August 1917 are in danger of being

'people of the Book.' A Jew or Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the Law of Islam allows intermarriage with the 'people of the Book.' Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Quran declares, "O people of the Book! Come let us join together on the 'word' (Unity of God), that is common to us all." The wars of Islam and Christianity, and, later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. Today it is being gradually being realized in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the soul test of the success of our delegates is the extent to which they are able to get the non-Muslim delegates of the Conference to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for an independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India. If you are at all serious about your ideals and aspirations you must be ready for such an action. Our leading men have done a good deal of political thinking, and their thought has certainly made us, more or less, sensitive to the forces which are now shaping the destinies of peoples in India and outside India. But I ask, has this thinking prepared us for the kind of action demanded by the situation which may arise in the near future? Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irvin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders. By leaders I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such

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indefinitely frustrated if the attitude illustrated by the Nehrn Report is maintained that any futurechange involves the putting of the adminstration of the army under the authority of an elected Indian Legislature."- Further to fortify their argument they emphasize the fact of competing religions and rival races of widely different capacity, and try to make the problem look insoluble by remarking that "the obvious fact, that India is not, in the ordinary and natural sense, a single nation is nowhere made more plain than in considering the difference between the martial races of India and the rest." These features of the question have been emphasized in order to demonstrate that the British are not only keeping India secure from foreign menace but are also the "neutral guardians" of internal security. However, in federated India, as I understand federation, the problem will have only one aspect, i. e. external defence. Apart from provincial armies necessary for maintaining internal peace, the Indian Federal Congress can maintain, on the North-West Frontier a strong Indian Frontier Army, composed of units recruited from all provinces and officered by efficient and experienced military men taken from all communities. I know that India is not in possession of efficient military officers, and this fact is exploited by the Royal Commissioners in the interest of an argument for Imperial administration. On this point I cannot but quote another passage from the Report which,

men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order. The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herdinstinct. This makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community. We are doing today in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickerings in religion do not much harm to our solidarity. They at least indicate an interest in what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover, this principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam. But diversity in political action, at a moment when concerted action is needed in the best interest of the very life of our people, may prove fatal. How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on the subject; but I think it is proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise leading Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to determine the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement. In this address I mentioned this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind, and give some serious thought to it in the meantime.

The Conclusion

Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion I cannot but impress upon you that the present crisis in the history of India demands complete organisation and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your own interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been and is a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of

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to my mind, furnishes the best argument against the position taken up by the Commissioners. "At the present moment," says the Report, "no Indian holding the King's Commission is of higher army rank than a captain. There are, we believe, 39 captains of whom 25 are in ordinary regimental employ. Some of them are of an age which would prevent their attaining much higher rank, even if they passed the necessary examination before retirement. Most of these have not been through Sandhurst, but got their Commissions during the Great War. Now, however genuine may be the desire, and however earnest the endeavour to work for this transformation the overriding conditions so forcibly expressed by the Skeen Committee (whose members, apart from the Chairman and the Army Secretary, were Indian gentlemen) in the words, "Progress must be contingent upon success being secured at each stage and upon military efficiency being maintained through must in any case render such development measured and slow. A higher command cannot be evolved at short notice out of existing cadres of Indian officers, all of junior rank and limited experience. Not until the slender trickle of suitable Indian recruits for the officer class-and we earnestly desire an increase in their numbers-flows in much greater volume, not until sufficient Indians have attained the experience and training requisite to provide all the officers for, at any rate, some Indian

the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of selfexpression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia. And since 70 millions of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the Indian problem not only from the Muslim point of view but also from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim as such. Our duty towards Asia and India cannot be loyally performed without an organised will fixed on a definite purpose. In your own interest, as a political entity among other political entities of India, such an equipment is an absolute necessity. Our disorganized condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis and an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit. Matter is diversity; sprit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa. If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Ouran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual.

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regiments, not until such units have stood the only test which can possibly determine their efficiency, and not until Indian officers have qualified by a successful army career for high command, will it be possible to develope the policy of Indianisation to a point which will bring a completely Indianised army within sight. Even then years must elapse before the process could be completed."

Now I venture to ask who is responsible for the present state of things? Is it due to some inherent incapacity of our martial races, or to the slowness of the process of military training? The military capacity of our martial races is undeniable. The process of military training may be slow as compared to other processes of human training. I am no military expert to judge this matter. But as a layman I feel that the argument, as stated, process to be practically assumes the This means perpetual bondage for India. endless. and makes it all the more necessary that the Frontier Army, as suggested by the Nehru Report, be entrusted to the charge of a committee of defence the personnel of which may be settled by mutual understanding.

Again it is significant that the Simon Report has given extraordinary importance to the question of India's land frontier, but has made only passing references to its naval position. India has doubtless had to face invasions from her land frontier; but

Why cannot you who, as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponent of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not mystify anybody when I say that things in India are not what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided." (5:104)

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it is obvious that her present masters took possession of her on account of her defenceless sea coast. A self-governing and free India, will, in these days, have to take greater care of her sea coast than land frontiers.

I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established, Muslim federal states will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India was a reality in the days of Mughal Rule, Indeed in the time of Akbar the Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals. I am perfectly sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army, based on a federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion. if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of an invasion.

THE ALTERNATIVE.

I have thus tried briefly to indicate the way in which the Muslims of India ought, in my opinion, to look at the two most important constitutional problems of India. A redistribution of British India, calculated to secure a permanent solution of the communal problem, is the main demand of the Muslims of India. If, however, the Muslim demand of a territorial solution of the communal problem is ignored, then I support, as emphatically

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as possible, the Muslim demands repeatedly urged by the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference. The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates, in the Punjab and Bengal, or fail to guarantee them 33 percent representation in any Central Legislature. There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact which originated in a false view of Indian nationalism, and deprived the Muslims of India from chances of acquiring any political power in India. The second is the narrow-visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interests of what may be called Punjab Ruralism resulting in a proposal which virtually reduces the Punjab Muslims to a position of minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal.

The Simon Report does great injustice to the Muslims in not recommending a statutory majority for the Punjab and Bengal. It would either make the Muslims stick to the Lucknow Pact or agree to a scheme of joint electorates. The despatch of the Government of India on the Simon Report admits that since the publication of that document the Muslim community has not expressed its willingness to accept any of the alternatives proposed by the Report. The despatch recognizes

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that it may be a legitimate grievance to deprive the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal of representation in the councils in proportion to their population merely because of weightage allowed to Muslim minorities elsewhere. But the despatch of the Government of India fails to correct the injustice of the Simon Report. In so far as the Punjab is concerned-and this is the most crucial point-it endorses the so-called 'carefully balanced scheme' worked out by the official members of the Punjab Government which gives the Punjab Muslims a majority of two over Hindus and Sikhs combined, and a proportion of 49 per cent of the House as a whole. It is obvious that the Punjab Muslims cannot be satisfied with less than a clear majority in the total House. However, Lord Irwin and his Government do recognize that the justification for communal electorates for majority communities would not cease unless and until by the extension of franchise their voting strength more correctly reflects their population; and further unless a two-third majority of the Muslim members in a provincial council unanimously agree to surrender the right of separate representation. I cannot, however, understand why the Government of India, having recognized the legitimacy of the Muslim grievances, have not had the courage to recommend a statutory majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

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. Nor can the Muslims of India agree to any such changes which fail to create at least Sind as a separate province, and treat the North-West Frontier Province as a province of inferior political status. I see no reason why Sind should not be united with Baluchistan and turned into a separate province. It has nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. In point of life and civilization the Royal Commissioners find it more akin to Mesoptamia and Arabia than India. The Muslim geographer Mas udi noticed this kinship long ago when he said-"Sind is a country nearer to the dominions of Islam." The first Omayyad ruler is reported to have said of Egypt-"Egypt has her back towards Africa and face towards Arabia." necessary alterations the same remark describes the exact situation of Sind. She has her back towards India and face towards Central Asia. Considering further the nature of her agricultural problems which can invoke no sympathy from the Bombay Government, and her infinite commercial possibilities, dependent on the inevitable growth of Karachi into a second metropolis of India, it is unwise to keep her attached to a Presidency which, though friendly to-day, is likely to become a rival at no distant period. Financial difficulties, we are told, stand in the way of separation. I do not know of any definite authoritative pronouncement on the matter. But assuming there are any

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such difficulties, I see no reason why the Government of India should not give temporary financial help to a promising province in her struggle for independent progress.

As to the North-West Frontier Province it is painful to note that the Royal Commissioners have practically denied that the people of this province have any right to reform. They fall far short of the Bray Committee, and the council recommended by them is merely a screen to hide the autocracy of the Chief Commissioner. The inherent right of the Afghan to light a cigarette is curtailed merely because he happens to be living in a powder house. The Royal Commissioners' epigrammatic argument is pleasant enough, but far from convincing. Political reform is light, not fire; and to light every human being is entitled whether he happens to live in a powder house or a coal mine. Brave, shrewd and determined to suffer for his legitimate aspirations, the Afghan is sure to resent any attempt to deprive him of opportunities of full selfdevelopment. To keep such a people contented is in the best interest of both England and India. What has recently happened in that unfortunate province is the result of a step-motherly treatment shown to the people since the introduction of the principle of Self-government in the rest of India. I only hope that British statesmanship will not obscure its view of the situation by hoodwinking itself into and the state of t

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the belief that the present unrest in the province is due to any extraneous causes.

The recommendation for the introduction of a measure of reform in the N.W.F.P. made in the Government of India's despatch is also unsatisfactory. No doubt the despatch goes further than the Simon Report in recommending a sort of representative Council and a semi-representative cabinet, but it fails to treat this important Muslim province on equal footing with other Indian Provinces. Indeed the Afghan is, by instinct, more fitted for democratic institutions than any other people in India.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

I think I am now called upon to make a few observations on the Round Table Conference. Personally, I do not feel optimistic as to the results of this Conference. It was hoped that away from the actual scene of communal strife, and in a changed atmosphere better counsels would prevail, and a genuine settlement of the differences between the two major communities of India would bring India's freedom within sight. Actual events, however, tell a different tale. Indeed the discussion of the communal question in London has demonstrated more clearly than ever the essential disparity between the two great cultural units of India. Yet the Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India

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is international and not national. He is reported to have said that "his Government would find it difficult to submit to Parliament proposals for the maintenance of separate electorates, since joint electorates were much more in accordance with British democratic sentiments." Obviously he does not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations, and that a system of separate electorates is only a poor substitute for a territorial solution of the problem. Nor is the Minorities Sub-Committee likely to reach a satisfactory settlement. The whole question will have to go before the British Parliament; and we can only hope that the keensighted representatives of the British nation; unlike most of our Indian politicians, will be able to pierce through the surface of things and see clearly the true fundamentals of peace and security in a country like India. To base a constitution on the concept of a homogeneous India, or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war. As far as I can see, there will be no peace in the country until the various peoples that constitute India are given opportunities of free self-development on modern lines without abruptly breaking with their past.

I am glad to be able to say that our Muslim delegates fully realize the importance of a proper

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solution of what I call Indian international problem. They are perfectly justified in pressing for a solution of the communal question before the question of responsibility in the Central Government is finally No Muslim politician should be sensitive settled. to the taunt embodied in that propaganda wordcommunalism-expressly devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls British democratic sentiments, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are seventy millions, and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects. have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure. Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious argument that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, i. e. territorial lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically

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wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the 'people of the Book.' There are no social barriers between Muslims and the 'people of the Book.' A Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the Law of Islam allows intermarriage with the 'people of the Book.' Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Quran declares. "O people of the Book! Come let us join together on the 'word' (Unity of God), that is common to us all." The wars of Islam and Christianity, and, later, European aggression in its various forms. could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. To-day it is being gradually realized in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism. Id (28beth to the All to acting one.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the sole test of the success of our delegates is the extent to which they are able to get the non-Muslim delegates of the Conference to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the

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moment for an independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India. If you are at all serious about your ideals and aspirations you must be ready for such an action. Our leading men have done a good deal of political thinking, and their thought has certainly made us, more or less, sensitive to the forces which are now shaping the destinies of peoples in India and outside India. But I ask, has this thinking prepared us for the kind of action demanded by the situation which may arise in the near future? Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irwin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders. leaders I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order. The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herdinstinct. This makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community.

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We are doing to-day in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickerings in religion do not do much harm to out solidarity. They at least indicate an interest in what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover this principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam. But diversity in political action, at a moment when concerted action is needed in the best interests of the very life of our people, may prove fatal. How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on the subject; but I think it is. proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise leading Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to determine the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement. In this address I mention this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind, and give some serious thought to it in the meantime.

THE CONCLUSION.

Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion I cannot but impress upon you that the present

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crisis in the history of India demands complete organisation and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your own interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been and is a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. has suppressed the spirit of the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of self-expression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia. And since seventy millions of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the Indian problem not only from the Muslim point of view but also from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim as such. Our duty towards Asia and India cannot be loyally performed without an organised will fixed on a definite purpose. In your own interest, as a political entity among other political entities of India, such an equipment is an absolute necessity. Our disorganised condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to

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The transfer cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit, Matter is diversity; spirit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa. If to-day you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you who, as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponents of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not wish to mystify anybody when I say that things in India are not what they appear to be.

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The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided." (5:104).

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES*

Azizuddin Ahmad, Kazi Sir (7 Apr., 1861-18 Feb., 1940) Titles- Khan Bahadur (1906) I.S.O. (1917) O.B.E. (1919) C.I.E. (1925) Kt. (1931) Edn - Gonda High School. Joined the U. P. Provincial Service (1885-1910) Magistrate, Collector, Balandshehr. Assistant Director of Agriculture & Commerce, U. P. Attaché to the Amir of Afghanistan during his visit to India (1906-07) Revenue Member, Council of Regency, Bharatpur State (1910-13) Retired from Service, 1920. Officer-in-Charge, Press Camp, Delhi, during Duke of Connaught's visit to India, 1921. Judicial Minister, Dholpur State (1921) Chief Minister, Datia State, 1922. Member-Indian States Opium Committee (1927-28)-Board of Intermediate Education, Rajputana-Court, AMU-Court, Delhi University, 1925-Senate, Agra University, 1931-Royal Asiatic Society, London-Cricket Club of India. Fellow, Allahabad University (1905-21) Trustee, Agra College, Agra. Scouts Commissioner, Datia State. President, St. John Ambulance Association. Vice President - Red Cross Society & John Ambulance Association. Association, Datia State – All India Muslim League (AIML). Pub. – History of Coronation Darbar, 1919- Life of H.M. King George V- Proceedings of the War Conference, 1919.

Ghuznavi, Sir Abdul Halim Abdul Husain (11 Nov., 1876 – 18 Jan., 1953) s/o- Abdul Hakim Khan, Calcutta. Member – Court, AMU- Court, Dacca University – Governing Body,

^{*} All information about Biographical Notes have been taken from Ahmad Saeed, *Muslim India (1857-1947) Biographical Dictionary* (Lahore: Institute of Pakistan Historical Research, 1997).

Islamia College, Calcutta- Indian Legislative Assembly (1927-31, 1935-45)- Indian Delegation to the World Economic Conf, 1933- Royal Asiatic Society – Industrial Research Utilization Committee – Governing Body, Council of Industrial & Scientific Research- Advisory Committee , Central Bank of India. Vice President, British Indian Association. President – Central National Mohammedan Association- Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta (1939-40) – All- India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta (1944-45) Chairman – Board of Trustees, Indian Museums, Calcutta- Bengal Port Haj Committee. Delegate, Round Table Conf (1930-33) Fellow, Calcutta University, Sheriff of Calcutta (1934-35) P/o – All-Bengal Muslim Conf, July, 1932, Calcutta- Correspondence with Jinnah in National Archives of Pakistan (NAP), Islamabad.

Ghulam Rasul Khan (d. 15 Mar., 1949, Lahore) s/o Ch. Ghulam Muhammad Khan. Edn – Gray's Inn (Bar-at-Law, 1914) Member- Reception Committee, AIMEC, Lahore, 1932- College Committee, Islamia College, Lahore (1927-28) Secretary- Punjab Provincial Muslim League (PPML), 1936, 1943) Vice- President, Punjab Bar Council, 1944. Financial Secretary, AIMEC, 1933. Secretary to Allama Muhammad Iqbal during his visit to Afghanistan, 1933.

Iqbal, Dr. Allama Sir Muhammad (9 Nov., 1877, Sialkot – 21 Apr., 1938, Lahore) s/o – Sheikh Noor Muhammad. Edn – Scotch Mission High School, Sialkot (Entrance, 1893) – Scotch Mission College, Sialkot (F.A, 1895)- Govt College, Lahore (B.A., 1897, M.A., 1899)- Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A.)- Lincoln's Inn (Bar-at-Law, 1908)- Munich University (Ph.D., 1908). Joined Oriental College, Lahore as Mcleod Punjab Arabic Readership (13 May, 1899 – Mar., 1903) Assistant Prof, English, Govt College, Lahore (4 Jan., 1901-05). Recited his poem *Nala-e-Yateem* at Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore, 24 Feb., 1900. Taught Philosophy at Govt College, Lahore (1908-31 Dec., 1910) Member-General Council, Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore- College

Committee, Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islamia, 1910- Punjab Text Book Committee, Lahore- Anjuman-e-Islamia, Punjab, Lahore 1909- Executive Committee, Anjuman-e-Islamia Punjab- Central Parliamentary Board, AIML, 1936. Secretary-College Committee, Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore, 1910- Anjuman-e-Kashmiri Musalmanan, 1899- Punjab Provincial Education Conf, 1911-13. General Secretary, Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore. President-Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore, 1934- Anjuman-e-Islamia Punjab (Apr- May, 1937)- Muslim Rights Protection Board – Punjab Provincial Muslim League. Cooperated with the Simon Commission, 1927. Attended the second and third Round Table Conf; Visited Afghanistan, Oct., 1933. P/o- AIML, Allahabad Session, 29 Dec., 1930- All-India Muslim Conf, Lahore session, 21 Mar., 1932. Pub.- Ilmul Iqtasad (Lahore, Dec, 1904- Asrar-e-Khudi (Lahore, 1915) – Ramuz-e-Bekhudi (Lahore, Apr., 1918) – Payam-e-Mashrig (Lahore, May, 1923) – Bang-e-Dara (Lahore, June, 1927)- Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam (Lahore, Jan., 1929) - Javeed Nama (Lahore, 1932)- Masnavi Musafir (Lahore, Sep., 1934) – Bal-e-Jibreel (Lahore, Jan., 1935) – Zarb-e-Kaleem (Lahore, July, 1936) – P as Chey – Armughan-e-Hijaz (Lahore, Nov., 1938).

Jafer, Sir Ebrahim Haroon (21 Dec., 1881, Poona – 12 Sept, 1930) s/o- Khan Bahadur Haroon Jafer. Edn-Deccan College, Poona. Hon. Magistrate, Special Magistrate (1906-18) organized the Bombay Presidency Muslim League, 1908. Participated in the Khilafat Movement. Member – Poona Municipality – Bombay Legislative Council (1916-19) – Imperial Legislative Council (1919-20)-Council of State (1921-25)- Court, AMU (1922-26)- Haj Enquiry Committee (1927-28)- Indian Cinematography Committee (1927-28) Secretary, Governing Body, Islamia School, Poona. General Secretary, Bombay Provincial Muslim Educational Conf, 1924. Chairman, Reception Committee, Nadvatual Ulama, Belgam session, 19 Apr., 1919. President- Bombay Provincial Muslim League-Poona Islamia Gymkhana Committee-

Anjuman-e-Islam, Bombay-Board of Trustees, Islamia Madrasa Founder, Darul Uloom, Panchgani, 1920. P/o-All-India Muslim Conf, 21 Sep., 1919-Khilafat Day meeting, Poona, Oct., 1919- AIMEC, Amravati session, 1920 – All India Cantonment Conf, Meerut, 1922. Bombay Provincial Muslim Educational Conference (PMEC).

Jinnah, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali (25 Dec., 1876, Karachi-11 Sept., 1948, Karachi s/o Jinnah Poonja. Edn-Sindh Madrasatual Islam, Karachi-Gokal Das Teg Pal School, Bombay-Lincoln'Inn Bar-at-Law, (1895) Married to Emi Bar. 1892. Started practice at Bombay, 1897. Third Presidency Magistrate (4 May -3 Nov., 1900) Legal Advisor, Bombay Muncipal Corporation, 1903. Went to England along with Indian National Congress (INC) Delegation, 1905. Private Secretary to Dadabhai Naoreji. President, INC. Calcutta session 1906. Member-(Elected)-Bombay Municipal Corporation (Feb., 1904-Mar., 1906)-Executive Committee, Anjuman-e-Ziaul Islam, Bombay, Feb., 1907-All-India Congress Committee, 1908-Imperial Legislative Council (4 Jan., 1910-19)- Indian Legislative Assembly (1937-47)-Pakistan Constituent Assembly (1947-48) Vice-President, Indian Mussalman Association, Calcutta, 1907. President-Home Rule League, Bombay (17 June, 1917- Oct., 1920) -Pakistan Constituent Assembly (Aug., 1947-48). Attended the Hindu Muslim Unity Conf, Allahabad, Jan., 1911. Attended a meeting of the Council of AIML, Bankipur, 31 Dec., 1912. Introduced Mussalman Wakf Validating Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, Mar., 1911. Appeared before the Islington Commission 11 Mar., 1913. Married to Rattan Bai, 19 Apr., 1918. Resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council as a protest against the Rowlatt Act, 1919. Opposed Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement. Drafted Delhi Muslim Proposals, 20 Mar., 1927. Attended All-Parties Convention, Calcutta, Feb., 1928. Formulated Fourteen Points, 28 Mar., 1929. Vehemently Opposed the Simon Commission. Delegate, Round Table conf, 1930-31. Settled in England

(1931-34) Reorganized the AIML, 1936. Held talks with Gandhi, 1944. Inaugurated Bombay Muslim Students' Union, 13 Feb., 1915. P/o-Bombay Provincial Conf, Ahmadabad session, 21 Oct., 1916-AIML, Lucknow session, 30-31 Dec., 1916- A public meeting of Home Rule League, Bombay, 29 July, 1917-A public meeting under Bombay Presidency Association to protest against Govt policies, 30 July, 1917-AIML, Lahore session, 24-25 May, 1924. All-India Students' Conf, Lucknow, July, 1935-Burhanpur Muslim Conf, 1937-AIML, Lucknow session, 15-18 Oct., 1937-AIMSF, inaugural session, Calcutta, 29 Dec., 1937-AIML, special session, Calcutta, 17-18 Apr., 1938– Sind Muslim League Conf. Karachi, 8 Oct., 1938-AIML, Patna session, 26-29 Dec., 1938-AIML, Lahore session 22-24 Mar., 1940-Special Pakistan Conf, PMSF, 2 Mar., 1941, Lahore-Kanpur MSF, 30 Mar., 1941-AIML, Madras session, 12-15 Apr., 1941-AIML, Madras session, 12-15 Apr., 1941-AIMSF, Nagpur session, 26 Dec., 1941-Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conf, Sirajgang, 15 Feb., 1942-AIML, Allahabad session, 3-6 Apr., 1942-AIML, Delhi session, 24-26 Apr., 1943- AIML, Karachi session, 24-26 Dec., 1943. The League Legislators' Convention, Delhi, 7-9 Apr., 1946.

Murtaza Sahib Bahadur, Sayyid Took Part in the Khilafat Movement, Member-AIML from Madras Presidency, 1908-Working Committee, AII India Muslim Conf,1929 – AIML Enquiry Committee, 1921, to investigate the Mopla uprising. Chairman – Reception *Committee*, All-India Khilafat Conf, Madras session, Dec., 1927 P/o- Khilafat Conf, Lucknow session, Dec., 1933 – Correspondence with the Quaid-i-Azam in NAP.

Noor, Malik Firoz Khan (7 May, 1863-9 Dec., 1970) Tiles-K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E renounced in 1946, Edn – Aitcheson College, Lahore (1905-12)- Wadham College, Oxford (B.A., 1913)- Inner Temple (Bar-at-Law) Practiced at Sargodha Distt Courts, 1918. Practiced at Lahore High Court (1921-27) member- Punjab Legislative Council (1920-36)- Working

Committee, All Parties Muslim Conf, 1929- Unionist Party – Council, AIML- Lahore, Viceroy's Executive Council (1941-42)- Defence, Vicerov's Executive Council (1942-45)-Pakistan Constituent Assembly (1947-50) Minister for Local Self-Govt, Punjab (1927-30) Minister for Education, Punjab (1931-36) Indian High Commissioner in United Kingdom (1936-41) Joined the AIML 1946. Attended the League Legislators' Convention, Delhi, 1946. Governor, East Bengal (1950-53) Chief Minister, Punjab (13 Apr., 1953 – 21 May, 1955) Foreign Minister of Pakistan (1956-57) Joined the Republican Party. Prime Minister of Pakistan (16 Dec., 1957 -7 Oct., 1958) Hon. Fellow, Wadham College, Oxford, 1939. Leader- Indian Textile Delegation, Washington, 1937- Indian Delegation, International Labour Organization, Geneva-Pakistan Delegation to the ECAFE., Singapore, 1949-Pakistan Delegation to the Secretary Council, UNO, 1956-Pakistan Delegation to the 2nd Suez Canal Conf, 1956. Represented India on Imperial War Cabinet and Pacific War Cabinet and Pacific War Council (1944-45) P/o Punjab Muslim Education Conf, Jalandar, 28 Apr., 1928

Shamsul Hasan, Syed (1885, Bareily, U. P. – 7 Nov., 1981, Karachi) s/o- Dr. Ameer Hasan. Joined the personal staff of Sir Wazir Hasan as stenographer. Assistant Secretary, AIML, (1910-47) Secretary, U. P. Civil Defence Committee, 1942. Printer/Publisher – *Dawn* (Delhi, 1942-47)- *Manshoor* (Delhi, 1941-47) Assistant Secretary, Pakistan Muslim League (1948-58) Pub.- *Plain Mr. Jinnah* (Karachi, 1976) correspondence with the Quaid-i-Azam in *NAP*.

Yaqub, Moulvi Muhammad (27 Aug., 1879-23 Nov., 1942) Edn M.A.O College, Aligarh. Member Moradabad Municipal Board, Court, AMU, 1927- Age of Consent Committee- U. P. Legislative Assembly (1924-38)- Working Committee, All-Parties Muslim Conf, 1929- Council of State (1938-42)- Army Retrenchment Committee- Statutory Railway Board Committee, London-Central Standing Committee, AIMEC-Viceroy's Executive Council, 6 Jan., 1938, First non-official

Chairman, Moradabad Municipal Board, Senior Vice-Chairman, Moradabad Distt Board. Trustee, M.A.O. College, Aligarh. Deputy President, Indian Legislative Assembly (1927-30) President, Indian Legislative Assembly (1930) Secretary- AIML (1930-35) Advisor, Reforms, Nizam's Govt. P/o- Tableegah Conf, Delhi, 1927- All-India Muslim Palestine Conf, Bombay, 1930- AIML Calcutta session, 1927-Muslim Municipal and Distt Boarders Conf, Allahabad, 22 Feb., 1925- The Bundelkhand Muslim Conf, Banda, 24 May, 1929.

Yousaf, Nawab Sir Muhammad Edn- (Bar-at-Law) Legislative Council, 1921-Member-U. Р. Working Muslim Committee. All-India Conf-Agra Province Zamindars' Association. AIML, Allahabad session, 3-6 Apr., 1942. Minister, U. P., 1926. Organized U. P. Distt Boards Conf, Vice President, Agra Zamindars' Association. Addressed the Muslim League Conf, Jounpur, May, 1940-P/o- The U. P. Provincial Muslim Educational Conf. Allahabad, 1942- The City Muslim League Conf, Badaun 1 July, 1943.

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