

# FREEDOM SCRIPT

A Compilation of speeches  
by the Quaid-e-Azam,  
Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah

# FREEDOM | آزادی

Mr. Jinnah's Speeches and Vision for Pakistan

“No doubt we have achieved Pakistan but that is only yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have come to us, and equally great should be our determination and endeavor to discharge them, and the fulfillments thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for construction and building of our nation than what was required for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan.”

- Mr. Jinnah / Quaid-e-Azam

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## Presidential address by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Muslim League Lucknow, December 1916

Ladies and Gentlemen:

No mere conventional words are needed on my part to express my deep thanks for the great privilege you have conferred on me by selecting me as President of the Ninth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League. The honor is the highest in the gift of the Muslim community, to which those alone may aspire who have given freely of their thought and time to the service of the communal cause. I am fully sensible of how little I have done to deserve such distinction, nor could I have the presumption to desire it with such a clear sense of my own unworthiness.

**This choice, however, has come to me in the nature of a mandate from my community, and in such cases individual considerations cannot and must not stand in the way of the larger will.**

I accept the great and heavy responsibilities of the position only in the belief that I can unreservedly count on your sympathy, zeal, and ready cooperation in the great task that lies before us.

As President of the Bombay Presidency Provincial Conference, which was held at Ahmedabad only a few weeks ago, I have had to make a pronouncement; but at the time I accepted the honor of presiding over the Conference, I did not know that I should have this unique honor and responsibility of expressing my views as your President again within so short a time. Much of the ground was covered by me in that speech of mine. I do not now wish to repeat what I said then, nor do I wish to deal with many great and burning questions and problems that affect India in its internal administration. They will, no doubt, be placed before you in the form of resolutions which will be submitted by the speakers in charge of them for your deliberation and consideration.



At the present moment the attention of the country at large is entirely concentrated and solely riveted on the war and what will happen after the war. I have, therefore, decided mainly to deal with the situation in my Presidential Address on those lines, and I will endeavor to place before you my humble views for your consideration, at the same time hoping and trusting that my feeble voice may reach those who hold the destinies of India in their hands.

## ANNUAL STOCK-TAKING

In this great annual meeting of representative Musalmans from all parts of India, who have come to deliberate and take counsel together on the large and important issues that govern our destiny in this land, it will not be out of place to take a wide survey of the conditions in which our lot is cast. This is primarily the time for annual stock-taking, for testing our position in the light of the experience of the past year, for an intelligent preparation of ways and means for meeting the demands of the future, and above all, for refreshing, so to speak, the ideals that feed the springs of our faith, hopes, and endeavor. This I take to be the fundamental object for which the annual sessions of political bodies like the All-India Muslim League are held. The circumstances, however, in which we meet today are exceptional, and mark a new epoch in the history of our country.

All that is great and inspiring to the common affairs of men, for which the noblest and most valiant of mankind have lived and wrought and suffered in all ages and all climes, is now moving India out of its depths. The whole country is awakening to the call of its destiny and is scanning the new horizons with eager hope. A new spirit of earnestness, confidence, and resolution is abroad in the land. In all directions are visible the stirrings of a new life. The Musalmans of India would be false to themselves and the traditions of their past, had they not shared to the full the new hope that is moving India's patriotic sons today, or had they failed to respond to the call of their country. Their gaze, like that of their Hindu fellow-countrymen, is fixed on the future.

But, gentlemen of the All-India Muslim League, remember that the gaze of your community and of the whole country is at this moment fixed on you.

The decisions that you may take in this historic hall, and at this historic session of the League, will go forth with all the force and weight that can legitimately be claimed by the chosen leaders and representatives of seventy million Indian Musalmans. The nature of those decisions will depend, in a large measure, the fate of India's future, of India's unity, and of our common ideals and aspirations for constitutional freedom.

The moment for decision has arrived. The alternatives are clear and unmistakable. The choice lies in our hands.



## THE WAR

The future historian, while chronicling the cataclysms and convulsions of these times, will not fail to note the conjunction of events of boundless influence and scope that have made the fortunes of India so largely dependent on the united will and effort of this generation. These events have, of course, flowed from the world-shaking crisis into which Europe was plunged in August 1914.

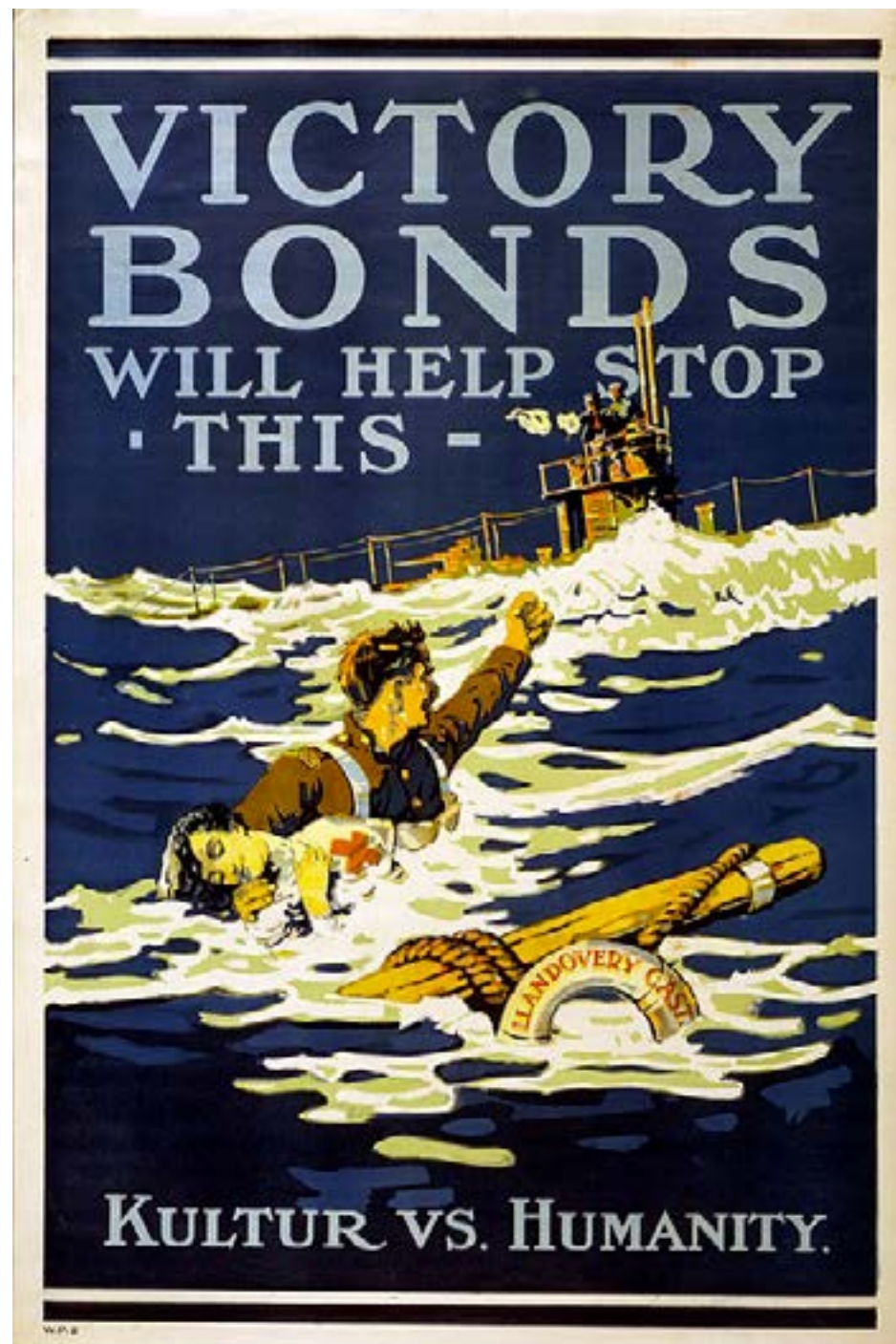
What this dark period has meant in accumulated agony, suffering, destruction and loss to mankind, is beyond any standard of computation known to history.

With the unfolding of this appalling tragedy have emerged into light, stark elemental forces of savagery that lay behind a bright and glittering mask of "Kultur," which threaten to sweep away the very foundations of civilized life and society.



The issues which are in death grips on the battlefield of three continents, go to the roots of the principles on which the fabric of modern civilization has been reared by the energy and toil of countless generations.

Freedom, justice, right, and public law are pitted against despotism, aggression, anarchy, and brute force, and the result of this deadly combat will decide the future of mankind, whether the end will come with a stricken and shattered world, lying bleeding and helpless under the iron heel of the tyrant, with the whole of humanity stripped bare of its hope and faith and reduced to bondage, or whether the hideous nightmare will pass away and the world, redeemed by the blood of the heroic defenders of civilization and freedom, regains its heritage of peace and reconstruction.



## INDIA'S LOYALTY

These are tremendous issues; and

The blood of every Indian, with his usual gift of quick moral perception, is stirred by the feeling that he is a citizen of an empire which has staked its all in a supreme endeavor to vindicate the cause of freedom and of right.

What India has given in this fellowship of service and sacrifice has been a free and spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British nation, as well as a necessary contribution to the strength of the fighting forces of civilization, which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically organized barbarism. In this willing service of the



people of India, there has been no distinction of class or creed. It has come from every part of the land and from every community with equal readiness and devotion. In this service there has been no cold, calculating instinct at work. It has sprung from a clear, compelling sense of duty and moral sympathy, and not from any commercial desire to make a safe political investment. India's loyalty to the Empire has set no price on itself.

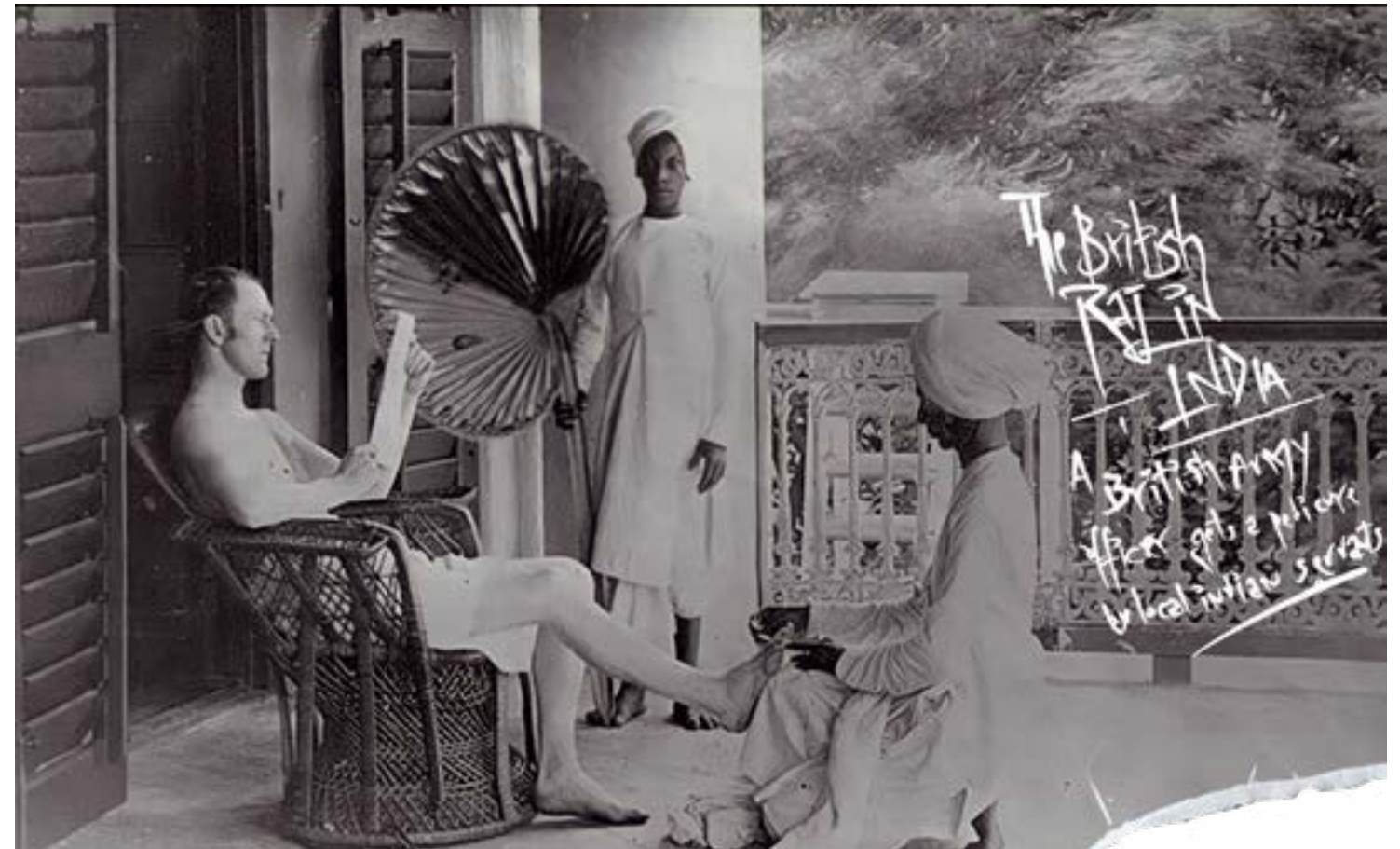
## RECONSTRUCTION

After such colossal upheavals as this War, the world cannot quietly slip back into its old grooves of life and thought. Much of what the existing generations have known in social and political arrangements is visibly passing away under a deluge of blood and fire. The thick crust of materialism and pampered ease, the inertia of habit, the cramping weight of convention and of institutions that have outlived their use, have fallen from the lives of the great Western Democracies under the stress of this great struggle for their existence. They have been thrown back on themselves. In the hot furnace of elemental passions, the trifles are being burnt to ashes, the gold is being made pure of dross; and

When the terrible ordeal has passed, the liberated soul will feel almost primeval ease and power to plan, to build and to create afresh ampler and freer conditions of life for the future. The range of choice would be unlimited, and the need for bold constructive efforts in various directions vital and urgent. Europe after the war will call for statesmanship of a new order to undertake the gigantic tasks of peace. The greatest victory for freedom will have to be conserved. Free nations will have to learn to live freely and intensely. Freedom itself will have to be organized, its bounds made vaster and its powers of self-preservation strengthened and increased.



Belgium Post-WW1, reconstruction efforts repaired and rebuilt the war-damaged country.



## THE INDIAN PROBLEM

These tasks have a peculiar urgency and significance in the case of the vast and various communities comprising the British Empire. And among the complex series of problems relating to the Imperial reconstruction awaiting British statesmanship, none is of more anxious importance than the problem of reconstruction in India. I need not set about to discuss in detail the Indian problem in all its bearings. It has been discussed threadbare by all manner of men from every conceivable angle of vision. However, there are two cardinal facts about the Indian situation which practical statesmanship will have to take into account while addressing itself to the study of the problem and its adequate solution. There is, first, the great fact of British rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration; which while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction, and decision, has maintained, for many decades, unbroken peace and order in the land, administered even handed justice,

brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thought and ideals of the West, and thus led to the birth of a great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people.





Here I may quote from the speech of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, delivered in Calcutta the other day: “The growing self-respect and self-consciousness of her (India’s) people are plants that we ourselves have watered.”

Secondly, there is the fact of the existence of a powerful, unifying process — the most vital and interesting result of Western education in the country — which is creating out of the diverse mass of race and creed a new India, fast growing into unity of thought, purpose, and outlook, responsive to new appeals of territorial patriotism and nationality, stirring with new energy and aspiration, and becoming daily more purposeful and eager to recover its birthright to direct its own affairs and govern itself.

**To put it briefly, we have a powerful and efficient bureaucracy of British officers responsible only to the British Parliament, governing, with methods known as benevolent despotism, a people that have grown fully conscious of their destiny and are peacefully struggling for political freedom. This is the Indian problem in a nutshell. The task of British statesmanship is to find a prompt, peaceful, and enduring solution to this problem.**

If it were possible to isolate the tangled group of social and political phenomena and subject it to a thorough investigation by reason unalloyed by sentiment, it would be infinitely easier to find a safe and sure path for Indian political development and advance. But as you know, pure, unalloyed reason is not the chief motive power in human things. In the affairs of our common secular

existence, we have to deal not with angels, but with men, with passions, prejudices, personal idiosyncrasies, innumerable crosscurrents of motive, of desire, hope, fear, and hate. The Indian problem has all such formidable complications in its texture. We have, for instance, the large and trained body of English officials who carry on the administration of the country and exercise power over the well-being and happiness of the teeming millions of people in this land.

**They are most of them hard-working, efficient, and conscientious public servants, and yet they are beset by the prejudices and limitations that mark them as a class apart.**

They are naturally conservative, have a rooted horror of bold administrative changes or constitutional experiments, are reluctant to part with power or associate Indians freely in the government of the country. Their main concern appears to be to work the machine smoothly, content to go through their common round from day to day; and they feel bored and worried and upset by the loud, confident, and unsettling accents of New India. All this is eminently human; but it also means an enormous aggravation of the difficulties in the path of final settlement. It means in actual experience, the growth of a tremendous class-interest, the interest of the governing class as distinct from, if not wholly opposed to, the interest of the governed. It is, in fact, the existence of this vast, powerful, and by no means silent “interest” that explains the origin and wide currency of certain shallow, bastard, and desperate political maxims, which are flung into the face of Indian patriots at the least provocation. They are familiar enough to all students of Indian affairs. As a sample, we may take the following:

1. Democratic institutions cannot thrive in the environment of the East. (Why? Were democratic institutions unknown to the Hindu and Mohammedans in the past? What was the village panchayet? What are the history, the traditions, the literature, and the precepts of Islam? There are no people in the world who are more democratic, even in their religion, than the Musalmans.)

2. The only form of government suitable to India is autocracy, tempered by English (European) efficiency and character. (All nations have had to go through the experience of despotic or autocratic government at one time or the other in the history of the world. Russia was liberated to a certain extent only a few years ago. France and England had to struggle before they conquered the autocracy. Is India to remain under the heel of a novel form of autocracy in the shape of bureaucracy for all time to come, when Japan and even China have set up constitutional governments on the democratic lines of Great Britain and America?)

3. (a) The interests of the educated classes are opposed to those of the Indian masses; and (b) The former would oppress the latter if the strong protecting hand of the British official were withdrawn. (This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense. It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses, most of us springing from the middle classes, are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred; that the masses require protection at the hands of the English Officials, between whom and the people there is nothing in common; that our interests are opposed to those of the masses — in what respect, it is never pointed out — and that, therefore, the monopoly of the administrative control should continue in the hands of non-Indian officials. This insidious suggestion, which is so flippantly made, is intended to secure the longest possible lease for the bureaucracy and [for them] to enjoy their monopoly. But it can neither stand the light of facts, nor the analysis of truth. One has only to look at the past records of the Congress for more than a quarter of a century, and of the All-India Muslim League, to dismiss this specious plea. The educated people of this country have shown greater anxiety and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century.)



4. Indians are unfit to govern themselves. (With this last question, I propose to deal later in my speech.)

These are a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulge freely and provocatively, when the least menace arises to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority and power.

## INTERNAL SITUATION

Again,

**if we turn to the internal situation in India, we meet with a set of social, ethnological, and cultural conditions unparalleled in recorded history. We have a vast continent inhabited by 315 million people sprung from various racial stocks, inheriting various cultures, and professing a variety of religious creeds.**

This stupendous human group, thrown together under one physical and political environment, is still in various stages of intellectual and moral growth. All this means a great diversity of outlook, purpose, and endeavor. Every Indian Nationalist who has given close and anxious thought to the problem of nation building in India, fully realizes the magnitude of his task. He is not afraid of admitting frankly that difficulties exist in his path. Such difficulties have no terrors for him. They are already vanishing before the forces which are developing in the New Spirit.

## INDIA FOR THE INDIANS

Well, these are the broad aspects of the Indian problem, and they will give you a fair idea of the obstacles that stand in the way of a full and speedy realization of the ideals of Indian patriots. We have a powerfully organized body of conservative "interest," on the one hand, and a lack of complete organization of the national will and intelligence, on the other. There is, however, one fundamental fact that stands out clear and unmistakable, which no sophistry of argument and no pseudo-scientific theories about color and race can disguise. Amid the clash of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords,

**no cool headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truism that India is in the first and the last resort for the Indians.**

Be the time near or distant, the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a self-governing nation. No force in the world can rob them of their destiny and thwart the purposes of Providence. British statesmanship has not become bankrupt or utterly bereft of its faculty of clear political perception; and it is, therefore, bound to recognize that the working of the law of national development in India, which came to birth with the British rule itself, and is daily gathering momentum under the pressure of the world-forces of freedom and progress, must sooner or later produce a change in the principles and methods of Indian governance. It is inevitable.

Then why fight against it, why ignore it, why should there not rather be honest, straightforward efforts to clear the way of doubts, suspicions, and senseless antagonisms to that glorious consummation?

**Leaving aside the hare-brained twaddle of the tribe of scientific peddlers who love to sit in judgment on the East and ape political philosophy, no man with the least pretensions to common sense can affect to maintain that the Indian humanity is stamped with a ruthless psychology and cramped forever within the prison of its skull. If the Indians are not the pariahs of nature, if they are not out of the pale or operation of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and can think and plan and organize together for common needs of the present and for common hopes of the future, then the only future for them is self-government, i.e., the attainment of the power to apply, through properly organized channels, the common national will and intelligence to the needs and tasks of their national existence. The cant of unfitness must die. The laws of nature and the doctrines of common humanity are not different in the East.**

Mr. Jinnah discussing the future of India with British politicians





## OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

It is a great relief to think that some of the responsible

**British statesmen have definitely pronounced in recent years that India's ambition to attain self government is neither a catastrophe nor a sin.**

Indeed, that great and sympathetic Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, whose memory will always be cherished with affection by the people of this country, for the first time recognized the legitimacy of that vital Indian aspiration. Other indications have not been wanting of late, which go to show that our national dream and purpose is gaining the stamp of even official approval. There is, however, a world of difference between a theoretical approval of an ideal, and its practical application. The supreme duty of the men that lead the forces of Indian progress is to insist that India's rulers should definitely set the ideal before them as the ultimate goal to be attained within a reasonable time, and should accelerate the pace accordingly. All our difficulties now arise from the steady reluctance on the part of Indian officialdom to keep this end definitely in view and move faster. Mere sympathy divorced from resolute and active progressive policy can hardly ameliorate the situation. Honeyed words alone cannot suffice. We may congratulate each other about a changed "angle of vision," and yet remain where we are till doomsday.

**The time for definite decision and a bold move forward has arrived. The vital question today is: is India fit to be free, and to what extent? There can be no shelving of the issue at this juncture. It has to be settled one way or the other. If she is not fit today, she has got to be made fit for self-government. This, I maintain, is no less a duty and responsibility of the Government than of the people themselves.**



The Maharajah of Ajaigarh pictured with his three sons in 1883



## TEST OF FITNESS

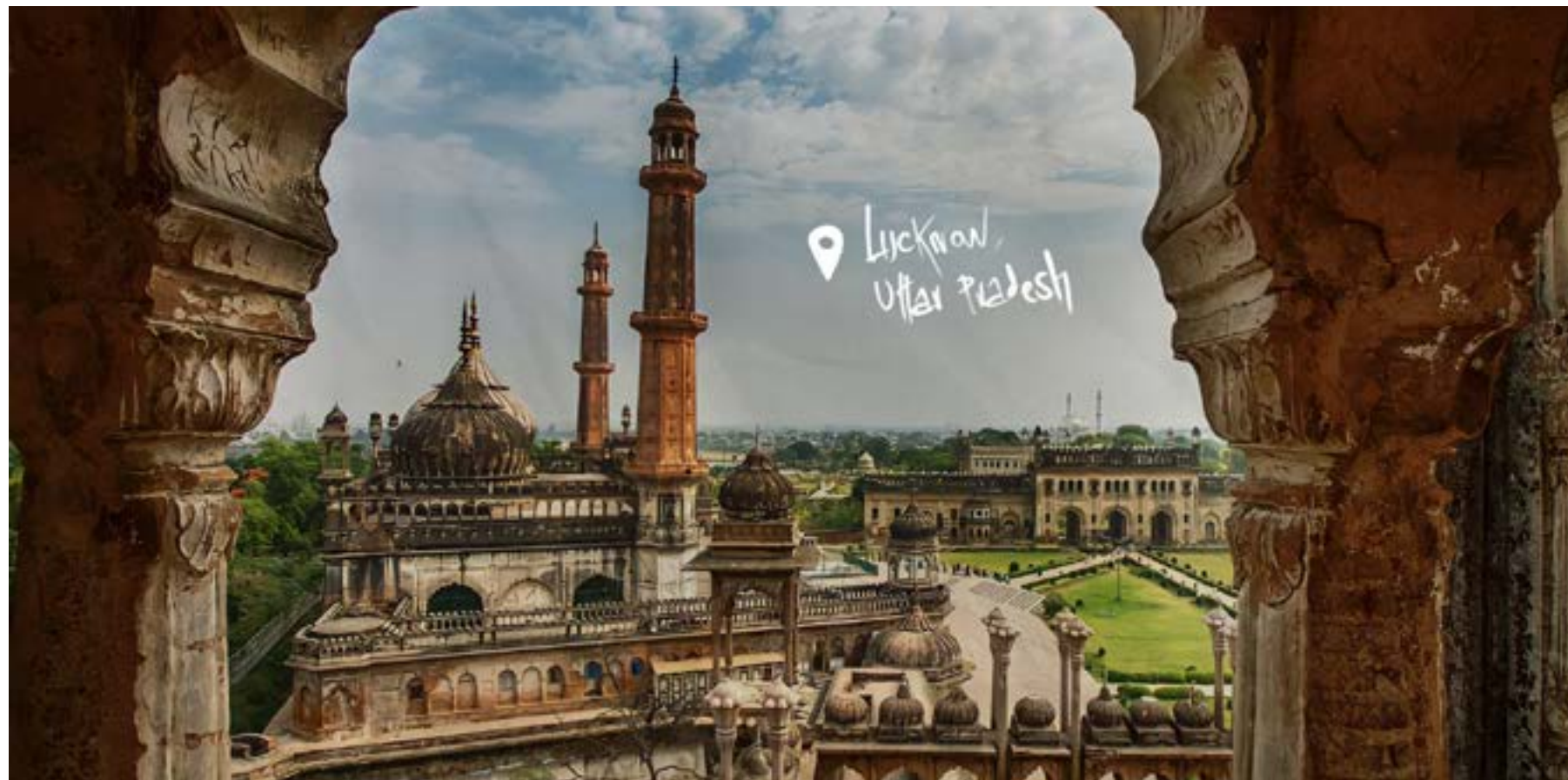
Is India fit for freedom? We who are present here today know full well that from the Indian standpoint there can be but one answer. Our critics would probably challenge our conviction. Our only reply to them would be to go forward and put the matter to the proof. After all, what is the test of fitness?

**If we turn to history, we find that in the past, only such people have been declared to have been fit for freedom, who fought for it and attained it. We are living in different times. Peace has its victories. We are fighting, and can only fight, constitutional battles.**



Mr. Jinnah meeting Viceroy Lord Wavell





Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh

This peaceful struggle is not, and will not, be wanting in the quality of vigor and sacrifice, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India.

## MOVEMENT FOR UNITY

But apart from the numerous other considerations that have repeatedly been urged in support of the claims of India to responsible and representative form of Government, the one that has grown to be of infinitely larger weight and urgency is the living and vigorous spirit of patriotism and national self-consciousness which is chafing under irksome restraints and is seeking wider and legitimate outlets for service and self-expression. The strength and volume of this spirit, this pent-up altruistic feeling and energy of youth, can be easily realized by those who have their finger on the pulse of the country. The most significant and hopeful aspect of this spirit is that it has taken its rise from a newborn movement in the direction of national unity which has brought Hindus and Muslims together involving and brotherly service for the common cause. Bombay had the good fortune to see the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League meet for the first time in the same city last December. These simultaneous Sessions were brought about with no little labor, anxiety and trouble. I do not wish to go into past controversy, but I venture to say that the Session of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay will go down to posterity as peculiarly interesting in its results.

The so-called opponents of ours, although for the time being they caused the utmost anxiety and individual risks — which, after all, do not count in a national movement — have, I cannot help saying, rendered the greatest service to our cause. Their unjust attitude served only to stiffen the back of the community.

The League rose Phoenix-like, stronger, more solidified and determined in its ideals and aspirations, with added strength of resolution in carrying out its program.

**And today your historic City of Lucknow, the center of Muslim culture and intellect, where three years ago the All-India Muslim League laid down our cherished ideal of self-Government under the aegis of the British Crown, is witnessing the simultaneous Sessions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League once more.**

Indeed, the person who fails to read in the Hindu-Muslim rapprochement within the last few years, the first great sign of the birth of united India, has little knowledge of the political conditions of a few years ago and has no business to talk of India's future.

## IDEALS OF THE LEAGUE

I need hardly say that the Hindu-Muslim question had hitherto lain as a colossal riddle against the numerous unifying forces that make for the evolution of a common Indian Nationality. The new temper that we witness today is the measure of the change that has happily come over Hindu-Muslim relations. What this change really signifies can only be judged by a reference to the state of things that was obtained only a few years ago, when mutual distrust and suspicion were rampant and communal bigots on either side ruled the roost. Every one of us can easily recall the frame of Muslim mind and feeling in which the All-India Muslim League was founded at Decca. To put it frankly, the All-India Muslim League came into existence as an organization with the main object of safeguarding Muslim interests. Muslims, as a community, had till then abstained from all manner of political agitation, and they were naturally moved by the loud and insistent demand for constitutional and administrative reforms which Hindu politicians were pressing on the Indian Government. They felt — and rightly — the need of organizing themselves for political action, lest the impending changes initiated by a liberal Secretary of State should swamp them altogether as a community. This was perhaps the only course open to a community proud of the traditions of its past, yet weak in numbers and lacking the strength that organized political activity alone can give. The main principle on which the first All India Muslim political organization was based, was the retention of Muslim communal individuality, strong and unimpaired, in any constitutional readjustment that might be made in India in the course of its political evolution.

**The Muslim creed has grown and broadened with the growth of political life and thought in the community. In its general outlook and ideal as regards the future, the All-India Muslim League stands abreast of the Indian National Congress and is ready to participate in any patriotic efforts for the advancement of the country as a whole.**

In fact, this readiness of the educated Muslims, only about a decade after they first entered the field of politics, to work shoulder to shoulder with the other Indian communities for the common good of all, is to my mind the strongest proof of the value and need of the separate Muslim political organization at present.



I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries, but it appears to me that the reproach of “separatism” sometimes leveled at Musalmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark, when I see this great communal organization rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of United India. A minority must, above everything else, have a complete sense of security before its broader political sense can be evoked for co-operation and united endeavor in the national tasks.

To the Musalmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safeguards as regards their political existence as a community. Whatever my individual opinion may be, I am here to interpret and express the sense of the overwhelming body of Moslem opinion, of which the All-India Moslem League is the political organ.



Members of the All-India Muslim League

## HINDU-MOSLEM RELATIONS

It is a matter of infinite gratification to me as well as to all patriotic Musalmans that the Moslem communal position in this matter has been recognized and met in an ungrudging spirit by the leaders of the great Hindu community. This was so amply demonstrated by the happy and unanimous decision that was arrived at by the Committees of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League that met at Calcutta only last November. Our joint Conferences in Lucknow were marked by honest efforts on either side to find a lasting solution of our differences, and I rejoice to think that a final settlement has at last been reached which sets the seal on Hindu-Moslem cooperation and opens a new era in the history of our country.

A few irreconcilable spirits in either camp may still exist here and there, but the atmosphere has on the whole been rid of the menace of sectarian thunder, and the prospects of the future are bright with a promise that gladdens the hearts of India's devoted sons.

Just as I have no sympathy with a member of my community who even with an assured communal existence would not extend the hand of fellowship to his Hindu brother, so I cannot



Photos Mohammed Ali Jinnah right with Subhash Chandra Bose

appreciate the attitude of the Hindu patriot who would insist on his pound of flesh, though in this struggle the entire future of the country, for the sake of a small gain to one side or the other, may be marred forever. As an instance, I would like to point out the recent unfortunate controversy that was raised in these Provinces over the passing of the Municipal Act. But surely, we are not wanting in political wisdom and sagacity.

Let us remember, whether Hindus or Musalmans, that New India wants a wholly different type of public worker, of more generous spirit and ampler mold, free from the egoism of sect and the narrowness of bigotry, one who can resist the temptation to crush the weak and yet would not quail before the aggression of the strong, who can rise above the petty preoccupations of the day to the higher plane of devotion and service which alone can give to a people, faith, hope, freedom, and power.

## SCHEME OF REFORMS

With the satisfactory solution of the most formidable problem that stood in the path of Indian progress towards political cooperation and unity, our constitutional battle may be said to have been half won already. The united Indian demand, based on the actual needs of the country and framed with due regard to time and circumstances, must eventually prove



irresistible. It must also be recognized that those responsible for the Government of India have already shown a disposition to treat the existing grievances of the people in a broader spirit of understanding and sympathy.

**With the restoration of peace, the Indian problem will have to be dealt with on bold and generous lines, and India will have to be granted her birth-right as a free, responsible, and equal member of the British Empire.**

How this change is to be effected, and what are to be the lines of development and methods of solution, are matters that have been fully occupying the thought of Indian public-spirited intellectuals for the past two years; and authoritative schemes of re-adjustment have already been formulated and placed before the Government by the nineteen elected representatives of the Imperial Council. You are aware that a committee of the All-India Moslem League was formed last year, and was authorized to draw up a scheme of reform in consultation with the Committee of the Indian National Congress. That scheme is ready, and will, at this Session, be submitted to you for your consideration and judgment.

## A NEW BILL

After you have adopted the scheme of reforms, you should see that the Congress and the League take concerted measures to have a Bill drafted by constitutional lawyers as an amending Bill to the Government of India Act, which embodies the present constitution of our country. This Bill, when ready, should be adopted by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League, and a deputation of leading and representative men from both the bodies should be appointed to see that the Bill is introduced into the British Parliament and adopted. For that purpose we should raise a target fund as possible to supply the sinews of war until our aim and objectives are fulfilled.

## POSITION OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE

The first and the foremost question that requires to be put at rest, is that the position of India in the Empire should be defined in the most unequivocal terms. It should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that self-Government is not a mere distant goal that may be attained at some future indefinite time, but that self-Government for India is the definite aim and object of the Government, to be given to the people within a reasonable time. That should be the aim and object of the reconstruction and reformation of the present constitution of the Government of India, and immediate steps should be taken after the War to introduce the reforms towards that end in view, both by the Government and the people.

## IMPERIAL PARTNERSHIP

Reading the signs of the times, it appears that the claims of the Overseas Dominions, such as Canada, Australia, and even South Africa, viz, to allow them a voice in the declaration of war and the making of peace and the Imperial foreign policy, if they are to bear the responsibilities of the Empire, cannot well be resisted, and it might follow that an Imperial Parliament may be constructed and established, England, Scotland, and Ireland having their separate parliaments for the purpose of managing their internal and domestic affairs, such as the Dominions already have. Sir Joseph Ward, addressing the meeting of the Insurance Institute at Gresham College only last month, said that “in the future reconstruction of the Empire there could not be any interference with local authority and though an Imperial Parliament was a long way off, they might now work for some effective Imperial Council and that before an organic Parliament was possible, there must be devolution in Britain to pave the way for a federal legislature overseas. The Dominions had no right even to a minority voice as to whether the nation should go to war or what the peace terms should be.” He quoted Mr. Asquith’s speech at the 1911 Imperial Conference, in which the Prime Minister stated that “an Imperial Parliament scheme would impair the authority of the British Parliament.” “Since then,” Sir Joseph said,

“there had been a great evolution of opinion on the subject. Mr. Bonar Law had declared as a result of the war the time was coming when the overseas Dominions would share in the Government of the Empire with Britain. He hoped that before the War ended some *modus vivendi* would be established.”

In the political reconstruction India, the largest part of the Empire, cannot possibly be allowed to continue a dependency, as an adjunct to England, Scotland, or Ireland, or to be ruled and governed by the Dominions. Hitherto the responsibility, the control, and the supervision of India has been vested in Great Britain. The question naturally arises, what will be the position of India if an Imperial Parliament with full representation of the Dominions is constituted? Is India to have new and additional masters? Is India to be ruled jointly by England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Dominions? Are we to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament and to be thus ruled, and to be governed by the Colonies? Are we not to have a status or *locus standi* in this Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opinion of the entire educated people of this country that India will never allow herself to be relegated to such an intolerable position. Indeed, she does not want a change of masters, nor additional masters. If an Imperial Parliament, such as indicated above, is established, India’s right should be recognized, and her voice in that Imperial Parliament must be fully and properly secured, and represented by her own sons in the Councils of the Empire.

## MINIMUM DEMANDS

Next, it is well-known that the reforms that are sought by the people of India to be introduced in the constitutional Government of India, were fully adumbrated recently by the nineteen elected members of the Imperial legislative Council; and I do not wish to repeat them here, as I believe you are all familiar with them already. I was one of the signatories, and I would urge upon you to follow them substantially, so far as fundamental principles are involved in those proposals. Those demands were formulated by responsible men who owe duty to the Government and the people alike as “chosen representatives,” not in a spirit of bargaining. Those demands are the minimum in the strictest sense of the word. It is said that these are extravagant demands. It is said it is a big thing. It is said that we are not yet ready for them. It is said that if these reforms are introduced, there will be chaos, and particularly the Anglo-Indian Press is not only most unreasonable and disappointing, but alarmed. These are mere destructive methods. Similar fears were raised and arguments advanced when the Minto-Morley Reforms were on the legislative anvil. But what is the verdict now, official and non-official, after nearly seven years of actual trial? Need I give the answer?

We have not been favored either by our critics or by the Government as to what is the alternative scheme. We are not taken into the confidence of the secret chambers of the Government where the Government of India, it is said, have been deliberating upon and preparing a dispatch containing their proposals of reform to be submitted to the Secretary of State for India. In England, the representatives of the Colonies and the Press and the people and the Ministers are freely discussing the reconstruction of the constitution of the Empire after the War; nay, even before the War is over it is suggested to set up an Imperial Council, whereas in India we are denied the opportunity of knowing even what the Government are contemplating. It will be a great misfortune if any decisions are arrived at with regard to the future of India by the Government and the Secretary of State for India without the proposals being published and placed before the country at large for public criticism and opinion. I must earnestly urge upon the Government that before any final decision is arrived at, the proposed reforms should be published and the people should be given an opportunity to urge their views, and that they should be taken into their confidence. I feel that if the people are bitterly disappointed at this juncture, it will mean the greatest disaster to the future progress of this country.

## QUESTION OF THE CALIPHATE

I would be failing in my duty towards my own people and the Government if I did not, at this crisis, make it clear that of the many delicate questions, there is none that requires a closer attention and study than the question of the Caliphate by the Government and the Ministers of Great Britain. The sentiments and feelings and the religious convictions not only of the Musalmans of India but of the Musalmans of the world, are not to be lightly treated. The loyalty of the Musalmans of India to the Government is no small asset. From the very commencement of the great crisis through which the British Empire has been passing, the allegiance of the Musalmans to the Crown and their loyalty to the Government has remained whole-hearted and unshaken. May I, therefore, urge that the Government should have regard for their dearest and most sacred religious feelings, and under no circumstances interfere with the question of the future of the Caliphate. It should be left entirely to the Musalmans to acknowledge and accept their own Caliph. I do not desire to dilate on this grave and delicate subject; but much deeper currents underlie this exceptional exhortation of mine, which I have ventured to make both in the interests of the Musalmans and the Government of Great Britain, than it would be expedient at present to discuss on a public platform. But the Musalmans may well claim that their feelings and sentiments relating to their most cherished traditions should receive consideration in the general policy of the Empire, particularly when they coincide with the demands of justice, humanity, and international obligations.

## HOLY PLACES OF ISLAM

As a spokesman of the Musalmans of India, I must here acknowledge the noble assurance of the British Government given to them through H. E. Lord Hardinge, the late Viceroy of India, as regards the Holy Places of Islam, was received by them not only with the utmost satisfaction, but with profound gratitude.

## MUSLIM ATTITUDE

I may say a word as to the attitude of the Musalmans of India towards the Government. Our clear duty is to be loyal and respectful, without stooping to a cringing policy.

**We want no favors, and crave for no partial treatment. That is demoralizing to the community and injurious to the State. The Musalmans must learn to have self respect; what we want is a healthy and fair impetus to be given to our aspirations and ideals as a community, and it is the most sacred duty of the Government to respond to that claim. Towards the Hindus our attitude should be of good-will and brotherly feelings.**

Cooperation in the cause of our Motherland should be our guiding principle. India's real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and harmonious relations between the two great sister communities. With regard to our own affairs, we can depend upon nobody but ourselves. We should infuse a greater spirit of solidarity into our society. We should remove the root causes and the evil effects of the process of disintegration. We should maintain a sustained loyalty to and cooperation with each other. We should sink personal differences and subordinate personal ambitions to the well-being of the community. We must recognize that no useful purpose is served in petty disputes and in forming party combinations. We should not lose the sympathy of our well-wishers in India and in England by creating a wrong impression that we, as a community, are out only for self-interest and self gain. We must show by our words and deeds that we sincerely and earnestly desire a healthy National unity. For the rest, the seventy millions of Musalmans need not fear.

## RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCE

A few days ago I came across a paragraph in the "Bombay Chronicle," the well-known daily paper of Bombay, with its Editor Mr. B. G. Horniman, a friend of the Musalmans who has rendered great services to us. It is as follows:

The following incident, reported by the Amrita Bazaar Patrika, may well be read with profit by those whose perverse imaginations, in spite of proofs to the contrary, always see in the differences of religions in India an irremovable bar against placing Indians in high offices of trust and responsibility:

This is how His Highness] the Nizam has just disposed of a Hindu-Musalman dispute in his territory. Well, for about a year or so, there sprang a quarrel between the Hindus and the Musalmans of Warrangal about the building of a mosque in a prominent Hindu locality. In spite of many protests from the Hindu population, the other party persisted in constructing one. The Hindus then appealed to His Highness, with the result that he was pleased to appoint a committee of inquiry consisting of two Musalmans and one Hindu to report on the matter. The report was in favor of the Hindus, and His Highness has been pleased to pass his orders accordingly.

The action taken by H. H. the Nizam, it need hardly be added, was in accordance with the traditional policy always adopted by the rulers of Hyderabad."

Why can't we, in British India, the Hindus and the Musalmans, try the methods which prove so successful in the territories of H. H. the Nizam, to settle our differences?



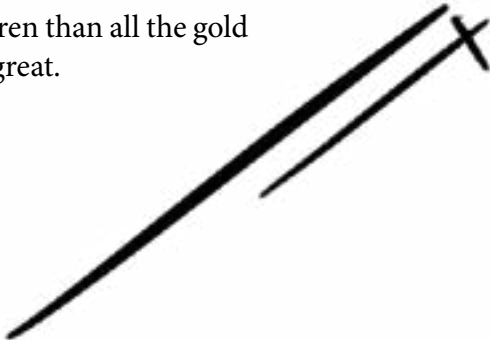


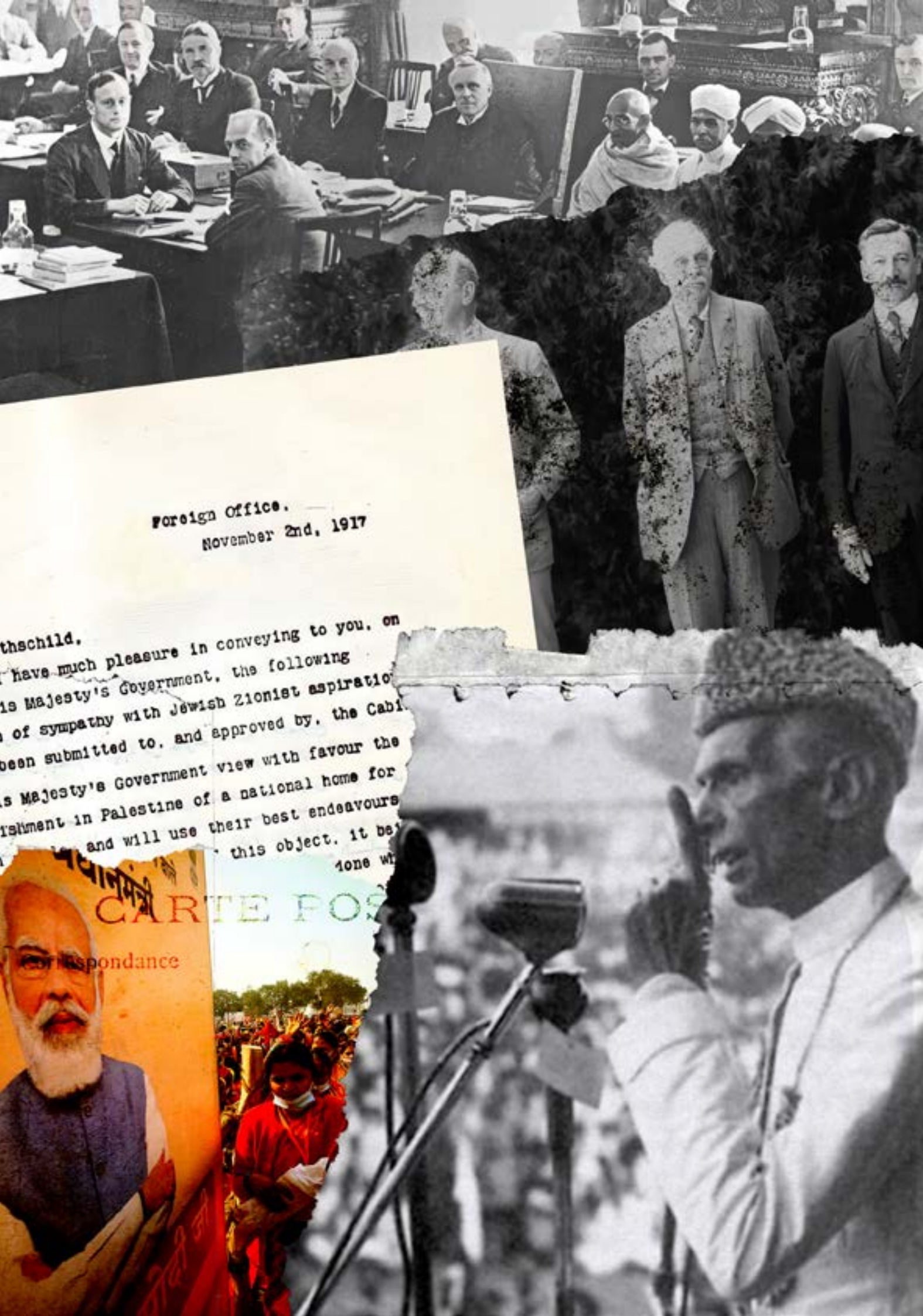
## CONCLUSION

In conclusion I cannot do better than quote a passage from the recent speech of the Prime Minister Mr. Lloyd George, every word of which almost literally applies to the conditions in India. Referring to the Irish situation he said:

“He was convinced now that it was a misunderstanding, partly racial, partly religious. It was to the interest of both to have it removed. But there seemed to have been some evil chance that frustrated every effort made for the achievement of better relations. He had tried once but did not succeed, but the fault was not entirely on one side. He had felt the whole time that we were moving in an atmosphere of nervous suspicions and distrust, pervasive and universal, of everything and everybody. He was drenched with suspicion of Irishmen by Englishmen and of Englishmen by Irishmen and, worse and most fatal of all, by the suspicion of Irishmen of Irishmen. It was a quagmire of distrust which clogged the footsteps of progress. That was the real enemy of Ireland. If that could be slain, he believed, it would accomplish an act of reconciliation that would make Ireland greater and Britain greater, and would make the United Kingdom and the Empire greater than they ever were before.”

The Renaissance of India really lies in our own hands. Let us work and trust in God, so that we may leave a richer heritage to our children than all the gold of the world, viz., Freedom, for which no sacrifice is too great.





## Presidential address by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Muslim League - Lucknow, October 1937

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This session of the All-India Muslim League is one of the most critical that have taken place during its existence for the last more than thirty years. The policy and the program that you are called upon to formulate and lay down involves the fate and the future of the Musalmans of India and the country at large. On 12th April 1936, the Muslim League at its session, the first time in its history, undertook the policy and program of mass contact. The League considered the prevailing conditions and surveyed the situation, as we had to face the forthcoming elections on the eve of the inauguration of the new Provincial Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, and had no alternative but to enter the field and contest the elections to the Provincial Legislatures. It was also felt that there was no alternative but to utilize the Provincial Constitution for what it was worth, although it was far from being satisfactory. I may here reproduce the resolution that was passed on the 12th April, 1936:

“Whereas the Parliamentary System of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new Constitution presupposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and program which facilitate the education of the electorate; and co-operation between groups with approximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the Constitution to the best advantage; and whereas

in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the Provincial Governments, it is essential that the Muslims should organize themselves as one party,



with an advanced and progressive program, it is hereby resolved that the All India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching Provincial elections, and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his President-ship, consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute affiliate Provincial Election Boards in various provinces, having regard to the conditions of each province, and devising ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects.”

In pursuance of that decision, the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was established in June 1936, and also in various provinces Provincial Boards were established, to give effect to the resolution and the instructions of the League. It was not without difficulty, and it was no small task, to be performed in the absence of any previous preparations or any existing efficient organization and machinery.

**It was a stupendous undertaking to contest elections in all the provinces, especially when Musalmans all over India are numerically in a minority and weak, educationally backward, and economically nowhere. There never had been any systematic effort for their social and economic uplift.**

Whereas our sister communities have gone far ahead with their organizations, and the systematic program supported by a large bulk of people, especially the Hindus, who are not only in a majority but better trained, more disciplined, and far better equipped educationally, economically, and financially.

But here I may mention that within a short time of about six months’ work, before the elections were over, the results were very hopeful, and there is no need for us to despair.

**In each and every province where League Parliamentary Board was established and the League parties were constituted, we carried away about 60 and 70 percent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates; and since the elections were over I find that hundreds of District Leagues have been established in almost every province, from the farthest corner of Madras to the North-West Frontier Province.**



The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was a political agreement signed by Mahatma Gandhi and the then Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin on 5 March 1931 before the second Round Table Conference in London.

Since April last the Musalmans of India have rallied round the League more and more, and I feel confident that once they understand and realize the policy and program of the Muslim League, the entire Musalman population of India will rally round its platform and under its flag.

The Muslim League stands for full national democratic self-government for India. A great deal of capital is made as to phrases more for the consumption of the ignorant and illiterate masses. Various phrases are used such as Purna Swaraj, self government, complete independence, responsible government, substance of independence, and dominion status. There are some who talk of complete independence. But it is no use having complete independence on your lips and the Government of India Act, 1935, in your hands! Those who talk of complete independence the most, mean the least what it means.



“It’s like they are trying to erase us — erase all of my people,” says Jaibuna, the widow of Pehlu Khan. The 55-year-old Muslim man was beaten to death in 2017 by Hindu men who objected to his transporting cows. Muslim lynchings have rapidly risen in India since 2017 and anti-Muslim sentiment is an all-time high in present day India in 2021.

**Was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in consonance with complete independence? Were the assurances that were required before the offices would be accepted and the Provincial Constitution could be worked, consistent with Purna Swaraj; and was the resolution after the assurance were refused, accepting offices and working the Provincial Constitution, enacted by the British Parliament and forced upon the people of India by the imperialistic power, in keeping with the policy and program and the declarations of the Congress Party? Does wrecking mean working? These paper declarations, slogans, and shibboleths are not going to carry us anywhere. What India requires is a complete united front and honesty of purpose; and then by whatever name you may call your government is a matter of no consequence so long as it is a government of the people, by the people, for the people.**





2019: India's PM Narendra Modi with Bohra Muslim community leaders who appear to be bowing down and touching his feet as sign of reverence

The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Musalmans of India more and more, by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu; and since they have formed the Governments in six provinces where they are in a majority they have by their words, deeds, and program shown more and more that the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands.

Whenever they are in majority and wherever it suited them, they refused to co-operate with the Muslim League Parties and demanded unconditional surrender and signing of their pledges.

The demand was insistent: abjure your party and forswear your policy and program and liquidate the Muslim League; but where they found that they had not a majority, like the North-West Frontier Province, their sacred principle of collective responsibility disappeared, and promptly the Congress Party was allowed in that province to coalesce with any other group.

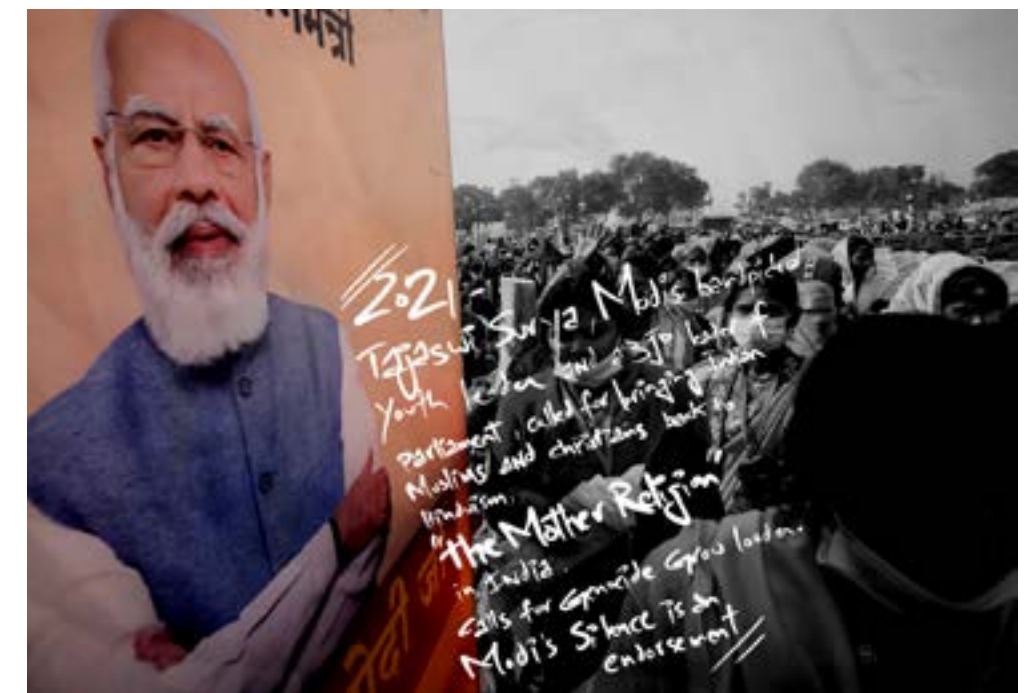
Any individual Musalman member who was willing to unconditionally surrender and sign their pledge was offered a job as a minister and was passed off as a Musalman minister, although he did not command the confidence or the respect of an overwhelming majority of the Musalman representatives in the legislature. These men are allowed to move about and pass off as Muslim ministers for the "loyal" services they have rendered to the Congress, by surrendering and signing the pledge unconditionally; and the degree of their reward is the extent of their perfidy. Hindi is to be the national language of all India, and the Bande Matram is to be the national song, and is to be forced upon all. The Congress flag is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry.

On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community have clearly shown their hand: that Hindustan is for the Hindus; only the Congress masquerades under the name of nationalism, whereas the Hindu Mahasabha does not mince words.

The result of the present Congress Party policy will be, I venture to say, class bitterness, communal war, and strengthening of the imperialistic hold as a consequence. I dare say that the British Government will give the Congress a free hand in this direction, and it matters very little to them, nay, on the contrary, it is all to the good, so long as their interests, imperial or otherwise, are not touched, and the Defense remains intact; but

I feel that a fearful reaction will set in when the Congress has created more and more divisions amongst Indians themselves, and made the united front impossible.

Here it will not be out of place to state that the responsibility of the British Government is no less in the disastrous consequences which ensue. It has been clearly demonstrated that the Government and the Governor-General who have been given the powers and special responsibility to safeguard and protect the minorities – under the Constitution which was made so much of by Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, during the controversy over the assurances demanded by the Congress Party – have failed to use them, and have thereby been a party, they have been a party to passing off men as Muslim ministers by appointing them as such, although they know full well that they do not command the confidence of the Muslim representatives or the public outside.



2021: Tejaswi Surya, Modi's handpicked youth leader and a BJP member of parliament, called for bringing Indian Muslims and Christians back to Hinduism, "the mother religion." In India, calls for Muslim genocide grow louder. Modi's silence is an endorsement.



If in a matter like this, **the Governors have shown their utter helplessness and disregard for their sacred obligations which were assumed by the British Government for the protection of minorities, could they or would they be able to afford protection in a hundred and one other matters which may not come up to the surface to be known, in the day-to-day working of the Legislatures and the administrative machinery?**

These are very serious and not worthy signs of the time.

**The one wholesome lesson that I ask the Musalmans to learn, before it is too late, is that the path before the Musalmans is, therefore, plain. They must realize that the time has come when they should concentrate and devote their energies to self-organization and full development of their power, to the exclusion of every other consideration.**

I have pointed out before that a section of Musalmans is divided, that there is a group that stands with its face turned towards the British. If they have not learnt by now of the bitter consequences, they will never learn. God only helps those who help themselves.

There is another group which turns towards the Congress, and they do so because they have lost faith in themselves. I want the Musalmans to believe in themselves, and take their destiny in their own hands. We want men of faith and resolution who have the courage and determination, and who would fight single-handed for their convictions, though at the moment the whole world may be against them. We must develop power and strength, till the Musalmans are fully organized and have acquired that power and strength which must come from the solidarity and the unity of the people.

**No settlement with the majority community is possible, as no Hindu leader speaking with any authority shows any concern or genuine desire for it. Honorable settlement can only be achieved between equals, and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other, there is no solid ground for any settlement. Offers of peace by the weaker party always mean confession of weakness, and an invitation to aggression. Appeals to patriotism, justice, and fair play, and for good will, fall flat.**

It does not require political wisdom to realize that all safeguards and settlements would be a scrap of paper, unless they are backed up by power.

**Politics means power, and not relying only on cries of justice or fair play or good will. Look at the nations of the world, and look at what is happening every day. See what has happened to Abyssinia; look at what is happening to China and Spain--and not to speak of the tragedy of Palestine to which I shall refer later.**

**The Congress High Command speaks in different voices. One opinion is that there is no such thing as the Hindu-Muslim question, and there is no such thing as the Minorities question, in the country. The other high opinion is that if a few crumbs are thrown to the Musalmans in their present disorganized and helpless state, you can manage them.**

They are sadly mistaken if they think that the Musalmans can be imposed upon. The All-India Muslim League has now come to live, and play its just part in the world of Indian politics; and the sooner this is

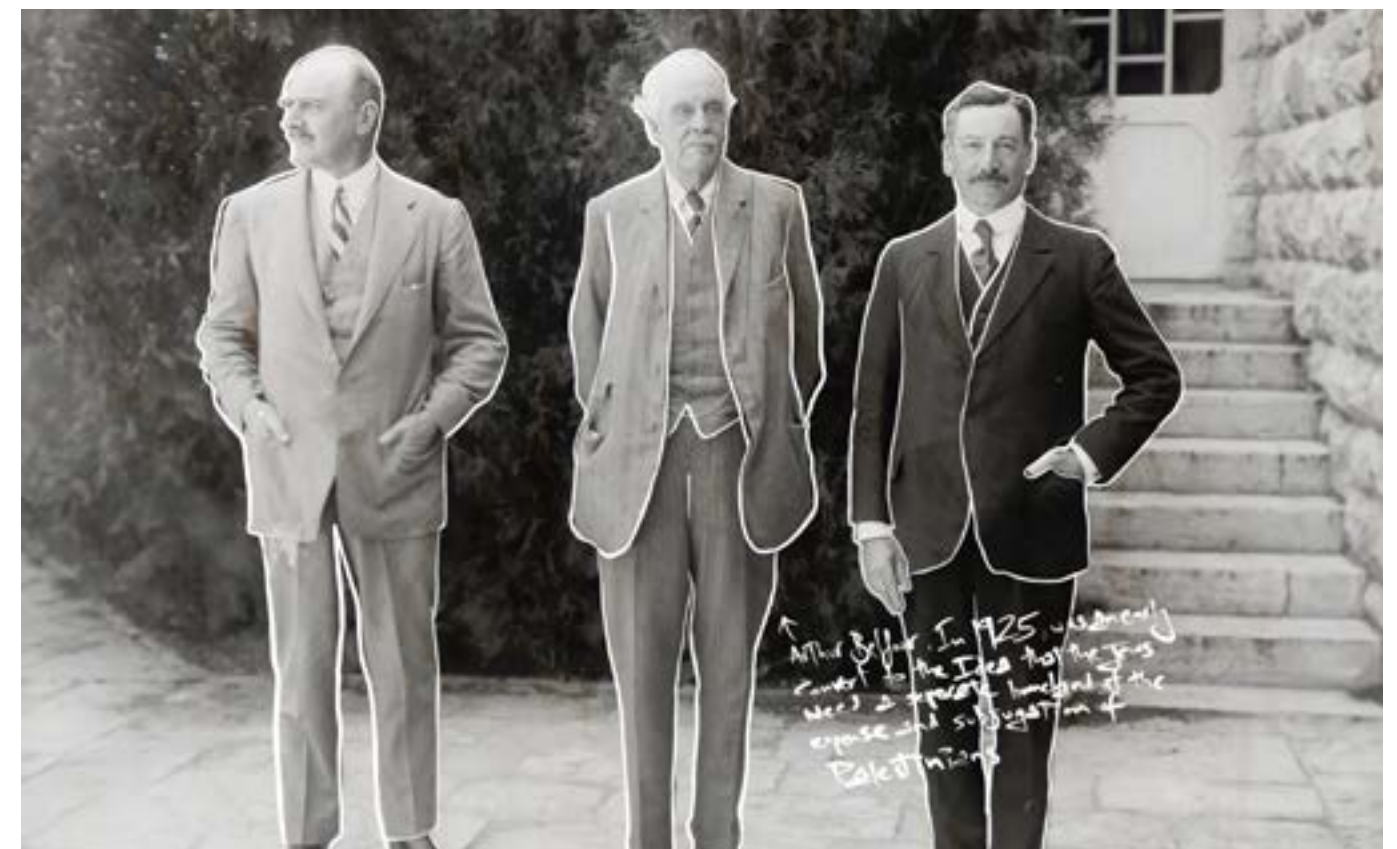
realized and reckoned with, the better it will be for all interests concerned. The third opinion is that there is no light to be seen through the impenetrable darkness; but as the Congress goes on acquiring strength and power, so the past promises of the blank cheques remain unfilled and unsigned.

**I want the Musalmans to ponder over the situation and decide their own fate by having one single, definite, uniform policy which should be loyally followed throughout India.**

The Congress Site Musalmans are making a great mistake when they preach unconditional surrender.

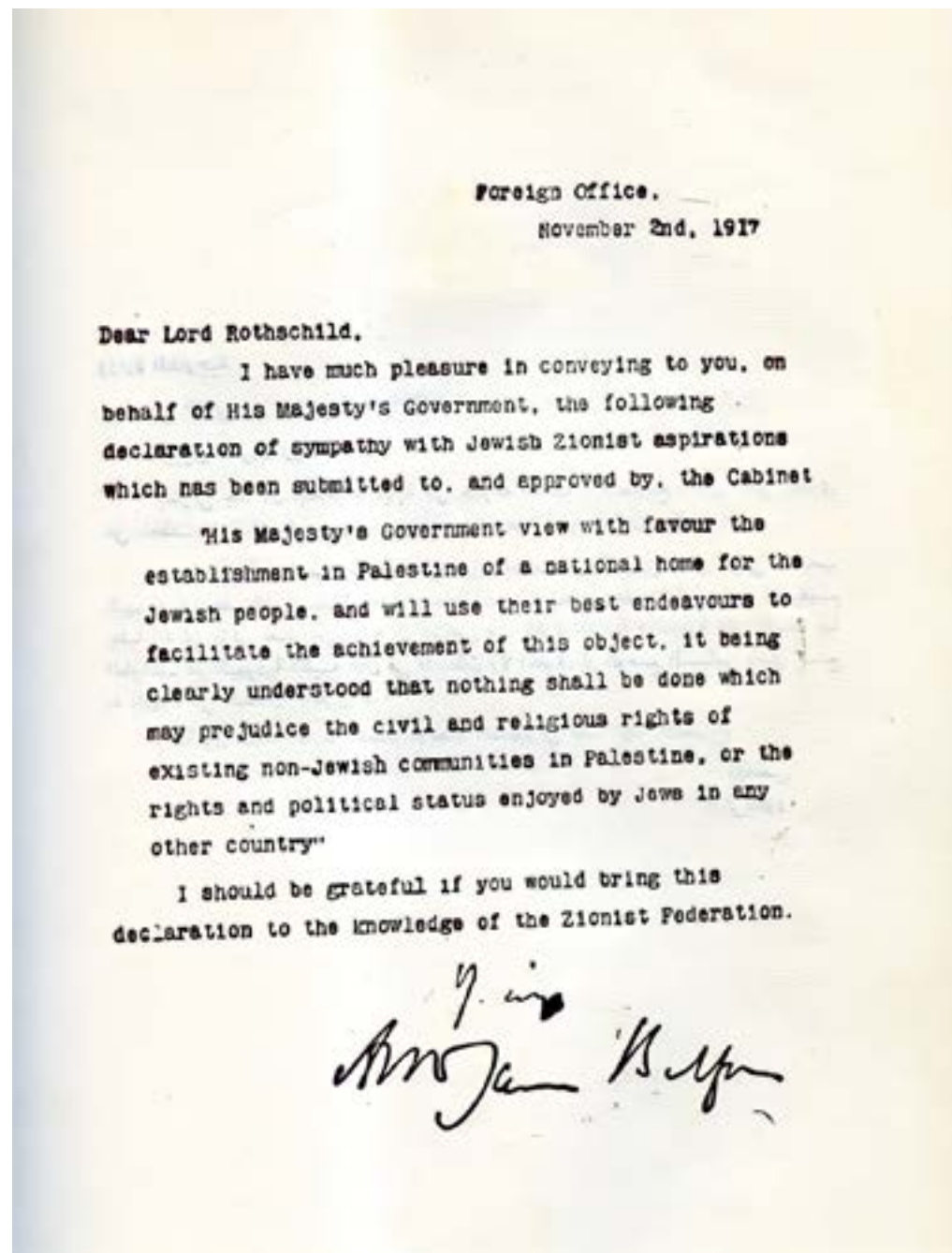
**It is the height of a defeatist mentality to throw ourselves on the mercy and good will of others, and the highest act of perfidy to the Musalman community; and if that policy is adopted, let me tell you, the community will seal its doom and will cease to play its rightful part in the national life of the country and the Government.**

**Only one thing can save the Musalmans and energize them to regain their lost ground. They must first recapture their own souls, and stand by their lofty position and principles which form the basis of their great unity and which bind them in one body-politic. Do not be disturbed by the slogans and the taunts such as are used against the Musalmans--Communalists, toadies, and reactionaries.**



Arthur Balfour, at center, in 1925, was an early convert to the idea that the Jews need a separate homeland at the expense and subjugation of Palestinians





The worst today on earth, the most wicked communalist today amongst Muslims, when he surrenders unconditionally to the Congress and abuses his own community, becomes the nationalist of nationalists tomorrow! These terms and words and abuses are intended to create an inferiority complex amongst the Musalmans, and to demoralize them; and are intended to be sown in their midst and give us a bad name in the world abroad. This is the standard of propaganda which can only be treated with contempt.

The All-India Muslim League certainly and definitely stands to safeguard the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities effectively. That is its basic and cardinal principle. This is the *casus belli*.

That is why the Muslim League and those who stand by it have incurred the displeasure of the Congress, for why else are we doing what the Congress objects to? The Muslim League supporters are doing exactly what we decided two years ago. The League is not going to allow the Musalmans to be exploited either by the British Government or any other party or group, inside the legislatures or outside.

**The Congress with all its boasts has done nothing in the past for the Musalmans. It has failed to inspire confidence and to create a sense of security amongst the Musalmans and other minorities.**

The Congress attempt, under the guise of establishing mass contact with the Musalmans, is calculated to divide and weaken and break the Musalmans, and is an effort to detach them from their accredited leaders. It is a dangerous move, and it cannot mislead anyone. All such maneuvers will not succeed, notwithstanding the various blandishments, catchwords, and slogans. The only honest and straightforward course is to give the minorities a fair deal. All talk of hunger and poverty is intended to lead the people towards socialistic and communistic ideas for which India is far from prepared.

The Muslim League in the present conditions considers the policy of direct action as suicidal and futile. Two such attempts have hitherto failed, and have entailed untold misery and suffering to the people; and it had to be wound up after two decades of persistent efforts in that direction, with the result that a more reactionary Constitution is forced upon the people, and



Mr. Jinnah mobilizing the Muslim populous of India to create the nation-state of Pakistan



the Congress is working under it now.

To ask, by a resolution, the Governor-General to convey to the Secretary of State for India to call a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise, is the height of all ignorance. It shows a lack of any sense of proportion. A constituent assembly can only be called by a sovereign authority and from the seat of power – a special body of men chosen as the representatives with the authority of the sovereign – to frame such constitution of the government of the country as they think proper, and their function ceases and the constitution so framed by them would automatically take the place and function as the constitution of the government of the country.

**Who is to constitute the electorates on the basis of adult franchise, and how many representatives will be chosen by these electorates constituted on the basis of adult franchise, and what will happen to the minorities in such constituencies, and what will the electorates understand, and how will they make their choice of this special body of men with final authority and power to frame the constitution of this great sub-continent? Who will direct the machinery to choose the special body of men with representative authority to frame such a constitution as they may think proper? Who will set in motion the machinery? And, above all, what will happen to the minorities in such a body?**

Is the Congress really serious that the Secretary of State is going to carry out all these requirements, when only a few days ago, the representative of the British Government speaking with the highest authority, His Excellency the Viceroy, said that he was full of hope that they might succeed in securing the federation of India in the near future, that when he came out to India he had expressed the hope that the scheme of federation was on the whole one calculated to secure federation within a reasonable time after the inauguration of provincial autonomy, and that his experience of the federation within a reasonable time?

Taking the country as a whole, the Congress is still far from occupying the seat of authority, and it is a travesty of realities to think of the British Government calling a constituent assembly; and as for the ability of the Congress to do so, it is pure moonshine. Let the Congress first bring all principal communities in the country and all principal classes of interest under its leadership.

**To ask the foreign Government, who is the ruling and sovereign authority in this country, to convene such a body before even the communal bodies in India have accepted the leadership of the Congress, is like putting the cart before the horse; and do not forget that one-third of India stands on a very special footing, constituting the Indian States and ruling Princes.**

Instead of plowing the sands, let the Congress at least concentrate and see that the all-India Federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which is more reactionary than even the present Central Constitution, is not brought into being, as now it is so emphatically and confidently asserted by those

who speak with authority on behalf of the British Government that it is soon going to be inaugurated. What is the Congress going to do? Do they think that they can single-handedly prevent it? Or will some other formula be evolved and the Congress quietly accept it as a fait accompli, as it had done the Provincial Constitution, in spite of all the rantings of some of the foremost leaders of the Congress against it?

May I now turn and refer to the question of Palestine. It has moved the Musalmans all over India most deeply. The whole policy of the British Government has been a betrayal of the Arabs from its very inception. Fullest advantage has been taken of their trusting nature.

**Great Britain has dishonored her proclamation to the Arabs – which had guaranteed to them complete independence of the Arab homelands, and the formation of an Arab confederation – under the stress of the Great War. After having utilized them by giving them false promises, they installed themselves as the mandatory power with that infamous Balfour Declaration, which was obviously irreconcilable and incapable of simultaneous execution; and having pursued the policy to find a national home for the Jews, Great Britain now proposes to partition Palestine; and the Royal Commission's recommendation completes the tragedy, and if given effect to must necessarily lead to the complete ruination and destruction of every legitimate aspiration of the Arabs in their homeland; and now we are asked to look at the realities.**

But who created this situation? It has been the handiwork of, and brought about sedulously by, the British statesmen. The League of Nations had, it seems, and let us hope, not approved of the Royal Commission's scheme, and a fresh examination may take place. But is it a real effort intended to give the Arabs their due? May I point out to Great Britain that this question of Palestine, if not fairly and squarely met, boldly and courageously decided, is going to be the turning point in the history of the British Empire. I am sure I am speaking not only of the Musalmans of India but of the world, and all sections of right thinking and fair-minded people will agree when I say that Great Britain will be digging its grave if she fails to honor her original proclamation, promises, and intentions – pre-war and even post-war – which were so unequivocally expressed to the Arabs and the world at large.

I find that a very tense feeling of excitement has been created, and the British Government, out of sheer desperation, are resorting to repressive measures and ruthlessly dealing with the public opinion of the Arabs in Palestine. The Muslims of India will stand solidly, and will help the Arabs in every way they can in their brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odds. May I send a message on behalf of the All-India Muslim League of cheer, courage, and determination in their just cause and struggle, which I am sure they will win through.

**To the Musalmans of India in every province, in every district, in every tahsil, in every town, I say, your foremost duty is to formulate a constructive and ameliorative program of work for the people's welfare, and to devise ways and means of social, economic, and political uplift of**



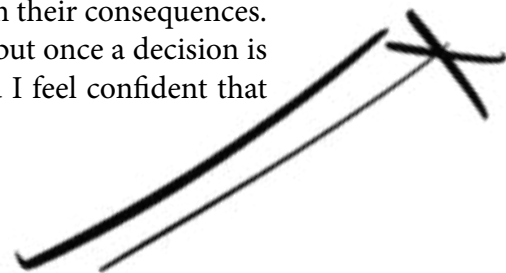
**the Musalmans.**

We shall not hesitate to co-operate with any party or group in any practical and constructive program for the welfare and advance of the provinces or the country. I entreat and implore that every man, woman, and child should rally round one common platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League. Enlist yourselves by hundreds and thousands, as quickly as you can, as members of the All-India Muslim League, Provincial Leagues, and District Leagues.

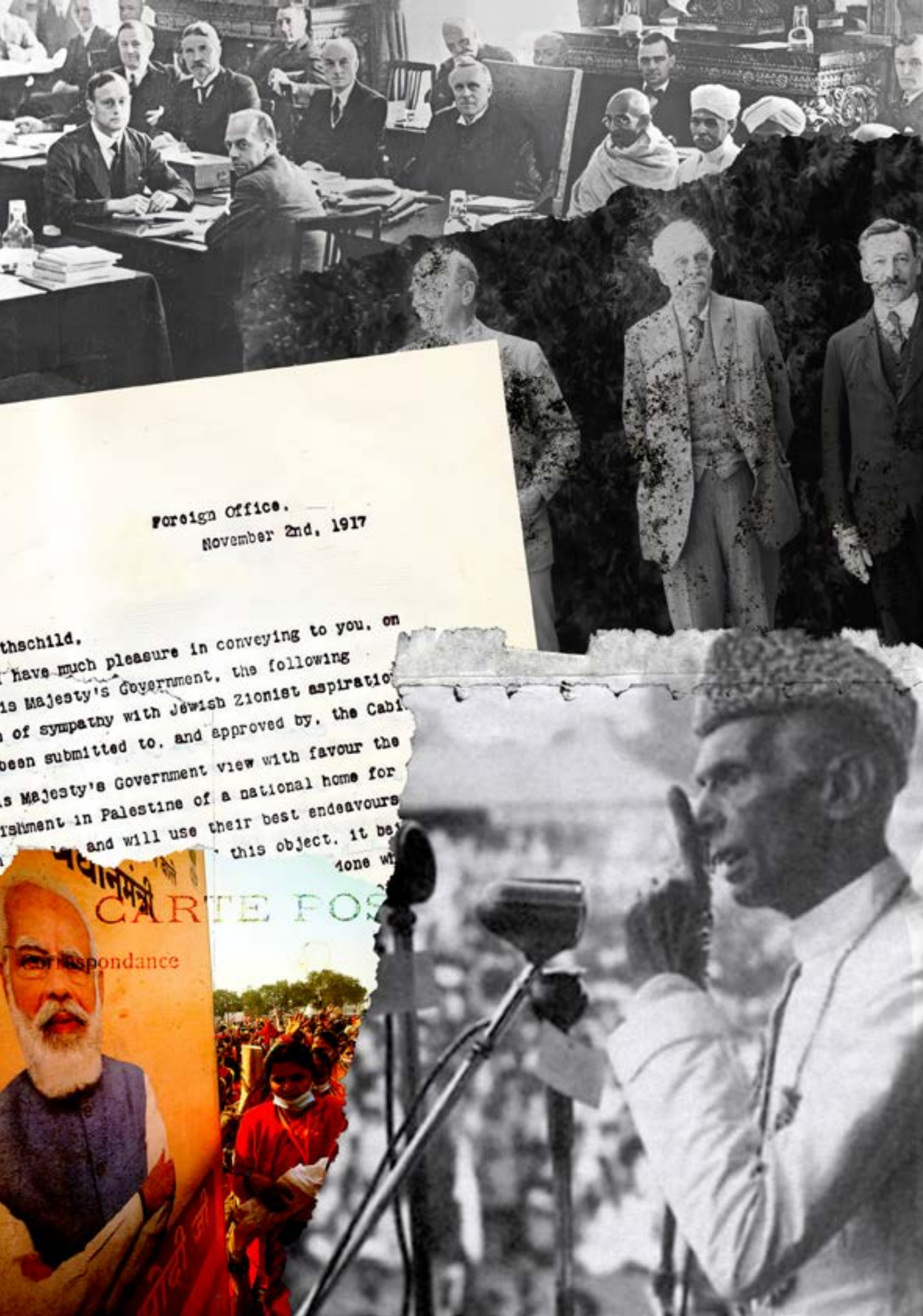
**Organize yourselves, establish your solidarity and complete unity. Equip yourselves, as trained and disciplined soldiers. Create the feeling of esprit de corps, and of comradeship amongst yourselves.**

**No individual or people can achieve anything without industry, suffering, and sacrifice. There are forces which may bully you, tyrannize over you, and intimidate you, and you may even have to suffer. But it is by going through this crucible of fire-persecution which may be leveled against you, tyranny that may be exercised, the threats and intimidations that may unnerve you--and it is by resisting, by overcoming, by facing these disadvantages and hardships, and by suffering and maintaining your true convictions and loyalty, that a nation will emerge worthy of its past glory and history, and will live to make the future history greater and more glorious not only of India but in the annals of the world.**

Eighty millions of Musalmans in India have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their hands, and as a well-knit, solid, organized, united force can face any danger; and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your own hands. Take your vital decisions--they may be grave and momentous and far-reaching in their consequences. Think a hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal, and I feel confident that







## Presidential address by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Muslim League Lahore, 1940

Ladies and Gentlemen:

success is with you.

We are meeting today in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All-India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938. You remember that one of the tasks, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organize Muslim Leagues all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction.

**I am glad to inform you that we have established provincial leagues in every province. The next point is that in every bi-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Musalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials.**

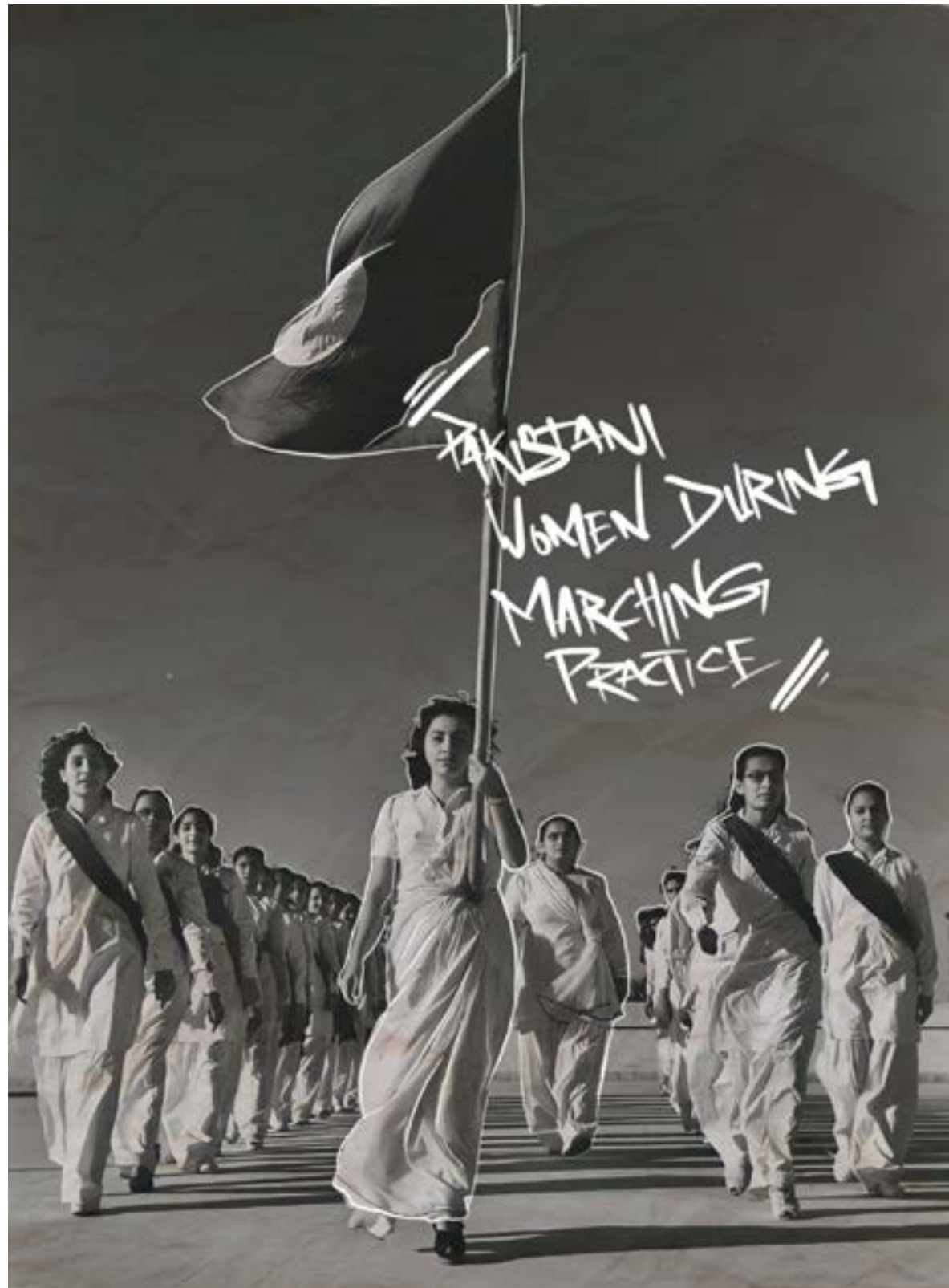
There was not a single bi-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent percent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organizing the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us, because

**I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes, even under purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were: (1) to organize provincial and district women's**



sub-committees under the provincial and district Muslim Leagues: (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League: (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness -- because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember your children will not have much to worry about: (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society.



Pakistani women during marching practice 1947



Pakistan's first Woman Premier, Benazir Bhutto, speaking in Washington 1989

This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India.

**We had to face ill-treatment and oppression to Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar.**

We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme in the central Government. We know what machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the central federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of central federal government. In creating that state of mind in



the British Government, the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding. After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realized that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honor to lead at present, the present Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet the Viceroy never thought of me. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted, and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received, because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock.

**My point is that I want you to realize the value, the importance, the significance of organizing ourselves. I will not say anything more on the subject.**

But a great deal still remains to be done.

**I am sure from what I can see and hear that the Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake, and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody, whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live forever.**

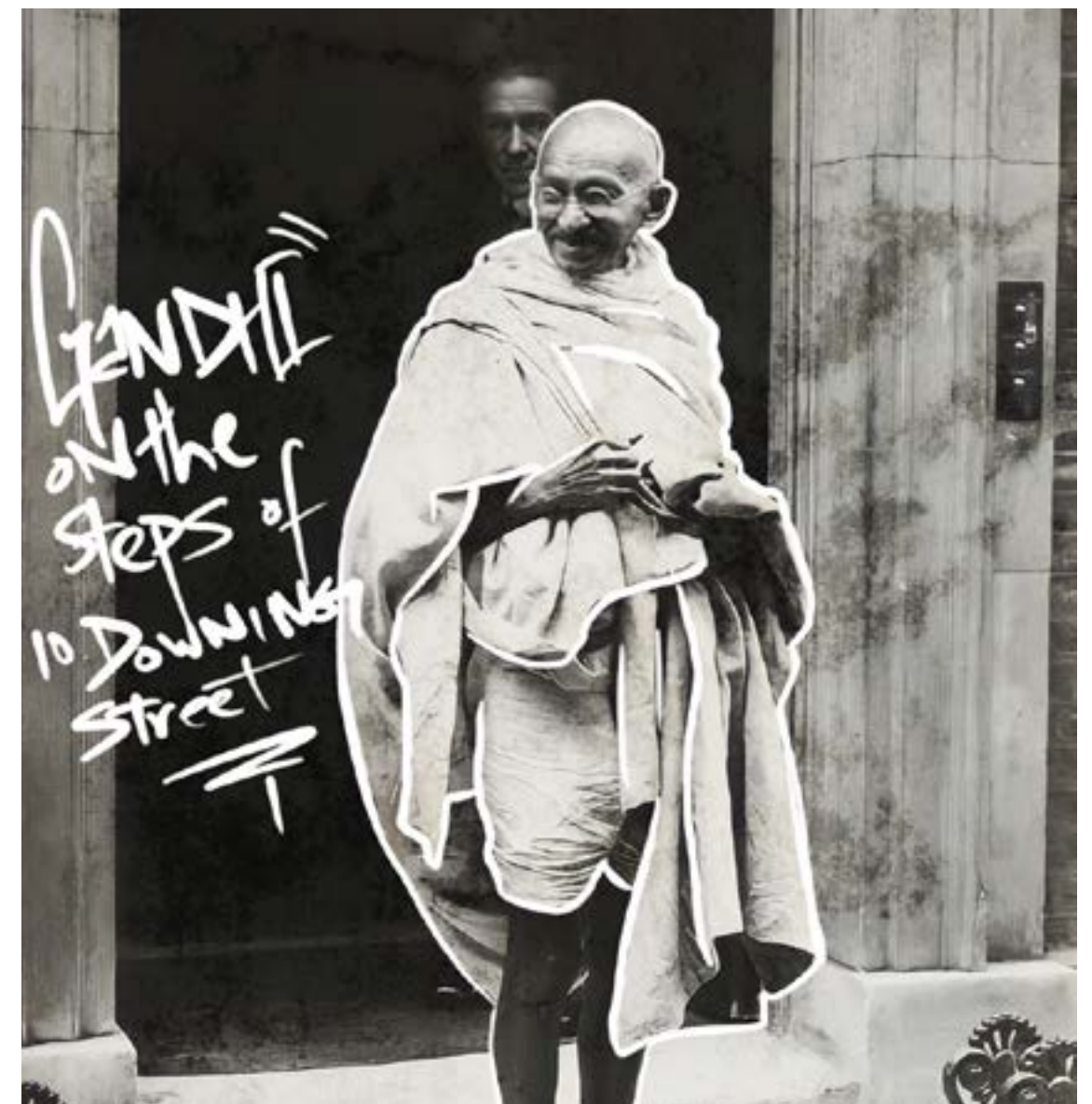
Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom of all India and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus -- and slavery of Musalmans and other minorities.

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences and particularly the experiences of the past 2 1/2 years of provincial constitution in the Congress-governed provinces. We have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people, but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be a sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed him. Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentleman's agreement between the Congress and the Government to such an extent that although we cried ourselves hoarse, week in and week out, the Governors were supine and the Governor-General was helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities, and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help, and that gentleman's agreement was broken to pieces and the

Congress, thank heaven, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. Their bluff was called. So far so good. I therefore appeal to you, in all the seriousness that I can command,

**to organize yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard, and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourselves such that you may be able to defend yourselves, That is all that I want to urge.**

Now, what is our position with regard to a future constitution? It is that as soon as circumstances permit, or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined de novo and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, 'I have made the



Gandhi on the steps of 10 Downing Street



declaration.' The Congress said, 'No, no. We want another kind of declaration. You must declare now and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible. This Assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests.'

**Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now, apart from the impracticable character of this proposal and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask a ruling power to abdicate in favor of a Constituent Assembly. Apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose the solid body of Muslim representatives do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen?**

It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this Assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge subcontinent except those matters which may be germane to the safeguards for the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safe-guards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this constitution comes into operation



Mr. Jinnah and Gandhi sharing a friendly moment

the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course,

**Mr. Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British will disappear, and if so to what extent. In other words, his proposal comes to this: First, give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation, then I will decide what I should give you back. Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this?**

But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Musalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honored in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer, the Hindu majority would do it; and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or Gandhi's "Ahinsa"? Can we trust them any more? Besides, ladies and gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based, affecting 90 million of Musalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still, that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders -- each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorates. That is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress organization. (Laughter from audience) Babu Rajendra Prasad, on the other hand, only a few days ago said, "Oh, what more do the Musalmans want?" I will read to you his words. Referring to the minority question, he says: "If Britain would concede our right of self-determination, surely all these differences would disappear." How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

"But so long as Britain remains and holds power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution would be framed not by the Congress alone but by representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates, though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representative of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religion and political affiliations, who will be deciding the future constitution of India, and not this or that party. What better guarantees can the minorities have?"

So according to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations, and religions, and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March, 1940.

And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March, 1940. He says: "To me, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike. I cannot be frivolous" -- but I think he is frivolous -- "I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother." The only difference is that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote. (Laughter.) "I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket." I do not know really what to say of this latest offer of his. "There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose



confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so today.” Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslims today? May I ask, ladies and gentlemen? “I do not read all that appears in the Urdu Press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj.” Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years. “You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight. I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly.”

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which the Muslims say they cannot accept; which, the Muslims say, means three to one; about which the Musalmans say that they will never be able, in that way by the counting of head, to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable us to work as friends; and therefore this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Musalmans at all! He says, “I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly” -- mark the words, “who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes” -- he is first forcing us to come to that Assembly, and then says -- “declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims, then alone I would give up all hope, but even then I would agree with them because they read the Quran and I have also studied something of that holy Book.” (Laughter)

So Mr. Gandhi wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Musalmans; and if they do not agree then he will give up all hopes, but even then he will agree with us. (Laughter in the audience) Well, I ask you. Ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real genuine desire, if there existed any, to come to a settlement with the Musalmans? (Voices of no, no.) Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree, and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why shouldn't Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, “I am a Hindu. Congress has solid Hindu backing”? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Musalmans. (Hear, hear and applause.) I am right and I hope and I think even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has the solid backing of the Musalmans of India (Hear, hear.) Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Musalmans? Why this declaration of non-cooperation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Musalmans agree or they do not agree? (Hear, hear.) Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people, and let me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans? (Hear, hear and applause)

This all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet, as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points. At any rate, we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the

entire problem of the future constitution of India should be examined de novo, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was -- I had better quote that -- I will not put it in my own words: This is the reply that was sent to us on the 23rd of December. “My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October the 13th last does not exclude -- Mark the words -- “does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.” (Hear, hear.)

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points



2021 Map of Pakistan

are: (1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future constitution of India without our approval and consent (Hear, hear, and applause) and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back (Hear, hear) unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, but, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that

**we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 million of people in the hands of any other judge – we and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want the British Government to thrust upon the Musalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree.**

Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Musalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not, after all, as I told you before, we must





Lala Lajpat Rai, Indian independence activist, played a pivotal role in the Indian Independence movement

depend on our own inherent strength; and I make it plain from this platform, that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Musalmans of India will resist it. (Hear, hear and applause.) And no mistake should be made on that score.

**Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that endeavors, earnest endeavors, are being made to meet the reasonable, national demands, of the Arabs. Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavors, sincere endeavors, best endeavors. (Laughter.) We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine. (Hear, hear.)**

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended, and in fact language does not justify it if there is any misapprehension or apprehension, that the Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defense of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance of was that Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim power. (Hear, hear.) Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the

British Government to clarify the position further.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December, having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February; and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration. Ladies and Gentlemen, that is where we stand after the War and up to the 3rd of February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it, and you know there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who are interested in the problem of India's future Constitution; and we have also appointed a subcommittee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear: it has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Musalmans are a minority, and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove.

**The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition. The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, "Well, you are a minority after all, what do you want?" "What else do the minorities want?" Just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Musalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country where the Musalmans are in a majority, such as Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, and Baluchistan.**

Now the question is, what is the solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Musalmans? We have been considering, and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views, and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C. R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 12 or 15 years ago, and that letter has been produced in a book recently published by one Indra Prakash, and that is how this letter has come to light.

This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabite, said. But before I read his letter it is plain from it that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are a Hindu. (Laughter.) The word 'nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

"There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one about which I want you to think about carefully and that is the question of Hindu-Muhammadan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammadan leaders in the non-cooperation movement I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

"You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew. There is no finer Muhammadan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can any Muslim leader over-ride the Quran? I can only hope that my reading of Islamic law is incorrect.

I think his reading is quite incorrect.

"And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British we cannot do so to rule



Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines.”

Ladies and gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was all right; but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about eighteen months ago, there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said fifteen years ago that we cannot do so -- viz., rule Hindustan on democratic lines. What is the remedy? The remedy, according to Congress, is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further:

“What is, then, the remedy? I am not afraid of the 70 million of Musalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hordes of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible.” (Laughter.)

“I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Koran and Hadith? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope not. I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty.”

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago. Now, I would like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me, taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of the cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonize the inconsistent elements in India.

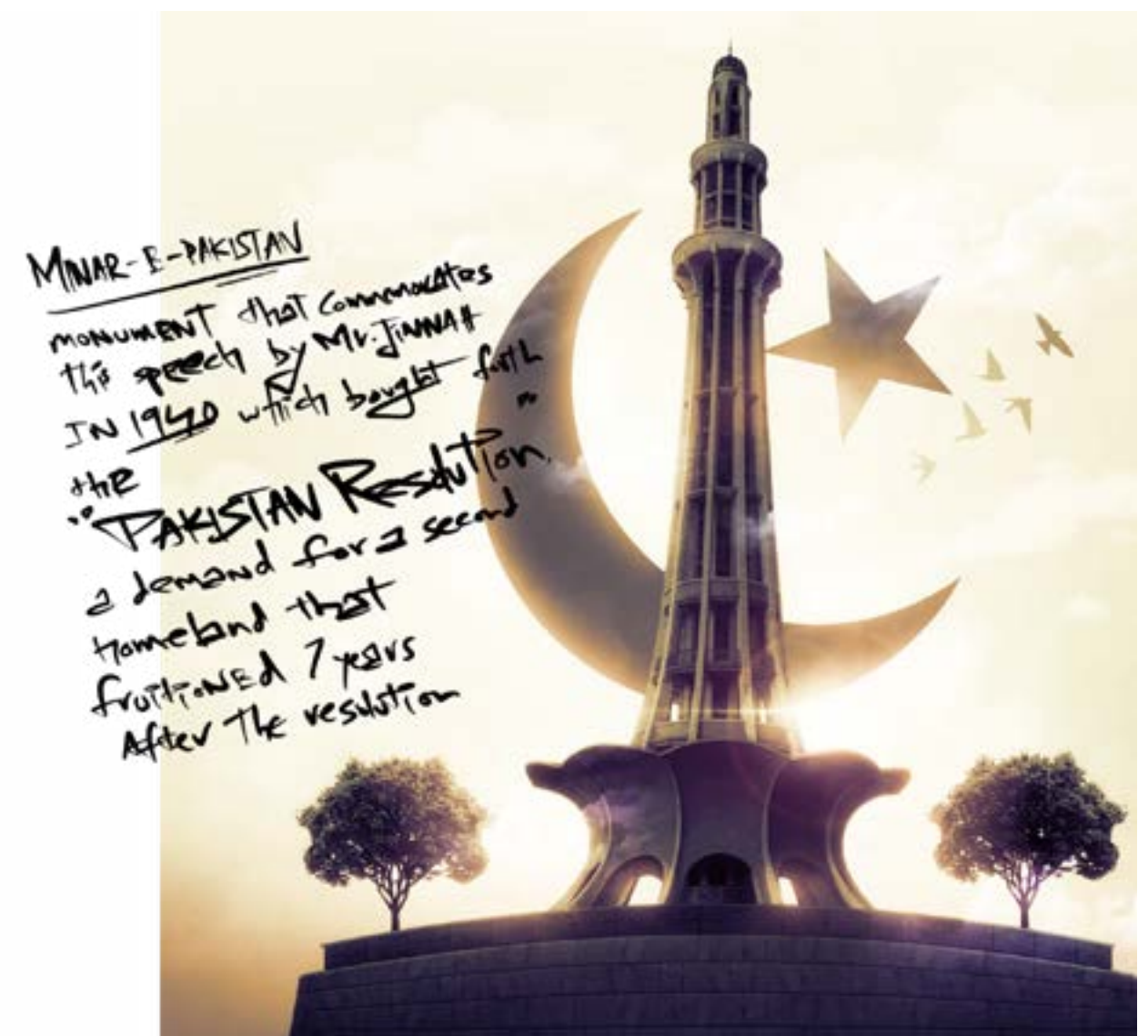
A leading journal like the London Times, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote that “Undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilizations. However, in the course of time the superstitions will die out and India will be molded into a single nation.” (So according to the London Times the only difficulties are superstitions). These fundamental and deep-rooted spiritual, economic, cultural, social, and political differences have been euphemized as mere “superstitions.” But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the subcontinent of India, as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society vis-a-vis that of Hinduism, to characterize them as mere “superstitions.” Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes. What the unitary government of India for one hundred fifty years had failed to achieve cannot be realized by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities, except by means of armed force behind it.

**The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character, but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such.**

So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Musalmans, but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government is really in earnest and sincere to secure the peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands

by dividing India into “autonomous national states.” There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand, the rivalry, and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country, will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbors. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities, by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslim and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders; and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality; and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of more of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literatures. They neither intermarry nor interline together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their perspectives on life, and of life, are different. It is quite clear that



Minar-e-Pakistan monument that commemorates this speech by Mr. Jinnah in 1940 which brought forth the “Pakistan Resolution”, a demand for separate Muslim homeland that fruitioned 7 years after the resolution.



Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent, and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

**History has also shown us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the subcontinent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. The Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as seven or eight sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula.**

Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government, when we know that the history of the last twelve hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during these ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up, with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under the Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after one hundred fifty years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamored would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years, and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and the raising of private armies, as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to the Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow, and if they could not they must emigrate.

Musalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even today, according to the British map of India, out of eleven provinces, four provinces where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-corporate and prepare for civil disobedience. Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory, and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbors as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social, and political life, in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands that we find, and the vital interests of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find, an honorable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us, to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

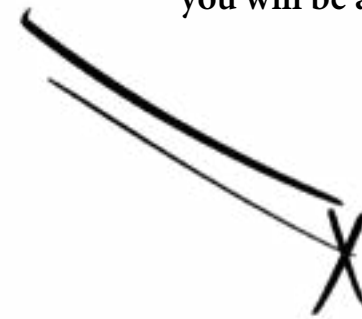
Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I would like to tell you, but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have said and I have been saying, and I think you can easily get that publication both in English and in Urdu from the League Office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important

resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements.

**Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realize how big and stupendous it is? Do you realize that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do?**

I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly, and sincerely for your people, you will never realize your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind, and then think of devices and organize your people, strengthen your organization, and consolidate the Musalmans all over India.

**I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam. Organize the people economically, socially, educationally, and politically, and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody.**







## Transfer of Power (June 3rd 1947)

Broadcast Speech on 3rd June, 1947 from the All India Radio, New Delhi, giving his reactions to June-3 Plan

I am glad that I am afforded an opportunity to speak to you directly through this radio from Delhi. It is the first time, I believe, that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address the people through the medium of this powerful instrument direct to the people on political matters. It augurs well and I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions which will reach you directly.

The statement of His Majesty's Government embodying the plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast and will be released to the press to be published in India and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outlines of the plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. **We must remember that we have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400 million people. The world has no parallel for the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.**

Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore, we must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is affected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Muslim India to maintain peace and order. We must examine the plan, in its letter and in its spirit and come to our conclusions and make our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment. He may guide us and enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner.



It is clear that the plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. It is for us now to consider whether the plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point, I do not wish to prejudge the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has been summoned to meet on Monday, June 9; and the final decision can only be taken by the Council according to our constitution, precedents and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather on the whole, reaction in the Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful. Of course the plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before the final decision can be taken.

I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality, and it is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him as far as it lies in our power in order that he may fulfill his mission of transfer of power to the people of India, in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now the plan that has been broadcast already makes it clear in paragraph II that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North West Frontier Province who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph four they wish to adopt; and the referendum



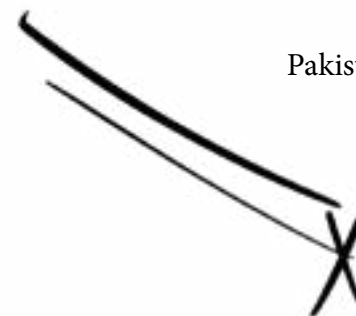
K2 is the second highest mountain in the world and became part of Pakistan's territory in June 1947.

will be held under the aegis of the Governor-general in consultation with the provincial government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, I request the Provincial Muslim League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and Musalmans generally to organize our people to face this referendum with hope and courage, and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

**I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Musalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties.**

Without apportioning blame, and this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply sympathize with all those who have suffered and those who died or whose properties were subjected to destruction and I fervently hope that Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner and it should be the anxiety of everyone to obtain a fair, free and true verdict of the people of the Frontier. Once more I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order.

Pakistan Zindabad







## Quaid-e-Azam and the Frontier Tribesmen

Statement expressing his thanks to the Muslims of the Tribal Areas for their numerous messages of good wishes and greetings

I have received thousands of letters and telegrams of congratulations, greetings and good wishes from all over India and abroad. It is physically impossible for me to reply to each one of those who have sent me their messages and I am very grateful to all of them for their sympathy, good wishes and greetings.

Particularly, I thank our Muslim brethren of the Tribal Areas across the North-West Frontier Province for their messages of good wishes and greetings, which have come in large numbers, and I take this opportunity to assure them that we shall adjust and settle our affairs in a brotherly way. There is no desire on our part to interfere with their freedom.

We shall be happy to meet them and enter into such arrangements with them, as would be in the mutual interests of both, and the Muslims generally.



Mr. Imran Khan with the frontier tribesman



## Statement Regarding the States (17 June 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam declared that Indian States would be free to join either the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or to remain independent.

There is great deal of controversy going on with regard to the Indian states, and I am therefore, obliged to state the position of the All-India Muslim League so that there should be no misunderstanding as to what the Muslim league stands for and what our policy is with regard to the Indian states. Constitutionally and legally, the Indian States will be independent sovereign states of the termination of paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like, it is open to them to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, or decide to remain independent. In the last case, they enter into such arrangements or relationships with Hindustan or Pakistan as they may choose.

### LEAGUE POLICY

The policy of the All-India Muslim League has been clear from the very beginning.

**We do not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of any State, for that is a matter primarily to be resolved between the rulers and the peoples of the States.**

Such States that wish to enter the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of their free will and desire to discuss or negotiate with us, shall find us ready and willing to do so. If they wish to remain independent and wish to negotiate or adjust any political or any other relationship such as commercial or economic relations with Pakistan, we shall be glad to discuss with them and come to a settlement which will be in the interest of both.

### NO LIMITATION

I am clearly of the opinion that the Cabinet Mission's memorandum of May 12, defining the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the Indian States, does not in any way limit them as it is often wrongly repeated, that they have no option except to join one for the other Constituent Assembly. In my opinion, they are free to remain independent if they so desire, neither the British Government nor the



British Parliament compel them to do anything contrary to their free will and accord nor have they any power or sanction of any kind to do so.

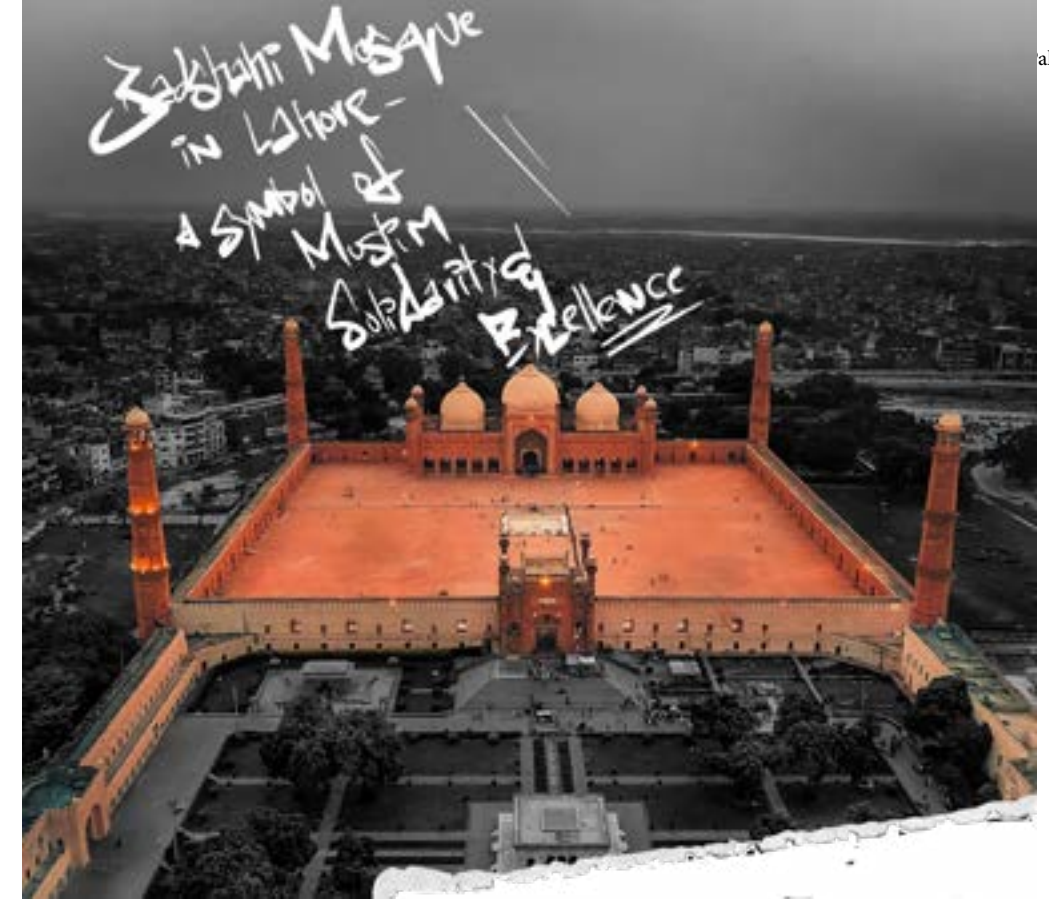
The British government has made it clear that paramountcy will not be transferred to any Government of Governments of authority that may be set up in British India, and that itself shows that paramountcy cannot be transferred, but is going to terminate. On its termination, the full sovereign status of the Indian State emerges.







Mr. Jinnah in Balochistan



Badshahi mosque in Lahore, Pakistan - a symbol of Muslim solidarity and discipline

## Vote Solidly for Pakistan Constituent Assembly (25 June 1947)

It has now been decided that the referendum in Balochistan should be held on June 30 and I appeal to every Musalman to vote in favor of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and not the Hindustan Constituent Assembly.

I hope that the members of the electorate composed of the Shahi Jirga, excluding Sardar nominated by the Kalat State and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality, who will be called upon to give the verdict, will realize that apart from geographically and economically, **it will be in the interest of the people of Balochistan to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly for it is Pakistan alone that can help them in their educational, social, economic and political uplift.**

I can assure the people of Balochistan that in Pakistan all classes and interests will get even justice and fair play and I hope that they will not be misled by the propaganda of our enemies, putting class against class and one particular interest against another.

**The salvation of Musalmans lies in our complete unity, solidarity and discipline and above all trust and confidence in the leader who has served you for the last ten years.**

I hope that you, who have been called upon to take this decision, will unanimously decide in favor of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.





## Quaid-e-Azam's Appeal to Sylhet Muslims (25 June 1947)

Now that it has been officially announced that the referendum in Sylhet (Assam) will be held on 6 and 7 July, I have appointed a committee consisting of Mirza Ahmad Ispahani, Mr Moazzam-ud-Din Husain and Mr A. W. Baakza to organize and help the Muslims of Sylhet every way to face the forthcoming referendum and I have been assured by them that they will do their best and help the Muslims of Sylhet in every way.

I, therefore, request all the leaders and workers of the Muslim League in Sylhet to get in close touch with the committee and work in full cooperation and complete harmony as a united and disciplined people in Assam, and I appeal to every Musalman to cast his or her vote in favor of Sylhet district being amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal.





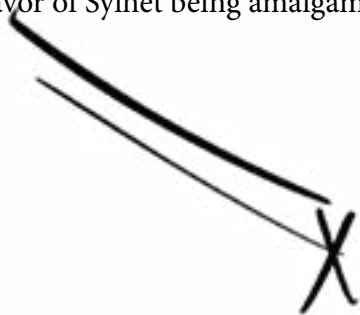


+100 million Pakistanis exercised their right to vote in elections in 2018 to elect Mr. Imran Khan as the next Prime Minister.

It is my fervent hope and prayer that the verdict of the Muslims of Sylhet, on whom the responsibility to take the decision mainly rests, will be in favor of Sylhet's amalgamation with East Bengal. Muslims there are, in a powerful majority and if they vote solidly as I advise them to do, it will not only strengthen East Pakistan but it will be a boon to the Muslims of Sylhet. On both these grounds, I appeal to every Muslim voter to cast his or her vote in favor of the amalgamation of Sylhet with East Bengal which will also carry with its contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts which will then be transferred to East Pakistan.

**A grave responsibility now rests with the voters and supporters of Pakistan.**

At this moment, which is the most vital and crucial one in our history, you have to decide this most important issue and I feel confident that your verdict will be in favor of Sylhet being amalgamated with Eastern Bengal.







## Muslim India will make its contribution to world peace (11 July 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's, telegraphic message to the President of the London Muslim League, in response to his invitation to a dinner party on 9 July 1947 to celebrate the achievement of Pakistan.

Many thanks for your invitation to join dinner in celebration of Pakistan.

**There remains the far greater task of constructing and building up Pakistan which will require every ounce of our energy, but by the grace of God we shall build up this new greatest Muslim sovereign State in the world with complete unity, discipline and faith.**

Muslim India will discharge its responsibility with full credit and make its contribution towards world peace. I whole-heartedly share your joy in celebrating this occasion for which there is no parallel in history.





Malala Yousafzai named a Nobel Peace Prize winner in October 2014







## The Quaid demands release of Kashmir Detenus (11 July 1947)

Press statement after an hour long interview with the Kashmir Muslim leaders

The Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference leaders, Chaudry Hamidullah Khan and Mr Muhammad Ishaque Qureshi had an interview with me today and they informed me of the situation there which is making the people restive. They placed before me the question of the detention of the Muslim conference session in spite of prohibitory orders of the government. But they soon dispersed, and did not proceed with their business. Only six leaders were arrested to which no resistance was offered and everything went off peacefully. For such a technical offense they have already suffered for nine months and I see no justification for their continued detention.

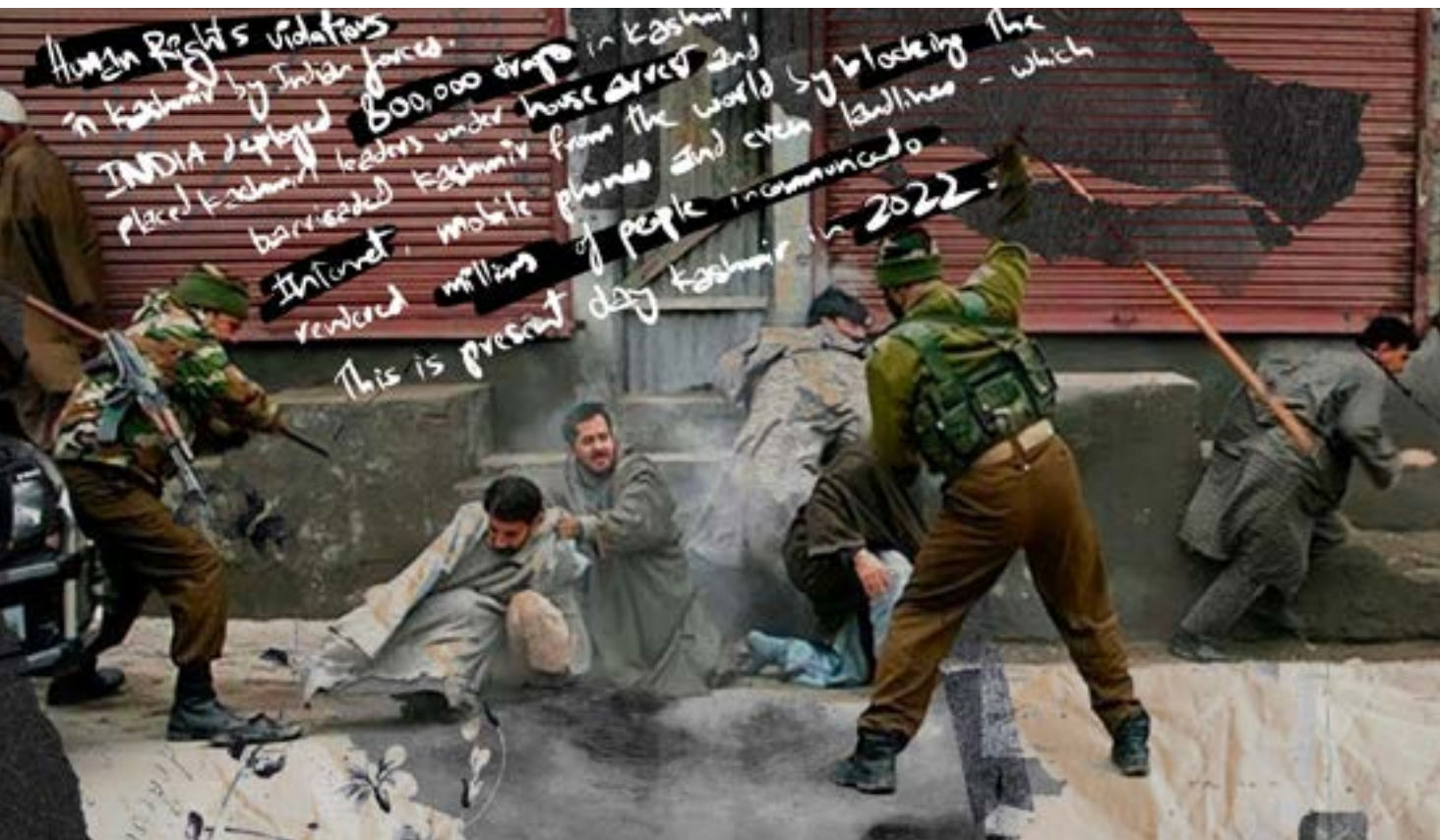
I hope that the Maharajah and the Prime Minister of Kashmir will realize the fast-changing circumstance and wisdom demands that the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims who form 80% of the population should not be ignored, much less hurt.

The second question that is engaging the attention of the Muslims of Kashmir is whether Kashmir is going to join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.



Mr. Jinnah with the Mountbattens, circa. 1947





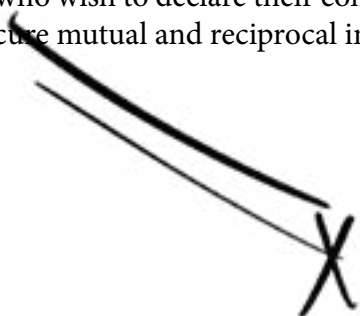
Human rights violations in Kashmir by Indian Forces. India deployed 800,000 troops in Kashmir, placed Kashmiri leaders under house arrest and barricaded Kashmir from the world by blocking the internet, mobile phones and even landlines — which rendered millions of people incommunicado. This is present-day Kashmir in 2022.

**I have already made it clear more than once that the Indian States are free to join either the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or remain independent.**

I have no doubt that the Maharajah and the Kashmir Government will give their closest attention and consideration to this matter and realize the interests not only of the ruler but also of his people.

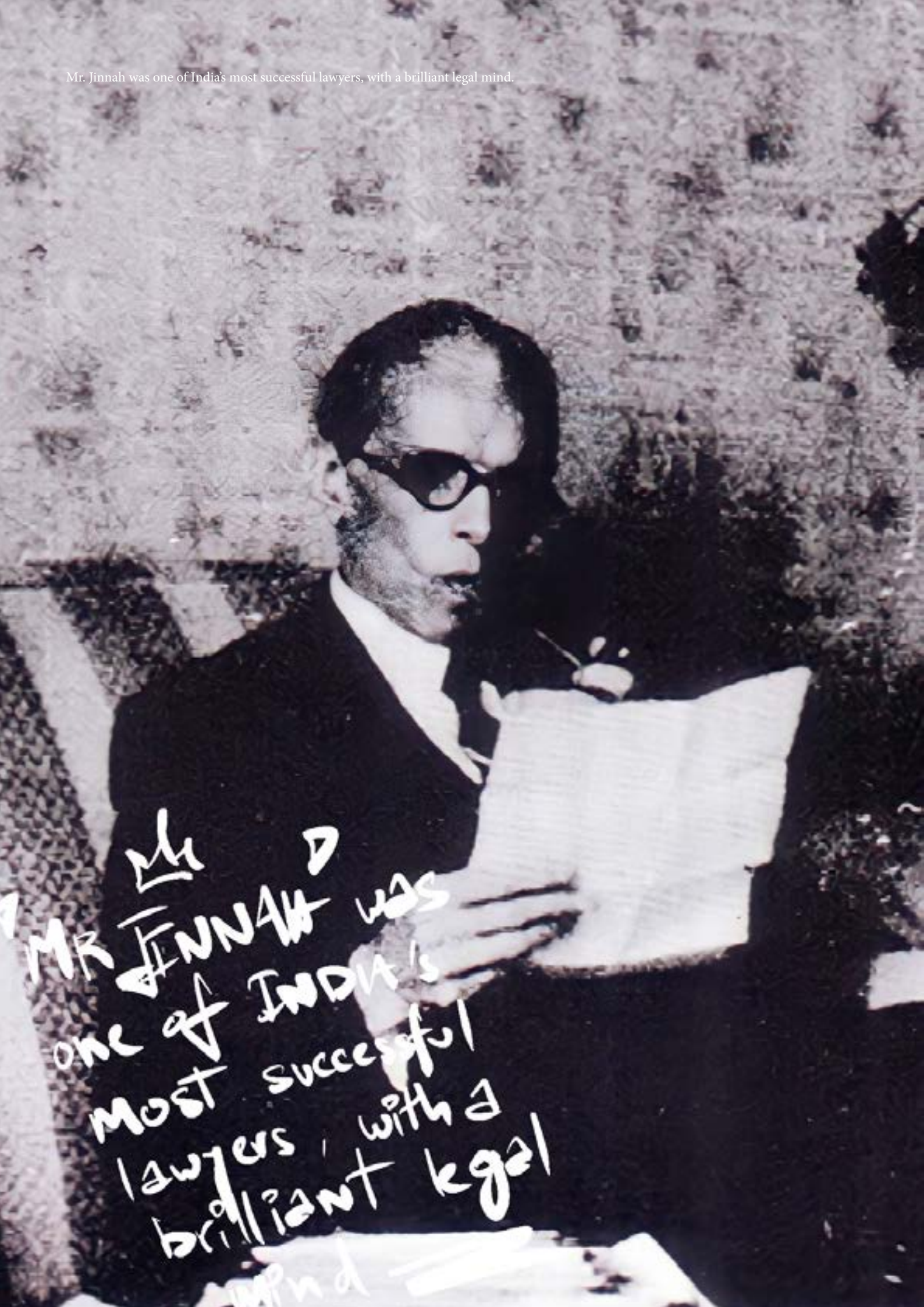
**We have made it clear that we are not going to coerce, intimidate or put any pressure on any State making its choice. But those states who wish to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will find us ready and willing to negotiate with them for the mutual advantage of both.**

Those who wish to declare their complete independence may be beneficial for both and secure mutual and reciprocal interest.





Mr. Jinnah was one of India's most successful lawyers, with a brilliant legal mind.



## Protection to Minorities (14 July 1947)

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as Governor-General designate of Pakistan, at a press conference, in New Delhi assured the minorities in the Pakistan Dominion that they would have protection with regard to their religion, faith, life, property and culture.

It is stated in the Press, that the League had agreed to a common Governor-General and then later backed out. Let me tell you that it is entirely devoid of any truth and I am surprised that even responsible men have been misrepresenting and making these false allegations that we backed out from what we had agreed to. I do not want to say anything more on this point.

There is a wrong conception with regard to the choosing of the Governor-General. Normally the Governor-General would have been appointed upon the advice of the Ministers of the Cabinet. But in exceptional circumstances, it had been arranged that the successor authorities should choose the Governors-General and His Majesty accepted the arrangement.

Therefore, I want to make it quite clear that the Governor-General of Pakistan and Hindustan are chosen by the successor authorities, namely, the Muslim League and the Congress and therefore, they are not as it is ordinarily understood, appointed by the King. That is rather an important point. I wish to make it clear.



## Q&A with Press

**Q: Does not the Governor-General hold office during His Majesty's pleasure?**

**A: It is purely a form. Nothing but a form. The Governor-General is chosen by the people and that is why I have accepted this honor.**

**Q: Could you as Governor-General make a brief statement on the minorities problem?**

**A: At present I am only Governor-General designate, we will assume for a moment that on August 15th, I shall be really the Governor-General of Pakistan. On that assumption, let me tell you that I shall not depart from what I said repeatedly with regard to minorities. Every time I spoke about the minorities I meant what I said and what I said I meant.**

**Minorities to whichever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed.**

They will have their rights and privileges and no doubt, along with it goes the obligation of citizenship. Therefore, the minorities have their responsibilities also and they will play their part in the affairs of this State.

**As long as the minorities are loyal to the State and owe true allegiance and as long as I have any power, they need have no apprehension of any kind.**

**Q: You said that minorities in Pakistan, if they are loyal, will be dealt with generously and justly, may we take it this applies to Muslims in Hindustan as well?**

**A: It applies to any minority anywhere in the world. You cannot have a minority which is disloyal and plays the role of sabotaging the State. That minority, of course, becomes intolerable to any State. I advise Hindus and Muslims and every citizen to be loyal to his State.**

**Q: Would your interest in the Muslims of Hindustan continue as it is today?**

**A: My interest will be continued in Hindustan in every citizen and particularly the Musalmans.**



**Q: As President of the All-India Muslim League what measures do you propose to adopt to assure the safety of Muslims in Hindu provinces?**

**A: All that I hope for is that the Muslims in the Hindustan States will be treated as justly as I have indicated we propose to treat non-Muslim minorities. I have stated the broad principles of policy, but the actual question of safeguards and protection for minorities in the respective states can only be dealt with by the Constituent Assembly.**

**Q: You must have seen reports that in one or two provinces Congress ministries have indicated their intention of abolishing separate electorates and weightage?**

**A: I cannot go into these details. The actual provisions with regard to protection and safeguards can be discussed in the two Constituent Assemblies where the minorities are represented.**

**Q: Will they be discussed by the Constituent Assemblies jointly or separately?**

**A: I cannot prophesize. In the first instance, it is really the dominion of each Constituent Assembly. Representatives of the minorities are in both Constituent Assemblies and, therefore, those are the problems for the Constituent Assemblies of Hindustan and Pakistan to deal with, I can only express the hope that they will be dealt with in a manner which will give minorities a sense of security and confidence. I cannot discuss the details.**

**Q: What are your comments on recent statements and speeches of certain Congress leaders to the effect that if Hindus in Pakistan are treated badly, they will treat Muslims in Hindustan worse?**

**A: I hope they will get over this madness and follow the line that I am suggesting. It is no use picking up the statements of this man here or that man there. You must remember that in every country there are crooks, cranks and what I call mad people.**



**Q:** Would you like minorities to stay in Pakistan or would you like exchange of population?

**A:** As far as I can speak for Pakistan, I say that there is no reason for any apprehension on the part of the minorities in Pakistan. It is for them to decide what they should do. All I can say is that there is no reason for any apprehension so far as I can speak about Pakistan. It is for them to decide. I cannot order them.

**Q:** Will Pakistan be a secular or theocratic state?

**A:** You are asking me a question that is absurd. I do not know what a theocratic state means.

A correspondent suggested that a theocratic state meant a state where only people of a particular religion, for example Muslims, could be full citizens and non-Muslims would not be full citizens.

**A:** Then it seems to me that what I have already said is like throwing water on a duck's back. When you talk of democracy. I am afraid you have not studied Islam. We learned about democracy thirteen centuries ago.

**Q:** What would be the relation between Pakistan and India?

**A:** I have already answered that long before and I repeat it here. I sincerely hope that they will be friendly and cordial. We have a great deal to do, both States, and I think that we can be of use to each other, not to say to the world. Being neighbors, from our side, I do not think you will find goodwill wanting and I hope and appeal to the Press and news agencies to impress this more upon Hindustan.

**Q:** After your appointment as Governor-General, will you resign President-ship of the Muslim League?

**A:** I do not know. As Governor-General, I am getting deeper and deeper into politics. I shall have to deal more with realities now.

**Q:** Will the powers of the Governor-General of Pakistan be the conventional powers of a Dominion Governor-General?

**A:** It is all there in the wording of the Bill (Indian Independence Bill). You better study that bill. Pakistan's foreign policy will be most friendly to all the nations. We stand for the peace of the world. We will make our contribution whatever we can do.

**Q:** Will Pakistan seek admission into UNO, and have diplomatic representation abroad?

**A:** Let me get into the saddle and then I will tell you what we will do.

**Q:** Is there any possibility of Pakistan continuing to remain in the British commonwealth?

**A:** We will consider that question when the time comes.

**Q:** Is it not the fact that according to the Lahore Resolution Pakistan will have to be a sovereign state?

**A:** We have got all the powers, absolute, full powers, to do what we like.

**Q:** When you say that States can either declare themselves independent or join either Constituent Assembly, is it the Princes or the people who assume sovereign status?

**A:** Referring to the first part of the question that you asked. I have said so already and now Mr Attlee has also made it clear.

**Q:** Are you satisfied with the way the Partition Council is working?

**A:** So far, yes. I cannot say more. So far it is satisfactory. The Pakistan Constituent Assembly would meet in Karachi on 10 August.

The Quaid-e-Azam refused to discuss the structure of the Government of Pakistan as that was a matter for the Constituent Assembly to decide.

**Q:** What is your personal opinion?

**A:** No responsible man expresses his personal opinion in anticipation of the decision of a supreme body like the Constituent Assembly, the function of which is to frame the constitution.

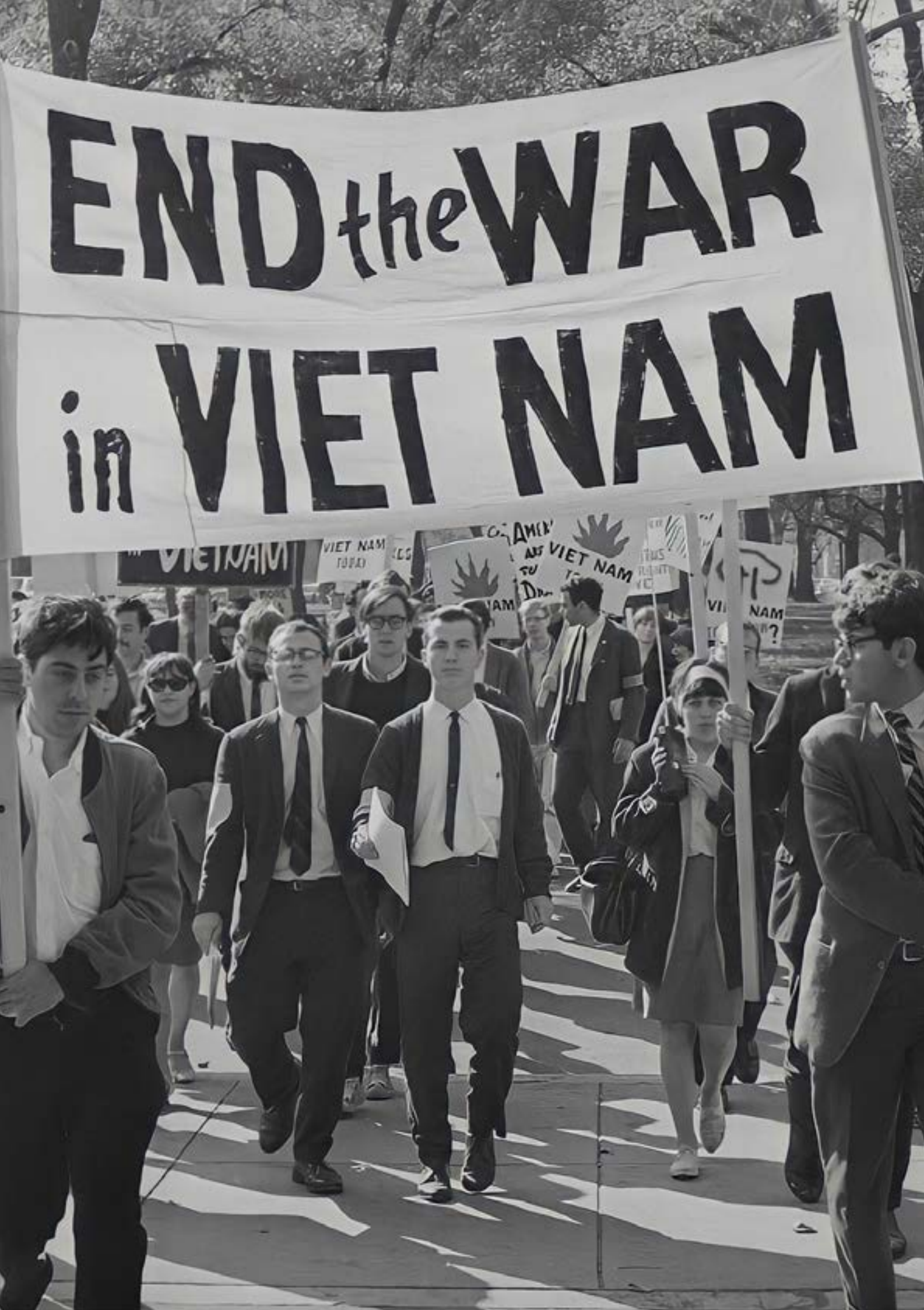
On his attention being drawn to the interest which Afghanistan evinced in the future of the NWFP. The Quaid-e-Azam said "Don't worry. The position is that the Frontier is quite all right".

The Quaid-e-Azam requested the press to convey his thanks to all those who had sent him congratulations, greetings and good wishes from India and abroad. It was physically impossible for him, he said, to reply to all these messages individually.



Zoe Viccapi, Pakistan's superstar, born to Parsi Father and Christian Mother.





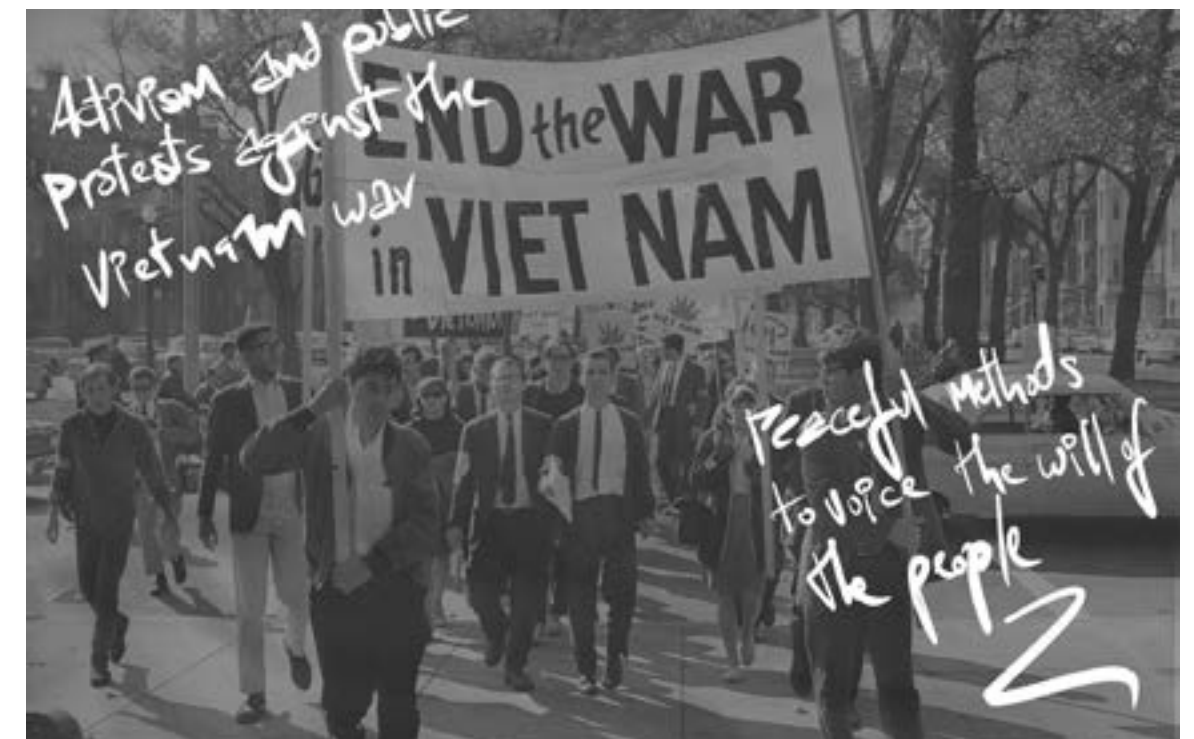
## Assassination of two Burmese, Executive Committee Members (20 July 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General designate of Pakistan, in a statement deeply regretted the assassination of the members of the Burmese Executive Council.

I was terribly shocked and deeply grieved to hear the news of the shooting of Burma Ministers.

These days, it is within the reach of people to achieve anything they like for their country by peaceful methods. No power can resist the unmistakable will of an organized people and I am sure that gangster-ism cannot have any support or sympathy of the people of Burma.

I mourn for those who have died and deeply and sincerely sympathize for their families and with those who have been faced with the tragedy and as one of the free and independent nations, the people of Burma will make their disapproval of their methods which are opposed to the interests of any civilized and great nation in the management of their own internal affairs.



Activism and public protests against the Vietnam war. Peaceful methods to voice the will of the people.





Leader of the Indonesian National Party Achmed Sukarno (1902-70) demanding independence from the Netherlands. Indonesian independence from Dutch colonial rule was achieved in 1949 after a bloody struggle.

## Quaid-e-Azam assures support to Indonesia (26 July 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General designate of Pakistan, issued the following statement after meeting Dr Shahriar

I was very glad to see Dr Shahriar today and understand from him that the Dutch government has committed a flagrant breach of the solemn agreement which provided that in the event of any difference of opinion or dispute, the matter must be referred to arbitration.

The action of the Dutch Government in declaring war against Indonesia, ignoring the arbitration clause and their resort to attack with Armed forces, I am sure, will not be tolerated by the civilized nations of the world. Muslim India and Pakistan will consider this an unfriendly act on the part of the Government of Holland which is calculated to curst the freedom of the new democratic Muslim nation of Indonesia.

**I am sure no right thinking man and freedom-loving nation can approve this unjustifiable act on the part of the Government of Holland, particularly democracies of the United States and the United Kingdom.**

Our deep sympathies go to the people of Indonesia and I have assured Dr Shariar as their representative that we deeply sympathize with them and will support them in every way that is possible for us in their resistance against this uncalled for and sudden onslaught on the people of Indonesia by the armed forces of Holland.



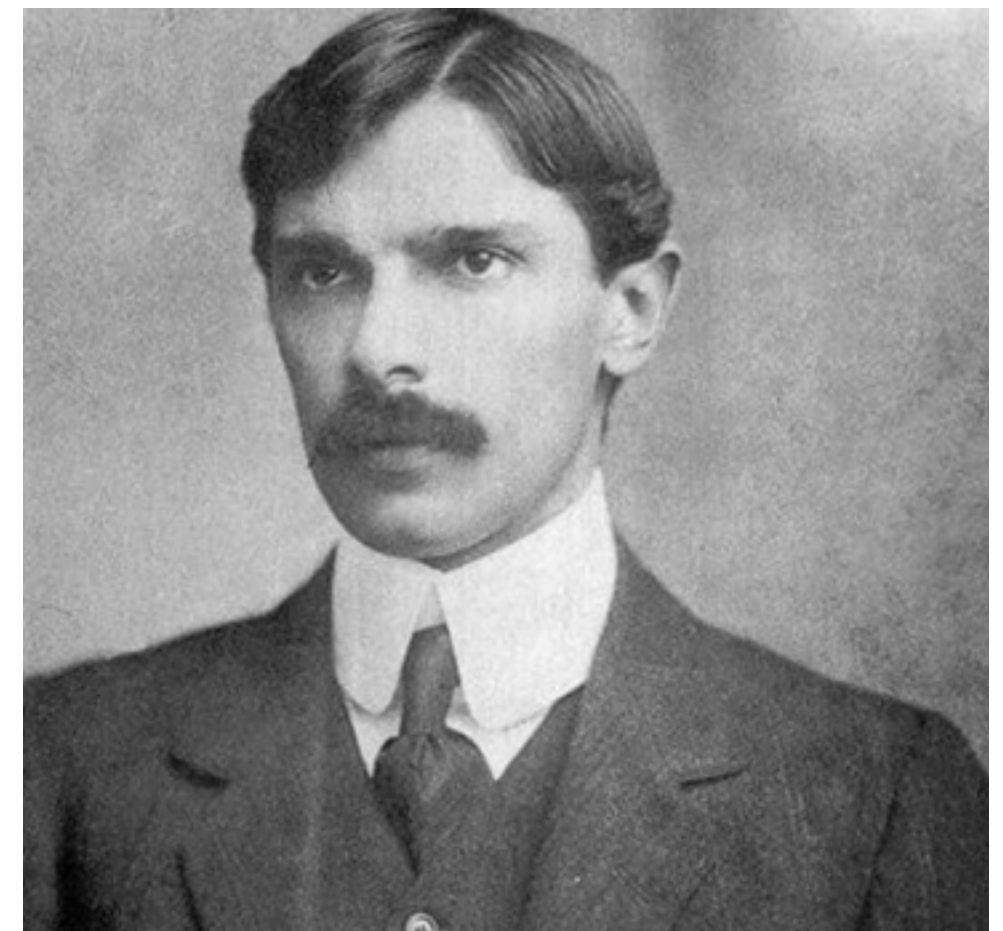




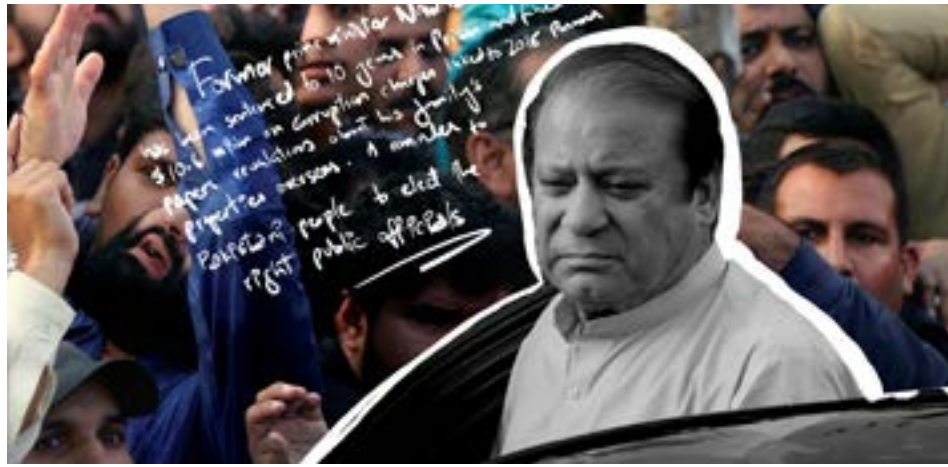
## No forcing of leaders on assembly parties (28 July 1947)

There is a great deal of misapprehension that I am directly or indirectly trying to force leaders on the Muslim League Assembly Parties of the Punjab and Bengal respectively, and some interested parties are using my name as what my wishes are, regarding who should be the leader.

I, therefore, wish to make it quite clear that I have expressed no preference or desire to support any one as the leader of the Muslim League Parties, either in the Punjab or in Bengal. It is entirely the responsibility of the Assembly Parties and they should freely and fairly choose their leaders, whom they consider best.







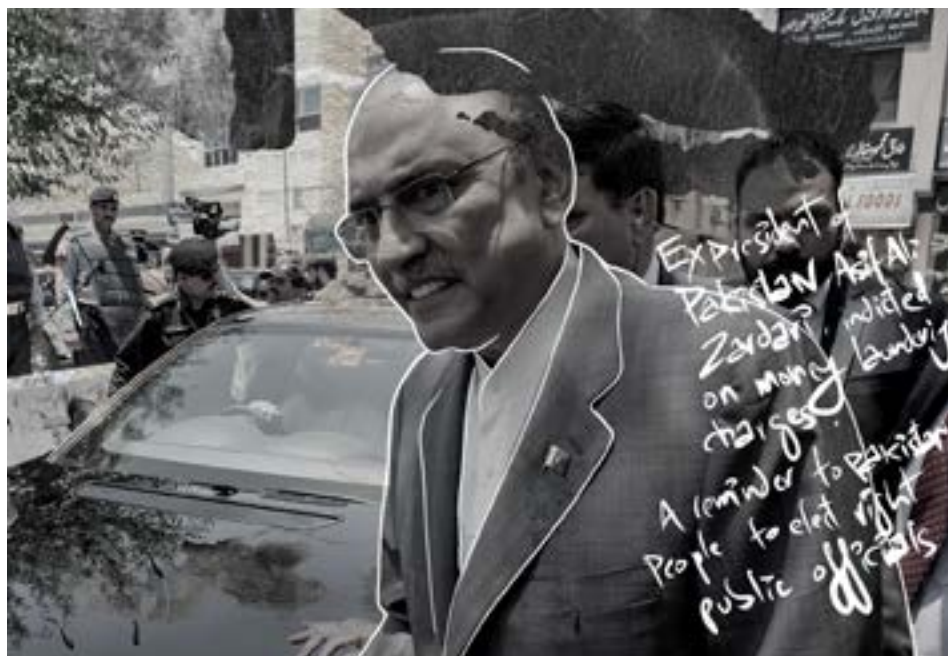
Former Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has been sentenced to 10 years in prison and fined \$10.6 million on corruption charges linked to 2016 Panama Papers revelations about his family's properties overseas. A reminder to Pakistani People to elect the right public officials.

### Elect Right Men

I understand that the dates for the Party meetings have already been fixed and I hope that they will elect the right men who will guide them and serve them selflessly and wholeheartedly.

Whoever may be elected as Leader as the final result of a contest, if any, the defeated candidate and his supporters must, in the interest of Musalmans and discipline and in order to work as a team, remain loyal to the leader that may be chosen finally by the party, as long as he remains the leader of the party.

They must give him the fullest cooperation and support in the discharge of his responsibilities and it is only thus that we will successfully make the building of Pakistan as one of the greatest States in the world.



Ex-President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari, indicted on money laundering charges. A reminder to Pakistani People to elect the right public officials.





## Statement regarding the states (30 July 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah reiterated that the Muslim League had no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular course of action.

I have been asked from certain quarters to indicate what the attitude of the new Pakistan Government is likely to be in respect of Indian States, on the lapse of paramountcy. I thought I had already made the position perfectly clear. The legal position is that with the lapse of paramountcy on the transfer of power by the British, all Indian States would automatically regain their full sovereign and independent status. They are, therefore, free to join either of the two Dominions or to remain independent.

**The Muslim League recognizes the right of each State to choose its destiny. It has no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular course of action.**

Should a state desire to join the Pakistan Dominion or enter into any understanding or a treaty, the negotiating committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly when set up, or the representatives of the Government of Pakistan, as the case may be, will be glad to negotiate the terms on which such association can be brought about. While it is desirable to conclude such negotiations quickly, no definite time-limit can obviously be placed on their completion, as this will, in my opinion, amount to interference with the State's freedom of choice.

Meanwhile, there is already a provision for a standstill agreement to fill up any void that may arise in the administrative field. This standstill agreement would take care of the immediate problems that may result from the lapse of paramountcy.



## Statement regarding elections (31 July 1947)

Pirzada Abdus Sattar, one of the Sindh Ministers, saw me yesterday and informed me that my name is being used and it is being alleged that I have preference for someone to be the leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party in Sindh. On the contrary, I have made it quite clear that it is the responsibility of the Party in the Legislature to choose its own leader. I have made that clear already in the case of Punjab and Bengal recently and I regret that my name should have been or should be exploited by anyone. This attitude of mine will be strictly adhered to in the case of Sindh also and I will advise every province where a Muslim League Party in the Legislature has been formed to choose their leader independently, freely and fairly. If there are any statements made or rumors circulated, I wish to say that there is absolutely no foundation for them. The Sindh Assembly Muslim League Party is free to elect its leader and the office-bearers of the Party whom they think best.





## Quaid-e-Azam's message to Hindustan (7 August 1947)

Statement on the even of his departure for Karachi from New Delhi

I am grateful to all our friends and those who have sent me their kind messages of greetings and good wishes on the establishment of Pakistan. I wish I could reply to every one of them individually, but having regard to the fact that I have received thousands of messages, I am unable to do so and hope that they will excuse me, as it was impossible to acknowledge every message separately owing to the enormous pressure of work that we have to meet and give effect to the big issues involved in the division of India.

I bid farewell to the citizens of Delhi, amongst whom I have many friends of all communities and **I earnestly appeal to everyone to live in this great and historic city with peace.**

The past must be buried and let us start afresh as two independent sovereign States of Hindustan and Pakistan. I wish Hindustan peace and prosperity.



Imran Khan from Pakistan and Shahrukh Khan from India sharing a friendly moment together. Friendly ties exist between the two people.





Governor General of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah.



## Reminiscences of early days (9th Aug 1947)

Speech at a Dinner Party given by the late Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah at the Karachi Club on 9th August, 1947

“Yes, I am Karachi-born, and it was on the sands of Karachi that I played marbles in my boyhood. I was schooled at Karachi”, proudly declared the Quaid-e-Azam.

The Quaid-e-Azam said that he then found himself in London from where after passing law, he returned to India. He was undecided what to do. But fate took him to Bombay, where he waited and waited for a long time for a brief. At last he got a brief. He went on in his own way not knowing what fate had in store for him. He now found himself in Karachi and was glad to be here.

**The Quaid-e-Azam asserted that the new Sovereign State of Pakistan which had been won by peaceful methods and without dropping a single drop of blood, afforded him some satisfaction. In the course of his arduous work in that connection, it was the masses who came to him instinctively to help him and the intelligentsia came last.**

The achievement was without parallel in history. He accepted the Governor-generalship of the Dominion because he knew he was not the agent of an alien power but was the chosen representative of the people.



Continuing, the Quaid-e-Azam characterized it as a sacred duty cast upon them for solving the problem of poverty of the people. He was no believer in the mission of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The task was difficult, of course, but they must make earnest efforts to promote the interests of the masses without necessarily disturbing the equilibrium in the bargain. "We must be just to both." He added to the minority question, the Quaid-e-Azam declared that he was no believer in formula and paper resolutions. They were capable of being interpreted and misinterpreted.

"Let us trust each other," roared the Governor-general designate and added;

**"Let us judge by results, not by theories. With the help of every section, I see that every class is represented in this huge gathering --let us work in double shift, if necessary, to make the Sovereign State of Pakistan really happy, really united and really powerful".**

Concluding, the Quaid-e-Azam acknowledged with gratitude the kind words said of his sister by the host of the evening.

**"Miss Fatima Jinnah is a constant source of help and encouragement to me." He revealed that, "In the days when I was expecting to be taken as a prisoner by the British Government, it was my sister who**

**encouraged me, and said hopeful things when revolution was staring me in the face. Her constant care is about my health".**

He was gratified by the good words said of her by Mr. Ghulam Hussain to whom he expressed his thanks for his hospitality.

X



Young Stunners from Karachi laying the foundations of Urdu Hip-Hop in Pakistan. Karachi, the city of Mr. Jinnah's birth is the breeding ground of music & arts.





## The First Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (11th Aug 1947)

Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at Karachi

I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honor you have conferred upon me -- the greatest honor that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer -- by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and thank them for their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world.



**This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.**

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body and you have got all the powers. It therefore places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions.

**The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.**

The second thing that occurs to me is this:

**One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering -- I do not say that other countries are free from it, but I think our condition is much worse -- is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand, and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.**

Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed, or sometimes fines only are imposed.

**Now you have to tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black-marketeers are really knowing, intelligent, and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.**

The next thing that strikes me is this:

**Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil -- the evil of nepotism and jobbery. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism, or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Whenever I will find that such a practice is in vogue or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.**

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honorably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in the minority. But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done.

**A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it; but in my judgment there was no other solution, and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favor of it. And what is more, it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a united India could never have worked, and in my judgment it would have led us to a terrific disaster.**

Maybe that view is correct; maybe it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do?

**Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his color, caste, or creed, is first, second, and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.**



I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit, and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community -- because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalees, Madrasis and so on -- will vanish. Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain freedom and independence, and but for this we would have been free people long long ago.



Prime Minister Imran Khan and Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi at Capitol Hill

No power can hold another nation, and especially a nation of 400 million souls, in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed -- that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State.

The people of England in the course of time had to face the realities of the situation, and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country; and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain, and they are all members of the Nation.

Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time; and thank you again for the honor you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will; in other words, partiality or favoritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and cooperation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.

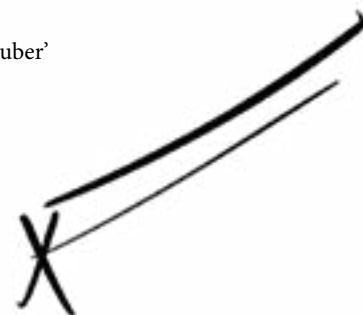


I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

I have the honor to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States: On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake.

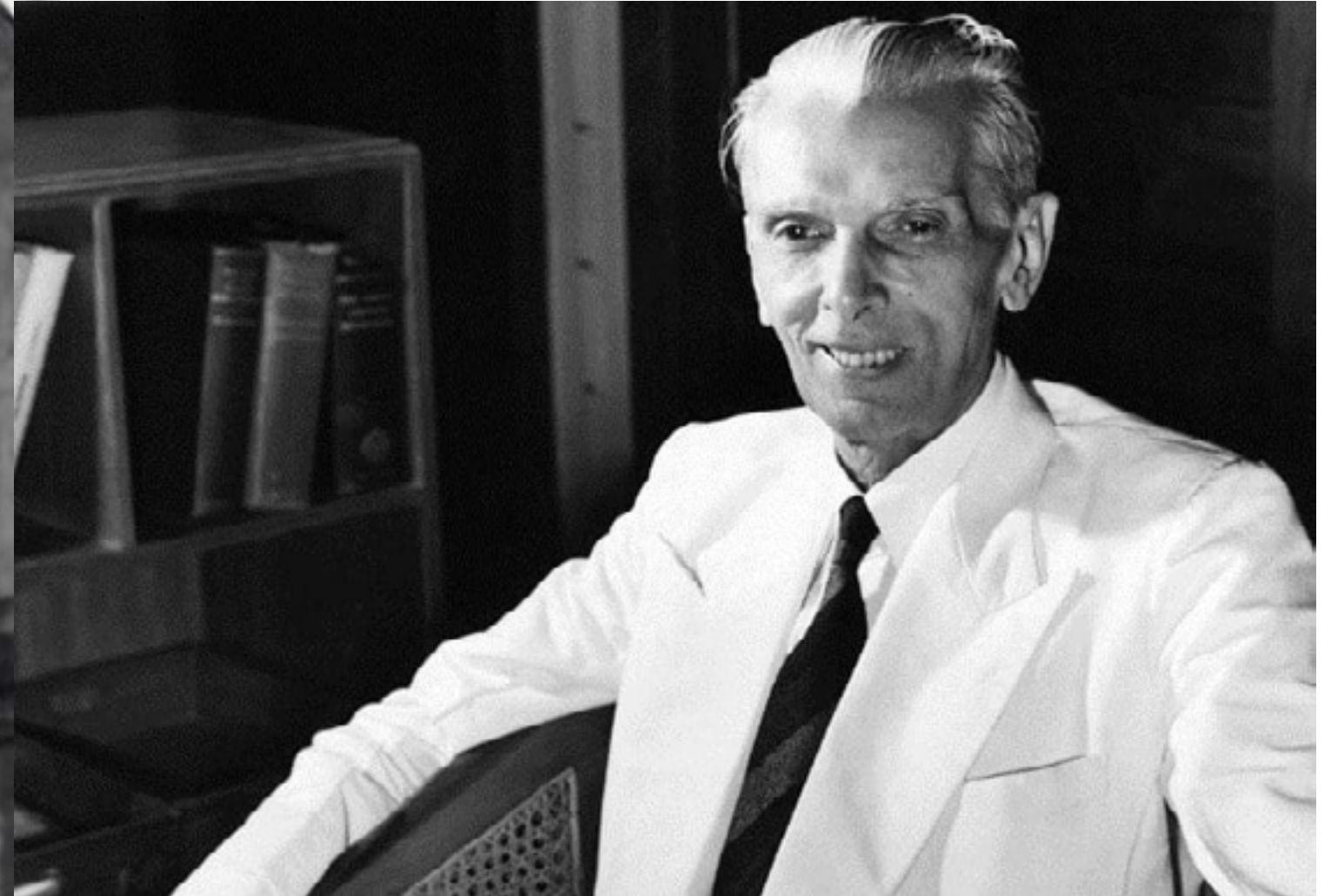
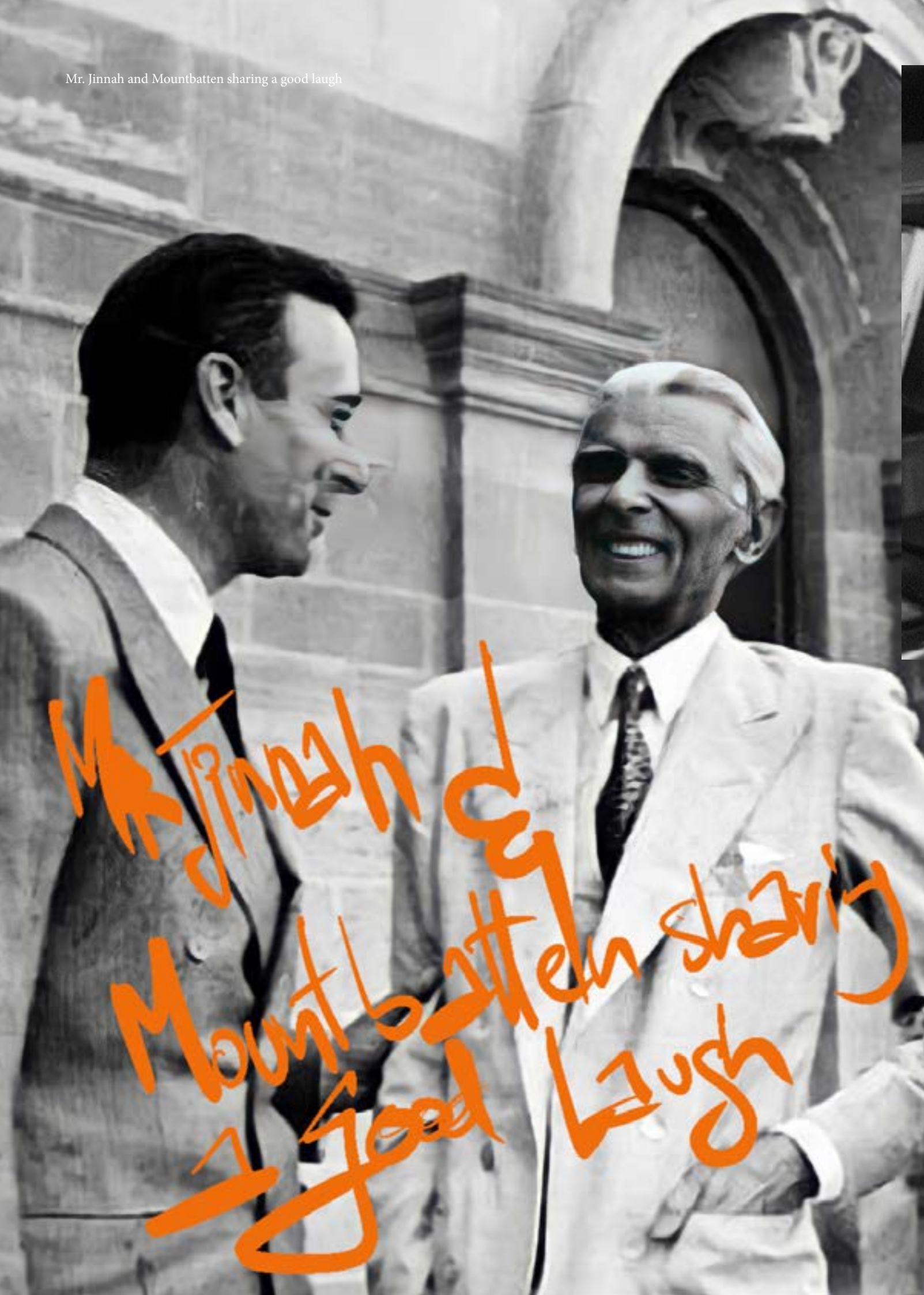


Kumail Nanjiani with co-star David Bautista, shoot down toxic masculinity in the movie 'Stuber'





Mr. Jinnah and Mountbatten sharing a good laugh



## On proposing Toast for H.M the King (13th August 1947)

Speech at the banquet held in honor of Lord Mountbatten at the Governor-General's House, Karachi

Your Excellency, Your Highness, and Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have great pleasure in proposing a toast of His Majesty the King.

This is one of the most momentous and unique occasions. Today, we are on the eve of complete transfer of power to the people of India, and there will emerge and establish two Independent Sovereign Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan on the appointed day, the 15th of August, 1947. This decision of His Majesty's Government will mark the fulfillment of the great ideal which was set forth by the formation of Commonwealth with the avowed object to make all nations and countries which formed part of the British Empire, self-governing and independent states, free from the domination of any other nation. Since the assumption of the reign of the Government of India by Queen Victoria, a great and good Queen, by





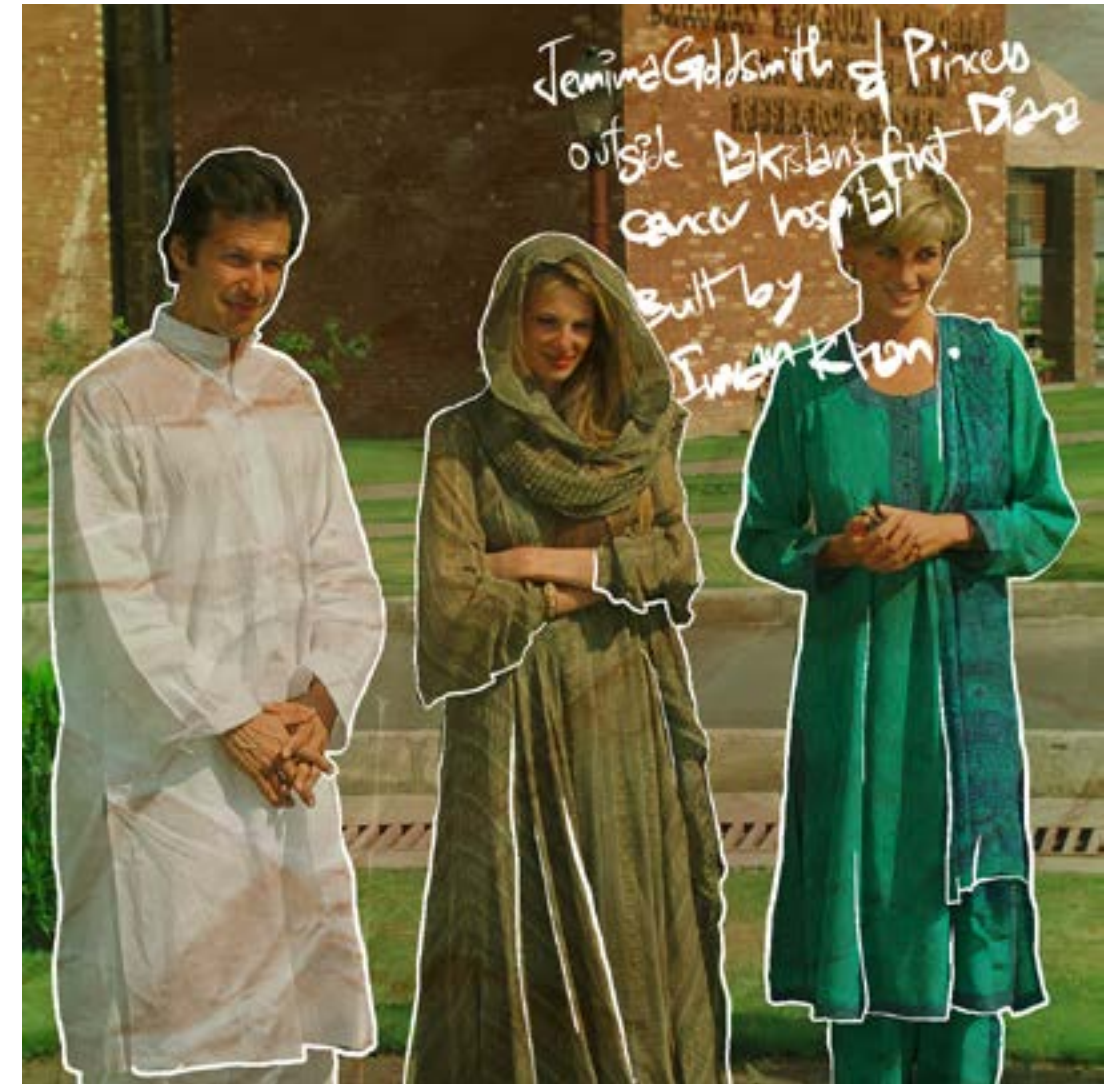
Prime Minister Clement Attlee

the Proclamation and the very Act that was enacted for the assumption of power and authority of the British Crown and Parliament, it was made clear that it will be the deep concern and definite objective of the British Nation to lead India ultimately to the goal of its becoming self-governing and Independent State. In the pursuit of that policy since the days of Macaulay there never was any question about the principle, but there always remained the question of how and when. In that process during the reign of four generations of the British Crown there were controversies and differences of opinion as to the pace for realization of Freedom and Independence.

**There have been many acts of commission and omission, but at the same time we cannot help recognizing that the British genius and those Britishers who ruled India for over century did so to the best of their judgment and have left their marks in many spheres of life and especially the judicial system, which has been the greatest bulwark and safeguard for the rights and liberties of the people.**

Today, it falls to the lot of King George the Sixth, the good fortune of fulfilling the promise and the noble mission with which his Great grandmother assumed the reins of this subcontinent nearly a century ago.

**The reign of King George the Sixth will go down in history by the performance of this act voluntarily of transferring power and handing over the government of India which was rightly characterized as the brightest jewel in the British Empire, and by establishing two Sovereign Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan. Such voluntary and absolute transfer of power and rule by one nation over others is unknown in the whole history of the world. It is the translation and the realization of the Great Ideal of Commonwealth which now has been affected and hence both Pakistan and Hindustan have remained members of Commonwealth, which shows how truly we appreciate the high and noble ideal by which the Commonwealth has been and will be guided in the future.**



Jemima Goldsmith and Princess Diana outside Pakistan's first cancer hospital built by Imran Khan

Here I would like to say, Your Excellency Lord Mountbatten, how much we appreciate your having carried out wholeheartedly the policy and the principle that was laid down by the plan of 3rd June and the Indian Independence Act which was passed by the British Parliament and received the assent of His Majesty the King on the 10th of July with grace, dignity and great ability. You are the last Viceroy of India, but Pakistan and Hindustan will always remember you, and your name will remain cherished not only in the History of these two Dominions but will find a place in the History of the World, as one who performed his task and duties magnificently.

Before I conclude, let me mark our sense of deep appreciation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament, and above all, the British nation who enthusiastically and wholeheartedly helped and supported the policy enunciated by His Majesty's Government that the people of India should be free, and that the only solution of India's constitutional problem was to divide it into Pakistan and Hindustan.



Prime Minister Imran Khan, Prince William, Duke of Cambridge and Catherine, Duchess of Cambridge in Pakistan during official state visit

**This task has now been accomplished. There lies in front of us a new chapter and it will be our endeavor to create and maintain goodwill and friendship with Britain and our neighboring dominion Hindustan along with other sister nations so that we all together may make our greatest contribution for the peace and prosperity of the world.**

And now Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose the health of His Majesty, King George the Sixth.



Pakistani-born British Citizen, Sadiq Khan, elected Mayor of London since 2016







Mr. Jinnah with Cabinet Mission in 1946: Mr A V Alexander, Lord Pethick Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps

## Inauguration of Pakistan Constituent Assembly (14th Aug 1947)

Speech on the Inauguration of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on 14th August, 1947

Your Excellency, I thank His Majesty the King on behalf of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and myself for his gracious message. I know great responsibilities lie ahead, and I naturally reciprocate his sentiments and we are grateful for his assurance of sympathy and support, and I hope that you will communicate to His Majesty our assurance of goodwill and friendship for the British nation and himself as the Crown head of the British.

I thank you for your expressions of goodwill and good wishes for the future of Pakistan.

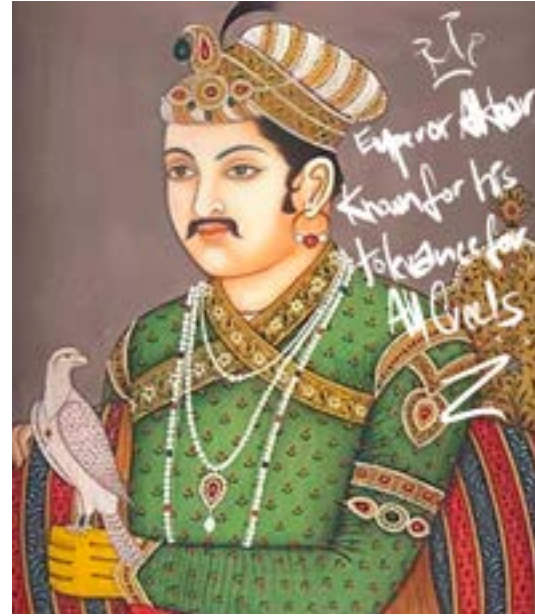
**It will be our constant endeavor to work for the welfare and well-being of all the communities in Pakistan, and I hope that everyone would be inspired by the idea of public service, and they will be imbued with the spirit of cooperation and will excel in their political and civic virtues which go to make a great nation and help to advance its greatness.**

I once more thank you and Lady Mountbatten for your kindness and good wishes. Yes, we are parting as friends and sincerely hope that we shall remain friends.

I wish to emphasize that we appreciate the spirit in which those in the Government service at present and in the Armed Forces and others have so willingly and ungrudgingly volunteered themselves provisionally to serve Pakistan. As servants of Pakistan we shall make them happy and they will be treated equally with our nationals.

**The tolerance and goodwill that great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslim is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practiced.**

Finally, I thank you for your good wishes for Pakistan, and I assure you that we shall not be wanting in a friendly spirit with our neighbors and with all nations of the world.

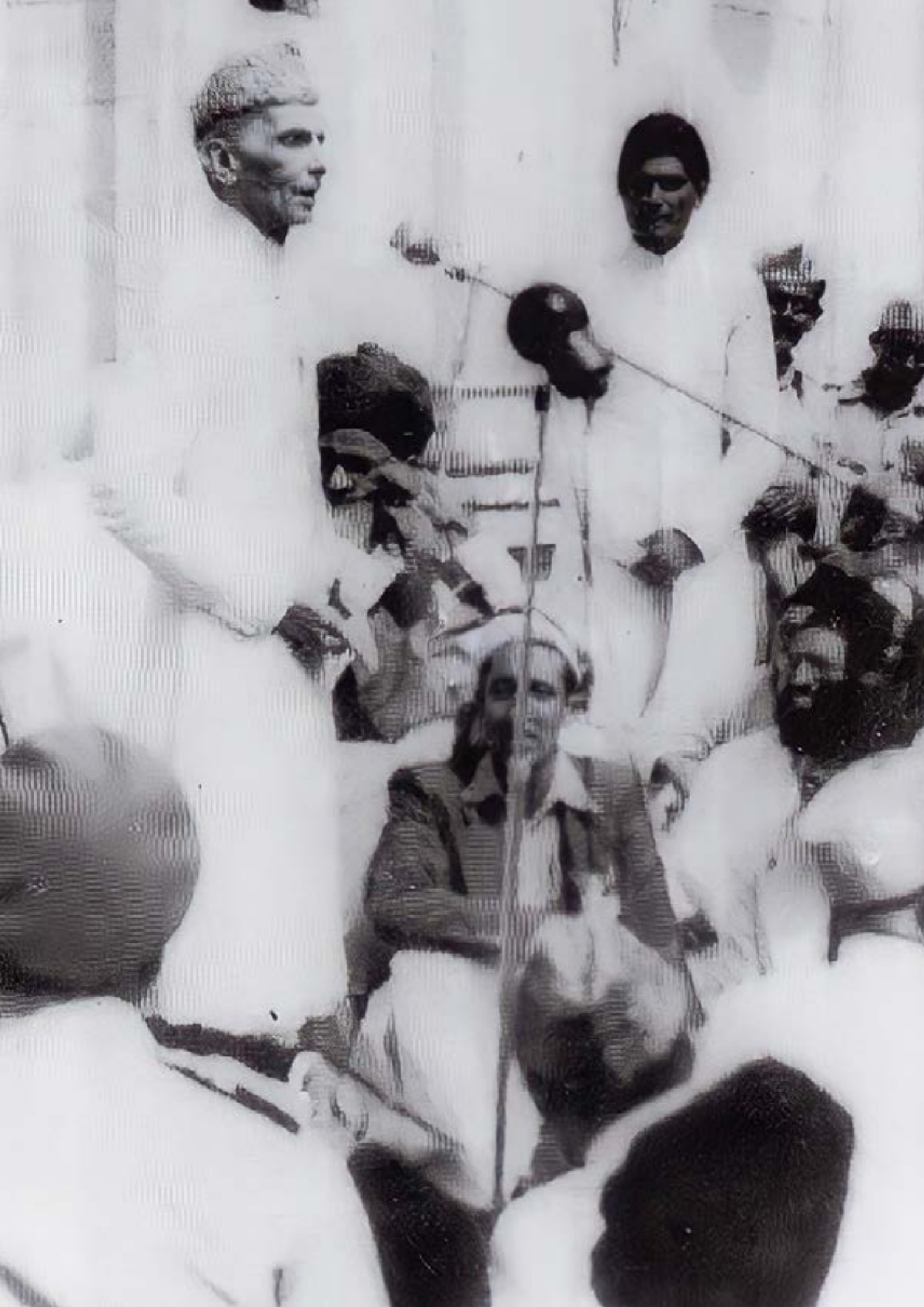


Emperor Akbar, known for his tolerance for all creeds



Prime Minister Imran Khan honored the Sikh community by opening the Kartarpur Corridor. Many Indian Sikhs have come to Pakistan through the Attari-Wagah crossing to take part in the 550th birth anniversary celebrations of Guru Nanak Devji.





## Peace within and peace without (15 Aug 1947)

Message to the Nation on the occasion of the inauguration of the Pakistan Broadcasting Service

It is with feelings of greatest happiness and emotion that I send you my greetings. 15 August is the birthday of the independent and sovereign State of Pakistan. It marks the fulfillment of the destiny of the Muslim nation which made great sacrifices in the past few years to have its homeland.

**At this supreme moment my thoughts are with those valiant fighters for our cause. Pakistan will remain grateful to them and cherish the memory of those who are no more.**

The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how a nation, containing many elements, lives in peace and amity and works for the betterment of all its citizens, irrespective of caste or creed.





Our object should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbors and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against anyone. We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.

### Muslims: A United Nation

Muslims of India have shown to the world that they are a united nation, their cause is just and righteous which cannot be denied.



Eqbal Ahmad, Pakistani political scientist, writer and academic known for his anti-war activism

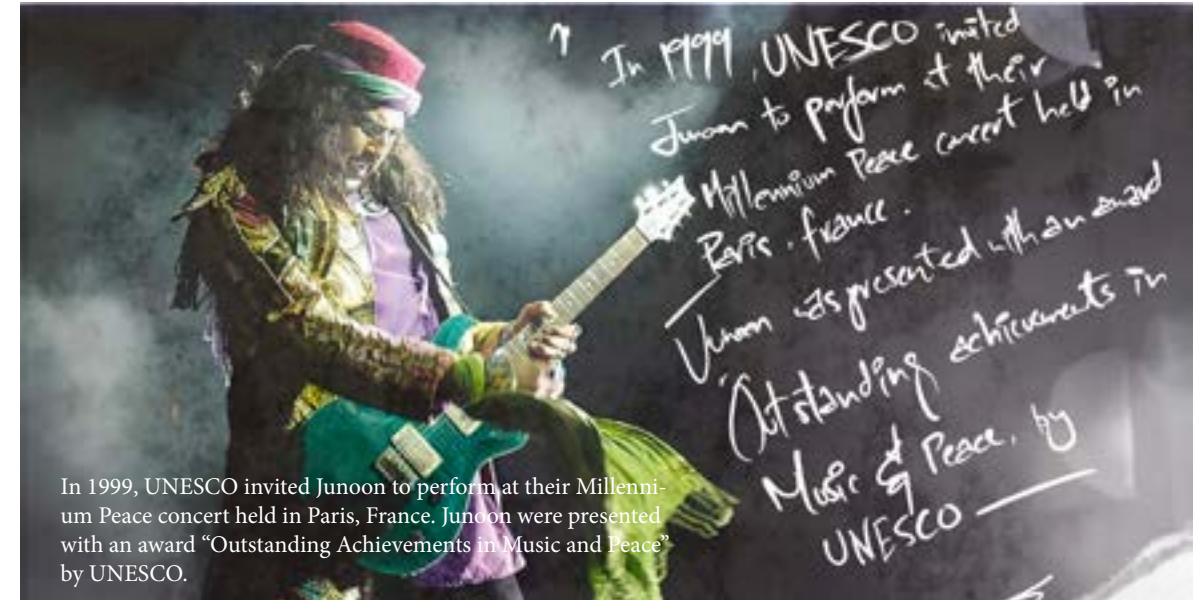
Let us, on this day, humbly thank God for his bounty and pray that we might be able to prove that we are worthy of it.

This day marks the end of a poignant phase in our national history and it should also be the beginning of a new and noble era. Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought that as long as they fulfill their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear.

To the freedom loving tribes on our borders and the States beyond our borders, we send our greeting and assure that Pakistan will respect their status and will extend to them its most friendly cooperation in preserving peace. We have no ambition beyond the desire to live honorably and let others live honorably.

### Build up Pakistan

Today is Jummatul-ul-Wida, last Friday of the holy month of Ramazan, a day of rejoicing for all of us wherever we may be in this vast subcontinent and for that matter throughout the world.



Let the Muslim congregations in their thousands, in all the mosques, bowing all humility before the Almighty and thank him for his eternal kindness and generosity, seeking his guidance and assistance in the task of making Pakistan into a great State and themselves into its worthy citizens.

Finally let me tell you, fellow citizens, Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build up into a country worthy of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come from all whole-heartedly. Pakistan Zindabad.



Feb'2020: UN General Secretary António Guterres thanked Mahira Khan, Pakistan's most famed female celebrity, for her work as UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador.





## The First Eid in Pakistan (18 August 1947)

Message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr

This is our first Eid immediately following in the heralding of free independent Sovereign Pakistan having been established. This day of rejoicing throughout the Muslim world so aptly comes immediately in the wake of our national state being established, and therefore, it is a matter of special significance and happiness to us all.

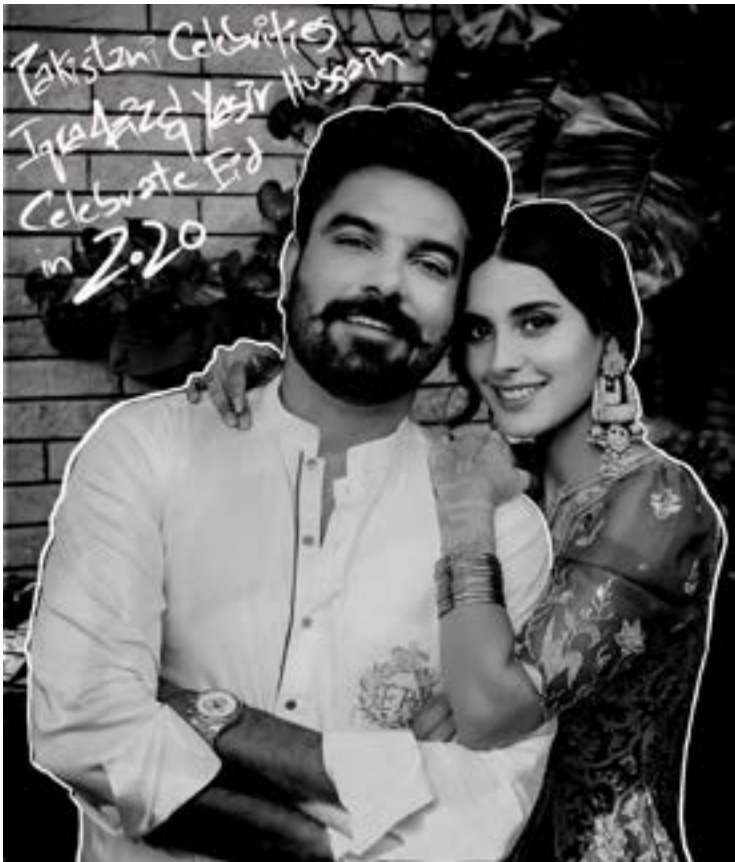
**I wish on this auspicious day a very happy Eid to all Muslims wherever they may be throughout the world --an Eid that will usher in, I hope, a new era of prosperity and will mark the onward march of renaissance of Islamic culture and ideals.**

I fervently pray that God Almighty makes us all worthy of our past and hoary history and give us strength-to make Pakistan truly a great nation amongst all the nations of the world.

**No doubt we have achieved Pakistan, but that is only yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have come to us, and equally great should be our determination and endeavor to discharge them, and the fulfillment thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for construction and building of our nation than what was required for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan. The time for real solid work has now arrived, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Muslim genius will put its shoulder to the wheel and conquer all obstacles in our way on the road, which may appear uphill.**



Pakistani celebrities,  
Yasir Hussain and Iqra Aziz,  
celebrating eid in 2020



Let us not, on this occasion, forget those of our brethren and sisters who have sacrificed their all, so that Pakistan may be established and we may live. We fervently pray that their souls may rest in peace and we shall never forget the memory of those who are no more and those who have suffered. For many, Eid will not be an occasion of such great joy and rejoicing as in Pakistan. Those of our brethren who are minorities in Hindustan may rest assured that we shall never neglect or forget them. Our hearts go out to them, and we shall consider no effort too great to help them and secure their well-being for I recognize that it is the Muslim minority provinces in this sub-continent who were the pioneers and carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. I shall never forget their support, nor I hope the majority provinces in Pakistan will fail to appreciate that they were the pioneers in the vanguard of our historic and heroic struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, which today is an accomplished fact.

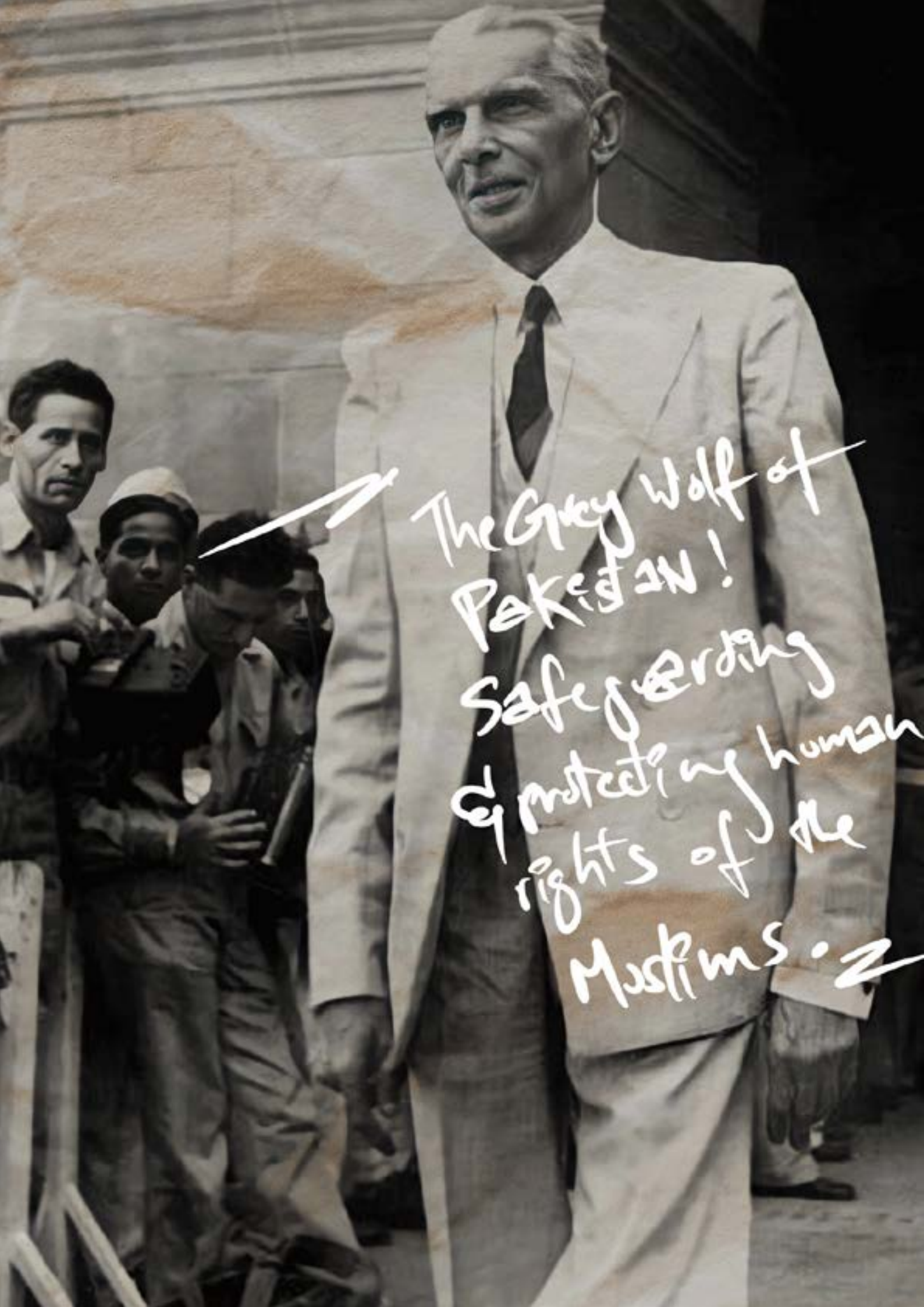
Pakistan Zindabad



Pakistanis celebrating eid in 2020





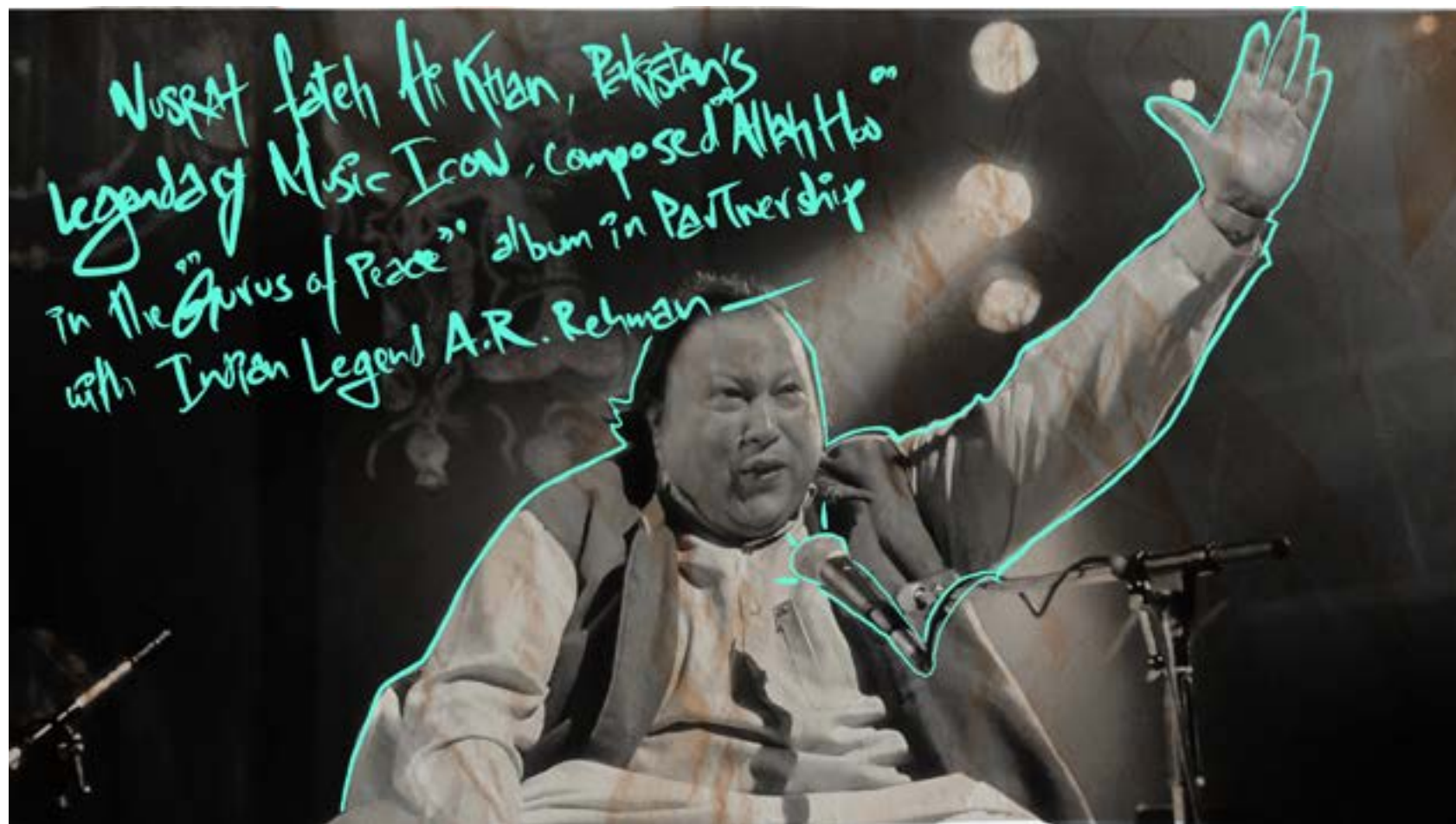


## Preserve Peace for the Sake of Pakistan (24 August 1947)

I have been watching with increasing grief and concern the orgies of violence in the Eastern Punjab, which have taken such a heavy toll of Muslim lives and inflicted indescribable tragedies on hundreds of thousands of Muslims. I know that no words can bring solace to our suffering brethren across the frontier of Pakistan in this hour of terrible trials. Nor am I ignorant of the grave unrest that those outrages have quite naturally created amongst the Muslims of Pakistan, putting their patience to the severe trial. It is because I realize this and my heart is also deeply grieved that

**I consider it my duty to call upon the Muslims to temper their sentiments with reason and to be aware of the dangers which may well overwhelm their newly-won State, should they allow their feelings of the moment to gain mastery over their actions.**





Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, Pakistan's Legendary Music Icon, composed "Allah Ho" in the 'Gurus of Peace' album in partnership with Indian Legend A.R. Rahman.

Let me make it quite plain that we are not mere idle spectators of what is happening in Eastern Punjab, but both the Central Pakistan Government and the Western Punjab Government have made it their first concern to give succor and relief to the victims of disturbances, and to organize measures for the evacuation of those who are still threatened or who wish to leave the disturbed areas and seek safety and shelter in Pakistan.

We are determined to give all of them every help and facility for evacuation and to arrange for their maintenance and rehabilitation, for which purpose the resources of the State would be utilized to the fullest possible extent.

We are also in constant touch with the Government of the Indian Dominion, and the West Punjab Ministry is acting in conjunction with the Eastern Punjab ministry with a view to ending the bloodshed and lawlessness as speedily as possible.

Keep absolutely free from disorder

Pakistan should be kept absolutely free from disorder, because the outbreak of lawlessness at this initial stage is bound to shake its newly-laid foundations and cause irreparable damage to its future.

Let me warn Muslims to be aware of their enemies who do not wish well to Pakistan and would not like to grow strong and powerful. In fact they would like to see it destroyed at its very

inception and will welcome nothing better than the widespread disorders should break out within its borders, thereby causing administrative dislocation and impeding the work of national regeneration and reconstruction.

Let not our people play into their hands by indulging in the urge for retaliation, because such a course will not really help the sufferers in Eastern Punjab and elsewhere, to solve any problem but cause further loss of innocent lives and more suffering for large masses of humanity.

**I am here to say that those who unwisely think that they can undo Pakistan are sadly mistaken. Nothing on earth now will succeed in touching Pakistan, whose roots are now truly and deeply laid.**

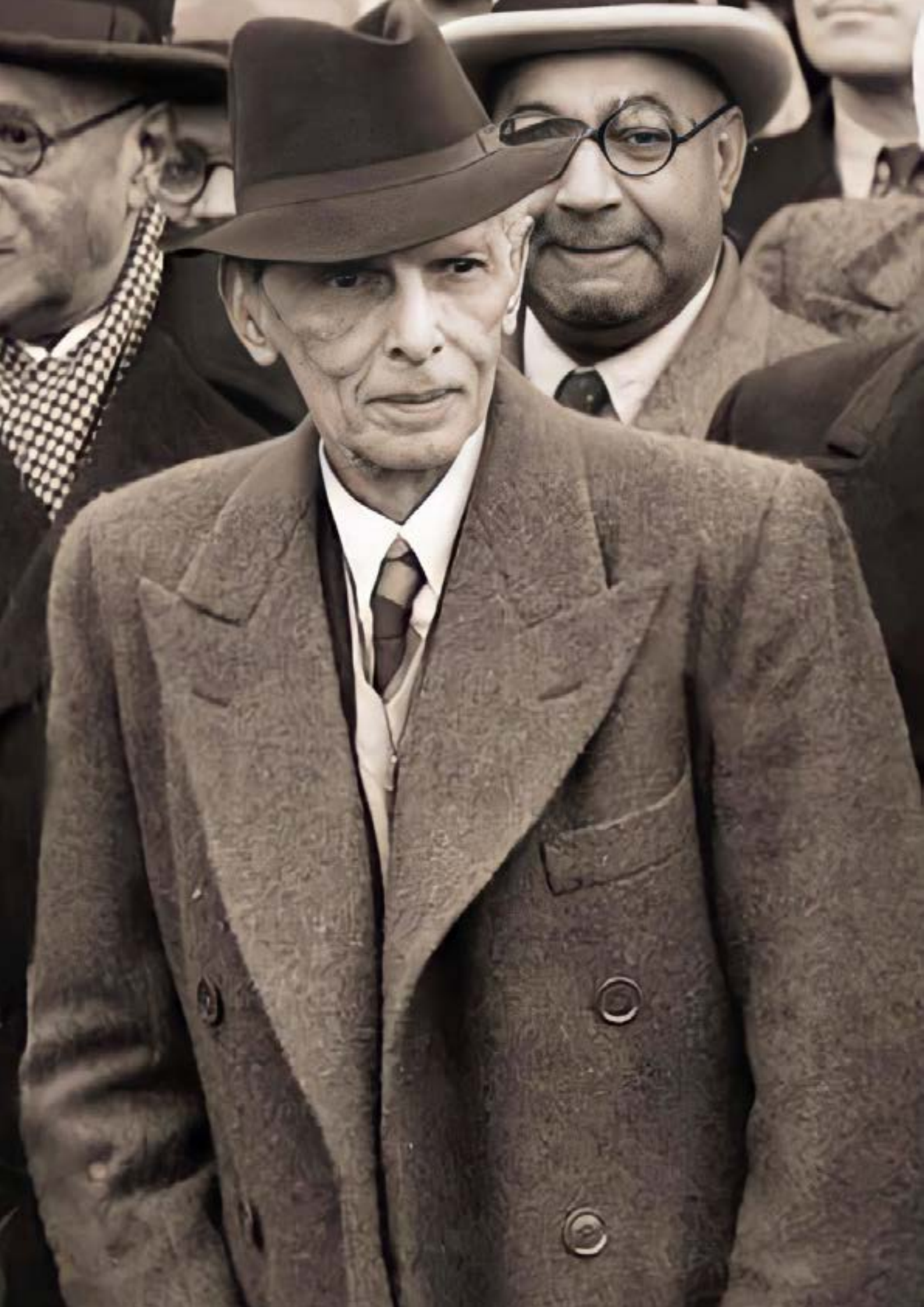
Any such dream or feeling on their part which leads them to indulge in killing will only end in increasing the toll of innocent lives, and they are only tarnishing the fair name of the communities to which they belong. The civilized world will look upon their inhuman conduct with horror.

I, therefore, call upon every Muslim, man and woman, in Pakistan to fortify themselves against their present sorrow for the establishment of their national State for which they have already suffered and sacrificed so much, and which it is now for them to build up, so that before long it can justify its position as the largest Islamic State in the world and win a proud place in the family of nations. It is thus that the death and destruction inflicted on our people elsewhere will be best avenged, and not by acting on first impulse and getting lost in the confine-less wilderness of physical revenge and retaliation.

**I pray to God that He who has bestowed on us this great boon of a sovereign State may now give our people courage to bear the grief, fortify their patience and enable them, in spite of all provocation, to preserve intact the peace of Pakistan for the sake of Pakistan.**







## Karachi - A city with a bright future (25 August 1947)

Speech in reply to the Civic Address presented by the Karachi Corporation

I thank you Mayor and Councilors of the Corporation of the City of Karachi for your cordial address of welcome and all the kind thoughts and personal references you have been good enough to make with regard to myself and my sister. I appreciate the noble sentiments and ideals, which you have referred to and I assure you that it is my desire and hope that they will be cherished and lived up to. I am very glad that I have had this opportunity of meeting you all and the citizens of Karachi. Undoubtedly, I have great love and regard for this beautiful town not only because of my old associations with it, or because it is my birthplace, as you have said, but because it has now become the birthplace of the free, sovereign and independent state of Pakistan.

**For all freedom-loving people, Karachi will on that account not only be a symbol of special significance but will occupy a place in history for which there is no parallel, and I feel it my good fortune that I have the honor to be the first to receive this Civic Address.**



Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages, which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why starting from humble beginnings it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far, hence when it will be ranked amongst the first cities of the world. Not only its airports, but also the naval port and also the main town will be amongst the finest.

There is one especially pleasing feature about Karachi – while most of the big cities are crowded and cramped with towering structures, Karachi has large open spaces and hill station style roofs which give to the visitor a feeling of space and ease. It has also got the advantage of a salubrious climate and is always blessed with healthy and cool breezes throughout the year.

**I visualize a great future for Karachi -- it always has immense potential.**

Now with the establishment of Pakistan's Capital here and the arrival of the Pakistan Government and its personnel and the consequent influx of trade, industry and business, immense opportunities have opened out for it.

**So let us all strive together to make this beautiful town a great metropolis, a center of trade, industry and commerce, and a seat of learning and culture.**



Bazaar, a Pakistan-based B2B e-commerce startup aiming to digitize traditional retail in Pakistan, has raised \$6.5 million in one of the region's largest seed rounds in 2021. When the two co-founders had started building Bazaar, they had set a target of serving 800 retailers in Karachi by the end of 2020 but they closed the year with over 10,000 retailers, beating their initial targets both in terms of number of users served through the platform and GMV by over 10x.

As you have said, the responsibilities of Karachi and its Corporation have increased along with its importance. I hope that the Corporation will prove equal to the task. There would be an extra strain on all phases of Corporation activities, but under the wise and able guidance of the City fathers, and with the cooperation of all the citizens, this would be, I trust, borne with alacrity and willingness. The help of the Government, I feel, will be available in your difficulties and problems and I am sure that the authorities concerned will in time deal appropriately with questions of the power and status of the Corporation and its Mayor, questions which appear to worry you just now a great deal.

Karachi has the distinction of being the only town of importance where, during these times of communal disturbances, people have kept their heads cool and lived amicably, and I hope we shall continue to do so.

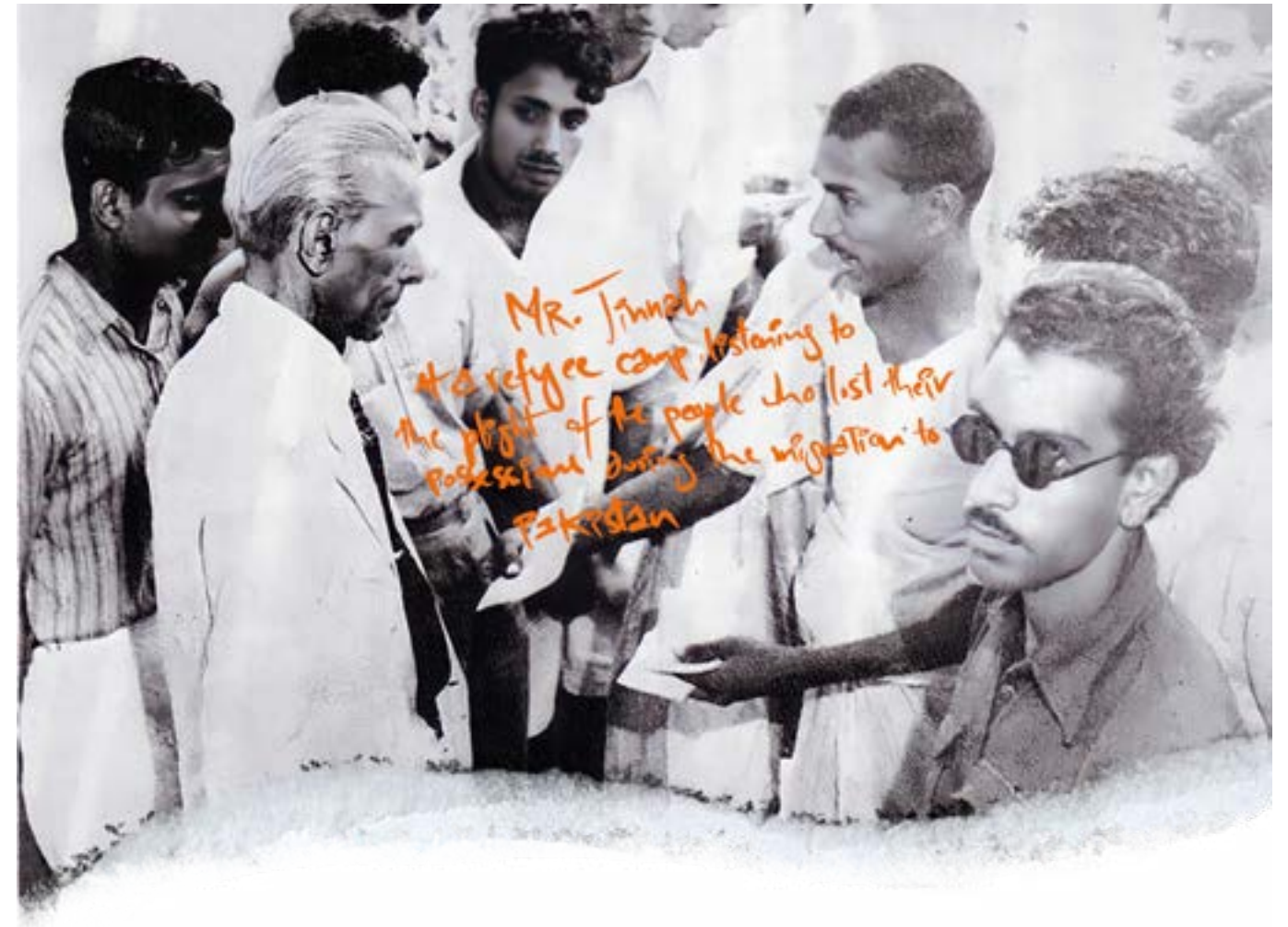
Pakistan is grateful to the Sindh Government and the Corporation and people of Karachi for welcoming its Central Government to have its headquarters here and for providing all facilities. With the arrival of Pakistan's staff, Karachi already has, as its citizens, people from all parts of Pakistan and Hindustan. They will all live here together like true citizens and devote their energies to and avail themselves of the great opportunities that present themselves to us all to build up and reconstruct Pakistan in a manner which will command the respect of sister nations and find a place of honor along with great nations of the world as an equal.

It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear of all types, but also to secure liberty, fraternity and equality as enjoined upon us by Islam.

I thank you again, Mayor and Councilor for your address of welcome.







## Quaid-e-Azam opens fund for refugees (12 September 1947)

Appeal to the Nation for contribution to the Quaid-e-Azam's relief fund for refugees

The sufferings that have been inflicted on our people in the East Punjab, Delhi and various other parts of the Dominion of India have few parallels in their extent. They have confronted Pakistan on the morrow of its birth with problems of gigantic dimensions. Since we assumed office, my government and myself have been spending the best part of our time and energy in dealing with this grave crisis which continues to assume greater proportions as one disaster follows another.

We have now to think in terms of affording relief to those millions of our brethren who have been stricken by this calamity. The nation is aware that an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet has been constituted for the purpose which is meeting daily and a separate Ministry of Refugees, Evacuees and Rehabilitation had been set up. We are determined to mobilize the resources of the State to the fullest extent to cope with this colossal task and to overcome all difficulties.



But in a national crisis of such magnitude, the resources of the State must necessarily be supplemented by those of the people themselves and private charity and their support and cooperation can accomplish much which Government organization and aid alone cannot.

I have given the most anxious and careful thought as to how this can be done and have decided to institute forthwith a Fund, to be known as the "Quaid-e-Azam's Relief Fund". The Fund will be administered by a Central Committee consisting of six members -- myself, the Finance minister, the Minister for Refugees, Evacuees and Rehabilitation, the Governor of Sindh, the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League and the Auditor-General of Pakistan who will be the Treasurer.

### Sacrifice Comfort

**I appeal to the nation to come forward with generous contributions to this fund and to stint no sacrifice or effort for this purpose.**

There are millions who are living in safety and security and enjoying the comforts of life, while countless numbers of their fellow human beings have suffered and are suffering grievously. Now is the time for the former to make the greatest possible voluntary sacrifices of comfort and of the material things they possess.

Let every man and woman resolve from this day to live henceforth strictly on an austerity basis in respect of food, clothing and other amenities of life and let the money, foodstuffs and clothing thus saved be brought to this common pool for the relief of the stricken. The winter is approaching and in the Punjab and Delhi particularly, it is very severe and we must provide refugees protection against it.



More than 70 million people were forced to flee in 2018. That's one person every two seconds who have been denied a home. Actor and UN Goodwill Ambassador Mahira Khan with refugee children in Pakistan. Pakistan is home to one of the largest refugee populations in the world

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## Conditions of the Muslims of Delhi (15 September 1947)

I have been in continuous and close touch with the happenings in Delhi. Yesterday, some prominent Musalmans of Delhi saw me and narrated harrowing accounts of the plight which had befallen Muslims in that city. Their life and property is not safe, and their condition is most miserable. I deeply sympathize with the sufferings they have endured and still are enduring, owing to do all that we can for them and are in constant communication with the India Dominion Government on this subject. I discussed it at great length with Lord Ismay, who came to Karachi recently. I do hope that immediate measures will be taken by the Delhi authorities to do everything possible to ensure the safety and welfare of the Muslims in Delhi, many thousands of whom are now practically living as worse than prisoners in various camps in Delhi, such as the Purana Qila, the Igdah and other places, for they are without shelter, food or clothes and in fear of their lives.

I do hope that the Government at Delhi will put down those who are still defying law and order and disturbing the peace of Delhi, the capital of the India Dominion Government, with an iron hand.

The lawlessness which is going on under the very eyes of that Government, must be stopped by every means in their power.

Those who are defying the authority of that Government are the enemies of that government are the enemies of the state and are bereft of every elementary sense of humanity. They should be treated as such and dealt with accordingly.

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## Retaliation not in our interest (17 September 1947)

Statement in reply to a message from Nawabzada Khalifa Khan Malik on behalf of the Afridis of the Khyber Agency

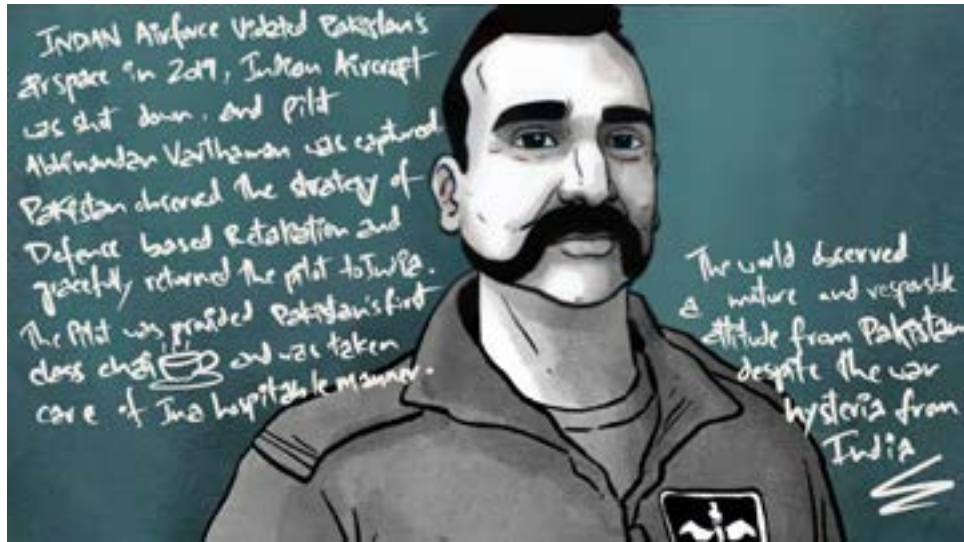
**My advice to Musalmans in Pakistan and outside is that it will be most unwise on their part wherever they are in the majority to resort to retaliation or adopt any action in the spirit of revenge.**

Apart from such action being contrary to Islamic teachings, it is also not in our interest to do so, and such action will serve no useful purpose as a relief to those Musalmans who happen to be minorities in Hindustan or elsewhere in this subcontinent.

I have received many other telegrams from Frontier tribes and other parts of Hindustan and my advice to them is exactly the same as I have given in this telegram.

I assure the Musalmans that the Pakistan Government is fully alive to the grave situation and is doing its very best to protect Musalmans everywhere in every possible way. I, therefore, request Musalmans not to precipitate matters by hasty and premature action on the part of individuals or groups in any part of the subcontinent.





Indian air force violated Pakistan's airspace in 2019, Indian aircraft was shot down and pilot Abhinandan Varthaman was captured. Pakistan observed the policy of defense-based retaliation and gracefully returned the pilot to India. The Pilot was provided Pakistan's first-class chai and was taken care of in a hospitable manner, the world observed a mature and responsible attitude from Pakistan despite the war-hysteria from India.







## Towards rapid industrialization (26th Sept 1947)

Speech on the occasion of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the building of Valika Textile Mills Ltd.

It has given me great pleasure to come here today to lay the foundation-stone of the Valika Textile Mills. Pakistan is at present mostly an agricultural State and for manufactured goods it is dependent upon the outside world.

**If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it; it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias.**

By industrializing our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life; we will give more employment to our people and will also increase the resources of the State.

**Nature has blessed us with many good raw materials of industry and it is up to us to utilize them to the best of the State and its people.**



I hope this venture of yours will prove the precursor of many such enterprises and bring prosperity to all concerned.

I also hope that in planning your factory, you have provided for proper residential accommodation and other amenities for the workers, for no industry can thrive without contented labor.

The Quaid-e-Azam went on and said that he had at heart this satisfaction that he had been called upon to lay the foundation-stone of the Textile Mills which was the first of its kind. He said that he was told by a very well-known gentleman in Sindh, who has got a very long experience, that if Sindh were given full opportunity, it could be three times more prosperous in agriculture and industry than Egypt so far as agricultural potentialities were concerned, there was no shortage. That was Sindh's biggest fortune. Sindh had been surplus in the production of food.

The Quaid-e-Azam, therefore, urged Sindhis that they had to develop other fields like science, commerce and industry. He said that they should realize that the real strength and power of the State depended upon its capacity to produce.

For commerce and trade, money was needed and Sindh being prosperous in agriculture, its power was great and we could feel the various channels like educational, social and political. The way in which we could consolidate the State was by industrializing as fast as we could.

He then blessed the sponsors of the Mills and said that it would not only be the first and the last mill but many more would follow.



Airlift technologies raised \$85 million in its Series B financing round at a valuation of \$275 million.







## A call to duty (11th Oct 1947)

Address to the Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force officers of the Pakistan Government at Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi

The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by the grace of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was the means to an end and not the end in itself.

**The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play.**

I had no illusion about the hard work that awaited us and the difficulties that had to be overcome. I was, however, fortified by the knowledge that I could count upon the unstilted support of all Muslims and also the minorities whose cooperation we could win over by fair -- nay, generous-treatment.

Unfortunately, the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history. Hundreds of thousands of defenseless people have been mercilessly butchered and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People who till yesterday were leading a decent



and prosperous life are today paupers with no means of livelihood. A good many of them have already found asylum in Pakistan but many more are still stuck up in East Punjab awaiting evacuation. That they are still on the other side of the border is not due to the fact that we have been unmindful of their sad plight. The evacuation of these unfortunate persons has been our first concern and everything that is humanly possible is being done to alleviate their suffering. As you are aware, the Prime Minister has shifted his headquarters to Lahore and we have set up an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet to deal with the situation as it develops from day to day.

The disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake the colossal problem of the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons. This is going to tax our energies and resources to the utmost extent. It has made the difficulties inherent in the building of a new State; I referred to earlier, manifold.

**Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task that is confronting us and let our new-born State fonder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies?**

**This is a challenge to our very existence and if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality we shall have to grapple with the problem facing us with redoubled zeal and energy.**

Our masses are today disorganized and disheartened by the cataclysm that has befallen them.

Their morale is exceedingly low and we shall have to do something to pull them out of the slough of despondency and galvanize them into activity. All this throws additional responsibility on Government servants to whom our people are looking for guidance.

I know that during the past few weeks, anxiety about the safety of your kith and kin in East Punjab, Delhi and other disturbed areas of India has been weighing on



the minds of most of you. Lots of you and your staff have suffered bereavements in the recent holocaust and have lost valuable property. My heart goes out in sympathy to those who have suffered bereavements and I pray to God Almighty that He may give them fortitude to bear their losses with courage.

**But are all these sacrifices, which we have been called upon to make, to be in vain? Are we going to sit down and mope over our losses? If we do so, we shall be behaving just as our enemies want us to behave. We shall be playing their game and will soon be supplicants for their mercy. The fitting response to the machinations of our enemies would be a grim determination to get down to the task of building our State on strong and firm foundations, a State which should be fit for our children to live in. This requires work, work and more work.**

I fully realize that a majority of you have worked under a terrible strain during the war years and might need relaxation.

**But you should remember that for us the war has not ended. It has only just begun and if we are to fight it to victory, we shall have to put in super-human efforts. This is not the time to think in terms of personal advancement and jockeying for positions. It is the time for constructive effort, selfless work and steadfast devotion to duty.**

This being the need of the day, I was pained to learn that a good many of our staff are not pulling their weight. They seem to be thinking that now that Pakistan has been achieved they can sit back and do nothing. Some of them have been demoralized by the happenings in East Punjab and Delhi, and in others, the general lawlessness prevailing in some parts of the country, has bred a spirit of indiscipline. These tendencies, if not checked immediately, will prove more deadly than our external enemies and will spell ruin for us. It is the duty of all of you who have gathered here today to see that this cancer is removed as speedily as possible.



Pakistan's Nigar Johar (Left), first female Lieutenant General, setting the precedent for breaking glass ceilings



**You have to infuse a new spirit in your men by precept and by example. You have to make them feel that they are working for a cause and that the cause is worth every sacrifice that they may be called upon to make.**

**God has given us a grand opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new State; let it not be said that we did not prove equal to the task.**

Another question that has been agitating my mind is the treatment of minorities. I have repeatedly made it clear in my utterances, both private and public, that we would treat the minorities fairly and that nothing is farther from our thoughts than to drive them away. I, however, regret to say that the minorities here did not give us a chance to prove our bona fides and give us their wholehearted co-operation as citizens of Pakistan when the crises suddenly overtook us. Before we could assume the reins of office, non-Muslims started pulling out of Pakistan, which, as subsequent events have proved, was part of an well-organized plan to cripple Pakistan. But for a few sporadic incidents here and there, nothing has happened to mar the peace of Sindh, but despite the prevalence of peaceful conditions here the exodus of Hindus continues. Some have given way to panic and others have been leaving Pakistan in the hope that it will be paralyzed economically and socially. A lot of migrants are already realizing the folly of their rash act and leaving the country of their birth or domicile but some interested parties persist in encouraging migration which is fraught with grievous consequences for the migrants and also does harm to our State in the process.

It is true that there was some trouble in the North West Frontier Province and Balochistan, but it was not the outcome of any premeditated plan. Some excitable elements in society were carried away by tales of woe brought by refugees from the East Punjab; and sought solace in revenge which was definitely against our policy and contrary to our express instructions to our people that there should be no relation. Whatever has happened cannot be justified.

I am, however, glad to say that this trouble was short lived and the situation was soon brought under control.

In West Punjab, things were rather different. It was nearer the scene of carnage and so could not escape the contagion. Regrettable incidents have no doubt taken place there but the arm of the law is again asserting itself and things are returning to normal.

When I turn my eyes to the sister Dominion of India, I find that the Muslim minority there has suffered grievous wrongs. Not content with having uprooted Muslims from East Punjab, certain sections in India seem to be determined to drive Muslims from the entire Dominion by making life impossible for them. These helpless victims of organized forces feel that they have been let down by us. It is a thousand pities that things have come to such a pass.

The division of India was agreed upon with a solemn and sacred undertaking that minorities would be protected by the two Dominion Governments and that the minorities had nothing to fear so long as they remained loyal to the State. If that is still the policy of the Government of India --and I am sure it is --they should put a stop to the process of victimization of Muslims which, if persisted in, would mean ruin for both the States.

My advice to my Muslim brethren in India is to give unflinching loyalty to the State in which they happen to be. At the same time, they should reorganize themselves and create the right leadership, which should give them the correct lead in these perilous times. I further hope that the Government of India would see that their fair name is not sullied by ill-advised action on the part of those who are bent upon the eviction or extermination of Muslims of India by brutal and inhuman methods. If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be mass exchange of population, let it be taken up at the governmental level, it should not be left to be sorted out by bloodthirsty elements.

As regards the Government of Pakistan, I again reiterate with all the emphasis at my command that we shall pursue our settled policy in this respect and we shall continue to protect the life and property of minorities in Pakistan and shall give them a fair deal. We do not want them to be forced to leave Pakistan and that so long as they remain faithful and loyal to the State they shall be entitled to the same treatment, as any other citizen shall.

It is the duty of Government servants, who are responsible for enforcing the policy of Government, to see that this policy is scrupulously carried out so that we may not throw ourselves open to the charge that we do not mean what we say. It is you who can convince the man in the street of the sincerity of our intentions and I am confident that you would not fail us.







## Eid-ul- Azha- A symbol of Islamic spirit and sacrifice (24th Oct 1947)

Message to the nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha

God often tests and tries those whom he loves. He called upon Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice the object he loved most. Ibrahim answered the call and offered to sacrifice his son. Today too, God is testing and trying the Muslims of Pakistan and India. He has demanded great sacrifices from us. Our new-born State is bleeding from wounds inflicted by our enemies. Our Muslim brethren in India are being victimized and oppressed as Muslims for their help and sympathy for the establishment of Pakistan. Dark clouds surround us on all sides for the moment but we are not daunted, for I am sure, if we show the same spirit of sacrifice as was shown by Ibrahim, God would rend the clouds and shower on us His blessing as He did on Ibrahim.

**Let us, therefore, on the day of Eid-ul-Azha which symbolizes the spirit of sacrifice enjoined by Islam, resolve that we shall not be deterred from our objective of creating a State of our own concept by any amount of sacrifice, trials or tribulations which may lie ahead of us and that we shall bend all our energies and resources to achieve our goal. I am confident that in spite of its magnitude, we shall overcome this grave crisis as we have in our long history surmounted many others and notwithstanding the efforts of our**



enemies, we shall emerge triumphant and strong from the dark night of suffering and show the world that the State exists not for life but for good life.

On this sacred day, I send greetings to our Muslim brethren all over the world both on behalf of myself and the people of Pakistan. For us Pakistan, on this day of thanksgiving and rejoicing, has been overshadowed by the suffering and sorrow of 5 million Muslims in East Punjab and its neighborhood. I hope that, wherever Muslim men and women foregather on this solemn day. They will remember in their prayers these unfortunate men, women and children who have lost their dear ones, homes and hearths and are undergoing an agony and suffering as great and cruel as any yet inflicted on humanity. In the name of this mass of suffering humanity I renew my appeal to Muslims wherever they may be, to extend to us in this hour of our danger and need, their hand of brotherly sympathy, support and cooperation. Nothing on earth now can undo Pakistan.

The greater the sacrifices we are made to undergo the purer and more chastened shall we emerge like gold from fire. So my message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilize all our resources in a systematic and organized way and tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline worthy of a great nation.



Famous Pakistani Singer Momina Mustehsan celebrating Eid-Al-Azha. "Eid Moo-barak everyone!"







## Pakistan will never agree to union with India (25 October 1947)

The following is the full text of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's interview with Reuters correspondent, Mr. Duncan Hooper

**Q:** How do you view the latest developments regarding Palestine? What would be the attitude of Pakistan if the partition plan resulted in a conflict between the Arabs and Jews?

**A:** The leader of our delegation to the UNO, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, has clearly defined our position regarding the latest developments in Palestine and I do still hope that the partition plan will be rejected, otherwise there is bound to be the gravest disaster and unprecedented conflict, not only between Arabs and the authority that would undertake to enforce the partition plan, but the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision which cannot be supported historically, politically or morally. In such a case, Pakistan will have no other course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs and will do whatever lies in its power to prevent what, in my opinion, is an outrage.

### Response to Pakistan's Appeal

**Q:** What response has been received from other Dominions to Pakistan's appeal for help in solving the communal problem?

**A:** So far, nothing definite, but I believe that this matter is under the earnest consideration of the Prime Minister of England and of other Dominions.

**Q:** What, in your view, is the best basis for firm and friendly relations between the Dominions of India and Pakistan?

**A:** First and foremost, both Dominions must make all-out efforts to restore peace and maintain law and order in their respective States -- that is fundamental.

I have repeatedly said that now that the division of India has been brought about by solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that, despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbors and we can help each other in diverse ways, morally, materially and politically and thereby raise the prestige and status of both Dominions. But before we can make any progress,



**it is absolutely essential that peace must be restored and law and order maintained in both the Dominions.**

The minorities in both the Dominions must be made to feel that their life, property and honor are absolutely safe and secure and they will get without question, a fair deal from their respective Governments. It is very unfortunate that vigorous propaganda has been going on from the moment that the division was agreed upon and that two states were created that Pakistan is only a truncated Pakistan, that it is temporary madness on the part of the Muslim League that has brought about this “secession”, that Pakistan will have to come into the Union as a penitent, repentant, erring soon and that the “two-nation theory” is responsible for all that has taken place.

It is also very unfortunate that the Muslims in Hindustan are told threateningly that they must abjure the leadership of the League and declare their “folly” in having supported Pakistan and in believing in this “fantastic two-nation theory”. Also, certain tests and standards of loyalty are demanded from them and unless they satisfy those tests, it is said they have no place in Hindustan.

### **No union between two states**

I want to make it quite clear that **Pakistan will never surrender and never agree in any shape or form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign states with one common center.**

Pakistan has come to stay and will stay. But **we are always ready to come to an understanding or enter into agreements with Hindustan as two independent, equal, sovereign states, just as we may have our alliances, friendships and agreement with any other foreign nation.** But all this propaganda and agitation, all the threats that are held out even by prominent Congress speakers, against our fully independent sovereign state are not likely to restore goodwill and friendly relations between the two states.

We must try to stop any effort or attempt which is intended to bring about a forced union of the two Dominions. The methods advocated for the achievement of this end are:

- **Bring about a revolt by Muslims against the Muslim league and the Pakistani government**
- **Make the leaders of Pakistan realize the folly of the two-nation theory and change their ways and force them once again to agree to join the Union and thereby create a single India by war.**

### **India is a Hindu state**

If firm and friendly relations are to be established between the two Dominions, this sort of propaganda must stop. As for the two-nation theory, it is not a theory but a fact. The division of India is based on that fact and what is more, that fact has been proved beyond doubt by the ugly and deplorable events of the past two months, and by the action of the Dominion of India in pulling out Hindus from Pakistan as their nationals. How can then it be said that there is one nation? I do not wish to dwell upon this further. **There are many other events that are taking place which go to show the**

**reality which is that the Dominion of India is a Hindu state.**

Even a great Professor Dr. Gadgil, in his statement of 9 October says that a Hindu state or more fully a federation of Hindu national states is the only proper description of the new Indian Union. And he says that to describe the Indian Union as a Hindu state is to bring out its dominant and most significant characteristic and he further proceeds to say that this does not mean that the territories of the Indian Union have no place for those who do not belong to the Hindu tradition and that others will be discriminated against.

### **Minorities do not cease to be citizens**

**Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective states by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race.** I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets. Pakistan shall pursue that policy and do all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan.

**Every citizen is expected to be loyal to the State and to owe true allegiance to it. The arm of law should be strong enough to deal with any person or section or body of people that is disloyal to the state. We do not, however, prescribe any school boy tests of their loyalty.**

We shall not say to any Hindu citizen of Pakistan ‘if there was war, would you shoot a Hindu’.

To the Muslim minority and their leaders left in India I have already conferred advice that they must reorganize themselves under their own chosen leadership as they have a very big part to play in safeguarding the rights and interests of many millions. They have already professed under my advice their loyalty to the Government of India and made their position clear on the very first day when they attended the Indian Dominion Constituent Assembly.

In spirit of this, insidious propaganda is going on that they have been let down by the Muslim League and Pakistan is indifferent to what may happen to them. The Muslim minority in India have played a magnificent part in the achievement and establishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the cost of their self-respect and honor. Nobody visualized that a powerful section in India was bent on a well-organized plan to achieve that end. This gangster-ism, I hope, will be put down ruthlessly by the India government, otherwise they will forfeit their claim to be a civilized Government.

I, therefore, while deeply and fully sympathizing with their sufferings, urge upon Muslims in India to bear their trial with courage and fortitude and not get panicky and play into the hands of our enemies by hasty decisions or actions. They should not in their adversity be led away by mischievous propaganda of interested parties and hold the Muslim League and its leadership responsible for all their tribulations. They must hold on to their posts, and Pakistan, I can assure them, will not be mere spectators of their sufferings. We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger that they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the cooperation of the



Indian Dominion, we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them.

## Strike at the roots of conspiracy

**Q:** Do you consider that Pakistan and India have now passed through the worst of the communal troubles following the transfer of power?

**A:** You can hardly call this communal trouble, although I know it has been very loosely described as that. It is now clear beyond doubt that it was well-planned, well-organized and well-directed and the object of it all, it seems to me, was to paralyze the new-born Dominion of Pakistan, which obviously was starting from scratch. There is only one remedy now left -- that is for the Indian Dominion to deal ruthlessly with this diabolical conspiracy and extirpate, I say extirpate, the roots of the plot and the powerful men who are behind the organization. It is no use dealing with symptoms. You must strike at the root.

## Functions of Muslims

**Q:** What do you consider are not the proper functions of the Muslim League outside Pakistan?

**A:** The Muslim league has already achieved its mission, it's fundamental object, which was to establish the independent State of Pakistan.

The remaining aims and objects of the Muslim League are very general. I quote to "protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Musalmans and other communities of India, and to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those other communities. I wanted to call a meeting of the Working Committee and of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at any date because it is obvious that we have to reorient the Muslim League organization in the light of the fundamental changes that have taken place. But, unfortunately, owing to the grave situation that was created, we were so fully absorbed that we had no time to attend to this or many other matters which are facing us and which still require our urgent consideration.

## Fair Deal for Indian Muslims

The main objective of Muslims in India is to play their part in ensuring that they get a fair deal. But, with the establishment of the two Dominions, this is also a matter which can be handled effectively on a Government level.

The plan of June 3 was accepted by the two major nations as successor authorities and now in accordance with that plan and under the terms of Indian Independence Act of 1947, there have emerged two independent sovereign states. In accepting the plan, even before then, solemn declarations were both made both by the Congress and the Muslim League that the minorities of both states would be given a fair deal and that safeguards for them should be secured specially for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights in consultation with them and that position is not seriously questioned even now by any responsible person.

## Terrific bloodshed

The birth of the two Dominion was, I am glad to say, celebrated everywhere as



Pakistani and Indian Captain displaying gentlemanly sportsmanship in the game of cricket. The Pakistani team won against a more seasoned Indian cricket team in 2021, it was an underdog upset victory.

the day of the attainment of freedom and independence, not only for these two major nations but for all the inhabitants of this great sub-continent, yet immediately thereafter there came this terrific bloodshot which was undoubtedly intended to eliminate the Muslim minorities from Hindustan.

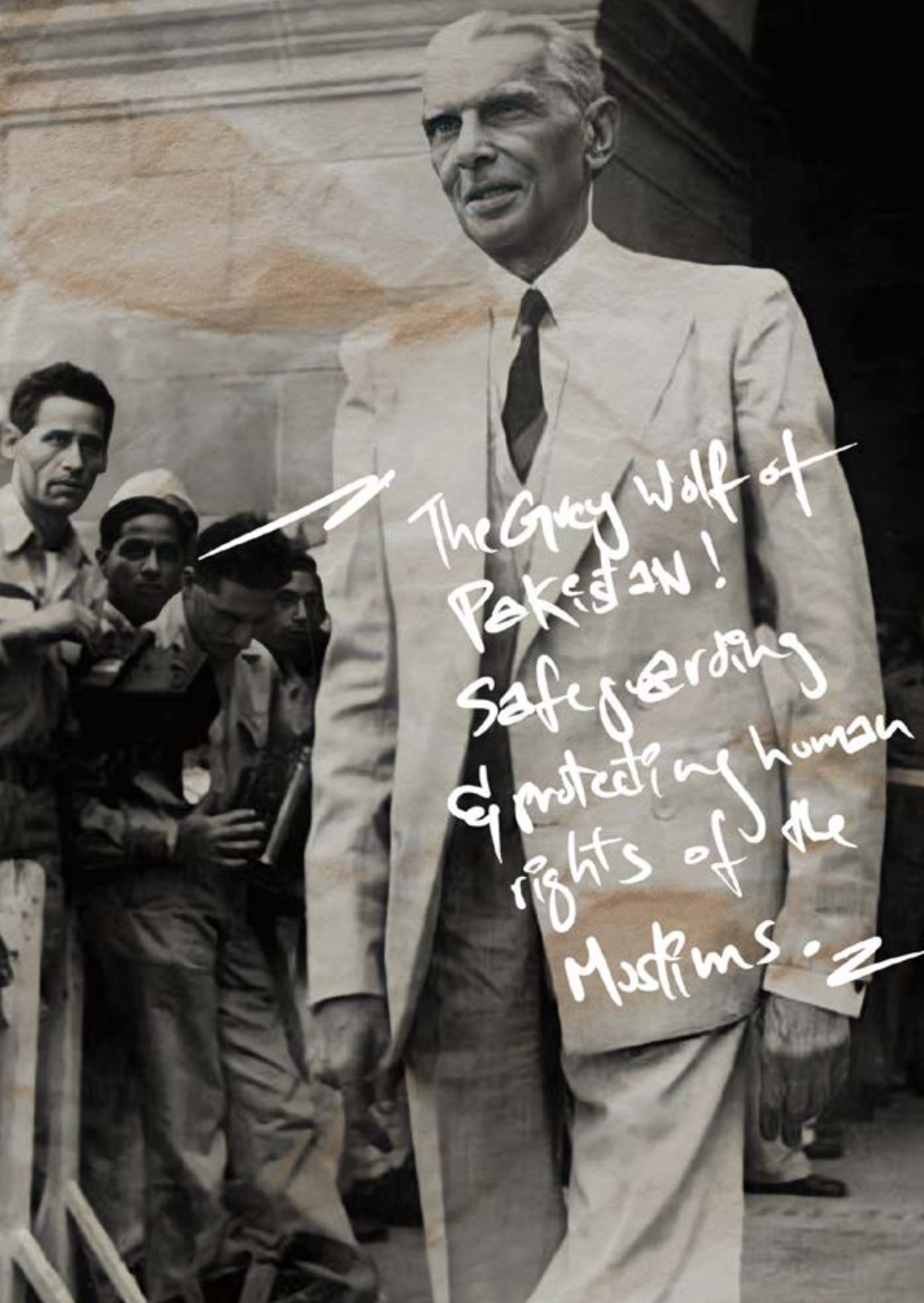
Lastly, I must emphasize that the Congress and the Indian Dominion Government must put down the leadership of those who planned this ruthless killing and also those elements which are collaborating with them to defy law and order.

## No retaliation, no revenge

**I have refrained as far as possible from apportioning blame between Hindus as a community or the Muslims as a community. But I must make it clear that I deplore and condemn without reservation the horrible deeds of killing and destruction that have taken place irrespective of their place of occurrence or origin.**

I have done my utmost, and I am glad to say, not without considerable success, to impress upon the Muslims that whatever the provocation, there shall be no retaliation, no revenge. On the contrary, it is the duty of every Muslim as a man of honor, and, what is more, his religion enjoins it upon them that there should be no retaliation or revenge that it is our bounden duty to protect the minorities and that we mean to give them a fair deal as our citizens.





## Quaid-e-Azam refutes Kashmir government's ex parte allegations (26 October 1947)

Telegraphic message to the Maharajah of Kashmir

I have received a telegram, dated 18 October from your Prime Minister regarding the situation in Kashmir, which I regret, was released to the Press before it reached me and before I could deal with it. My government has already been in communication with your government and I deplore that your Prime Minister should have resorted to the tone and language adopted in his telegram to me, which embodies a threat to seek outside assistance and is almost in the nature of an ultimatum. This is hardly the way for any responsible and friendly government to handle the situation that has arisen.

### Offensive manner

On 15 October your Prime Minister sent a telegram to my government making similar allegations in the same offensive manner as have been repeated in his telegram of 18 October now addressed to me without waiting for the reply to his earlier telegram from my government. My government has already replied to that telegram on 18 October and this reply shows clearly that your government's wholly one-sided and ex parte allegations cannot be supported.

Since your government has released to the Press the telegram addressed to me under reply, my government has no other course left open and have, therefore, decided to release to the press their reply, referred to above refuting your government's allegations.

### Untrue allegations

The allegations in the telegram under reply that "Standstill agreement" has not been observed is entirely wrong. The difficulties that have been felt by your administration have arisen as a result of the widespread disturbance in East Punjab and the disruption of communications caused thereby, particularly by the shortage of coal.

These difficulties have been felt acutely by the West Punjab Government themselves. The difficulties with regard to banking facilities were caused by lack of staff in the various banks and cannot be laid at the door of the East Punjab Government who have, in fact, tried their best to ensure protection to the banks. The failure of remittances from the Lahore Currency Officer has nothing to do with the Pakistan Government since the Lahore Currency Officer is under the Reserve Bank of India.





**Travesty of Truth**

Your Government’s complaints regarding press reports, and telegrams by private persons, are also wide off the mark. Your government does not realize the fact that there is no censorship in West Punjab. The complaint about local and provincial authorities is thus wholly unfounded. It is a travesty of the truth to call the promises of the Central Government, paper promises, as your government alleges. My government adheres to these assurances and has every intention of carrying out the “Standstill agreement”.

**Smoke screen**

In order to remove the various difficulties relating to communications and supply of goods, my government suggested long ago that representatives of the governments of Pakistan and Kashmir should meet. The request was ignored. In these circumstances, I am reluctantly forced to the conclusion that these unfounded allegations and accusations are only a smoke-screen to cover the real aim of your government’s policy. A recent instance of this policy is differential treatment accorded to leaders of the Kashmir National Conference and the Muslim conference. On one hand, your government has released Sheikh Abdullah who was tried and convicted of



2021: Muslim suppression in Kashmir

high treason, removed the ban on his colleagues and allowed the National Conference Organization a free field to carry on their propaganda. On the other hand, Mr. Ghulam Abbas and his colleagues whose alleged offence was only that they disobeyed the order banning the meeting of the Muslim Conference are still rotting in jail and the Muslim Conference Organization is not allowed its elementary right of civil liberties.

**Suppression of Muslims**

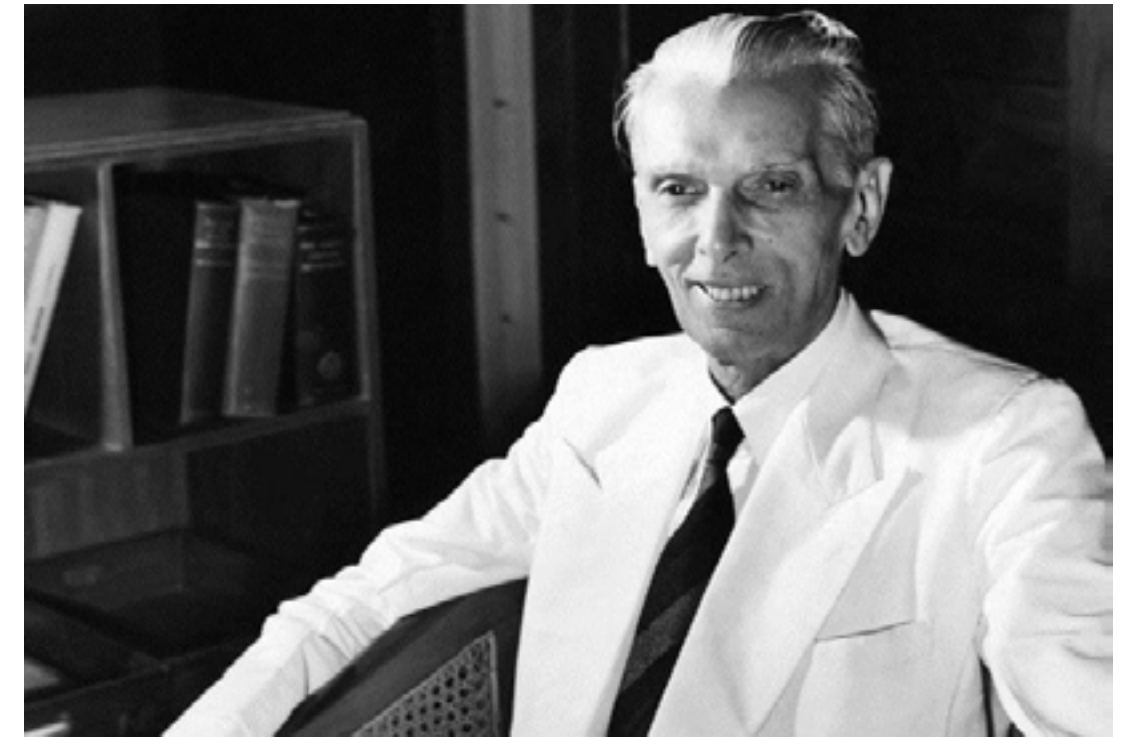
The course which your government is pursuing in suppressing the Musalmans in every way, the atrocities which are being committed by your troops and which are driving Muslims out of the state, the various indications given in the press, particularly the release to the press of your Prime Minister’s telegram addressed to me containing unfounded allegations and the threat to enlist outside assistance show clearly that the real aim of your government’s policy is to seek an opportunity to join the Indian Dominion as a coup d’etat by securing the intervention and assistance of that Dominion. This policy is naturally creating deep resentment and grave apprehension among your subjects, 85 percent of whom are Muslims.

**Kashmir-Pakistan meeting**

The proposal made by my government for a meeting with your accredited representatives is now an urgent necessity. I suggest that the way to smooth out difficulties and adjust matters in a friendly way is for your Prime Minister to come to Karachi and discuss the developments that have taken place instead of carrying on a bitter controversy by telegrams and correspondence. I would also repeat that I endorse the suggestion made in your Prime Minister’s telegram of October 15 and accepted by my government in their reply to October 18 to have an impartial inquiry made into the whole affair.







## The task ahead (30th Oct 1947)

Speech at a Mammoth Rally at the University Stadium, Lahore on 30th October, 1947

We have achieved our cherished goal of freedom and have established Pakistan as an independent, sovereign State, fifth largest in the world. That freedom can never be attained by a nation without suffering and sacrifice has been amply borne out by the recent tragic happenings in this subcontinent. We are in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings; we have been through dark days of apprehension and anguish; but **I can say with confidence that with courage and self-reliance and by the Grace of God we shall emerge triumphant.**

Some people might think that the acceptance of the June 3 Plan was a mistake on the part of the Muslim League. I would like to tell them that the consequences of any other alternative would have been too disastrous to imagine. On our side we proceeded to implement this plan with a clean conscience and honest intentions. Time and history will prove that. On the other hand, history will also record its verdict on those whose treachery and machinations let loose forces of disorder and disruption in this subcontinent causing death of lakhs, enormous destruction of property and bringing about suffering and misery to many million by uprooting them from their homes and hearths and all that was dear to them.

**The systematic massacre of defenseless and innocent people puts to shame even the most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrant known to history. We have been the victims of a deeply-laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary**



principle of honesty, chivalry and honor. We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Quran, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours.

Do not for a moment imagine that your enemies can ever succeed in their designs. But at the same time do not make light of the situation facing you. Search your hearts and whether you have done your part in the construction of this new and mighty State.

Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none.

Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers. You have only to develop the spirit of the “Mujahids”.

You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory.

All I require of you now is that everyone of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace.

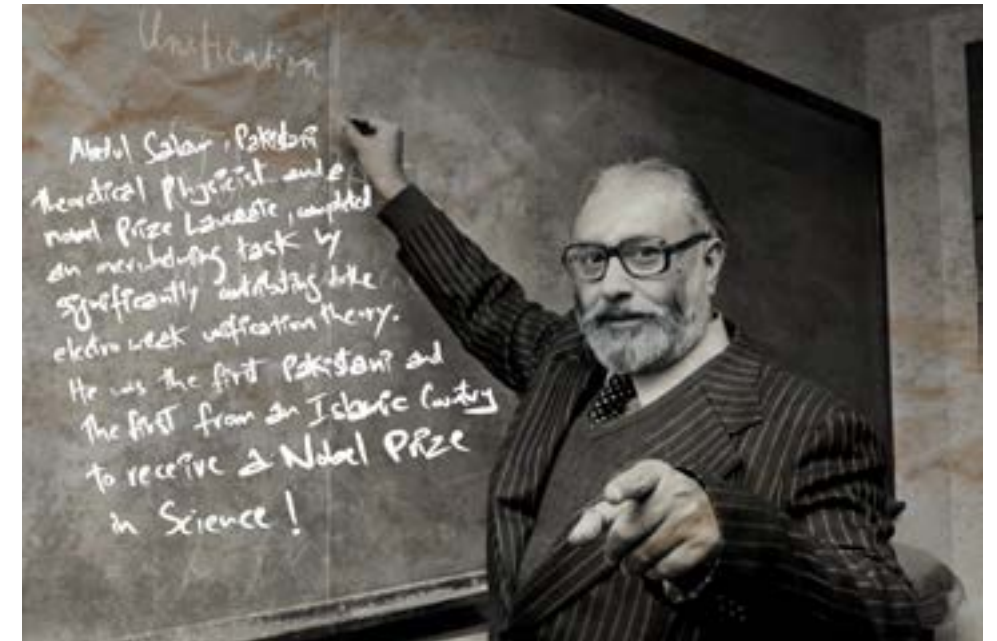
Your immediate task is the rehabilitation of millions of our distressed and unfortunate brethren who are either already with us or who have still to join us in Pakistan, bereft of all they possessed or had in this world. The least we now can do for them is to receive them as our own brethren. No decent or sane person should consider that they are an unwelcome burden thrust on us. Save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that they are Muslims.

**Along with this, keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death.**

Our religion teaches us to always be prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honor of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause.

I would also impress upon every member of this State, particularly our youth, to show the right spirit of devotion, courage and fortitude, to give a lead to the others and to set a nobler and higher example for those who may follow us and the coming generations.

Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and



Abdus Salam, Pakistani theoretical physicist and a Nobel Prize laureate, completed an overwhelming task by significantly contributing to the electroweak unification theory. He was the first Pakistani and the first from an Islamic country to receive a Nobel Prize in science.

**order are the prerequisites of all progress. The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalmans to give protection to his neighbors and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed.**

Despite the treatment, which is being meted out to the Muslim minorities in India, we must make it a matter of our prestige and honor to safeguard the lives of the minority communities and to create a sense of security among them. I would like to impress upon every Musalmans, who has at heart the welfare and the prosperity of Pakistan, to avoid retaliation and to exercise restraint, because retaliation and violation of law and order will ultimately result in weakening the very foundations of the edifice you have cherished all these years to erect.

**Do your duty and have faith in God. There is no power on earth that can undo Pakistan. It has come to stay.**

Our deeds are proving to the world that we are in the right and I can assure you that the sympathies of the world, particularly of the Islamic countries, are with you. We in turn are grateful to every nation who has stretched out to us its hand of help and friendliness.

In the end, I once again appeal to the good sense of every subject and citizen of our State not to take law and order into his own hands but so to behave and act as to be a pillar of strength to his Government and leaders who are sincerely doing their best to put an end to the miseries and hardships of our unfortunate brethren seeking shelter with us, and battling against grave danger and menace which is facing us.







## Protection of minorities: A sacred undertaking (30th Oct 1947)

Broadcast Speech from the Pakistan Radio, Lahore on 30th October, 1947

A few days ago, I received harrowing accounts of the terrible happenings in the Punjab and the situation, from all accounts, appeared to be so grave that I decided to come to Lahore. On my arrival here, I immediately got in touch with various sources that were available to me and I was deeply grieved to realize that unfortunately, there was a great deal of truth in what had been told to me. I am speaking to you under deep distress and with a heavy heart.

**We have, undoubtedly, achieved Pakistan and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of pen which is no less mighty than the sword and so our righteous cause has triumphed. Are we now going to besmear and tarnish this greatest achievement for which there is no parallel in the whole history of the world by resorting to frenzy, savagery and butchery?**

And, will this lead us anywhere?

**Pakistan is now a fait accompli and it can never be undone, besides, it**



**was the only just, honorable and practical solution of the most complex constitutional problem of this great sub-continent.**

The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt, we feel that the carving out of this great independent, sovereign Muslim State has suffered injustice. We have been squeezed in as much as possible and the latest blow that we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse Award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse and it may not be a judicial award, but political award but we had agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honorable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune, but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope.

**Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation and our sovereign State of Pakistan which, you know, is not only the biggest Muslim State in the world but the fifth biggest sovereign State in the world. Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Musalmans to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly and selflessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world. It is in your hands; we have undoubtedly talents; Pakistan is blessed with enormous resources and potentialities; Providence has endowed us with all the wealth of nature and now it lies with man to make best of it.**

It is agreed on all hands that peace should be restored without delay and that law and order must be established and maintained at any cost. Now it is up to leaders and the rank and file of the communities to leave no stone unturned in fulfilling the sacred and honorable undertaking that was given at the Special Conference on the 29th August, to protect the minorities and work everywhere for the welfare and safety of the refugees. The Lahore Conference of 29th has further laid down categorically certain ways and means to be adopted to implement its decisions and such further measures will be taken which have the solemn, firm and determined sanction of the Pakistan and the Dominion of India Government. Henceforth they will be naturally responsible, as the Punjab Boundary Force which was limited only to certain areas, could not deal with the entire Punjab – both West and East, especially now as the rural areas have also been affected and, therefore, it has been abolished.

These decisions and measures adopted by the Special Conference should reassure the people of all communities that the Pakistan and India Government are determined to ruthlessly put down these orgies and their far-reaching consequences. But it requires the communities concerned to realize the folly and futility of indulging in this savagery which has already taken a colossal toll of human life and especially of the innocent ones and has displaced hundreds of thousands of innocent people rendered them – homeless and delivered them to starvation who are wandering about in the countryside for their lives – besides resulting in destruction of property on an extensive scale.

This is not the moment for me to go into the origin or cause of all that is happening or to apportion blame as to which community has disgraced itself more. It will be

for the historians to give their verdict. Humanity cries loud against this shameful conduct and the deeds that have been committed. Those who are responsible for this holocaust must be dealt with an iron hand and put down ruthlessly. The civilized world is looking upon these doings and happenings with horror and the fair name of the communities concerned stands blackened in the eyes of the world.

It is now up to the leaders and those responsible and in charge of the Governments to make their supreme effort to make amends for this indelible stigma. **While the horizon is beset with dark clouds, let me appeal to you and give this message to the people of Pakistan. Create enthusiasm and spirit and go forward with your task, with courage and hope and we shall do it. Are we downhearted? Certainly not. This history of Islam is replete with instances of valour, grit and determination. So march on notwithstanding obstruction, obstacles and interference; and I feel confident that a united nation of 70 million people with a grim determination and with a great civilization and history need fear nothing. It is now up to you to work, work and more work; and we are bound to succeed. And never forget our motto: Unity, Discipline and Faith.**

I have so far spoken to you in English as you know that the eyes of the world are upon Pakistan and we are watched by the various nations of the world with keenest interest since the establishment of Pakistan as an independent, sovereign State which has been a great and historical event. I, therefore, used the medium of English so as to be able to reach the world-wide audience, which exhibited great interest in Pakistan.

The text of my broadcast will be translated in Urdu and read to you in a few minutes time as well as published in the Press tomorrow, but, nevertheless, I would also like to say a few words in Urdu.



Imran Khan celebrating Diwali with Hindu Community





Prime Minister Imran Khan with Christian community

پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کے بنانے پر میں اٹھائیں (28) تاریخ کو لاہور آیا۔ جہاں تک مجھ سے ہو سکا۔۔۔ اور جس طرح سے ہو سکا۔۔۔ میں نے اصل اور ٹھیک حالات کا پتہ لگایا۔۔۔ اور آج کل جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے اس کو سمجھنے کی پوری کوشش کی۔ آپ کو اس وقت تک معلوم ہو گیا ہوگا کہ لاہور میں جو اسپیشل کانفرنس ہوئی تھی۔۔۔ اس میں کیا کیا فیصلے کیے گئے۔۔۔ اور ان پر عمل کرنے کے کون سے قدم اٹھائے گئے۔ اس کانفرنس میں انڈین ڈومینین اور پاکستان کی حکومتوں کے نمائندے۔۔۔ ڈومینین آف انڈیا اور پاکستان کے گورنر جنرل یعنی لارڈ ماؤنٹ بیٹن اور میں۔۔۔ ہمارے صلاح کار اور اسپیشلسٹ شامل تھے۔ کانفرنس نے پورے پورے اتفاق کے ساتھ یہ اعلان کیا ہے۔۔۔ کہ دونوں حکومتوں کا یہ پاک فرض ہے کہ وہ عوام کے مال اور جان کی ہر طرح سے حفاظت۔۔۔ اور ہزاروں کی تعداد میں جو لوگ اپنا گھر بار چھوڑ کر بھاگ رہے ہیں۔۔۔ ان کی حفاظت۔۔۔ ان کی دیکھ بھال۔۔۔ اور بہتری کے لیے دونوں حکومتیں اپنی اپنی طاقت کے مطابق سب کچھ کریں گی۔ میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک پاکستان کی حکومت کا تعلق ہے۔۔۔ ہم اپنی ذمہ داری کو سرانجام دینے کے لیے سب کچھ کریں گے۔

مجھے پوری امید ہے کہ انڈین ڈومینین کی حکومت بھی ایسا ہی کرے گی۔ جن جن باتوں پر ہم نے اقرار کیا ہے۔۔۔ اگر ان کو باعزت طریقے سے۔۔۔ اور پورے ارادے اور طاقت سے پورا کیا گیا۔۔۔ تو مجھے یقین ہے کہ اس وقت کو نازک صورت حال پیدا ہو چکی ہے۔۔۔ اس میں جلدی ہی تبدیلی پیدا ہوگی۔۔۔ اور ہم سب پھر امن و امان سے دونوں حکومتوں میں آزاد قوموں کی طرح خوشی سے زندگی بسر کریں گے۔

پاکستان زندہ باد

X





## Equip yourself for the arduous task ahead (31 October 1947)

Address to a deputation of the Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim Student's Federation at Lahore

Pakistan is proud of her youth, particularly the students who have always been in the forefront in the hour of trial and need.

**You are the nation-builders of tomorrow and you must fully equip yourself by discipline, education and training for the arduous task lying ahead of you. You should realize the magnitude of your responsibility and be ready to bear it.**

Noted by observers:

He said that the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, would uphold its noble tradition of selfless devotion to the national cause.

The Quaid-e-Azam told the deputation that he would ask the students to come forward in large numbers to help the refugees and afford them relief in every possible way as that was the immediate task of confronting the nation at the moment.





Pakistani students planting trees to fight against climate change



Pakistan's Imran Khan running a national campaign "Billion Tree Tsunami " to plant 10 billion trees and protect Pakistan against climate change.

X





## Message to the Armed Forces and Security Guard (8 November 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was expected to go to Rawalpindi on 8 November 1947, had to postpone his departure owing to sudden illness. However, in a message to the Armed Forces, members of the Security Guard, and the people of Rawalpindi, he expressed his desire to be with them as soon as it was possible for him to do so.

You do not know how deeply disappointed I am that I am unable to come to Rawalpindi and meet our people and the officers and soldiers of the Armed Forces and the newly formed National Security Guard. Suddenly I have been laid up with a temperature. It is impossible for me to undertake the journey to Rawalpindi and I do hope that you will understand that I cannot help it. Please go through the program as previously arranged and please convey my greetings to all.

My heart is with you though my indisposition prevents me physically to be with you.

**I want you all to work with complete unity and harmony and notwithstanding all the dangers that are facing us just now. I am sure we will march forward through them successfully with the honor and prestige of Pakistan higher than ever and upholding the high traditions of Islam and our national banner.**

I was so anxious to go to Rawalpindi and I shall take an early opportunity to be with you as soon as it is possible for me to do so.





Pakistan Air Force prepared to defend against all eventualities. National sovereignty requires the unceasing efforts for building strong defense capabilities.

X





Mr. Jinnah with British Officers

## Quaid-e-Azam welcomes British Officers (22 November 1947)

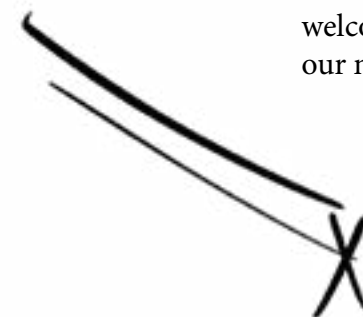
Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah sent the following message to the British officers who had volunteered to serve in Pakistan under the Supreme Commander

The terms for British Officers who volunteered to serve in the Pakistan Armed forces after the closing down of the Supreme Command Headquarter have already been published.

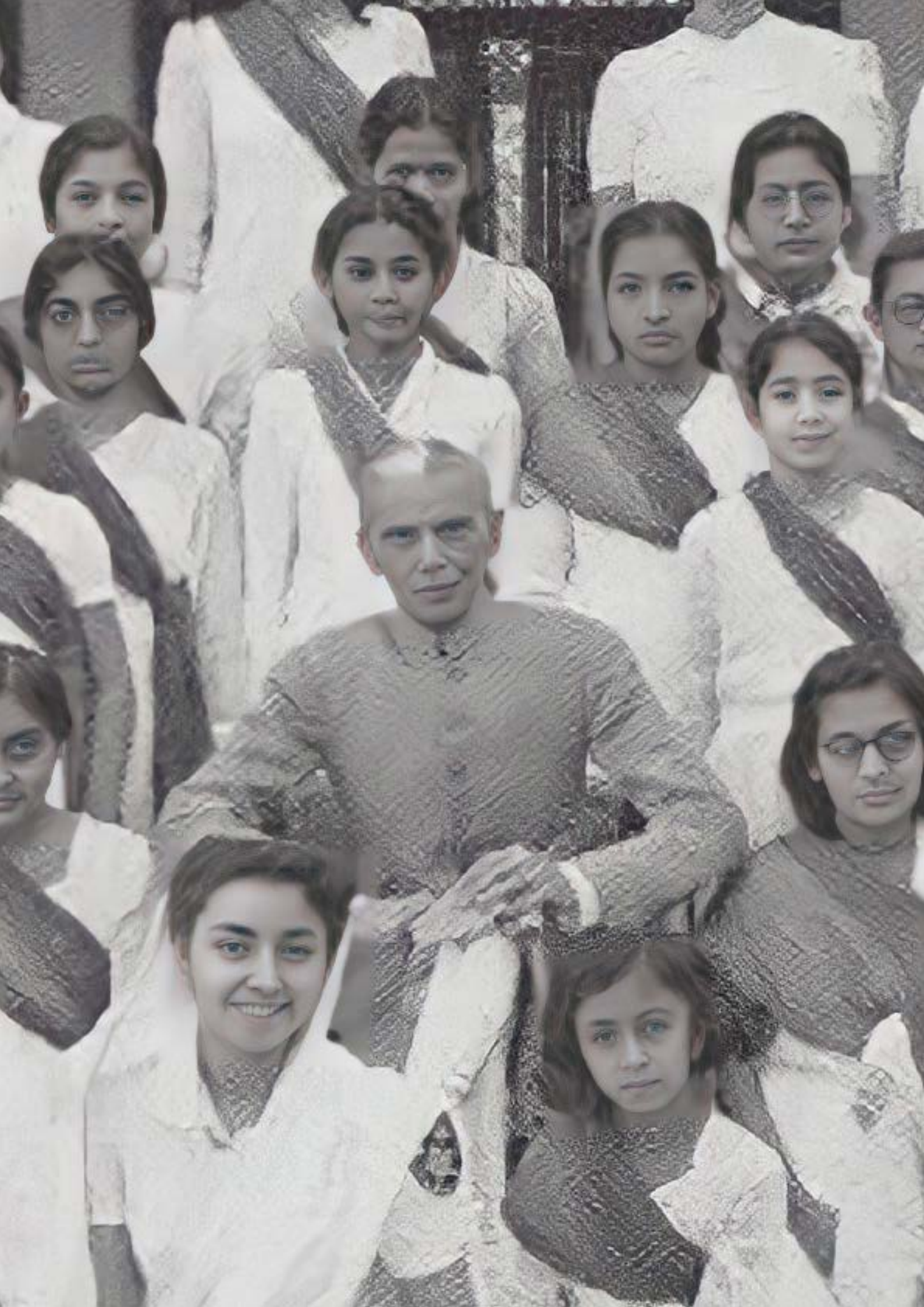
**Pakistan is a new country in which there is much work to be done. Our Armed Forces have to be reorganized and built up to the highest standard efficiency.**

Our own Pakistani officers are at present inadequate in numbers, in technical training and in experience to shoulder the whole burden at once. But my Government's policy is complete nationalization of the officers' cadre of the three services at such speed as is compatible with efficiency.

I extend to all British officers, who are prepared to stay on and help us, a sincere welcome and I am confident that my Government will treat them the same way as our nationals in our service.







## Reorientation of education (27th Nov 1947)

Message to The All-Pakistan Educational Conference, held in Karachi

I am glad that the Pakistan Educational Conference is being held tomorrow in Karachi. I welcome you all to the Capital of Pakistan and wish you every success in your deliberations, which I sincerely hope will bear fruitful and practical results.

You know that the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be over-emphasized.

**Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and program on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.**

There is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education and the way in which we bring up our children as the future servants of Pakistan.

**Education does not merely mean academic education, and even that appears to be of a very poor type. What we have to do is to mobilize our people and**



build up the character of our future generations. There is immediate and urgent need for training our people in the scientific and technical education in order to build up future economic life, and we should see that our people undertake scientific commerce, trade and particularly, well-planned industries.

But do not forget that we have to compete with the world, which is moving very fast in this direction. Also I must emphasize that greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education.

In short, we have to build up the character of our future generations which means highest sense of honor, integrity, selfless service to the nation, and sense of responsibility, and we have to see that they are fully qualified or equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honor to Pakistan.



Lahore College or arts and Sciences building the pipeline for future Pakistani leaders



Aitchison College, breeding ground of ideas, culture, arts and sciences



LUMS University, world-class standards in quality education







## Pakistan and Afghanistan- Two sister nations (3rd Dec 1947)

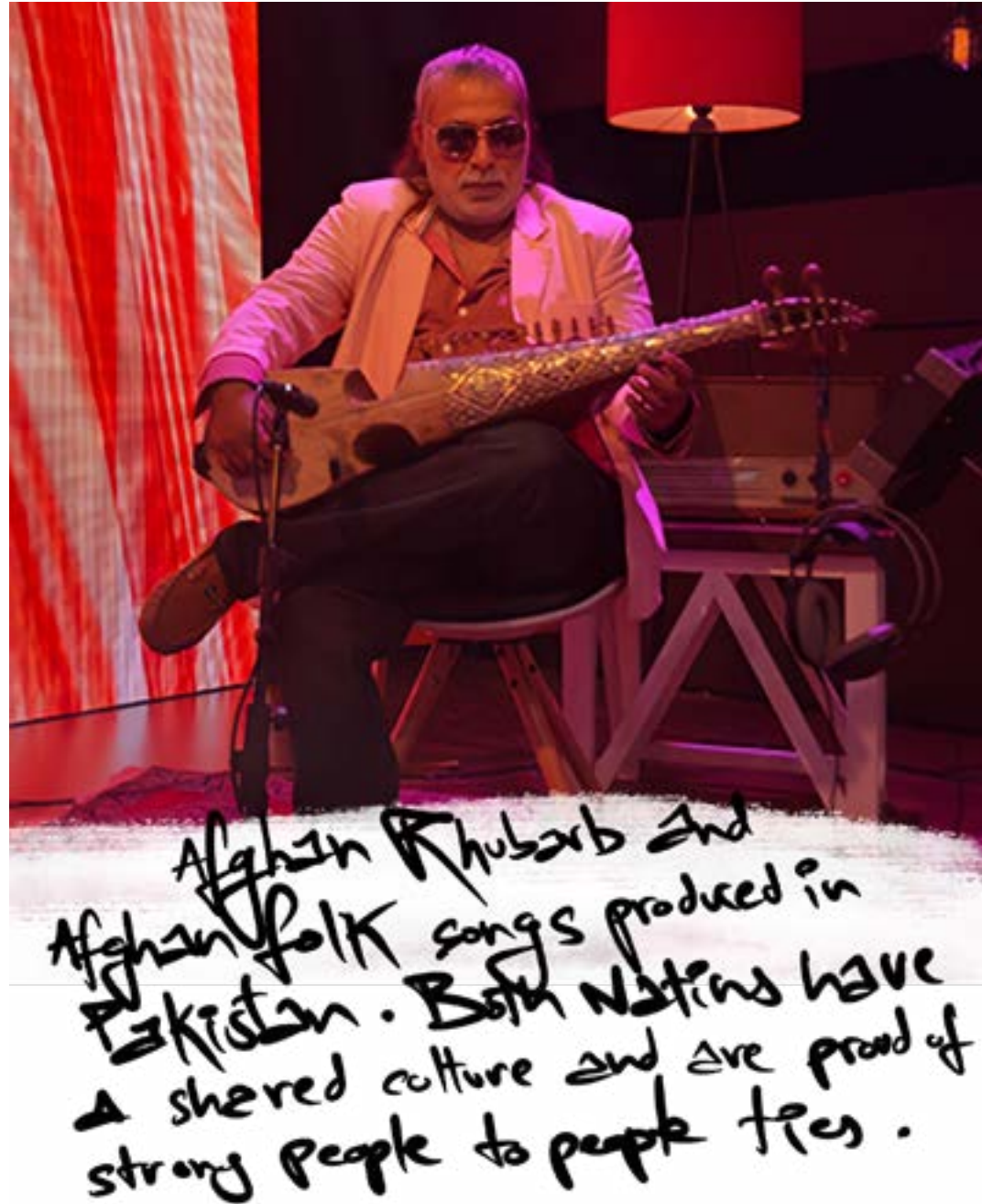
Reply to the Speech made by Sardar Najibullah Khan, Special Representative of H.M. the King of Afghanistan in Pakistan at the time of Presenting Credentials to the Quaid-e-Azam

Your Excellency,

It has indeed given me very great pleasure to welcome you and to receive through you today, the gracious message of good wishes from His Majesty the King of Afghanistan. May I take this opportunity of asking you to convey to your august Sovereign my highest regard and esteem for him, and to the Government and the people of Afghanistan most cordial good wishes on behalf of myself, my government and the people of Pakistan. I would also ask Your Excellency to convey my thanks to the government of Afghanistan for the cordiality, hospitality and friendship that was extended to my Personal Representative, Nawab Saidullah Khan, during his stay in Kabul.

**The Government and the people of Pakistan entertain nothing but feelings of warmest friendship towards the Muslim Kingdom of Afghanistan which is our closest neighbor and with whom for many centuries and for many generations the people of Pakistan have had countless religious, cultural and social ties. It is doubtless known to Your Excellency that the people of Pakistan have always admired the spirit of independence of the Afghan nation and its great strength of character.**





Afghan Rubarb and afghan folk songs produced in Pakistan. Both nations have a shared culture and are proud of strong people to people ties.

I desire that the relationship between these two sister Nations may be of the greatest and the most lasting friendship, and I hope that the two Governments will soon be able to settle and adjust, in a spirit of goodwill for the benefit of both, all those matters which require our immediate attention, and I do trust that the coming negotiations, that may take place, will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between our two countries which already exist.

I cordially welcome you as the First Representative of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan on behalf of our brotherly Islamic neighbor to Pakistan, and I assure you on behalf of my government and myself that we shall extend every assistance, co-operation and good will to you. May your stay in Pakistan be pleasant and happy.





## HMG treating Pakistan with indifference (19 December 1947)

In an interview with Mr Robert Simson, BBC correspondent, discussing future relations between Great Britain and Pakistan

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly will decide whether Pakistan is to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But personally I have no doubt that Pakistan will be ready to stay in the Commonwealth as a willing member for our mutual benefit, and Great Britain should exercise the great moral responsibilities she has, as the senior member of the Commonwealth. At the moment I feel Great Britain is treating Pakistan with indifference. I fully realize that Britain has no power to intervene in the affairs of any Dominion, but at the same time

**Britain and other Dominions are in a position to use moral persuasion to help settle differences between members of the Commonwealth.**

It appears to me that His Majesty's Government is so far shirking its responsibility in this respect.

### **Question of Kashmir**

On the question of Kashmir, the Quaid-e-Azam said that it was a grave issue and he would refrain from making any statement at this stage as talks were going on between the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Referring to the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League to split the organization into separate Muslim Leagues for Pakistan and the Indian Dominion, the Quaid-e-Azam said "Since 15 August the Muslims in Pakistan and the Muslims in the Indian Dominion have been faced, and are still faced, with entirely different problems. That is beyond question. It is only right, therefore, that the Muslims of India should be free to form their own independent policy." The Quaid-e-Azam added that it would impracticable, and indeed improper, for a single Muslim organization to operate in two Dominions.



Pakistan League

Asked whether the Muslim League of Pakistan would eventually transform itself into a national organization open to members of all religious communities, Mr. Jinnah said “The time has not yet come for a national organization of that kind. Public opinion among the Muslims of Pakistan is not yet ready for it. We must not be dazzled by democratic slogans that have no foundation in reality.”

“The Muslims have only just won their own Muslim homeland, and they have still to build a structure that will suit conditions and developments that will take place. But the decision to form a purely Muslim organization in Pakistan is not irrevocable. It may be altered as and when necessary to suit changing conditions. Nothing is static in politics. It all depends upon what progress we make and further developments that may take place.”

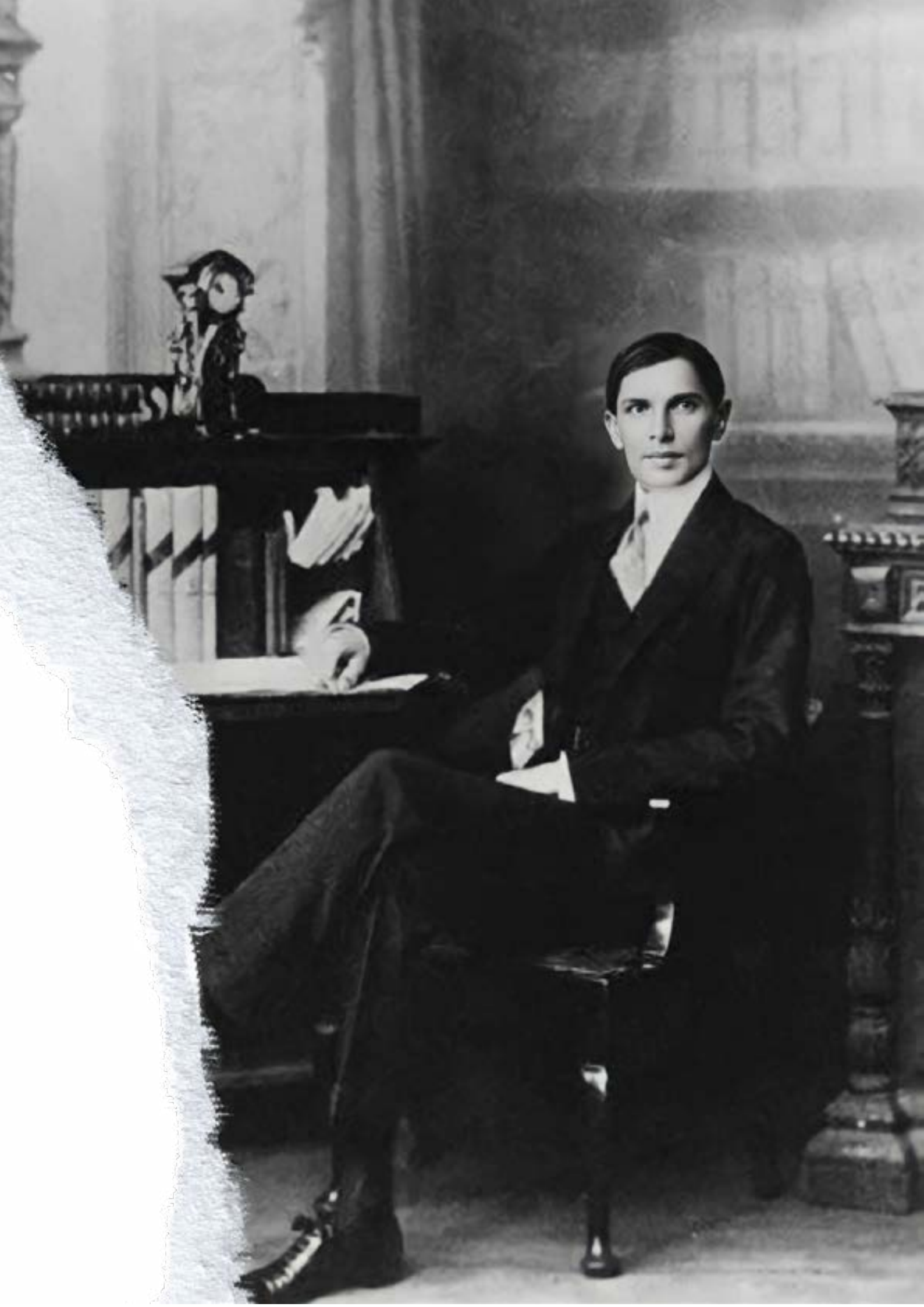
Referring to the Palestine problem, Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslims of the sub-continent had been compelled to condemn in the strongest possible manner the unjust and cruel decision of the United Nations concerning the partition of Palestine.

“The Muslims of the sub-continent are obviously reluctant to antagonize the United States, or any other country, but our sense of justice obliges us to help the Arab cause in Palestine in every way that is open to us.”

The Quaid-e-Azam said he thought it regrettable that His Majesty’s Government in Great Britain had not pursued with more resoluteness their efforts to find a just and honorable solution of the Palestine problem. “With greater persistence His Majesty’s Government might have been more successful than the United Nations”.







## Service before self (22nd Dec 1947)

Message to the Pakistani scouts

Scouting can play a very vital role in forming the character of our youth, promoting their physical, mental and spiritual development, and making them well disciplined, useful and good citizens.

If the real aim of the movement is to be achieved, scouts should learn to pay more than lip service to the scout laws and should not think that the scout movement is limited to going about in uniforms, scarves and badges for show. We are living in a far from perfect world. Despite the progress of civilization, the law of the jungle, unfortunately, still prevails. Might is considered right and the strong do not refrain from exploiting the weak. Self-advancement, greed and lust for power sway the conduct of the individuals as that of nations.

**If we are to build a safer, cleaner and happier world let us start with the individual –catch him young and inculcate in him the scout's motto of service before self and purity in thought, word and deed. If our young people learn to befriend all, to help other people at all times, subordinate personal interest to the welfare of others, eschew violence of thought, word and action, I am sanguine that the attainment of universal brotherhood is possible and within our reach.**

So I wish you Godspeed.





The Edhi Foundation provides 24-hour emergency assistance across the entirety of Pakistan and internationally. The Foundation provides, among many other services, shelter for the destitute, hospitals and medical care, drug rehabilitation services, and national and international relief efforts. The organization's main focuses are emergency services, orphans, handicapped persons, women's shelters, education, healthcare, international community centers, refugees, missing persons, blood donation & drug rehabilitation banks, air ambulance services and marine and coastal services. The organization is known to serve those in need regardless of race, religious affiliation, and social status, and runs entirely on donations and volunteer efforts.

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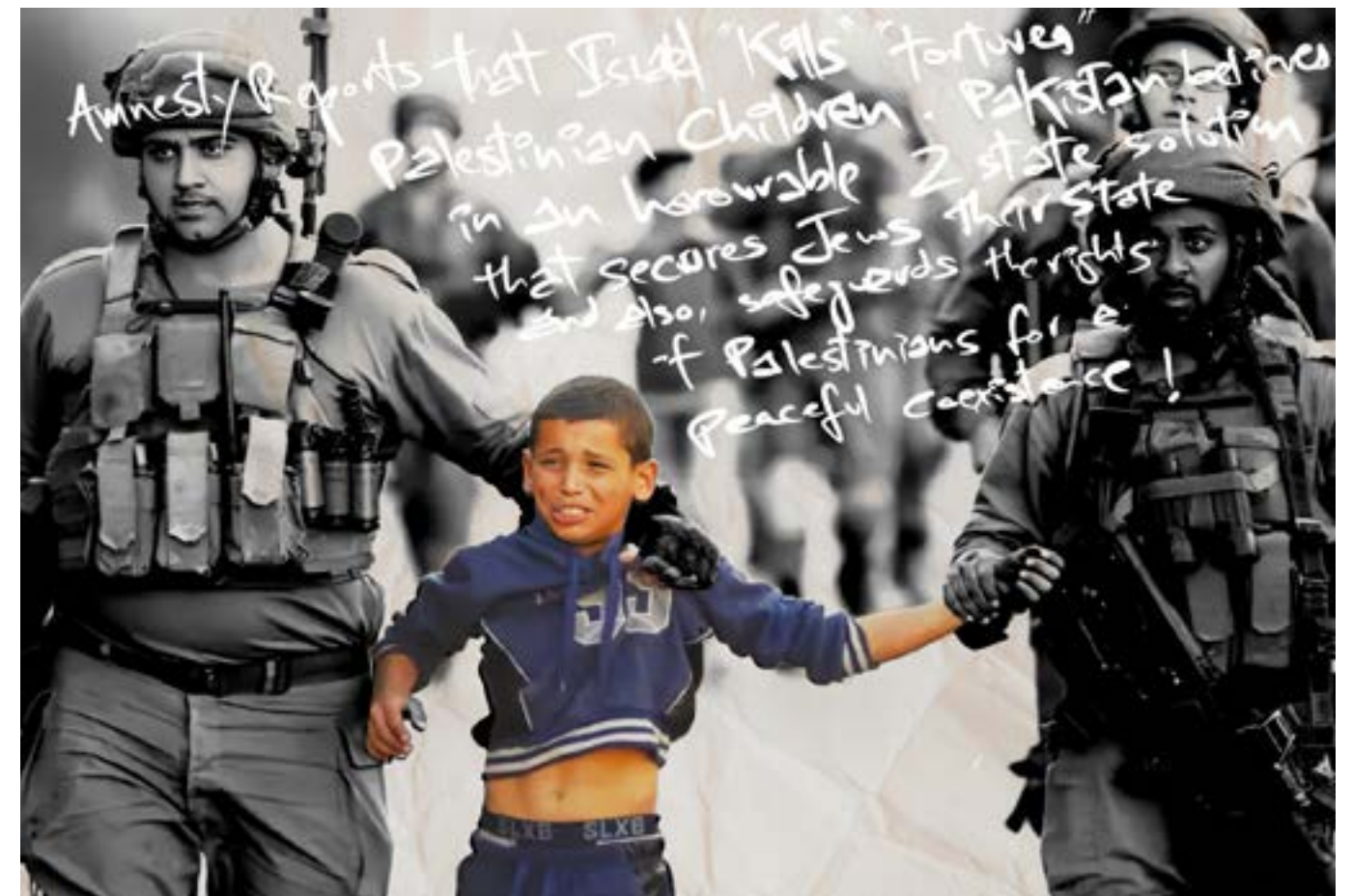


## Pakistan's support to Arabs on the Palestine Issue (24 December 1947)

Telegraphic message in reply to a telegram of thanks for Pakistan's support to Arabs on the Palestine issue from the King of Yemen, Imam Yahya

Your Majesty's telegram of 3rd December, on behalf of my Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own, I thank Your Majesty most sincerely for your message and all the kind sentiments expressed therein.

I fully share your Majesty's surprise and shock at the serious lack of judgment shown by the UNO by their unjust decision in respect of Palestine. I once more assure you and our Arab brethren that Pakistan will stand by them and do all that is possible to help and support them in their opposition and the UNO decision which is inherently unjust and outrageous.



Amnesty reports that Israel 'kills,' 'tortures' Palestinian children. Pakistan believes in an honorable two-state solution that secures Jews their state and also, safeguards the rights of Palestinians for a peaceful coexistence.





## Royal Transjordan Mission (24 December 1947)

Address in reply to the speech by His Excellency Mohammad Pasha El Shuraiki, Minister of State,  
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Transjordan

It is a great pleasure and indeed a great privilege for me to welcome Your Excellency and your colleagues and to receive through you a message of good wishes and congratulations from His Majesty the King of Transjordan on the achievement of independence by Pakistan. I assure your Excellency that my government and the people of Pakistan greatly appreciate the gracious message of your august sovereign and the affection and regard expressed by the people of Transjordan for their brethren in this country. I need hardly assure your Excellency that the government and people of Pakistan heartily reciprocate the noble sentiments so generously expressed throughout your excellency's mission.

### Sympathies

**In the struggle for freedom which the Muslims of this great subcontinent had to face, the thought that we always carried with us, the sympathies of the Muslim World and particularly of such great torch-bearers of Islam as His Majesty the King of Transjordan, was a source of great encouragement and inspiration.**



It is all the more gratifying, therefore, for the people of Pakistan to receive this message on the occasion of their Independence.

I have no doubt that Your Excellency's mission will further cement the bonds of brotherhood and affection which exist and subsist between our two peoples. Islam is to us the source of our very life and existence and it has linked our cultural and traditional past so closely with the Arab world that there need be no doubt whatsoever about our fullest sympathy for the Arab cause.

I request Your Excellency to be good enough to convey my most grateful thanks and thanks of the people of Pakistan to His Majesty, Your King, and to the people of Transjordan for the good wishes conveyed to us through your Excellency's mission.

Finally I have great pleasure in informing Your Excellency that my Government has agreed to the proposal of your Government that there should be an exchange of diplomatic missions between Pakistan and Transjordan. In the fulfillment of this desire, I am looking forward to the pleasure of welcoming to Karachi a representative of your great country.

I am sure, my government and my people will do all they can to make your sojourn in Karachi happy and pleasant.



Abdullah I on Independence Day, May 25, 1946. He is accompanied by his grandson Hussein and General John Bagot Glubb.





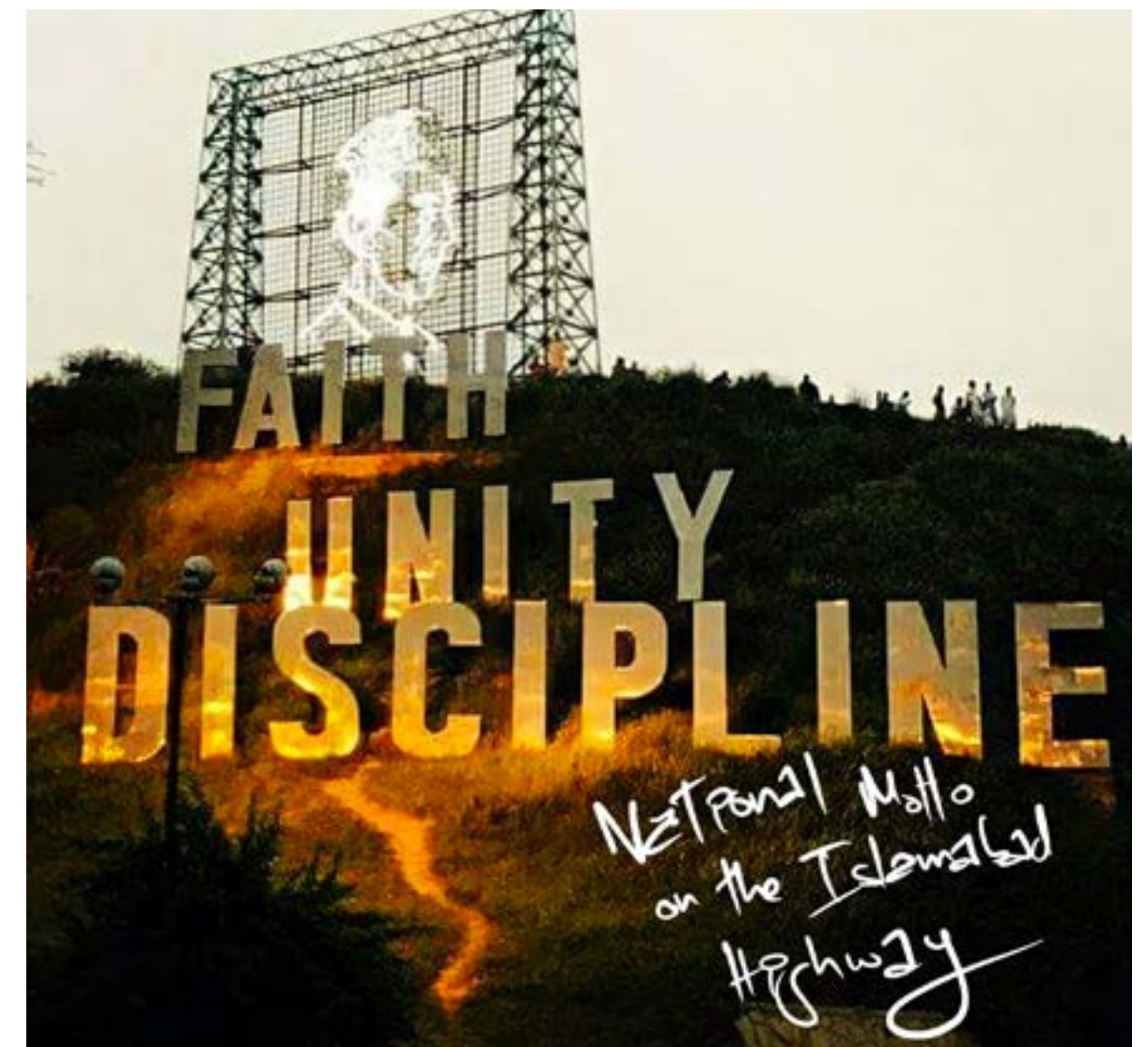


## Faith, Discipline and Unity (28 December 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's statement referring to a passage in the Address of Welcome presented by the Divisional Superintendent and officers of the North-Western Railway on 28 December 1947, which stated "We beg to assure you that we shall follow you throughout sunshine and fire"

We are going through fire, the sunshine has yet to come. But I have no doubt that with unity, faith and discipline we will not only remain the fifth largest State in the world but will compare with any nation of the world. Are you prepared to undergo the fire? You must make up your mind now.

We must sink individualism and petty jealousies and make up our minds to serve the people with honesty and faithfulness. We are passing through a period of fear, danger and menace. We must have faith, unity and discipline.



National motto on the Islamabad highway





## Protect Hindu neighbors - A call to Muslims (9th Jan 1948)

Message sent to the Refugees on the occasion of tour of the not affected areas in Karachi on 9th January, 1948

I quite understand the feeling of the Muslim refugees and those who have suffered, and they have my fullest sympathy, but they must restrain themselves and act as responsible men, and not abuse the hospitality that has been extended to them and forget all that is being done for them to make their lot happier. I once more want to impress upon all Muslims that they should fully cooperate with the Government and the officials in protecting their Hindu neighbor against these lawless elements, fifth columnists and the cliques who are responsible for creating these disturbances, and restore trust and confidence amongst all the communities.

**Pakistan must be governed through the properly constituted Government, and not by cliques, or fifth-columnists or a mob, and the Pakistan Government is going to take the severest possible measures against the offenders, and they shall be dealt with sternly and ruthlessly.**

I fully sympathize with Hindus, many of whom have been misled by propaganda that is being carried on to pull them out of Sindh, with an ulterior motive, and as a result many innocent Hindus have seriously suffered. With regard to this unfortunate trouble, it is not yet known who was responsible for bringing the Sikhs to Karachi and arranging to lodge them at the Gurdwara without informing the District Magistrate, Sind, or any Sind Authority or Police; this is a matter which requires thorough investigation. At present it seems somewhat mysterious, but it is going to be fully investigated.





## On Pakistan - Burma relations (21 Jan 1948)

Reply to the Speech made by the Burmese Ambassador in Pakistan at the time of presenting Credentials to the Quaid-e-Azam

Your Excellency,

It gives me great pleasure to receive you today in your capacity as the first Ambassador of the Union of Burma to Pakistan.

Your Excellency is no stranger to us as you have already been here for some months as the High Commissioner for Burma. The leaders and the people of Burma are also no strangers to us as in the past, History had brought our destinies together. With the great changes that took place on 15th August, 1947, geography has also brought our future closely together as borders of Your Excellency's great country are contiguous for hundreds of miles with the borders of Pakistan. As I had said in my message to the President of the Union of Burma, the attainment of complete independence by Your Excellency's country on the fourth of this month gave us in Pakistan the greatest pleasure as it marked the culmination of a process which was initiated in this very subcontinent.

**I have no doubt that as in the past, in future also the many bonds that exist between the Union of Burma and Pakistan will be strengthened to the mutual advantage of both countries. I hope that these two lands, both ancient in history but both on the road to a new and high destiny, will strive with-energy to establish a lasting era of progress and peace.**

I welcome Your Excellency's assurance to discharge your duties in such a manner as may best conduce to the lasting benefit of both peoples. I am glad to note that during your short term of office as High Commissioner in Pakistan you have received every assistance from Pakistan. I have no doubt that in the future also these good relations will continue and I assure you of our cooperation with your government.

On behalf of the government and people of Pakistan I once more extend to Your Excellency a most cordial welcome.



## Strong Defense - A bulwark against aggression (23rd Jan 1948)

Address to the Establishment of H.M.P.S. "Dilawar" on 23rd January.

Gentlemen,

The first World War of 1914-18 was fought to end war. Its horrors quickened the conscience of the world and set statesmen thinking to devise ways and means of outlawing war. This led to the birth of the League of Nations and the idea of collective security, but the League of Nations proved only a pious hope. It failed to avert World War II. The destruction caused by the first world war pales into insignificance as compared to the devastation and havoc resulting from the last world war and now with the discovery of the Atom Bomb, one shudders to think of the pattern of future wars. The war weary humanity in watching with fear and hope the evolution of the United Nations Organization for its ability to successfully deal with the cause of war and threats to world peace will depend on the salvation of mankind and the future of civilization.

Pakistan, which has been recently admitted to the United Nations Organization will do everything in its power to strengthen the Organization and help it in the achievement of the ideals which have been set up as its goal.

While giving the fullest support to the principles of the United Nations Charter we cannot afford to neglect our defenses. However strong the United Nations Organization might be, the primary responsibility for the defense of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defenseless, in this imperfect world, invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak, and therefore, they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us.





Pakistan is still in its infancy and so is its Navy and other branches of the armed forces. But this infant means to grow up and God willing will grow up much sooner than many people think.

Everyone of you has an important role to play in strengthening the defense of the country and your watchwords should be faith, discipline and self-sacrifice. You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and selfless devotion to duty for it is not life that matters but the courage, fortitude and determination you bring to it.

I see some of you, who constitute the bodyguard at present provided at the Governor-general's residence, practically everyday. Today I see you in many large numbers and I am greatly impressed by your bearing and turn out. You must remember that your Headquarters Karachi, the gateway to Western Pakistan, besides being the port of call of ships of other nations, is also on the air route from the West to the East.

People from all over the globe pass through Karachi and the eyes of the world are on you. I trust that, by your behavior and deportment, you will never let Pakistan down, but would keep up the best traditions of the service and maintain high the honor and prestige of Pakistan as one of the greatest nations of the world.



Pakistan's Army is ranked as the top 10th army in the world with nuclear capabilities for defensive purposes.

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## Islam teaches Equality, Justice and Fairplay (25 Jan 1948)

Address to the Bar association, Karachi, on the occasion of the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) birthday

**“Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fairplay to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fairplay and justice for everybody”.**

Mr. Jinnah said “Let us make the future constitution of Pakistan. We shall make it and we will show it to the world.”

### March in One Formation

On provincialism, the Governor-General of Pakistan said that “I want the Muslims to get rid of the disease of provincialism. A nation can never make progress unless it marches in one formation. We are all Pakistanis and citizens of the State and we should serve, sacrifice and die for the state so that we may make it the most glorious and sovereign state in the world.

### Tribute to the Prophet

The Quaid-e-Azam, speaking on this great and historic occasion, said “I thank you for welcoming me. I have known this Bar Association for a considerable time. Today we have met here in a small body to pay tribute to the great man for not only he has reverence of millions but also commands the respect of all the great men of the world. What tribute can I, a humble man, pay to this great man.”

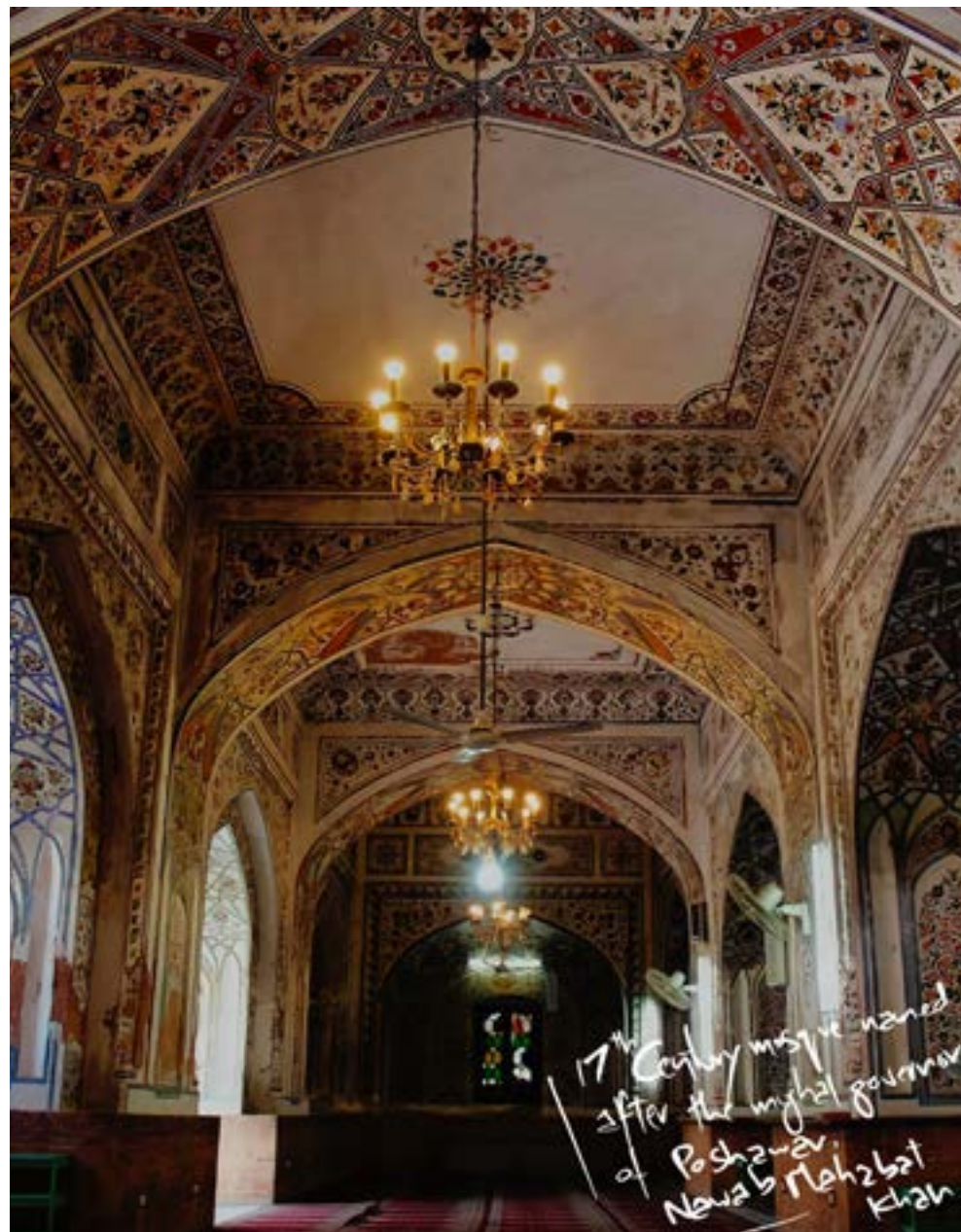
### Great Law-Giver

The Prophet (PBUH) was a great teacher. He was a great law-giver. He was a great statesman and he was a great sovereign who ruled. No doubt, there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam.

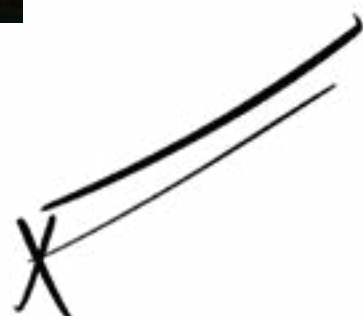
Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions, and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on the highest principles of honor, integrity, fairplay and justice for all, one God and the equality of one God is one of the fundamental

principles of Islam. In Islam there is no difference between man and man. The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam.

The Governor-General of Pakistan observed that the life of the Prophet (PBUH) was simple according to those times. He was successful in everything that he put his hand to, as a businessman to as a ruler. He said that the Prophet (PBUH) was the greatest man that the world had ever seen. "Thirteen hundred years ago he laid the foundations of democracy".



17th century mosque named after the Mughal governor of Peshawar Nawab Mahabat Khan







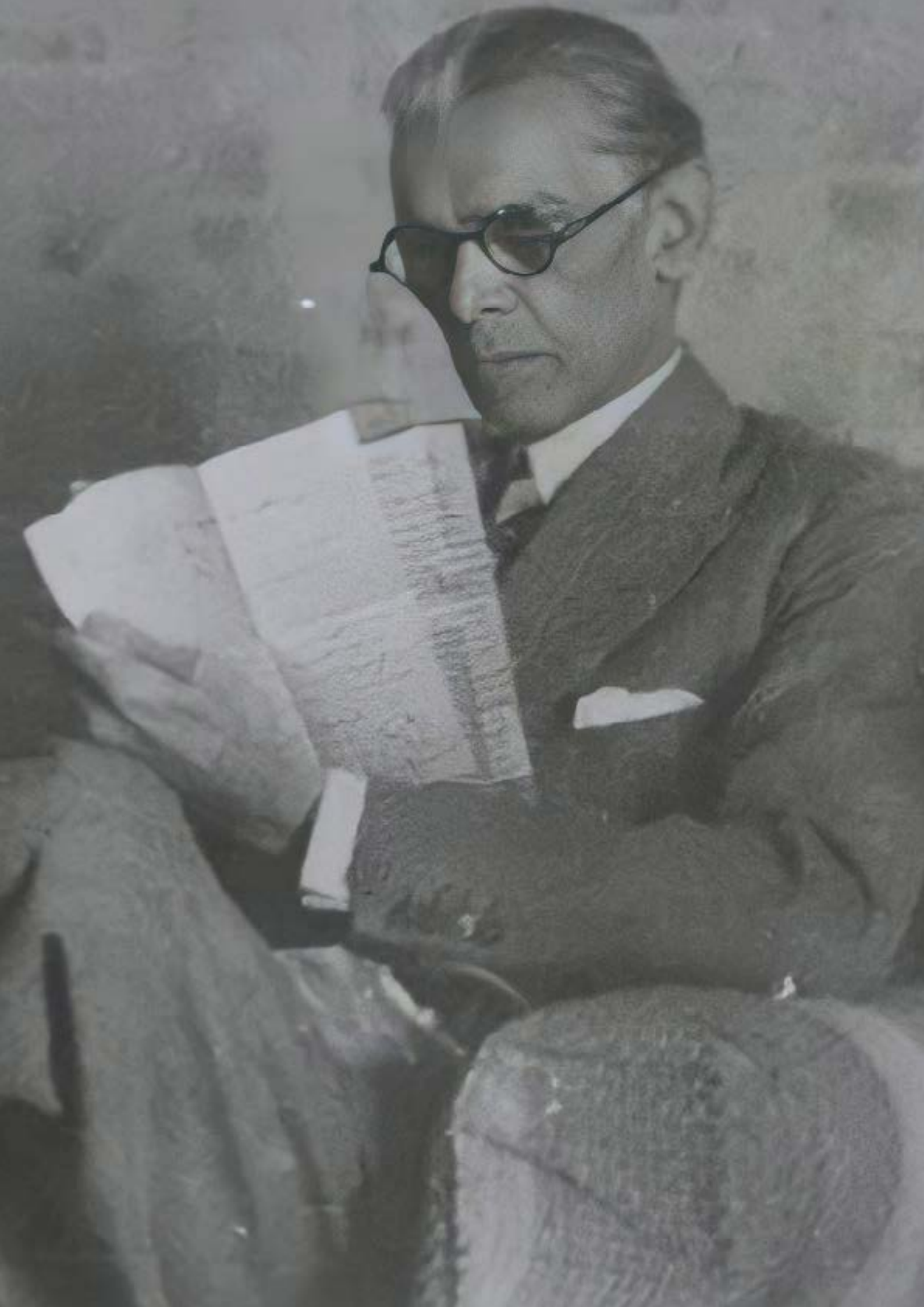
## Statement on the Assassination of Mr. M. K. Gandhi (30 January

Address to the Bar association, Karachi, on the occasion of the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) birthday

I am shocked to learn of the most dastardly attack on the life of Mr. Gandhi, resulting in his death. There can be no controversy in the face of death.

**Whatever our political differences, he was one of the greatest men produced by the Hindu community, and a leader who commanded their universal confidence and respect.**

I wish to express deep sorrow, and sincerely sympathize with the great Hindu community and his family in their bereavement at this momentous, historical and critical juncture so soon after the birth of freedom for Hindustan and Pakistan. The loss to the Dominion of India is irreparable, and it will be very difficult to fill the vacuum created by the passing away of such a great man at this moment.



## Rehabilitation of refugees (2nd Feb 1948)

Speech on the Opening Ceremony of the Bengal Oil Mills on 2nd February, 1948

It has given me great pleasure to come here today to perform the opening ceremony of the Bengal Oil Mills. Every new mill or factory means a step forward on the road to the economic stabilization of our country and the prosperity of its people. Millions of our brethren have been displaced by the cataclysm that attended the birth of Pakistan. Most of them have lost all their worldly belongings as also their means of livelihood. Their rehabilitation presents a problem of colossal magnitude, the successful solution of which would require the concerted efforts of the Government and the people. The response to the Quaid-e-Azam's relief Fund has been magnificent and the munificence of people of the stricken but gratuitous relief and doles are only palliatives and do not provide a satisfactory solution of the refugees' problem. We do not want merely to keep these unfortunate people alive as a drag on society –we want them to live as self-respecting, self-reliant and useful members of Society. All the refugees are not agriculturists and even all the agriculturists cannot be settled on land without fragmenting the available arable land into small uneconomic holdings.

**The only way in which these people can be put on their feet again is the rapid industrialization of the country which would provide new avenues of employment for them. Nature has blessed us with plenty of raw materials and it is now up to us to harness our resources to the best advantage of our State and its people.**



You have mentioned the trials and tribulations of the Muslims of Kathiawar during the last few stormy months. While I fully sympathize with them in their suffering, I am sure they will not be overwhelmed by these temporary setbacks. Their resilience will enable them to weather these storms with equanimity and by their resourcefulness and spirit of enterprise they would soon retrieve their lost fortunes.

I thank you once again for your generous contribution to the Relief Fund and I wish your venture all success and prosperity and hope that it may prove a precursor to many more enterprises for which there is so much scope in Pakistan.



Angelina Jolie uses her celebrity to highlight the global refugee crisis









## Equal treatment to all - Assurance to minorities ( 3rd Feb 1948)

Speech in reply to the Address of Welcome presented to Quaid-e-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah by the Parsi community of Sind at the Katrak Parsi Colony, Karachi: February 3, 1948.

I am thankful to you for your Address of Welcome and the kind words you have spoken about me and Miss Fatima Jinnah. I deeply appreciate your offer of loyal cooperation with the Government of Pakistan and I assure you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of equal treatment to all its nationals irrespective of their caste and creed. Pakistan, which symbolizes the aspirations of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian subcontinent, can not be unmindful of the minorities within its own borders.

**It is a pity that the fair name of Karachi was sullied by the sudden outburst of communal frenzy last month and I can not find words strong enough to condemn the action of those who were responsible for it. Government is determined in its resolve to root out lawlessness and to see that there is no recurrence of such incidents.**

As you may be aware, the Government has been making genuine efforts to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities and if their exodus from Sindh still continues, it is not because they are not wanted here but because they are more prone to listen to people across the border who are interested in pulling them out. I am sorry for these misguided people for nothing but disillusionment awaits them in their promised land.

I realized that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private property but you should not judge the Government's action too harshly. Accommodation could not be provided for the large number of Pakistani officials and foreign legations without disturbing some of the local residents. The problem was further complicated by the influx of a large number

of refugees - whose tempers had been frayed by the suffering undergone by them. These unfortunate people require sympathetic handling, and your assistance in resettling them will be most welcome.

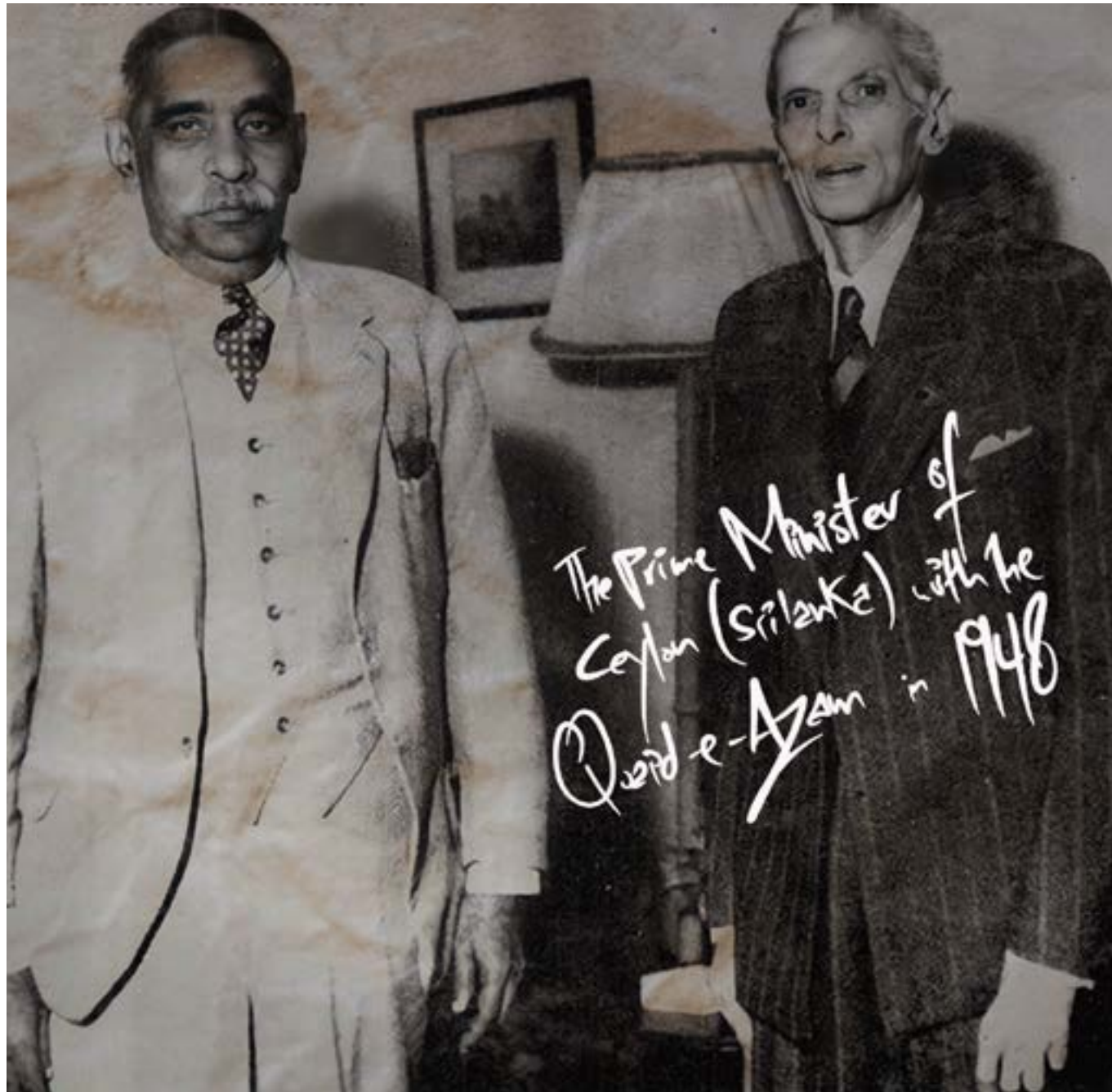
Parsis as a community have fortunately escaped the ravages of the recent internecine conflict that has brought so much suffering to other communities, and, I see no reason why the future should hold any terror for them. They have already established a place for themselves in this country by their organizing ability, spirit of enterprise and hard work. Pakistan will provide an ample field for the outlet of their genius particularly in the realm of trade, commerce and industry and they should come forward and play their role as true citizens in making Pakistan one of the greatest nations and a land of prosperity and plenty.



Pakistani Sikhs Celebrate Pakistan's Independence Day







The Prime Minister of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) with the Quaid -e- Azam in 1948

## On Ceylon's Independence (4th Feb 1948)

Message on the attainment of Dominion Status by Ceylon recorded on 4th February, 1948.

The attainment of dominion status by Ceylon in the wake of India and Pakistan is a matter of great satisfaction and rejoicing to us, and on behalf of the people of Pakistan and myself, I extend to you our sincerest congratulations on this happy and historical occasion. We in Pakistan will watch your progress with the most friendly and sympathetic interest as some of the problems confronting your island are similar to ours.

**We have both suffered from exploitation at the hands of a foreign power and now that a new era has been ushered in, we shall have to strive every nerve to improve the lot of the common man, so sadly neglected heretofore.**

The problem confronting us is by no means small or easy but we must tackle it boldly if we are to prove ourselves worthy of our newly won freedom and sovereign Government of the people.

Ceylon is rich in material resources and talent and I have no doubt that under the guidance of her great leaders she will make rapid strides on the road to good government and prosperity and will play her rightful part in promoting goodwill and friendship throughout the world.

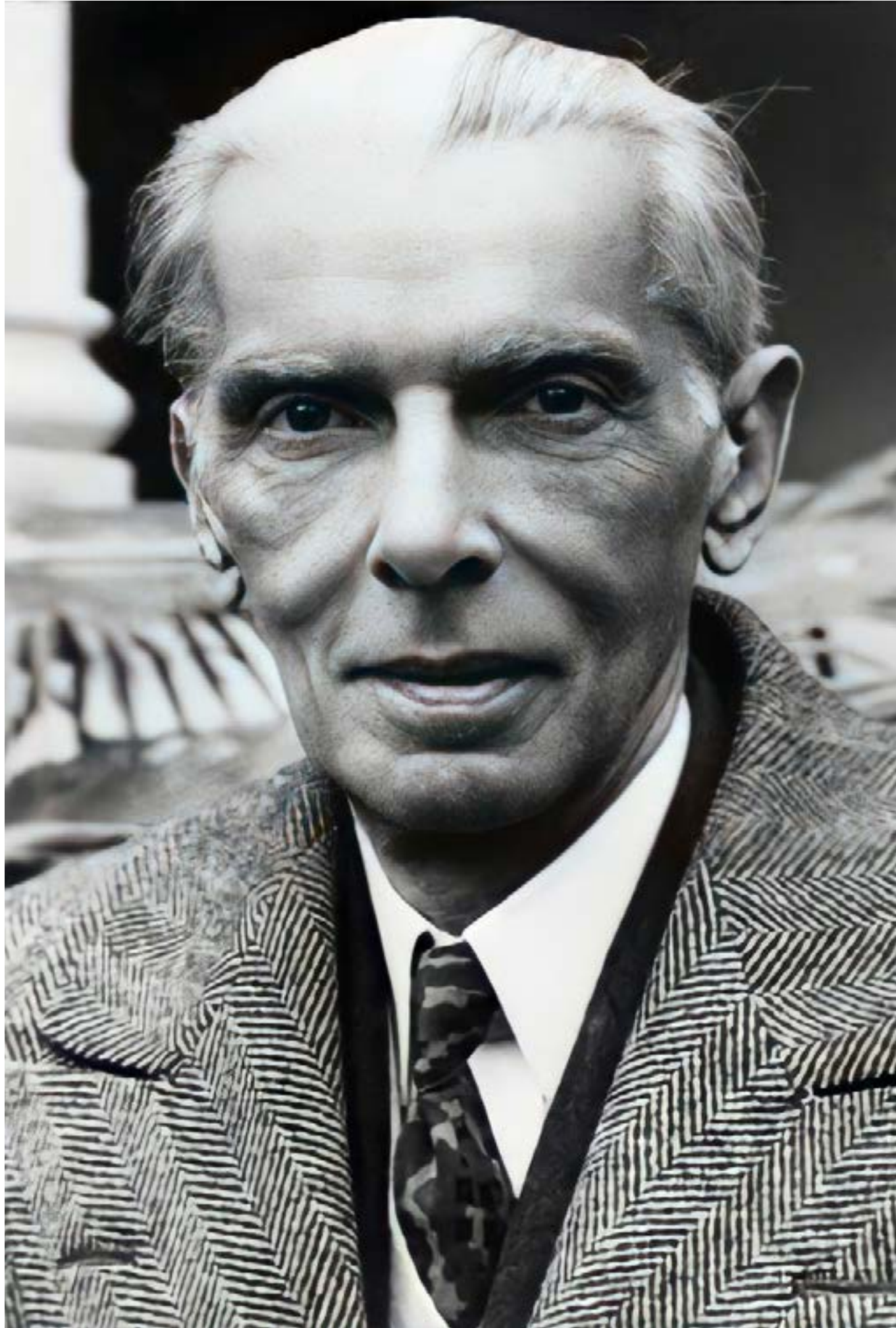
Pakistan has the warmest goodwill towards Ceylon, and I am sanguine that the good feeling which exists between our two people will be further strengthened as the years roll by and our common interests, and mutual and reciprocal handling of them, will bring us into still closer friendship. Once again, I wish all prosperity and a glorious future for Ceylon.



Chamath Palihapitiya with Sri Lanka's President and key cabinet ministers. Chamath is Sri Lankan-born Canadian venture capitalist, engineer, SPAC sponsor, and the founder and CEO of Social Capital.







## New era of progress for Balochistan (14th Feb 1948)

Speech at Sibi Darbar on 14th February, 1948

Mr. Dundas, Members of Shahi Jirga, Sardars of Balochistan and other Leaders and Representatives of the people of Balochistan.

It is indeed a matter of genuine pleasure to me to be present here amongst you in the first Shahi Durbar of Balochistan held under the authority of our new Muslim State of Pakistan. As you all know, my personal connection with Balochistan extends over a long period.

**I can now look back with satisfaction to the days when the people of this Province fought shoulder to shoulder with me in our struggle for freedom. You have contributed in no smaller measure than your brethren of other provinces of Pakistan towards the achievement of our goal.**

**The history of political reforms for Balochistan is connected with the history of the struggle of the Musalmans for freedom.**

There are many of you who will recall the number of occasions when I took up the cause of the people of Balochistan both inside the Indian Legislature and outside; and, now that I have the honor to be the first Governor-general of our great country – Pakistan, it is natural that the question of reforms and securing for the people of Balochistan an adequate say in the administration and governance of their Province, should be constantly in my mind. If in this direction my wishes have not so far been realized, it is due to the circumstances over which I had little or no control.

Gentlemen, it is just six months since we have achieved our Independence. During this period we have not so far seen a single day of peace. We have had to face calamities the parallel of which is not known in the history of the world.



But we have not remained idle. We are still struggling to complete the task in the face of difficulties, which we had no way of anticipating when the partition of India was agreed upon. We have yet to secure our due and rightful share from the sister Dominion of India. The attention of my Government, therefore, was kept riveted to other dangerous problems of more immediate and urgent importance. You will therefore forgive me if I was not able to attend to the affairs of Balochistan as speedily as I would have wished. Let me assure you, however, that I have not for one moment allowed the affairs of Balochistan to slip out of my mind. I have thought and thought, considered and pondered over the ways and means of improving the lot of our people in this Province and of enabling them to secure for themselves the same position and the same political status within the polity of Pakistan, which are open to their brethren in other provinces as far as they could be brought about as practical propositions.

**Gentlemen, the relations of the old Government of India with Balochistan before the partition are well known to you. It is not for me to remind you how that Government, which was a subordinate branch of the foreign administration, had kept Balochistan divided in several parts, each with a different name and status, yet all bound together in shackles of backwardness.**

The administration handed over to us was on the one hand, quite impervious to the desires and wishes of the people for moral and material progress, and on the other, impatient of criticism and obvious to the necessity of political reforms of any sort. Consequently, the people of the Province remained in a static position educationally, socially, economically and politically. Nay, I would go so far as to say that the people had to content themselves for a long time with a state of political and administrative stagnation. And yet, all this may sound paradoxical in the face of the fact that so far as the tribal areas of Balochistan were concerned the Governor-general exercised his executive functions in his discretion, and in regard to the areas which used to be known as British Balochistan and leased territories, he governed to such an extent as he thought fit, through a Chief Commissioner appointed by him in his discretion.

Then came the fruit of our national efforts in the form of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, whereby the British Government acknowledged the supreme authority of the people of this sub-continent and they were obliged to transfer full powers to them. With the passing of this Act, the treaties and agreements which were in force between the British Government and the states and tribes, all lapsed. The obligations of the British Government and all powers, rights, authority, or jurisdiction execrable in relation to the tribal areas also disappeared. In other words, the tribal people were free to come to such arrangements with Pakistan as the successor authority of the British Government, as may be agreed upon. Side by side with this, the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Balochistan was made a part of territories of Pakistan as laid down by the Indian Independence Act, and the Province of Balochistan accepted the position and decided to send their elected representative to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

**It was in this state of freedom when, of their own free choice, the people of Tribal Areas gave their verdict, through the referendum held in this province in the summer of last year when they decided to join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.**

No sooner did this happen, than I, as governor-general of Pakistan, felt it my duty to assure the people of Balochistan on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, that all agreements and allowances would continue until such time as they could be modified after the consultation with them.

The departure of British authority had left several gaps in the juridical and administrative machinery of Balochistan. These were filled by making temporary legal and administrative arrangements. The relations of the Government of Pakistan with the tribes were reaffirmed on the basis of the referendum until they could be consulted again. All this was arranged under powers vested in me as governor-general of Pakistan deriving authority from the unmistakable will of the people of Balochistan expressed through the Shahi Jirga. Orders were passed declaring that all laws that were in force in the administered areas, tribal areas including the areas of Marri and Bugti Tumans and Baluch areas adjoining the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Punjab (Which are not included in Balochistan), would continue to be enjoyed by them. I had to make these arrangements provisionally because the administration of the country had to go on. This did not mean that I wanted to perpetuate the state of affairs prevailing under the British Government. The final constitution, as you all know, will be framed by the Constituent Assembly in consultation with the representatives of all these areas. Nor did I forget in the meantime, while making this temporary fulfillment of this desire that I decided to attend your first Durbar so that I may get the opportunity of meeting you and exchange views with you in order to ascertain the ideas which you may have formed about the future form of Government for your Province.

The Constituent Assembly may take some time to accomplish its task of framing the final constitution of our State. It is a stupendous task and it may take 18 months or two years before it can come into full operation. And so I wanted something to be done without delay for the period between now and the time when the new constitution would finally emerge and be inaugurated; something which would enable the people to share the responsibilities of their Government and give them a voice in its administration. After very careful consideration, I have decided to make a small but all the same an important move immediately to enable the people to associate themselves with the government of their province. I hope that this will bring citizens of Pakistan living in Balochistan closer to the governor-general and the head of your administration. I had to think hard. There were legal and constitutional difficulties in the way of setting up a representative form of Government. But there was no time to waste. I did not want to wait for the requisite legal and statutory provisions to be enacted in their full form. All that will naturally come in time. For the present, however, I have come to the conclusion that our immediate object can best be achieved by making the Governor's administration of Balochistan more directly the concern of the governor-general himself acting in close collaboration with the acknowledged representatives of the people. For this purpose, I have decided to constitute a governor-general's Advisory Council, a body which will enable the people to play their full part in the administration and governance of their Province, and which will enable me as governor-general to keep a close watch over the affairs of Balochistan and to make the problems of the people of this great province my own special care as I am bound to do under the present provisional constitution of Pakistan. I may here draw your attention that as a matter of fact the present constitution –the Indian Independence Act and adaptations of Government of India Act, 1935–make the position of the governor-general and his responsibilities clear. As regards the Chief Commissioner's Province, the adaptations that are in operation in the present Constitution, lay down:

That it shall be administered by the governor-general acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner to be appointed by him at his discretion.

The executive authority of the Federation extends to British Balochistan but notwithstanding anything in this Act, no Act of the Federal Legislature shall apply to British Balochistan unless the governor-general in his discretion by public notification so directs, and the governor-general



in giving such a direction with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall in its application to the province, or to any specified part thereof, have affect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit.

The governor-general may in the discretion make regulations for the peace and good government of British Balochistan, and any regulations so made may repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or any existing Indian law which is for the time being applicable to the Province and, when promulgated by the governor-general, shall have the same force and effect as an Act of the Federal Legislature which applies to the province.

The members of the Advisory Council will of course be nominated but let me assure you gentlemen, that it will not be a nominal body. It will have the power to advise the governor-general on any matter, which in its opinion is connected with the good of the province. Similarly, the governor-general will refer any matter, which may come before him through the Chief Commissioner for the opinion and advice of the Council. The Budget of the Province for instance, will be checked and scrutinized first by the Advisory Council in all its details and it will be free to submit its recommendations to the governor-general.

**From what I have stated, you will see that I am only trying to make a beginning in giving the people of Balochistan their due share in the administration and I am affording them the opportunities to play full part in the shaping of their future administration and advancing the welfare of the people generally.**

For instance, all plans for the future political, economic, social and educational development of the Province will be prepared and submitted through the Advisory Council and it will be for the governor-general to see that these plans are implemented with consultation and advice of the Council. Thus gentlemen, in some ways you will be better off than the other Provinces of Pakistan. Here you will have in fact, a governor-general's Province and you will become my special responsibility and care and let me assure you that in the sphere of the activities of the Council the governor-general will adopt such measures as may be necessary in consultation with his advisory council from time to time.



Regional connectivity through modernized versions of the old silk roads via Chinese investment and expertise is accelerating progress. CPEC and the Chinese-developed port of Gwadar will improve the economic conditions in Balochistan and spur industrial development.

The notification, which is to be issued on this subject, will set out the functions and the scope of the Advisory Council, as well as its composition. It will contain people's representatives of the Administered Areas, which used to be known as British Balochistan and the leased areas. It will include representatives of the Tribal Areas. It will also reflect the considered opinion of the members of the Shahi Jirga and the Municipality of Quetta. In the creation of this Council, as you will observe, special care has been taken to ensure that power and authority is derived as far as possible from the people. At the same time, the setting up of the Advisory Council will not in any way detract from the status of these areas, nor from the freedom of the inhabitants of these areas to mold their future constitution and to form the administration in accordance with their own customs and traditions. The setting up of the Council will in no way affect that measure of independence, which is already enjoyed by the people of Tribal Areas nor can it change the present status of the leased Areas. On the other hand, this new measure is intended to bring about a harmony of ideas between the Government and the people in the various areas of Balochistan and to make the Government machinery efficient and responsive to the people. It will impose upon the administration of Balochistan the responsibility of marching in step with the wishes of its people and afford the people opportunities for sharing henceforth-, with their Government the cares and responsibilities of the administration.

I may point out that Balochistan is a deficit province already to the extent of one crore and a half and Pakistan will have to bear to further financial burden to help the people as indicated above but I am hopeful that Pakistan will not hesitate to bear it for the sake of the progress and welfare of the people of Balochistan.

**In proposing this scheme, I have had one underlying principle in mind, the principle of Muslim democracy. It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great lawgiver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations. I wish you my brethren of Balochistan, Godspeed and all success in the opening of this new era.**

May your future be as bright as I have always prayed for and wished it to be. May you all prosper.







## High or Low - We are all servants of the state (14 Feb 1948)

Address to a gathering of the Civil Officers of Balochistan of the rank of Naib-Tehsildars and above, at Sibi

**We have met here today without any distinction of being big or small, as servants of the State in order to think out ways and means of advancing the interests of the people and our country.**

From the highest to the lowest we all are servants of the State. Pakistan is now a sovereign state, absolute and unfettered and the Government of Pakistan is in the hands of the people. Until we finally frame our constitution which, of course, can only be done by the constituent assembly,

**our present provisional constitution based on the fundamental principles of democracy not bureaucracy or autocracy or dictatorship, must be worked. You officers should realize that these are the principles which should be borne in mind.**

You all know that we are starting from scratch. It is a terrific burden and if you want to make Pakistan a great country in the comity of nations, you must forget, as far as possible, your pleasures and put in as much time and as much work as you can in the job which is entrusted to you. Work honestly and sincerely and be faithful and loyal to the Pakistani government.

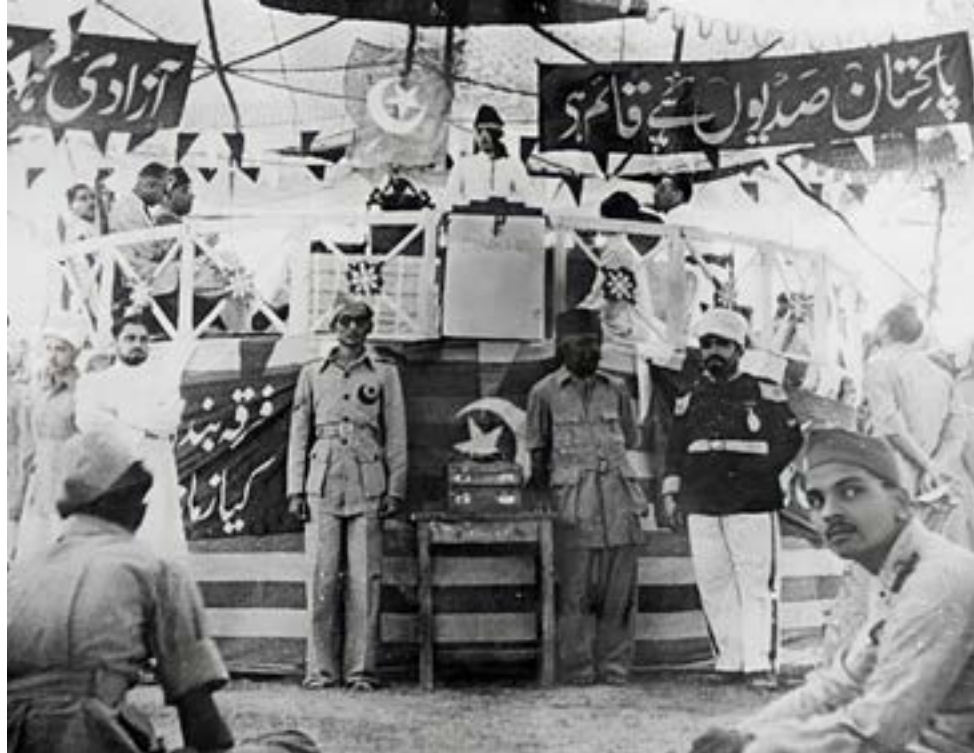
**I can assure you that there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and, when you appear before God, you can say that you performed your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness.**

Believe me, you will not only make Balochistan great, I know there are great potentialities in Balochistan, but you will also make a contribution to the



whole of Pakistan and thus your State will not remain the fifth largest state in population only but within five years it will become of the mightiest states of the world.

Now this is all in your hands. Look upon it as a sacred trust, redouble your energies and your determination and God willing, you are bound to succeed.





## Press Conference at Sibi (15 Feb 1948)

The Governor-General of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, said in reply to a question at the Press Conference that he was not in favor of dictatorship. The question, “Why is Balochistan being made into Governor-General’s province under reforms announced by you at the Durbar yesterday and are you in favor of dictatorship?”

The Governor-General’s answer was “I believe it will be better off that way. Things would be done far more quickly than in the usual process of full-fledged parliamentary discussions. But it does not mean that I am in favor of dictatorship.”

“I take this as flattering to myself that my heart, my soul and my pulse ensure that I shall be very useful to Balochistan in its present condition. There are two reasons for this proposed reform: a.) I want to help Balochistan in every way I can and b.) things will be done far more quickly.

The Governor-General stated that the other provinces in Pakistan had gone through all the preliminary stages of parliamentary government. For Balochistan, there was no other way in the present circumstances but to throw the whole burden on the Governor-General.

Asked regarding the constitution and scope of the proposed Advisory Council for Balochistan, the Quaid-e-Azam said “The Council will be nominated by the Governor-General, but he will not make it a nominal body. He will see that he makes it really a representative body.”



Minority Representation

Replying to a question if the minorities would get representation on the Council, the Quaid-e-Azam said that he had made it clear in his address yesterday that every interest would be represented on the council. He parried and would go unrepresented by saying that they had their voice but they were not sufficiently organized and were still in the elementary stage.

Kalat’s Accession

Questioned as to what had transpired between him and the Khan of Kalat during their discussion in Sibi on the issue of the accession of Kalat State, the Governor-General declined to state the talks but he explained that the Khan of Kalat was to meet him in the evening on 14th February but owing to sudden indisposition, he was unable to do so.

The Quaid-e-Azam then read out a letter which he had received from the Khan of Kalat late last evening. The letter stated, “I have summoned both the houses of Dar-ul-Awam and Dar-ul-Umra to give me their final opinion on their future relations with the Dominion of Pakistan by the 21st or 22nd of the month and I shall be able to inform you, Quaid-e-Azam, of their considered opinion by the end of this month”.

After reading the letter, Mr. Jinnah told the pressmen, “Under these circumstances, I shall wait for his final reply and I hope that he will send it to me definitely before the end of this month”.

Kashmir issue

Asked to express his views on the Kashmir issue, Mr. Jinnah said “I cannot say anything on the Kashmir issue as UNO is dealing with the issue and anything in the circumstances might aggravate the situation.” He said that as far as he could gather from the newspapers, the Pakistan delegation to the UNO was not returning. Asked if Karachi was being made into a separate federal province, Mr. Jinnah said “It is decided that Karachi is going to be the capital of Pakistan and a committee has been appointed to consider other issues pertaining to Karachi.”





## Pakistan and her people - I (19th Feb 1948)

Broadcast talk to the people of Australia recorded on 19th February, 1948

It is common talk these days that the world grows smaller: its peoples know more about each other, and their interests are becoming increasingly interlocked. Yet, I wonder what the people of Australia know of Pakistan. Is it, I have been asking myself, more than a name to them? Is it merely an old and not quite comprehensible experiment by those unpredictable persons, the Asiatic? Well, today I am very glad to have the opportunity to tell you something about Pakistan and what it means to sixty-five million people.

Pakistan is made up of two blocks of territory. One in the North East, and one in the North West of the subcontinent of India. In the East, it is a land washed by great slow-moving rivers, and it is dependent for its prosperity largely on the monsoon rains. The west is a land of greater variety of desert of fertile irrigated plains, of mountains and valleys.

The people are mostly simple folk, poor, not very well educated and with few interests beyond the cultivation of their fields. As I say, they are poor; but they come from hardy, vigorous stock, and I think without boasting I can claim that they are brave. They made good soldiers, and have won renown in many battles. They have fought side by your side in two world wars.

For the present, agriculture is our mainstay. With a population of about 22 percent of what was formerly British India, Pakistan produces about 33 per cent of the total tonnage of rice and about 40 percent of the total tonnage of wheat. In essential foods we are, therefore, comparatively fortunate. We also have some important commercial crops, such as jute, cotton and tobacco. The greater part of the world's jute is grown in East Bengal and it gives us





the great benefit of earning large sums of foreign exchange. Foreign exchange will be very valuable to us in setting up and expanding our industries.

As yet we have very few big Industries. I believe that at least one of the distinguished sons of Australia. I mean Mr. R.G.Casey could tell you that our country offers immense opportunities for development and enrichment, and that we ourselves, the people, are restless to take advantage of them.

For the present, however, we are short of capital and technical knowledge; but given a little time, and here and there a friendly hand, these deficiencies should be made good. In this matter of industrialization capital development, we have no prejudices or false pride. We know our present weaknesses in these directions and we should certainly welcome any investment, which would be likely to strengthen our economy. I do not believe that anyone from abroad who gives a helping hand would have reason to regret it.

West Pakistan is separated from East Pakistan by about a thousand miles of the territory of India. The first question a student from abroad should ask himself is how can this be? How can there be unity of government between areas so widely separated? I can answer this question in one word. It is "faith", faith in Almighty God, in ourselves and in our destiny. But I can see that people who do not know us well might have difficulty in grasping the implications of such a short answer. Let me, for a moment, build up the background for you.

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed (may peace be upon him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and

self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake, Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it.

Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we are themselves willing and ready to play their part and loyal citizens of Pakistan.

Not only are most of us Muslims but we have our own history, customs and traditions and those ways of thought, outlook and instinct which go to make up a sense of nationality.

We have had a place in India for many centuries. At one time it was the supreme place. This was when the edict of the Mughals ran from shore to shore. We look back on that period merely from a historical point of view. Now we have got a comparatively small place, although four times the size of England. It is ours and we are content with it. We have no aggressive designs upon our neighbors. We wish to live in peace and friendship, and to work out our destiny quietly in our own way and make our rightful contribution in the affairs of the world.

Our people have not achieved their ambition to have a place of their own without great suffering. You will have read in the newspapers of the appalling events that have taken place in Northern India. To us, it is not a newspaper event: it is the suffering and life-blood of our kith and kin. None of us, whether we be of Pakistan or India, can speak of it without the deepest grief. Men, women and children have been massacred in their thousands millions are homeless. The trouble once having started, the people of both sides have hit back at each other, and I would hope that they are ashamed of it.



Wasim Akram, Legendary Cricketer and National Hero, with wife Shaniera Akram building bridges between Pakistan and Australia

I speak for my Government when I say that we have done everything in our power to hold in check the lawless spirit of revenge. It has not been easy, but I am thankful that we have succeeded in such a large measure.

**Above everything else, we need peace and good fellowship. Also, I would believe that I speak for everyman of us in Pakistan when I say that our suffering, terrible as they have been, have only strengthened us in our resolve to preserve our State and to count it as our greatest blessing. In my speeches and in every sphere of the Government in which I have influence, I have emphasized and enjoined that Pakistan must not sit back and brood over its injuries. Our people must work and work hard to repair and enrich their country. We are determined to go ahead, and God willing, we shall succeed.**

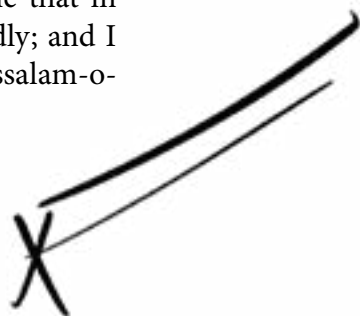
**In the setting up of our new State, I would expect a special understanding of our problems by the people of Australia. After all, it is not so long ago that your forebears were breaking new ground, organizing the administration, scheming to develop the riches of the earth, safeguarding the future of you, their children, and, most important, achieving their sense of identity as Australians, which you have inherited. We are in much the same stage.**

Doubtless, we shall make mistakes just, perhaps, as you have made mistakes. But just as you have succeeded, so too, we shall succeed.

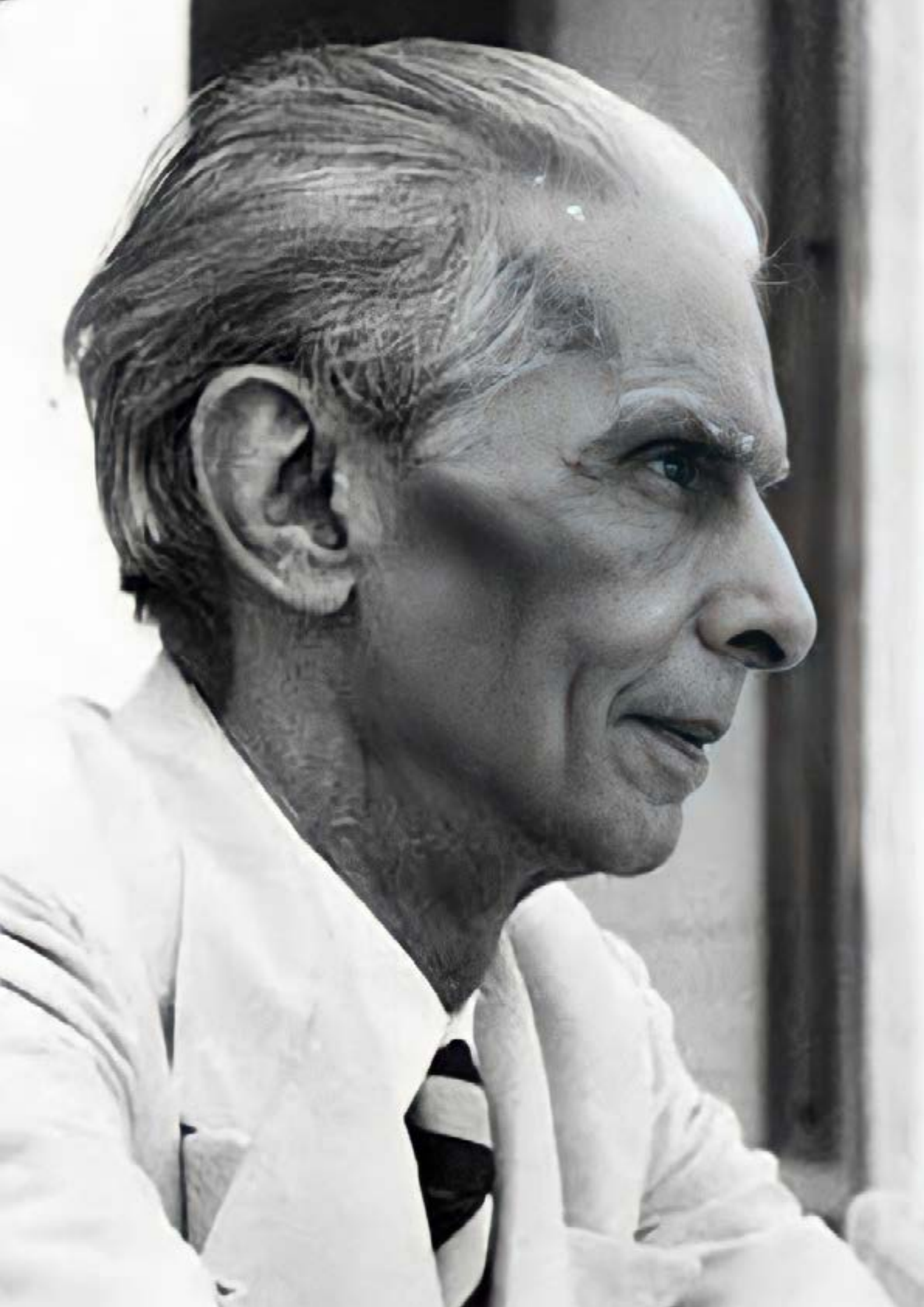
There is another reason why I think you should not regard Pakistan merely as another name on an already overcrowded map. Pakistan is, in fact, a very important addition to the long line of Muslim countries through which your communications pass to the Mediterranean and to Europe. We are naturally in very close association with these countries.

There is, I would believe, a good measure of fellow feeling between Muslims and the British people. It comes, perhaps from a practical way of thinking and an aversion from mere theorizing and sentiment. There are of course, rubs and difficulties and misunderstandings now and then; but these are not as important as the friendships. Certainly we in Pakistan who know the British people well have nothing but good feelings in our hearts. In the somewhat electric atmosphere of the last decade we have said bitter things about them about British domination and their system of rule. That is now past and forgotten in the achievement of our freedom and establishment of Pakistan and in the friendly handshake and association of equal peoples.

In this short talk I hope that I have given you some impression of Pakistan, of our people, and what Pakistan means to all of us. It has been suggested to me that in conclusion I should send a greeting to the people of Australia. I do so gladly; and I can think of no better greeting than one which is traditional amongst us; "Assalam-o-Alaikum" which is, "may peace be on you".







## Selfless devotion to duty (21st Feb 1948)

Address to the officers and men of the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments in Malir , on 21st February, 1948.

Gentlemen,

As I stated while addressing the Naval Officers and men the other day,

**the best way in which we can serve the cause of peace and the ideals of the United Nations Organization is by making ourselves strong so that no power may dare harbor any aggressive designs against us.**

We have won the battle of Pakistan's freedom but the grimmer battle for the preservation of that freedom and building it on a firmer and sounder basis is still in progress and that battle has to be fought to a successful conclusion if we are to survive as a great nation.

**Nature's inexorable law is 'the survival of the fittest' and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly won freedom. You have fought many battles on the far-flung battlefields of the globe to rid the world of the Fascist menace and make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and the equality of manhood in your own native soil.**

You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time for relaxation is not yet there. With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve.

**In this machine age when the misdirected genius of man forges new engines of destruction everyday, you have to keep abreast of the times and keep your knowledge and equipment up to date not because we have any evil designs against any of our neighbors but because our own security demands that we should not be caught unaware.**

There is nothing that we desire more than to live in peace and let others live in peace and develop our country according to our own lights without outside interference and improve the lot of the common man.

**This is no doubt going to be an uphill task but if we are determined to work earnestly and sincerely, and are willing and ready to make sacrifices for the collective good of our nation, we shall soon achieve the aims and the end we have in view.**







## Pakistan and her people - II (Feb 1948)

Broadcast talk to the people of the United States of America on Pakistan recorded February, 1948

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to give this broadcast talk to the people of the United States of America on Pakistan, its Government, its people and its resources. This Dominion which represents the fulfillment, in a certain measure, of the cherished goal of 100 million Muslims of this sub-continent Pakistan is the premier Islamic State and the fifth largest in the world, came into existence on August 14, 1947. Pakistan is the premier Islamic State and the fifth largest in the world. It is divided geographically into two parts, one representing Western Pakistan and other Eastern Pakistan. A distance of more than a thousand miles separates these two main divisions. The area of Western Pakistan, comprising North-West Frontier Province, West Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan is 179,000 square miles while the area of Eastern Pakistan consisting of Eastern Bengal and the district of Sylhet, is 54,000 square miles. Thus the total area of Pakistan is 233,100 square miles and its population is about 70 million.

**Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country, its two main food crops being wheat and rice.**

Rice is the staple food of Eastern and wheat of Western Pakistan. Western Pakistan is well served with a network of canals, both in West Punjab and Sindh. Mention must be made here of the Lloyd Barrage irrigation works which have brought about 6 million acres of wasteland under cultivation by harnessing the waters of the Indus. There is also a scheme of constructing two new barrages, one in Upper and the other in Lower Sindh. When these are completed, it is hoped that the total area under cultivation in Sindh would increase to 12 million acres.

Among the other produce of Pakistan must be mentioned jute and cotton. The areas producing jute, fittingly described as the golden fiber of Bengal, are now largely in Eastern Pakistan though the jute mill industry is mostly located in Calcutta and its suburbs in the Indian Dominion. According to the latest calculation, the area under jute in Pakistan is about 1.50 million acres and the yield of jute is estimated at over 4 million bales. Plans have already been drawn





Prime minister Ali Khan shakes hands with President Harry Truman, upon his arrival.

up for developing the jute trade in Pakistan and efforts are being made to import necessary plants for setting up jute mills in Eastern Pakistan.

The position of cotton in Pakistan has recently improved. The area of cotton under cultivation in 1944-45 in Western Pakistan was nearly 3 million acres, while the yield was about 1 million bales. The estimated value of cotton produced in Pakistan during 1946-47 comes to 450 million rupees. In the not very distant future Pakistan's produce of cotton is expected to reach a much higher level.

Tea and tobacco are also produced in Pakistan. In 1944, the area now under Pakistan in Eastern Bengal under tea cultivation was 80,000 acres.

## Minerals

**Nature has endowed Pakistan with tremendous mineral wealth, which awaits exploitation and development.** Coal, iron, petroleum, chromate, gypsum, salt, building materials, steatite and gold are found in Pakistan.

## Industries

**As I have said before, Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country with no large-scale industries. But the blueprints of a scheme for the rapid industrialization of both Western and Eastern Pakistan have already been drawn up by my Government.**

The Sindh Government alone has formulated a scheme of industrialization which will cost about 13 million rupees and will take about four years to materialize. An initial sum of 25 million rupees for the development of special industrial areas in the Province, has already been sanctioned. Other provinces in Pakistan are also engaged at present in preparing vast and comprehensive schemes of industrialization.

There are two principal ports in Pakistan, namely, Karachi and Chittagong. Besides its importance as the present capital of the Dominion of Pakistan, Karachi boasts of being one of the busiest airports in Asia.

Chittagong is the main outlet for the trade and commerce of Eastern Pakistan and my Government is taking requisite steps for its further improvement and development.

## Constitution

**The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principle of Islam.**

Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago.

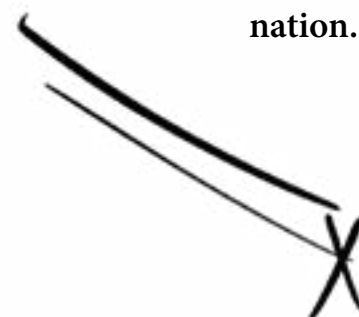
**Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims –Hindus, Christians, and Parsis –but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.**

## Foreign Policy

**Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world.**

We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the opposed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.

**During the last five months of its existence, Pakistan has had to face terrible trials and tribulations and to suffer tragedies, which are almost without parallel in the history of mankind. We have, however, withstood these calamities with courage and fortitude. Through our perseverance, labor and sacrifice we will make Pakistan into a great and powerful nation. Pakistan has come to stay and no power on earth can destroy it.**







## Pakistan and U.S.A. Equal partners in Defense of democracy (26th Feb 1948)

Reply to the speech made by the first Ambassador of the United States of America at the time of presenting Credentials to the Quaid-i-Azam, on 26th February, 1948

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you in our midst as the first Ambassador of the United States of America.

Though Pakistan is a new State, for well over a century now there have been many connections of trade and commerce between the people of Pakistan and the people of the United States. This relationship was strengthened and made more direct and intimate during two world wars and more particularly and more recently during the second world war when our two people stood shoulder to shoulder in defense of Democracy the historic fight for self-government by your people and its achievement by them, the consistent teaching and practice of democracy in your country had for generations acted as a beacon light and had in no small measure served to give inspiration to nations who like us were striving for independence and freedom from the shackles of foreign rule.

I cordially share your pleasure at the evidence of friendship and sympathy shown by your country in opening diplomatic relations with Pakistan from the very first day of its establishment as a new State. I would like to add that this friendship has been diligently and consistently furthered by your very able and esteemed colleague



Mr. Charles Lewis, the Charge-d' Affairs who represented your country here pending Your Excellency's arrival.

Pakistan was confronted with grave and dangerous issues and problems from its early days.

**Though as a new State we have to face a serious situation, we have no doubt in our own minds that by our united will and determination to live as a free and peace-loving people, we shall overcome them successfully.**

I thank Your Excellency for your friendly assurances of sympathy in dealing with our many problems. I also deeply appreciate your confidence that our traditions and our past will help us to fulfill the hopes and ideals of our people. In return I can assure Your Excellency that after having emerged from an eclipse which lasted over a century and a half, the people of Pakistan desire nothing which is not their own, nothing more than the goodwill and friendship of all the free nations of the world.

**We in Pakistan are determined that having won our long-lost freedom we will work to the utmost limit of our capacity not only to build up a strong and happy State of our own but to contribute in the fullest possible measure to international peace and prosperity.**

I am glad to learn that Your Excellency and the great country and people you represent, will give your cooperation to us in order to advance our economic and cultural relations for the mutual benefit of both the countries.

**I am hopeful that good relations and friendship already existing between the peoples of America and Pakistan will be further strengthened and the bonds of friendship between our two countries will be more firmly riveted.**

Your Excellency, I assure you that my government and I will do all that lies in our power to give you every assistance in the fulfillment of what is our common desire and objective. I once more extend to Your Excellency a warm welcome to Pakistan as the first Ambassador of the United States of America.



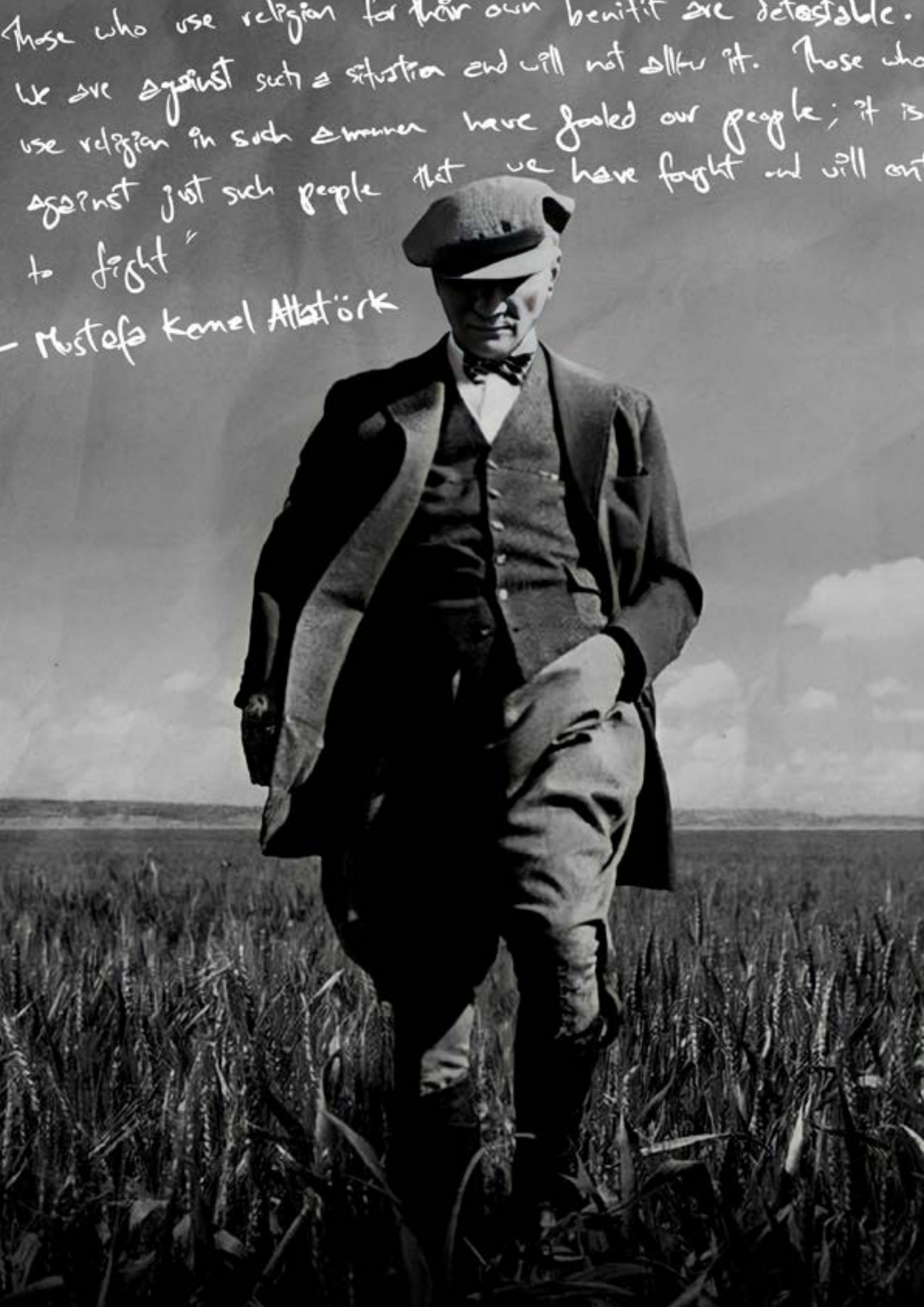
S.N.L. Host, Pakistani-American, Kumail Nanjiani  
Deliver a Cutting Monologue on Islamophobia  
"An informed racist is a better racist."



Prime Minister Imran Khan on his three-day US visit in 2019







## On spiritual and sentimentalities with Turkey (4th Mar 1948)

Reply to the speech made by the first Turkish Ambassador to Pakistan at the time of presenting Credentials to the Quaid-e-Azam on 4th March, 1948.

Your Excellency,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you today as the first Turkish Ambassador to Pakistan. But my pleasure is enhanced, as there is a unique significance about today's ceremony to the people of Pakistan for historical reasons. Your Excellency has yourself observed that many spiritual and sentimental ties born and grown in the course of a long history bind the people of Turkey to the people of Pakistan. Not only this but also by a turn of the world situation during the past 50 years or more,

Turkey has been in our thoughts constantly and has drawn our admiration for the valor of your people and the way in which your statesmen and leaders have struggled and fought almost single handed in the midst of Europe for your freedom and sovereignty which have been happily maintained.

The exploits of your leaders in many a historic field of battle; the progress of your Revolution; the rise and career of the great Ataturk, his revitalization of your nation by his great statesmanship, courage and foresight all these stirring events are well-known to the people of Pakistan.



In fact, right from the very birth of political consciousness amongst the Muslims of this great sub-continent, the fortunes of your country were observed by us with deep sympathy and interest. I can, therefore, assure Your Excellency that the Muslims of Pakistan entertain sentiments of affection and esteem for your country, and now Turkey and Pakistan both as free, sovereign and independent countries, can strengthen their ties more and more for the good of both.

We hope that with Your Excellency’s assistance and cooperation we may be able to build up closer political and cultural ties with your State, and thus contribute our share to the attainment of peace and prosperity throughout the world.

Finally, I extend a most cordial welcome to Your Excellency as the first Ambassador of Turkey to Pakistan, a welcome charged with the deepest affection born of historical and cultural ties and traditions of the past.



“My people are going to learn the principles of democracy, the dictates of truth and the teachings of science. Superstition must go. Let them worship as they will, every man can follow his own conscience provided it does not interfere with sane reason or bid him act against the liberty of his fellow men.”  
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk



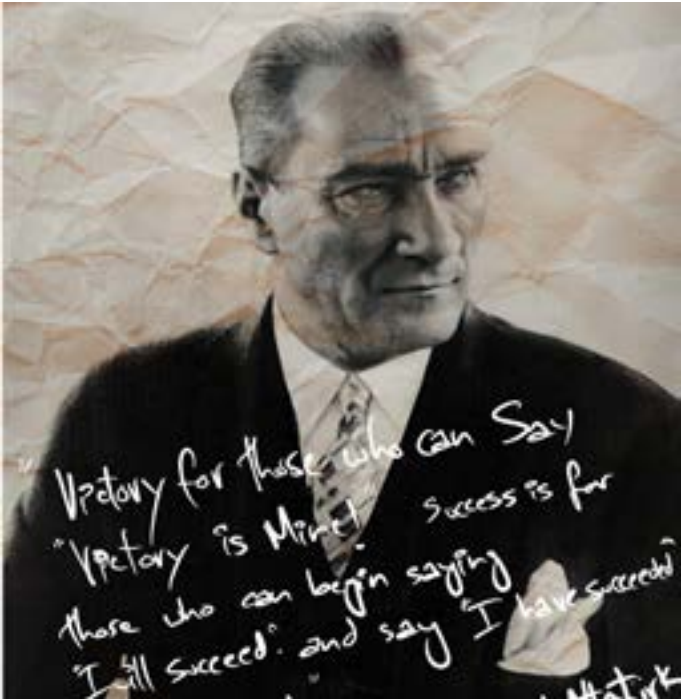
“Those who use religion for their own benefit are detestable. We are against such a situation and will not allow it. Those who use religion in such a manner have fooled our people; it is against just such people that we have fought and will continue to fight.”  
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk



“Every nation has the right to demand proper treatment and no country should violate the territory of any other country.”  
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk



“Mankind is a single body and each nation is a part of that body. We must never say “What does it matter to me if some part of the world is ailing?” If there is such an illness, we must concern ourselves with it as though we were having that illness.”  
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk



“Victory is for those who can say “Victory is mine”. Success is for those who can begin saying “I will succeed” and say “I have succeeded” in the end.”  
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk



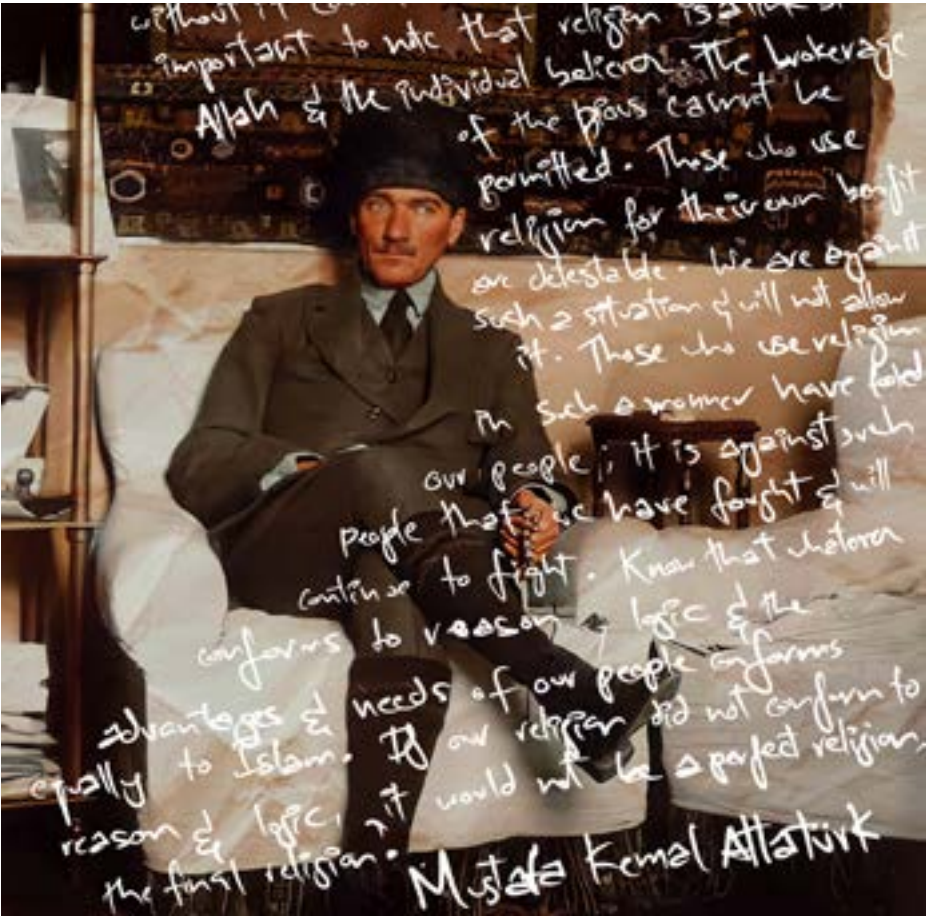
“If one day, my words are against science,  
choose science.”  
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk



“In human life, you will find players of religion until the knowledge and proficiency in religion will be cleansed from all superstitions, and will be purified and perfected by the enlightenment of real science.”  
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk



“Religion is an important institution. A nation without religion cannot survive. Yet it is also very important to note that religion is a link between Allah and the individual believer. The brokerage of the pious cannot be permitted. Those who use religion for their own benefit are detestable. We are against such a situation and will not allow it. Those who use religion in such a manner have fooled our people; it is against just such people that we have fought and will continue to fight. Know that whatever conforms to reason, logic, and the advantages and needs of our people conforms equally to Islam. If our religion did not conform to reason and logic, it would not be the perfect religion, the final religion.”  
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk





## India should deal with Pakistan on equal footing (11 March 1948)

Interview with Swiss journalist, De Eric Streiff, special correspondent of the Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in an interview given to a Swiss journalist, Mr. De Eric Streiff, special correspondent of the Neue Zürcher Zeitung on March 11, 1948, in an answer to the question whether there is any hope of India and Pakistan coming to a peaceful settlement on their own with regard to their differences and disputes on very vital and important matters, said “Yes, provided the Indian Government will shed its superiority complex and will deal with Pakistan on an equal footing and fully appreciate the realities”.

To the question whether in international affairs Pakistan and India will work jointly and also, join hands for the defense of their borders – both land and sea – and cooperate against any outside aggression, the Governor-General of Pakistan replied

“Personally I have no doubt in my mind that our own paramount interests demand that the Dominion of Pakistan and the Dominion of India should coordinate for the purpose of playing their part in international affairs and the developments that may take place and also it is of vital importance to Pakistan and India as independent sovereign states to collaborate in a friendly way jointly to defend their frontiers both on land and sea against any aggression. But this depends entirely on whether Pakistan and India can resolve their own differences, if we can put our house in order internally, then we may be able to play a very great part externally in all international affairs”.



To the question “Is Pakistan going to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations?” Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah replied “To begin with that is a matter for the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to decide and secondly, it is obvious that it depends upon so many factors. We have to consider not only one side of the business, but also see whether remaining in the Commonwealth of Nations will be as much to our advantage as that of other sister nations in the Commonwealth”.



Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the Indian National Congress, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the All-India Muslim League, at a reception in India House, London, 6 December 1946.





A wide fleet of ambulances to serve all over the country



## Pakistan Red Cross Society (15th Mar 1948)

Speech at the meeting of the Pakistan Red Cross Society held at the governor-general's House, Karachi on 15th March, 1948.

It gives me great pleasure indeed to welcome the Members of the Governing Body of the Pakistan Red Cross Society and friends and sympathizers who are present here today. I thank you for the honor you have done for me by inviting me to inaugurate this meeting and I am glad that you have given me the opportunity to do so. Many of the members of the governing body are new to Red Cross work, and, therefore, I thought it appropriate that I should mention the objects to which the Funds of the Society can legally be applied. I have tried to gather such information as I could with regard to the origin and history of the Red Cross which is replete with great sacrifices rendered by unselfish men and women who have done so much good to suffering humanity.

The “Red Cross” had its origin at Geneva, almost directly as the result of an accidental visit made in 1859 to the battlefield of Solferino in Italy by a young man from Geneva, named Jean Henry Dunant. Dunant was deeply moved by the sufferings of the wounded and the groans of the dying. He wrote a book, which made a great impression, and as a result of his enthusiastic efforts a non-official “Committee of Five” was founded in Geneva. In 1863, this Committee convened a semi-official conference, which was attended by the representatives of sixteen different countries. Following the conference the “Committee of Five” became the “Genevese Committee for the Relief of wounded soldiers” and “National Aid Societies” were formed in a number of countries.

A few months later, the Swiss Government called an official diplomatic conference,



which drew up the Geneva Convention for the relief of sick and wounded in war. Sixty-three nations eventually acceded to this Convention. The Conference also decided that all those who worked to relieve suffering in war and were under this. Convention, entitled to protection, should adopt one distinctive emblem, irrespective of the country to which they belonged. They selected for that emblem, as a compliment towards the country in which the idea for international treaties for the protection of the defenseless victims of hostilities was born, the reverse of the Swiss flag, which is a white Cross on a red background. The emblem adopted by the Conference was, therefore, a Red Cross on a white background. It is generally recognized that this emblem should be universal to enable it to fulfill its mission to the greatest possible extent, especially on the battlefield, where the persons and institutions of the Army Forces Medical Corps and of the Voluntary Aid Societies are, if under this distinctive emblem, protected against any enemy action by international conventions. Not less important is the symbolic value of the Red Cross in the field of international collaboration with the aim of mitigating the horrors of the War and ameliorating public health and public welfare.

Switzerland is still the headquarters of the Red Cross movement. The original Committee of Five has, since 1876, been known by the name of the International Committee of the Red Cross and is still a purely Swiss organization with an exclusively international activity. The members are all Swiss Nationals. One of the chief functions of this Committee is in time of war, to serve, either directly or through their Delegates, as intermediaries between Governments and National Societies of the belligerent Powers, in all cases where their assistance is requested. They endeavor, by all means in their power, to promote in every way the welfare of the victims of the war. The Committee takes over similar functions in times of civil war and internal troubles offering to all parties concerned their services in order to mitigate human suffering. In peacetime and in Wartime, the Committee is the guardian of the Geneva Convention and the fundamental Red Cross principles and their distinctive emblem. That such an organization is an international necessity needs no emphasis. It is peculiarly appropriate that it should be located in Switzerland, as Swiss perpetual neutrality was guaranteed by the Power in 1815 at the close of the wars of Napoleon and his neutrality has been respected ever since.

I must explain that the International Committee of the Red Cross is not the governing body, although it is the body which has to approve the affiliation of National Red Cross Societies to the International Red Cross, the name adopted in 1928. The Red Cross Community comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross Societies. This league was founded in 1919 on the proposal of the American Red Cross. It is a federation of National Red Cross Societies, created with a view to promoting Red Cross activities in peacetime and to help the National Societies to perfect their organization, to develop public health and public welfare in the national and international fields. The League has a board of governors, comprising one representative of each of the National Societies of the world. This board meets every two years and its Executive Committee twice yearly. However, in wartime it is often not possible to convene these sessions and the International Committee remains the only link between countries and their societies. No National Red Cross Society can be affiliated to the International Red Cross unless the country to which it belongs has acceded to the Geneva Convention regarding the care of the sick and wounded in war and the Convention regarding the treatment

of prisoners of war. The Government of Pakistan has already communicated to Geneva their desire to adhere to these conventions.

Insofar as a governing body of the International Red Cross exists, it is the International Red Cross Conference. It is the supreme Assembly of the Red Cross and includes representatives of all National Societies of the International Committee and of the League. Official representatives of the States signatory to the Geneva Conventions are also invited to the meetings and enjoy the right of vote. The International Conference passes resolutions on all questions concerning Red Cross policy in the international field. The Conference meets in principle every four years, except in times of world war, and in the intervals it is represented by a standing Commission. The next meeting is to be held in Sweden this August. It will be an important one as a final meeting of several preliminary international meetings already held after the end of the second world war. Its main task will be the revision of the Geneva Conventions concerning the treatment of the sick and wounded and prisoners of war and the protection of the defenseless civil population in wartime. These conventions are ready in a draft based on experiences gained during the second world war. The Conference will furthermore lay down the future Red Cross policy on the international field. Having the importance of this Conference in view, we hope to be able to send Delegates of the Pakistan Government and of the Pakistan Red Cross Society which has now been formed by the Pakistan Red Cross Society Order, 1947 to this Conference to be held in Stockholm this year.

It was in 1920, that an Indian Red Cross Society was formed. The Act was then passed “to constitute an Indian Red Cross Society and to vest in it the balance of the funds collected for medical and other aid to the sick and wounded and other purposes of a like nature” during the 1914-18 war. This Act was adapted under the Pakistan “Adaptation of existing Pakistan law” Order of 1947, to bring into being the Pakistan Red Cross Society. At the first meeting of the Governing Body of this new Society today you will, among other things, consider the division of the assets of the old Indian Red Cross Society between India and Pakistan. Ladies and Gentlemen, as will be clear from what I have told you, the aims of the Red Cross may be summarized under three heads:

- Promotion of health.
- Prevention of disease.
- Mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

In war time the proper function of the Red Cross is of course to care for the sick and wounded. In peace time the activity of the Organization lies chiefly in the field of:

Supplementary work for existing organizations concerned with the three aims which I have mentioned above; and pioneering work to initiate social service in pursuance of those aims which might eventually be taken over by the Government or by local bodies.

It is most appropriate that the Red Cross should have available emergency services to be ready in times of floods, famines or epidemics or any other calamity that may overwhelm any country to go to the relief of suffering humanity, as laid down in the first schedule of Act XV of 1920 adapted for Pakistan include:

The care of the sick and wounded men of Pakistan Forces, whether still on the active list or demobilized.

The care of those suffering from tuberculosis, having regard in the first place to

soldiers and sailors whether they have contracted the disease on active service or not Child Welfare.

Work parties to provide the necessary garments, etc., for hospitals and health institutions in need of them.  
Assistance required in all branches of nursing, health and welfare work, ancillary to any organization which have or may come into being in Pakistan and which are recognized by the Society.

**Home Service Ambulance work**

Provision of comforts and assistance to members of Pakistan Forces, whether on the active list or demobilized. Such other cognate objects as may, from time to time, are approved by the Society. In India, in the past, the main peacetime activities of the Society have been:

- Maternity and Child Welfare Services.
- Training of Assistant Midwives.
- Providing amenities in women's and Children's hospitals.

**Supply of ambulance Cars to Districts**

Since partition of the subcontinent of India into two dominions Pakistan and India –such activities have been continued by the existing Branch Red Cross Societies in the Provinces of Pakistan. A fifth service with which our Society might well concern itself is the organization of Blood Banks; for these it would be the function of the Society to arrange for Panels for the whole country, to enlist donors, and to send vans around to collect them. The scope of the work, which can be done by Provincial Branches under the guidance of the Governing Body, is very wide indeed.

There is also the Junior Red Cross, which has been organized by some of the Branch Societies in Pakistan, and operates in schools. The teachers are generally known as Patrons or Red Cross links. Services rendered by the Junior Red Cross are concerned with: operates in schools. The teachers are generally known as Patrons or Red Cross links. Services rendered by the Junior Red Cross are concerned with:

1. Organization of lectures;
2. International correspondence, between Members of the Junior Red Cross in one country and the Junior Red Cross in another, which has proved a potent force in promoting International understanding; and;
3. Helping in carrying messages and performance of similar services.

It is dear from the history of the Red Cross as I have tried to outline to you that National Red Cross Societies are not official bodies, although throughout the past 80 years they have been closely associated with national and diplomatic actions. Even when countries sever all connections with one another in war their Red Cross Societies still have a common link in the International Red Cross Society in neutral Switzerland. Today, it gives me great satisfaction to welcome among us a representative of the International Red Cross – Dr. Wenger, who has been in Pakistan for some weeks visiting Refugee Camps, advising upon methods of improvement in our relief work there, and investigating means by which the International Red Cross can give us aid.



PRCS distributed Non-Food Items (NFIs) and Shelter (CGI sheet and shelter tool kits) among 100 EQ affected families in Roundhu (Skardu). Earthquake hit Skardu district of Gilgit-Baltistan region in December'21. According to the Pakistan Meteorological Department, the intensity of the earthquake was 5.3 on the Richter Scale with 4.5-magnitude aftershocks.

Indeed from the brotherhood of the International Red Cross much help has been forthcoming in Pakistan's hour of need.

The Red Cross Society of Canada sent to us a valuable gift of penicillin, and the Canadian Trade Agent in Karachi received a donation of some RS. 12,000 which he spent upon blankets for our refugees.

The Australian Red Cross Society have informed us that it is proposed to ship blankets, woollen clothing, dressing and drugs worth £6,00 to Pakistan, and from the same country a cash donation of about £99 and warm clothing have been received for my Relief Fund.

From the Turkish Red Crescent 75 bales of warm clothing have been sent for distribution in refugee camps.

From the British Red Cross Society have come one complete hospital, which is now functioning in Multan, 12 Ambulance cars, 2 Doctors from the United Kingdom and 2 engaged in Pakistan, a Matron and three nursing sisters. Four more sisters are expected and a complete Casualty Clearing Station for 250 persons has recently arrived. From the same source during the last few months we have received supplies of milk, stores, and blankets apart from other aid of a substantial nature, and the services of Major General Sir Treffry Thompson, the commissioner of the British Red Cross Society operating in Pakistan, whom I am ratified to see here today, are proving of the highest value to this country.

In other countries also we have been given the most generous assistance, although not always, under the symbol of the Red Cross. From the Government of Iran came a gift of anti-cholera vaccine, and Switzerland, Holland and South



Africa made offers of similar gifts. American Voluntary Relief Agencies working through a committee for emergency aid to India and Pakistan have sent drugs, medical stores, powdered milk, cereals, blankets and warm clothing in large quantities. Fourteen different ships have brought these sorely needed gifts. Doctors and nurses also come, and the Mobile Medical Unit of the Christian Committee for Relief in West Pakistan, composed of mixed American, British and Indian Christian personnel have done splendid work. How much all this has meant to our Refugees, everyone here, will realize.

**It was inspiring to know that these, our friends, were working under most difficult conditions to supplement our own organizations while Muslim ladies came forward enthusiastically in hundreds to help their sick and injured brothers and sisters in a spirit of sympathy and sacrifice.**

Among the doctors who, inspired by a high ideal of service, have come from abroad to work in an honorary capacity in our refugees camps, I must mention doctor Holland, son of Sir Henry Holland, an honored Member of our Governing Body who has given long years of his life to the people of this land, and who is leaving us within a few days. Our good wishes go with him in his retirement. I would also mention Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, a businessman of Newcastle-on-Tyne who brought 3 British Doctors for honorary service in Pakistan. Ladies and Gentlemen, magnificent contributions to the common cause, such as those to which I have just referred, are assuredly a most faithful interpretation of the noble spirit of the Red Cross.

**So, now that the Pakistan Red Cross Society has been established by us, it will, I hope, play its full and destined part in the service of humanity along with other bodies and organizations in the international field to afford all possible relief and help to the suffering and distressed people wherever possible.**



Pakistan army parade, symbol of pride and prestige for the nation.

## The martial spirit of East Pakistan (20th Mar 1948)

Speech at the Ceremonial Army Parade at Kurmitola Airport on 20th March, 1948

Officers and Men,

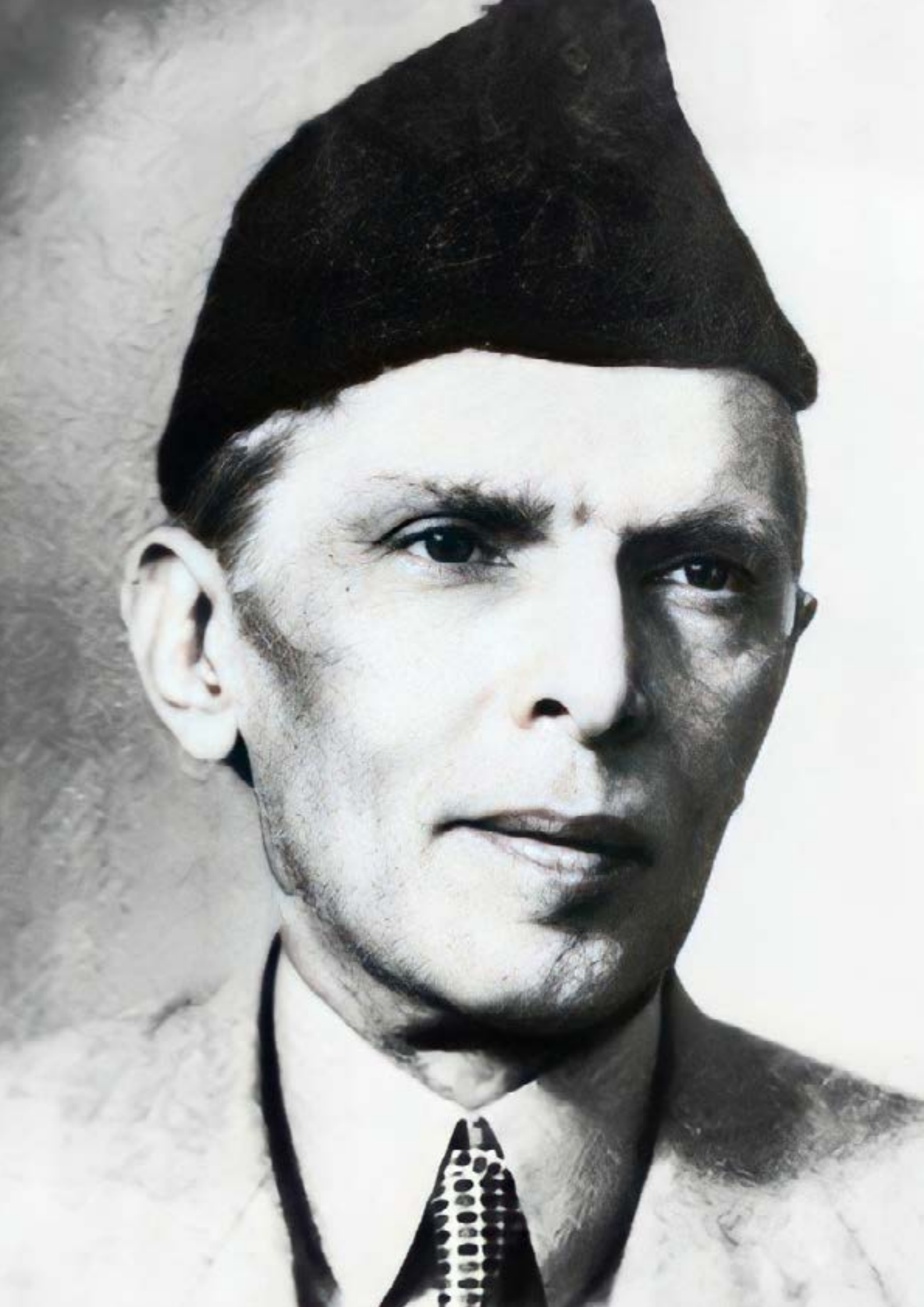
I thank you for the honor you have done for me in giving me the salute. I shall always remember this opportunity that has been afforded to me

**You know that Pakistan had to start from scratch.** East Bengal is one of its most powerful components and you have got now an opportunity which you have not had for, may I say, two centuries or more. Bengal generally, in which of course, East Bengal was included where happens to be the largest Muslim population, was considered as negligible in quality and quantity, for military purposes. The martial spirit of Bengal is historically known, and especially the part the Muslims played in the history of the past Bengal. That martial spirit, like many other great qualities, was oppressed, suppressed and the martial spirit was dead –with a sort of damper put on – and in Bengal we got to a point when as I said Bengal did not count for military purposes.

**Now, in free Pakistan which is going to be a great nation, one of the largest in the world, you have under sovereign, independent, free Pakistan, every opportunity to revise your martial spirit and show to the world what Bengal can do.**

It is in your hands. I am sure, you realize that yours is the responsibility for the security and the defense of the State, and I am confident, you will not fail but serve it loyally and faithfully, ready to die for its security and defense. I thank you.





## National Consolidation (20th Mar 1948)

Speech at a public meeting attended by over three lakhs of people at Dhaka on March 21, 1948.

Asalam-o-Alaikum!

I am grateful to the people of this province and, through you Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, to the people of Dhaka, for the great welcome that they have accorded to me. I need hardly say that it gives me the greatest pleasure to visit East Bengal. East Bengal is the most important component of Pakistan, inhabited as it is by the largest single bloc of Muslims in the world. I have been anxious to pay this province an early visit, but unfortunately, other matters of greater importance had so far prevented me from doing so.

About some of these important matters, you doubtless know. You know, for instance, of the cataclysm that shook the Punjab immediately after partition, and of the millions of Muslims who in consequence were uprooted from their homes in East Punjab, Delhi and neighboring districts and had to be protected, sheltered and fed pending rehabilitation in Western Pakistan.

Never throughout history was a new State called upon to face such tremendous problems. Never throughout history has a new State handled them with such competence and courage. Our enemies had hoped to kill Pakistan at its inception. Pakistan has, on the contrary, arisen triumphant and stronger than ever. It has come to stay, and play its great role for which it is destined.

In your address of welcome you have stressed the importance of developing the great agricultural and industrial resources of this province, of providing facilities for the training of the young men and women of this province for entering the Armed Forces of Pakistan, of the development of the port of Chittagong and of communications between this province and other parts of Pakistan, of development of educational facilities and finally you have stressed the importance of ensuring that the citizens of Eastern Pakistan get their due and legitimate share in all spheres of government activity. Let me at once assure you that my government attaches the greatest importance to these matters and is anxiously and constantly engaged in ensuring that Eastern Pakistan attains its full stature with the maximum of speed. Of the martial powers of the people of this province, history provides ample evidence and as you are aware, the Government has already taken energetic steps to provide facilities for the training of the youth of this province both in the regular Armed Forces and as volunteers in the Pakistan National Guards. You may rest assured that the fullest provision shall be made for enabling the youth of this province to play its part in the defense of this State.

Let me now turn to some general matters concerning this province. In doing so, let me first congratulate you, the people of this province and your Government, over the manner in which you have conducted yourselves during these seven months of trials and tribulations.

**Your Government and loyal, hardworking officials deserve to be congratulated on the speed and efficiency with which it succeeded in building up an ordered administration out of the chaos and confusion which prevailed immediately after partition.**

On the 15th August, the Provincial Government in Dhaka was a fugitive in its own home. It was faced with the immediate problem of finding accommodation for the thousands of Government personnel in what was, after all, before partition only a small mofussil town. Hardly had the government got to grips with administrative problems thus created when some seventy thousands Railway and other personnel and their families suddenly arrived in this province, driven out of India partly by panic owing to the disturbances immediately following the partition. There were further, owing to the wholesale departure of Hindu personnel, great gaps left in the administrative machinery and the entire transport and communication system had been disorganized. The immediate task that faced the Government, therefore, was hurriedly to re-group its forces and reorganize its administrative machine in order to avert an imminent administrative collapse.

This Government did with extraordinary speed and efficiency. The administration continued to function unhampered, and the life of the community continued undisturbed. Not only was the administration speedily reorganized but also the great administrative shortages were quickly made good, so that an impending famine was averted, and what is equally important, peace was maintained throughout the province. In this latter respect, much credit is due also to the people of this province, in particular to the members of the majority community, who showed exemplary calm and determination to maintain peace despite the great provocation afforded by the massacre and oppression of the Muslims in the Indian Dominion in the months immediately after partition. Despite those

horrible happenings, some forty thousand processions were taken out by the Hindu community during the last Puja in this province without a single instance of the breach of peace, and without any molestation from the Muslims of this province.

Any impartial observer will agree with me that throughout these troubles the minorities were looked after and protected in Pakistan better than anywhere else in India. You will agree that Pakistan was able to keep peace and maintain law and order; and let me tell you that the minorities not only here in Dhaka but throughout Pakistan are more secure, more safe than anywhere else.

**We have made it clear that the Pakistan Government will not allow peace to be disturbed; Pakistan will maintain law and order at any cost; and it will not allow any kind of mob rule. It is necessary to draw attention to these facts, namely, the building up of an orderly administration, the averting of an imminent famine and the maintenance of the supply of food to some forty million people in this province at a time of overall food shortage and serious administrative difficulties, and the maintenance of peace, because there is a tendency to ignore these achievements of the Government and to take these things for granted.**

It is always easy to criticize, it is always easy to go on fault-finding, but people forget the things that are being done and are going to be done for them, and generally they take those for granted without even realizing as to what trials, tribulations, difficulties and dangers we had to face at the birth of Pakistan. I do not think that your administration is perfect, far from it, I do not say that there is no room for improvement; I do not say that honest criticism from true Pakistanis is unwelcome. It is always welcome. But

**when I find in some quarters nothing but complaint, fault-finding and not a word of recognition as to the work that has been done either by your Government or by those loyal officials and officers who have been working for you day and night it naturally pains me. Therefore, at least say some good words for the good that is done, and then complain and criticize.**

In a large administration, it is obvious that mistakes must be made; you cannot expect that it should be faultless; no country in the world can be so. But our ambition and our desire are that it should be as little defective as possible. Our desire is to make it more efficient, more beneficial, more smooth working. For what? What has the Government got for its aim?

**The Government can only have for its aim one objective – how to serve the people, how to devise ways and means of their welfare, for their betterment. What other object can the Government have and remember; now it is in your hands to put the Government in power**



**or remove the Government from power; but you must not do it by mob methods. You have the power; you must learn the art to use it; you must try and understand the machinery. Constitutionally, it is in your hands to upset one Government and put another Government in power if you are dissatisfied to such an extent.**

Therefore, the whole thing is in your hands, but I strongly advise you to have patience and to support the men who are at the help of your Government, sympathize with them, try and understand their troubles and their difficulties just as they should try and understand your grievances and complaints and sufferings. It is by that cooperation and that good spirit and goodwill that you will be able not only to preserve Pakistan, which we have achieved but also, make it a great State in the world.

**Are you now, after having achieved Pakistan, going to destroy it by your own folly? Do you want to build it up? Well then for that purpose there is one essential condition, and it is this complete unity and solidarity amongst ourselves.**

But I want to tell you that in our midst there are people financed by foreign agencies who are intent on creating disruption. Their object is to disrupt and sabotage Pakistan. I want you to be on your guard;

**I want you to be vigilant and not to be taken in by attractive slogans and catchwords.**

They say that the Pakistan Government and the East Bengal Government are out to destroy your language. A bigger falsehood was never uttered by a man. Quite frankly and openly I must tell you that you have got amongst you a few communists and other agents financed by foreign help and if you are not careful, you will be disrupted. The idea that East Bengal should be brought back into the Indian Union is not given up, and it is their aim yet, and I am confident –I am not afraid, but it is better to be vigilant –that those people who still dream of getting back East Bengal into the Indian Union are living in a dream-land.

I am told that there has been some exodus of the Hindu community from this province. I have seen the magnitude of this exodus put at the fantastic figure of ten lakhs in the Indian Press. Official estimates would not put the figure beyond two lakhs at the utmost. In any case, I am satisfied that such an exodus, as has taken place, has been the result not of any ill treatment of the minority communities. On the other hand, the minority communities have enjoyed, and rightly so, greater freedom, and have been shown greater solicitude for their welfare than the minorities in any part of the Indian Dominion.

The cause of this exodus are to be found rather in the loose talk by some war-mongering leaders in the Indian Dominion of the inevitability of war between Pakistan and India; in the ill-treatment of the minorities in some of the Indian provinces and the fear among the minorities of the likely repercussions of that ill-treatment here, and in the open encouragement to Hindus to leave this province being sedulously given by a section of the Indian Press, producing imaginary accounts or what it calls the plight of the minorities in Pakistan, and by the Hindu Mahasabha. All this propaganda and accusations about the ill-treatment

of the minorities stand belied by the fact that over twelve million non-Muslims continue to live in this province in peace and have refused to migrate from here.

Let me take this opportunity of repeating what I have already said, we shall treat the minorities in Pakistan fairly and justly. Their lives and property in Pakistan are far more secure and protected than in India and

**we shall maintain peace, law and order and protect and safeguard fully every citizen of Pakistan without distinction of caste, creed or community.**

So far so good. Let me now turn to some of the less satisfactory features of the conditions in this province. There is a certain feeling, I am told, in some parts of this province, against non-Bengali Muslims. There has also lately been a certain amount of excitement over the question whether Bengali or Urdu shall be the State language of this province and of Pakistan. In this latter connection, I hear that some discreditable attempts have been made by political opportunities to make a tool of the student community in Dhaka to embarrass the administration

**My young friends, students who are present here, Let me tell you as one who has always had love and affection for you, who has served you for ten years faithfully and loyally, let me give you this word of warning: you will be making the greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be exploited by one political party or another. Remember, there has been a revolutionary change. It is our own Government. We are a free, independent and sovereign State. Let us behave and regulate our affairs as free men; we are not suppressed and oppressed under the regime of a foreign domination; we have broken those chains, we have thrown off those shackles.**

My young friends, I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan, do not be exploited and do not be misled.

**Create amongst yourselves complete unity and solidarity. Set an example of what youth can do. Your main occupation should be – in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the State to devote your attention to your studies.**

If you fritter away your energies now, you will always regret. After you leave the portals of your universities and colleges taken, you can play your part freely and help yourself and the State. Let me warn you in the clearest term of the dangers that still face Pakistan and your province in particular as I have done already. Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism.

As long as you do not throw off this poison in our body politic, you will never

be able to weld yourself, mold yourself, galvanize yourself into a real true nation.

What we want is not to talk about Bengali, Punjabi Sindhi, Baluchi, Pathan and so on. They are of course units. But I ask, have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us thirteen hundred years ago? If I may point out, you are all outsiders here. Who were the original inhabitants of Bengal not those who are now living. So what is the use of saying “we are Bengalis, or Sindhis, or Pathans, or Punjabi”. No, we are Muslims.

Islam has taught us this, and I think you will agree with me that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a Nation now; you have now carved out a vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a Nation, for God’s sake give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism –Shia, Sunni, etc.

It was no concern of our predecessor Government; it was no concern of theirs to worry about; they were here to carry on the administration, maintain law and order and to carry on their trade and exploit India as much as they could. But now we are in a different position altogether. Now I give you an example. Take America. When it threw off British rule and declared itself independent, how many nations were there? It had many races: Spaniards, French, Germans, Italians, English, Dutch and many more. Well, there they were. They had many difficulties. But mind you, their nations were actually in existence and they were great nations; whereas you had nothing. You have got Pakistan only now. But there a Frenchman could say ‘I am a Frenchman and belong to a great nation’, and so on. But what happened? They understood and they realized their difficulties because they had sense, and within a very short time they solved their problems and destroyed all this sectionalism, and they were able to speak not as a German or a Frenchman or an Englishman or a Spaniard, but as Americans. They spoke in this spirit: ‘I am an American’ and we are Americans’. And so you should think, live and act in terms that your country is Pakistan and you are a Pakistani.

Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me, you will never be a strong nation, and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve. Please do not think that I do not appreciate the position. Very often it becomes a vicious circle. When you speak to a Bengali, he says: ‘Yes you are right,



An artistic Pakistani map that outlines the diverse embroidery styles by region and province

but the Punjabi is so arrogant’; when you speak to the Punjabi or non-Bengali, he says, ‘Yes but these people do not want us here, they want to get us out’. Now this is a vicious circle, and I do not think anybody can solve this Chinese puzzle. The question is, who is going to be more sensible, more practical, and more statesmanlike and will be rendering the greatest service to Pakistan? So make up your mind and from today put an end to this sectionalism.

About language, as I have already said, this is in order to create disruption amongst the Musalmans. Your Prime Minister has rightly pointed this out in a recent statement and I am glad that his Government has decided to firmly put down any attempt to disturb the peace of this province by political saboteurs, their agents. Whether Bengali shall be the official language of this province is a matter for the elected representatives of the people of this province to decide. I have no doubt that this question shall be decided solely in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants of this province at the appropriate time.

**Let me tell you in the clearest language that there is no truth that your normal life is going to be touched or disturbed so far as your Bengali language is concerned.**

But ultimately it is for you, the people of this province, to decide what shall be the language of your province. But let me make it very clear to you that the State



language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no Nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, as far as the State Language is concerned, the Pakistani language shall be Urdu. But, as I have said, it will come in time.

I tell you once again, do not fall into the trap of those who are the enemies of Pakistan. Unfortunately, you have fifth columnists – and I am sorry to say they are Muslims – who are financed by outsiders. But they are making a great mistake. We are not going to tolerate sabotage any more; we are not going to tolerate the enemies of Pakistan; we are not going to tolerate quislings and fifth-columnists in our State, and if this is not stopped, I am confident that your Government and the Pakistan Government will take the strongest measures and deal with them ruthlessly, because they are a poison. I can quite understand differences of views. Very often it is said, “why cannot we have this party or that party? Now let me tell you, and I hope you will agree with me, that we have as a result of unceasing effort and struggle ultimately achieved Pakistan after ten years. It is the Muslim League, which has done it.

**There were of course many Musalmans who were indifferent; some were afraid, because they had vested interests and they thought they might lose, some sold themselves to the enemy and worked against us, but we struggled and we fought and by the grace of God and with His help we have established Pakistan which has stunned the World.**

Now this is a sacred trust in your hands, i.e., the Muslim League. Is this sacred trust to be guarded by us as the real custodians of the welfare of our country and our people, or not? Are mushroom parties led by men of doubtful past to be started to destroy what we have achieved or capture what we have secured? I ask you one question. Do you believe in Pakistan? (Cries of yes, yes from the people). Are you happy that you have achieved Pakistan? (Cries of yes, yes from the people), Do you want East Bengal or any part of Pakistan to go into the Indian Union? (No, no). Well, if you are going to serve Pakistan, if you are going to build up Pakistan, if you are going to reconstruct Pakistan, then I say that the honest course open to every Musalmans is to join the Muslim League Party and serve Pakistan to the best of his ability. Any other mushroom parties that are started at present will be looked upon with suspicion because of their past, not that we have any feeling of malice, ill will, or revenge. Honest change is welcome, but the present emergency requires that every Musalmans should come under the banner of the Muslim League, which is the true custodian of Pakistan, and build it up and make it a great State before we think of parties amongst ourselves which may be formed later on sound and healthy lines.

Just one more thing. Do not feel isolated. Many people have spoken to me that East Bengal feels isolated from the rest of Pakistan. No doubt there is a great distance separating the East from West Pakistan; no doubt there are difficulties, but I tell you that we fully know and realize the importance of Dhaka and East Bengal. I have only come here for a week or ten days this time, but in order to discharge my duty as the Head of the State I may have to come here and stay for days, for weeks, and similarly the Pakistan Ministers must establish closer contact. They should come here and your leaders and members of your Government should go

to Karachi, which is the capital of Pakistan. But you must have patience. With your help and with your support we will make Pakistan a mighty State.

Finally, let me appeal to you to keep together, put up with inconveniences, sufferings and sacrifices, for the collective good of our people.

**No amount of troubles, no amount of hard work or sacrifice is too much or to be shirked if you individually and collectively make a contribution for the collective good of your nation and your State.**

It is in that way, that you will build up Pakistan as the fifth largest State in the world, not only in population as it is but also in strength, so that it will command the respect of all the other nations of the world. With these words I wish you Godspeed.





Pakistan appoints first Hindu Lieutenant Colonel - Feb'22

## Equal rights to all citizens (22 March 1948)

Statement replying to a deputation of the Hindu members of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly

I do not for a moment suggest that in the discharge of their duties the various departments of the Government could not do better. I should say that there is room for improvement in various directions. But in order to achieve that objective, the last course is that the Hindus should in spirit and action whole-heartedly cooperate with the Government and its various branches of administration as Pakistanis, and if this spirit is created, it will be easy for the Government to discharge its functions smoothly."

Mr. Jinnah asked Hindus to fully realize the fact that the Governments of East Bengal and Pakistan were now their own Governments. He assured them that the object of the Government was to do its utmost for the welfare and happiness of the people. It was up to the people who had any grievances or complaints to approach the Government and ask for redress, instead of carrying on unnecessary propaganda which helped to create confusion in the press.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said "All these matters to which you have drawn my attention are primarily the responsibility of the Provincial Government. I cannot possibly go into all this and sit in judgment over the administration by hearing your version only, nor have I got time during this short visit to do so. I will, however, pass on your representation to the Prime Minister for his consideration."





## Scheduled castes assured

Statement replying to various points raised by the deputation of the Scheduled Castes Federation

“We stand by our declarations that members of every community will be treated as citizens of Pakistan with equal rights and privileges and obligations and that the minorities will be safeguarded and protected.”

He added “But you must have a little patience and give us time to make the effort to give effect to those declarations. I assure you of our goodwill and solicitude for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes in particular, as you have been downtrodden for centuries, deserve more help than any other community. I have always advocated your cause and I shall continue to do so.”

In regard to their proposal that two Scheduled Caste Ministers should be included in the Easy Bengal Ministry, the Quaid-e-Azam said “It is not that we are against including Scheduled Castes in the Ministry, but the present position of the Scheduled Castes in the Assembly is that you have only five members who follow you out of 19. We are after all working on the lines of democracy and if we were to take one of those five, it would neither be good for you nor for the East Bengal Ministry, because it will at once be said, as far as we are concerned, that was only a creature of the Bengal Prime Minister who had picked him up, whereas he did not enjoy the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the Scheduled Caste members of the Assembly. This has been one of the difficulties in our way for which we ourselves are most anxious for a solution.”







## Students role in nation-building (24th Mar 1948)

Speech at the Dhaka University Convocation on 24th March, 1948 (Recorded by Radio Pakistan, Dhaka)

Mr. Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

When I was approached by the vice-chancellor with a request to deliver the Convocation Address, I made it clear to him that there were so many calls on me that I could not possibly prepare a formal convocation address on an academic level with regard to the great subjects with which University deals, such as arts, history, philosophy, science, law and so on. I did, however, promise to say a few words to the students on this occasion, and it is in fulfillment of that promise that I will address you now.

First of all, let me thank the vice-chancellor for the flattering terms in which he referred to me. Mr. Vice-chancellor, whatever I am, and whatever I have been able to do, I have done it merely as a measure of duty which is incumbent upon every Musalmans to serve his people honestly and selflessly.

In addressing you I am not here speaking to you as Head of the State, but as a friend, and as one who has always held you in affection. Many of you have today got your diplomas and degrees and I congratulate you. Just as you have won laurels in your University and qualified yourselves, so I wish you all success in the wider and larger world that you will enter. Many of you have come to the end of your scholastic career and stand at the threshold of life. **Unlike your predecessors, you fortunately leave this University to enter life under a sovereign, Independent State of your own. It is necessary that you and your other fellow students fully understand the implications of the revolutionary change that took place on the birth of Pakistan. We have broken the shackles of slavery; we are now a free people. Our State is our own State. Our Government is our own Government, of the people, responsible to the people of the State and working for the good of the State.**



**Freedom, however, does not mean license. It does not mean that you can now behave just as you please and do what you like, irrespective of the interests of other people or of the State.**

A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary, now more than ever, it is necessary for us to work as a united and disciplined nation.

**What is now required of us all is constructive spirit and not the militant spirit of the days when we were fighting for our freedom. It is far more difficult to construct than to have a militant spirit for the attainment of freedom. It is easier to go to jail or fight for freedom than to run a Government.**

Let me tell you something of the difficulties that we have overcome and of the dangers that still lie ahead. Thwarted in their desire to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, our enemies turned their attention to finding ways and means to weaken and destroy us. Thus, hardly had the new State come into being when came the Punjab and Delhi holocaust. Thousands of men, women and children were mercilessly butchered and millions were uprooted from their homes. Over fifty lakhs of these arrived in the Punjab within a matter of weeks. The care and rehabilitation of these unfortunate refugees, stricken in body and in soul, presented problems, which might well have destroyed many a well-established State. But those of our enemies who had hoped to kill Pakistan at its very inception by these means were disappointed. Not only has Pakistan survived the shock of that upheaval, but also it has emerged stronger, more chastened and better equipped than ever.

**There followed in rapid succession other difficulties, such as withholding by India of our cash balances, of our share of military equipment and lately, the institution of an almost complete economic blockade of your Province. I have no doubt that all right-thinking men in the Indian Dominion deplore these happenings and I am sure the attitude of the mind that has been responsible for them will change, but it is essential that you should take note of these developments.**

They stress the importance of continued vigilance on our part. Of late, their attack on your province, particularly, has taken a subtler form. Our enemies, among whom I regret to say, are some Muslims, have set about actively encouraging provincialism in the hope of weakening Pakistan and thereby facilitating the re-absorption of this province into the Indian Dominion. Those who are playing this game are living in a Fool's Paradise, but this does not prevent them from trying. A flood of false propaganda is being daily put forth with the object of undermining the solidarity of the Musalmans of this State and inciting the people to commit acts of lawlessness. The recent language controversy, in which I am sorry to make note, some of you allowed yourselves to get involved even after your Prime Minister had clarified the position, is only one of the many subtle ways whereby the poison of provincialism is being sedulously injected into this province.



Mr. Jinnah with younger students

**Does it not strike you rather odd that certain sections of the Indian press to whom the very name of Pakistan is anathema, should in the matter of language controversy set themselves up as the champion of what they call your just rights? Is it not significant that the very persons who in the past have betrayed the Musalmans or fought against Pakistan, which is after all merely the embodiment of your fundamental right of self-determination, should now suddenly pose as the saviors of your just right and incite you to defy the Government on the question of language? I must warn you to beware of these fifth columnists. Let me restate my views on the question of a State language for Pakistan. For official use in this province, the people of the province can choose any language they wish.**

This question will be decided solely in accordance with the wishes of the people of this province alone, as freely expressed through their accredited representatives at the appropriate time and after full and dispassionate consideration. There can, however, be only one lingua franca, that is, the language for intercommunication between the various provinces of the State, and that language, should be Urdu and cannot be any other.

**The State language therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this subcontinent, a language understood throughout the length and**

**breadth of Pakistan and above all a language which, more than any other provincial language, embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries. It is not without significance that Urdu has been driven out of the Indian Union and that even the official use of the Urdu script has been disallowed.**

These facts are fully known to the people who are trying to exploit the language controversy in order to stir up trouble. There was no justification for agitation but it did not suit their purpose to admit this. Their sole object in exploiting this controversy is to create a split among the Muslims of this State, as indeed they have made no secret of their efforts to incite hatred against non-Bengali Musalmans. Realizing, however, that the statement that your Prime Minister made on the language controversy, on return from Karachi, left no room for agitation, in so far as it conceded the right of the people of this province to choose Bengali as their official language if they so wished, these persons changed their tactics. They started demanding that Bengali should be the State language of the Pakistan Center and since they could not overlook the obvious claims of Urdu as the official language of a Muslim State, they proceeded to demand that both Bengali and Urdu should be State languages of Pakistan. Make no mistake about it. There can be only one State language, if the component parts of this State are to march forward in unison, and that language in my opinion can only be Urdu. I have spoken at some length on this subject so as to warn you of the kind of tactics adopted by the enemies of Pakistan and certain opportunist politicians to try to disrupt this State or to discredit the Government. Those of you, who are about to enter life, be on your guard against these people. Those of you who have still to continue your studies for sometime, do not allow yourselves to be exploited by any political party or self-seeking politician. As I said the other day, your main occupation should be in fairness to yourselves, in fairness to your parents and indeed in fairness to the State, to devote your attention solely to your studies. It is only thus that you can equip yourselves for the battle of life that lies ahead of you. Only thus will you be an asset and a source of strength and of pride to your State. Only thus, can you assist it in solving the great social and economic problems that



Pakistani students competed in the World Schools Debating Championships 2015 and defeated Czech Republic, Nigeria, Ireland, Croatia, Peru, Kuwait, Korea, UAE, Philippines and Greece.

confront it and enable it to reach its destined goal among the most progressive and strongest nations of the world.

My young friends, I would, therefore, like to tell you a few points about which you should be vigilant and beware. Firstly, beware of the fifth columnists among ourselves. Secondly, guard against and weed out selfish people who only wish to exploit you so that they may swim. Thirdly,

**learn to judge who are really true and really honest and unselfish servants of the State who wish to serve the people with heart and soul and support them.**

Fourthly, consolidate the Muslim League Party, which will serve and build up a really and truly great and glorious Pakistan. Fifthly, the Muslim League has won and established Pakistan and it is the Muslim League whose duty it is now, as custodian of the sacred trust, to construct Pakistan. Sixthly, there may be many who did not lift their fingers to help us in our struggle, nay even opposed us and put obstacle in our great struggle openly and not a few worked in our enemy's camp against us, who may now come forward and put their own attractive slogans, catch-words, ideals and programs before you. But they have yet to prove their bonafides or that there has really been an honest change of heart in them, by supporting and joining the League and working and pressing their views within the League Party organization and not by starting mushroom parties, at this juncture of very great and grave emergency when you know that we are facing external dangers and are called upon to deal with internal complex problems of a far-reaching character affecting the future of seventy millions of people.

**All this demands complete solidarity, unity and discipline. I assure you, "Divided you fall. United you stand".**

**There is another matter that I would like to refer to. My young friends, hitherto, you have been following the rut. You get your degrees and when you are thrown out of this University in thousands, all that you think and hanker for is Government service. As your vice-chancellor has rightly stated, the main object of the old system of education and the system of Government existing, hitherto, was really to have well-trained, well-equipped clerks. Of course, some of them went higher and found their level, but the whole idea was to get well-qualified clerks. Civil Service was mainly staffed by the Britons and the Indian element was introduced later on and it went up progressively. Well, the whole principle was to create a mentality, a psychology, and a state of mind that an average man, when he passed his B.A. or M.A. was to look for some job in Government. If he had it he thought he had reached his height.**

I know and you all know what has been really the result of this. Our experience has shown that an M.A. earns less than a taxi driver, and most of the so-called Government servants are living in a more miserable manner than many menial



servants who are employed by well to do people. Now I want you to get out of that rut and that mentality and especially now that we are in free Pakistan. Government cannot absorb thousands. But in the competition to get Government service most of you demoralized. Government can take only a certain number and the rest cannot settle down to anything else and being disgruntled are always ready to be exploited by persons who have their own axes to grind. Now I want you to divert your mind, your attention, your aims and ambition to other channels and other avenues and fields that are open to you and will increasingly become so. There is no shame in doing manual work and labor.

**There is an immense scope in technical education for we want technically qualified people very badly. You can learn banking, commerce, trade, law, etc., which provides so many opportunities now. Already you find that new industries are being started, new banks, new insurance companies, new commercial firms are opening and they will grow as you go on. Now these are avenues and fields open to you. Think of them and divert your attention to them, and believe me, you will benefit yourselves more than by merely going in for Government service and remaining there, in what I should say, a circle of clerkship, working there from morning till evening, in most dingy and uncomfortable conditions. You will be far happier and far more prosperous with far more opportunities to rise if you take to commerce and industry and will thus be helping not only yourselves but also your State.**

I can give you one instance. I know a young man who was in Government service. Four years ago he went into a banking corporation on two hundred rupees, because he had studied the subject of banking and today he is Manager in one of their firms and drawing fifteen hundred rupees a month –in just four years. These are the opportunities to have and I do impress upon you now to think in these terms.

Finally, I thank you again Mr. Chancellor and particularly you Mr. Vice-chancellor for the warm welcome you have given me and the very flattering personal references made by you. I hope, nay I am confident that the East Bengal youth will not fail us.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'X' followed by a long, sweeping diagonal stroke.



## Do your duties as servants - An advice to officers ( 25th Mar 1948)

Address to the Gazetted Officers of Chittagong on 25th March, 1948

I thank you for giving me this opportunity to see you collectively. My time is very limited and so it was not possible for me to see you individually. I have told you two things: I have already said what I had to say to the Gazette Officers at Dhaka. I hope you should read an account of what I said there in the newspapers. If you have not I would request you to take the trouble of reading what I said there. One cannot say something new everyday. I have been making so many speeches and I expect each one of you to know my views by now.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

**I want you to realize fully the deep implications of the revolutionary change that has taken place. Whatever community, caste or creed you belong to you are now the servants of Pakistan. Servants can only do their duties and discharge their responsibilities by serving. Those days have gone when the country was ruled by bureaucracy. It is the people's Government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices.**

Under these fundamental changes I would put before you two or three points for your consideration:

**You have to do your duty as servants; you are not concerned with this political or that political party; that is not your business. It is a business of politicians to fight out their case under the present constitution or the future constitution that may be ultimately framed.**

You, therefore, have nothing to do with this party or that party. You are civil servants. Whichever gets the majority will form the Government and your duty is to serve that Government for the time being as servants not as politicians. How will



you do that? The Government in power for the time being must also realize and understand their responsibilities that you are not to be used for this party or that. I know we are saddled with old legacy, old mentality, old psychology and it haunts our footsteps, but it is up to you now to act as true servants of the people even at the risk of any Minister or Ministry trying to interfere with you in the discharge of your duties as civil servants. I hope it will not be so but even if some of you have to suffer as a victim. I hope it will not happen –I expect you to do so readily. We shall of course see that there is security for you and safeguards to you. If we find that is in any way prejudicial to your interest we shall find ways and means of giving you that security. Of course you must be loyal to the Government that is in power.

The second point is that

**your conduct and dealings with the people in various departments, in which you may be, wipe off that past reputation; you are not rulers. You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honor, integrity, justice and fair-play. If you do that, people will have confidence and trust in you and will look upon you as friends and well wishers.**

I do not want to condemn everything of the past, there were men who did their duties according to their lights in the service in which they were placed. As administrators they did do justice in many cases but they did not feel that justice was done to them because there was an order of superiority and they were held at a distance and they did not feel the warmth but they felt a freezing atmosphere when they had to do anything with the officials. Now that freezing atmosphere must go and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness and try to understand the people. Maybe sometimes you will find that it is trying and provoking when a man goes on talking and repeating a thing over and over again, but have patience and show patience and make them feel that justice has been done to them.

Next thing that I would like to impress upon you is this: I keep on getting representations and memorials containing grievances of the people of all sorts of things. May be there is no justification, may be there is no foundation for that, may be that they are under wrong impression and may be they are misled but in all such cases I have followed one practice for many years which is this:

**Whether I agree with anyone or not, whether I think that he has any imaginary grievances whether I think that he does not understand but I always show patience. If you will also do the same in your dealings with an individual or any association or any organization you will ultimately stand to gain. Let not people leave you with this bearing that you hate, that you are offensive, that you have insulted or that you are rude to them. Not one percent who comes in contact with you should be left in that state of mind. You may not be able to agree with him but do not let him go with this feeling that you are offensive or that you are discourteous. If you follow that rule, believe me you will**

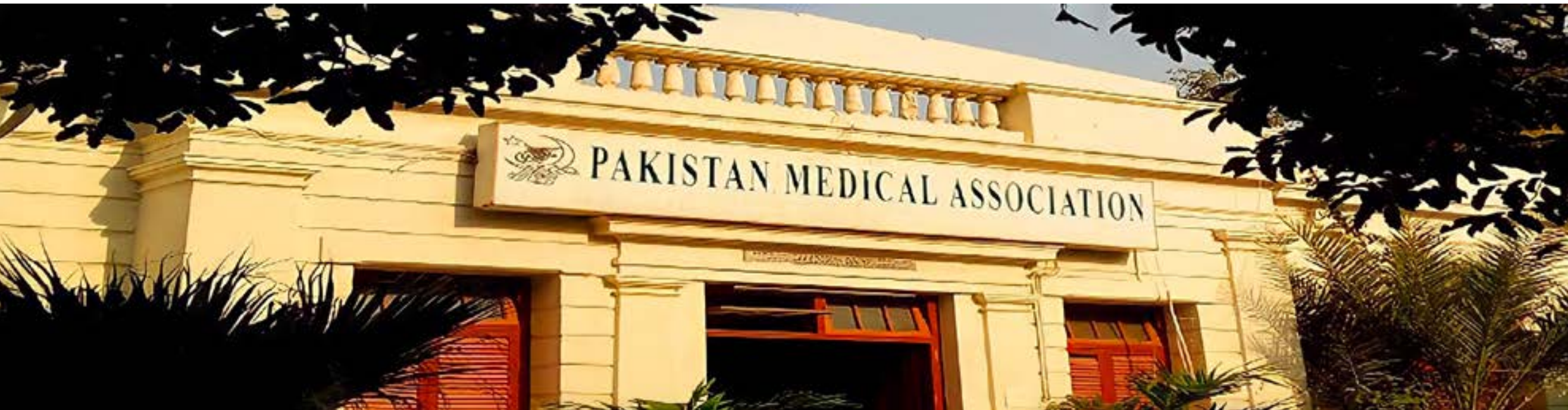


**win the respect of the people.**

With these observations I conclude what I had to say. I thank you very much indeed that you have given me this opportunity to say these few words to you and if you find anything good in it follow, if you do not find anything good in it do not follow.

Thank you very much.





## On need of medical relief (26th Mar 1948)

Message to the Pakistan Medical Association, Dhaka on the 26th March, 1948.

I have learnt with great interest that the Pakistan Medical Association has been formed and is going to be inaugurated on Saturday the 27th March, 1948 in Dhaka. This Association, I hope, will serve earnestly to organize the medical profession in Pakistan on a high level befitting our State. It can render many services if it is well organized and efficient. For example, it can help to speed up medical relief of which we stand in very great need indeed at present. It will also keep medical and social contact with similar interests in other parts of the world for exchange of views and ideas from time to time, and thereby establish better understanding in solving medical problems peculiar to various countries and Pakistan.

**I wish the Pakistan Medical Association all success.**

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a long, sweeping horizontal stroke followed by a vertical stroke and a small 'X' mark at the end.





## Development of Chittagong port (26th Mar 1948)

Speech at the Public Reception at Chittagong on 26th March, 1948.

I am grateful to you all for the warm welcome which you have accorded me on this my first visit to a city destined to be one of the biggest in Pakistan as a whole. On my part I am glad to be in your midst and I need hardly assure you that not only are your problems being dealt with steadily and progressively but that

**unhindered by difficulties and obstacles we are determined to make good the neglect of centuries in course of the next few years when Chittagong will rank as one of the finest ports in the world.**

You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism\*, which, emphasis's equality and brotherhood of man.

Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, and we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man -these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent.

We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system. This domination continued



for over two hundred years until we realized that it would ultimately mean complete extinction of Musalmans individually as human beings and collectively as a nation.

**After all, the story of Pakistan, its struggle and its achievement is the story of great human ideals struggling to survive in the face of odds and difficulties.**

This biggest Muslim State came into being on 14th August 1947. It was a great day in our history. But on this great day, it was not merely a Government, which came into existence; it meant the birth of a great State and a great nation, one supplementing the other and both existing for each other. I can understand and appreciate the limitations of those amongst us whose minds have not moved fast enough to realize that 14th of August ushered in such a State and such a nation.

**It is natural for some to think only in terms of Government but the sooner we adjust ourselves to new forces, the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State and of our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realize the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State. It reiterates most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of human soul, in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanizing not only the State but also the Nation.**

Such mental and spiritual changes cannot be brought about overnight. Nor can these be inflicted by anybody without dislocating the structure of human relationships.

Today, your State is hardly eight months old; but if we look back and review this short span of our national life, we can clearly see the steady evolution of great social ideologies and balanced relations between man and man. Any impartial observer will admit that in fact it has already been admitted that the minorities in Pakistan have had a better deal than elsewhere. Here in our midst they have lived not only peacefully but have enjoyed complete liberty of asserting themselves. Some have even given a lead in controversies which, but for the realization on the part of our people, might have struck at the very root of Pakistan in an hour of grave emergency.

This – our single biggest achievement – alone, reflects the direction in which we are moving. There cannot be any better evidence to show that we are determined to evolve a State based on principles of equality and social justice. If we can be fair and just to others there can be no doubt about being fair and just among ourselves.

The address of welcome, which you have just presented refreshingly, embodies your urge for progress and development. It is indeed a pleasure to see that the people of Pakistan are conscious of the great possibilities of their State –though, I must warn you that impatience will be as dangerous as lack of enthusiasm. Chittagong is destined to be great and you, as her citizens, are destined to share her greatness and prosperity. I can



Chittagong port infrastructure developments in recent years

assure you that the Central and Provincial Governments are endeavoring hard to catch up on years of indifference and neglect. Notwithstanding the inevitable pre-occupation of your Central Government with grave and emergent problems which confronted them in Western Pakistan which was called upon to shelter, house and rehabilitate millions of your brethren uprooted from the Indian Union, blueprints for developing Chittagong have been made. This potentially great port has been neglected for centuries along with other similar areas in Pakistan regions and you know that such neglect and indifference has constituted the biggest single justification for our demand for Pakistan.

**Accordingly, now that we are free to shape our future, we are not going to be indifferent to it. We need not look back to the past of neglect with pessimism. All that is required is courage and faith in our future, and I am glad to say that such faith has not been found lacking during the last eight months.**

I need hardly remind you that due to the determination of the people of Pakistan and the efforts made by your Government, Chittagong as a port, is already coming into its own. During the last few months, ships of various nationalities, whose ensigns fly colorfully along your roads today, have harbored in your port. Some for the first time in history to take your raw products to their countries for manufacture into finished products. Chittagong is already handling a fair portion of your export and import trade. This has been possible mainly due to the efforts of us all to decrease our dependence on others.

This achievement in such a short time shows what human will can do.

**Funds are no doubt necessary for development but at the same time national growth and regeneration does not depend on funds alone. It is**



**human toil that makes for the prosperity of a people and I have no doubt that we have in Pakistan a nation of industrious and determined people whose past traditions have already distinguished them in the field of human achievement.**

I have frankly and clearly associated myself with your aspirations for developing your city of which you are justly proud. Your urge for progress and your Government's efforts to reach the goal will soon get translated in the shape of large-scale projects, which I am satisfied are being actively pursued. The most important scheme which concerns you vitally, and which is at present under active examination, is the harnessing of Karnaphuli River to control floods and silt, to irrigate fields and to develop cheap hydroelectric power. The necessary preliminary work is being expedited and the project is on our top priority list. I might tell you one of the reasons, which prompted me to visit. East Pakistan at this juncture, when Western Pakistan particularly is passing through a period of grave emergency, was to see for myself the progress made in respect of developing your city which can now look forward to a future of great maritime importance.

While at Chittagong, I have spent the major portion of my time in studying the possibilities of port development and I am confident that embarkation for Hajis from East Pakistan but also an export and import center for which we can spare for the world and for what we need from other countries. Chittagong is destined to be the Eastern mighty queen and Gateway to Pakistan, your will to progress, labor and work and your Government's efforts to hit targets, of progress aimed at, will I am sure do it.

**Nature has endowed you bountifully. Yours is a beautiful garden land with sea, rivers and hills and magnificent scenery all-round. It remains now for man in Chittagong to play his part fully and raise Chittagong to zenith for which it is destined**

So I wish you Godspeed.

\*In modern Pakistan, the focus is on capitalist economic endeavors with a pragmatic socialist tendency towards the common welfare of the citizens. All post-colonial states that have adopted socialism have failed to produce an economic transformation required for the prosperity of their people.



## Farewell Message to East Pakistan (28th Mar 1948)

Broadcast Speech from Radio Pakistan, Dhaka on 28th March, 1948

During the past nine days that I have spent in your province, I have been studying your local conditions and some of the problems that confront east Bengal. Tonight, on the eve of my departure, I want to place before you some of my impressions. Before I do this, however, let me first cordially thank you for the great warmth and affection with which you have received me everywhere in your midst during my stay here.

From the administrative point of view, East Bengal perhaps more than any other province of Pakistan, has had to face the most difficult problems as a result of Partition. Before August 14, it existed merely as a hinterland to Calcutta, to whose prosperity it greatly contributed but which it did not share. On August 14, Dhaka was merely a mofussil town, having none of the complex facilities and amenities, which are essential for the capital of a modern Government. Further, owing to partition, the province's transport system had been thrown completely out of gear and the administrative machinery seriously disorganized at a time when the country was threatened with a serious food shortage.

The new province of East Bengal thus came into being in the most unfavorable circumstances, which might easily have proved fatal to a less determined and less tenacious people. That the administration not only survived but even emerged stronger from such setbacks as the Chittagong cyclone, is a striking tribute both to the sterling character of the people as well as to the unremitting zeal of the Government of the province. The position now is that the initial difficulties have to a great extent been overcome and, though there is no ground for complacency, there are at least reasons for quiet confidence in the future. Though now undeveloped, East Bengal possesses vast potentialities of raw materials and hydroelectric power.



In Chittagong you have the making of a first-class port which in time should rank among the finest ports in the world. Given peaceful conditions and the fullest cooperation from all sections of the people, we shall make this province the most prosperous in Pakistan.

It is a matter for congratulations that despite the massacre and persecution of Muslims in the Indian Domination in the months immediately following Partition, peaceful conditions have prevailed throughout this province, and I have seen the minority community going about its normal day-to-day vocations in perfect security. Some migration of Hindus to the Indian Dominion, there unfortunately has been, though the estimates mentioned in the Indian press are ridiculous. I am satisfied, at any rate, that whatever movement there has been, has not in any way been due to their treatment here, which under the circumstances has been exemplary, but rather to psychological reasons and external pressure. Indian leaders and a section of the Indian press have indulged freely in war-mongering talks against Pakistan. There has been persistently insidious propaganda by parties like the Hindu Mahasabha in favor of an exchange of population: and disturbances in the Indian Dominion, in which Muslims have been persecuted; have not unnaturally given rise to fears in the mind of the minority community lest unpleasant repercussions should occur in East Bengal, even though such apprehensions have no foundation for they have been belied by actual facts. Over and above all these factors, the recent declaration by the Indian Dominion on Pakistan as a foreign country for customs and other purposes has involved the Hindu business community in serious economic difficulties and brought pressure to bear on many Hindu businessmen to remove their business to the Indian Dominion. I find that the Provincial Government has repeatedly given assurances and have at all times taken whatever steps were possible for the protection and well being of the minority community and have done their best to dissuade them from leaving their ancestral homes in East Bengal for an unknown fate in the Indian Union.

I would like now to offer a word of advice to the people of this-province. I notice a regrettable tendency on the part of a certain section of the people to regard their newly won freedom, not as liberty with the great opportunities it opens up and the heavy responsibilities it imposes, but as license.

**It is true that, with the removal of foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any Government that they may choose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day. The Government and its policy may be changed by the votes of the elected representatives of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Not only that, but no Government worthy of the name can for a moment tolerate such gangster-ism and mob rule from reckless and irresponsible people, but must deal with it firmly by all the means at its disposal.**

I am thinking particularly of the language controversy, which has caused quite unnecessary excitement and trouble in certain quarters in this province; and if

not checked, it might lead to serious consequences. What should be the official language of this province is for your representatives to decide.

But this language controversy is really only one aspect of a bigger problem—that of provincialism. I am sure you must realize that in a newly-formed State like Pakistan, consisting moreover as it does of two widely separated parts, cohesion and solidarity amongst all its citizens, from whatever part they may come, is essential for its progress, nay for its very survival.

**Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain. That unity we, as true Muslims, must jealously guard and preserve. If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis etc. first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate. Do not think that this is some abstruse proposition: our enemies are fully alive to its possibilities, which I must warn you they are already busy exploiting.**

I would ask you plainly, when political agencies and organs of the Indian press, which fought tooth and nail to prevent the creation of Pakistan, are suddenly found with a tender conscience for what they call the ‘just claims’ of the Muslims of East Bengal, do you not consider this a most sinister phenomenon? Is it not perfectly obvious that, having failed to prevent the Muslims from achieving Pakistan, these agencies are now trying to disrupt Pakistan from within by insidious propaganda aimed at setting brother Muslim against brother Muslim? That is why I want you to be on your guard against this poison of provincialism that our enemies wish to inject into our State.

**There are great tasks to be accomplished and great dangers to be overcome: overcome them we certainly shall but we shall do so much quicker if our solidarity remains unimpaired and if our determination to march forward as a single, united nation remains unshaken. This is the only way in which we can raise Pakistan rapidly and surely to its proper, worthy place in the comity of nations.**

Here I would like to address a word to the women of East Pakistan. In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity women have a most valuable part to play, as the prime architects of the character of the youth that constitute its backbone, not merely in their own homes but by helping their less fortunate sisters outside in that great task. I know that in the long struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, Muslim women have stood solidly behind their men.

**In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty.**

Finally, I would address a special word to Government servants, both Central and Provincial –that great body of pioneers, many of whom have been working under very difficult conditions in this province. Yours is a great responsibility. You must ensure that this province is given, not merely the ordinary routine services that you are bound to perform, but rather the very last ounce of selfless endeavor that you are capable of producing for your State.

**In the great task of building up this State, you have a magnificent opportunity. You must continue to face the future, handle your jobs with the same courage, confidence and determination as you have so far displayed.**

Above all do not allow yourselves to be made the pawns of mischievous propagandists and self-seeking agitators who are out to exploit both you and the difficulties with which a new State is inevitably faced the Government of Pakistan and the Provincial Government have been anxiously devising ways and means whereby your housing and other difficulties, inescapable in a period of such rapid transition, may be relieved and I trust that these difficulties will soon disappear. You owe it to the great State to which you belong, to the people whom you serve and, indeed, to yourself not to be daunted by any difficulties, but to press on and go forward and maintain sustained efforts with single-minded devotion.

**Pakistan has a great future ahead of it. It is now for us to take the fullest advantage of what nature has so abundantly provided us with and builds up a glorious and mighty State.**





## Economic feasibility of Pakistan (1 Apr 1948)

Speech on the occasion of the presentation of New Pakistan Coins and Notes by the Finance Minister of Pakistan, on 1st April, 1948.

I thank you Mr. Finance Minister for the honor you have done me by presenting the first Pakistan coins and notes to me today. I take this opportunity to publicly express the appreciation of the Government and people of Pakistan of the way in which you and your Ministry has handled the finances of our Young State and your untiring zeal to put them on a sound footing.

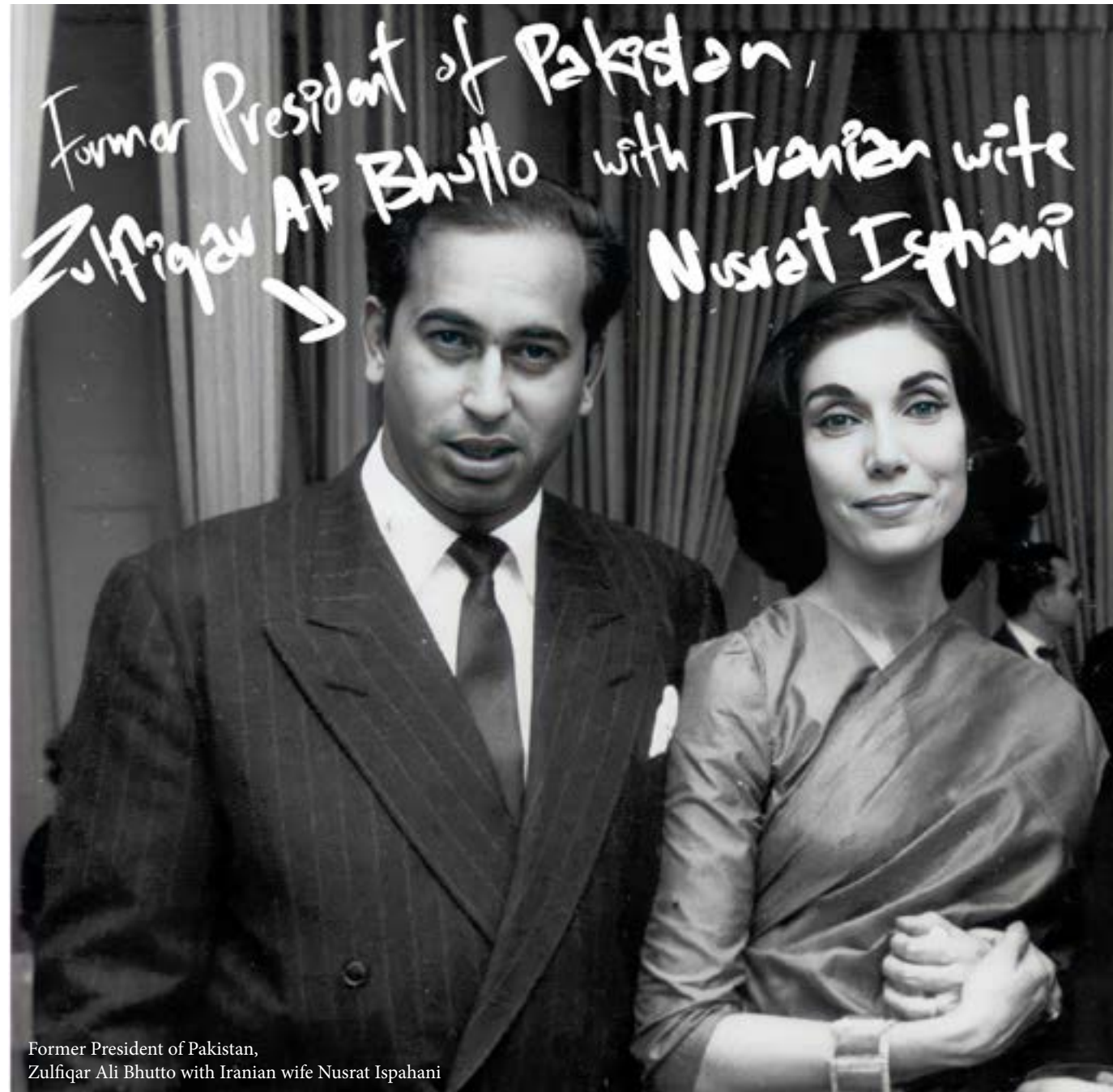
When we first raised our demand for a sovereign and independent State of Pakistan there were not a few false prophets who tried to deflect us from our set purpose by saying that Pakistan was not economically feasible. They painted extremely dark pictures of the future of our State and its financial and economic soundness. The very first budget presented by you must have caused a shock to those false prophets. It has already demonstrated the soundness of Pakistan's finances and the determination of its Government to make them more and more sound, and strong.

Although it has meant the tightening of our belts, to a certain extent, I am sure that the people of Pakistan will not mind making sacrifices in order to make our State in the near future really a strong and stable State. So that we can handle it more effectively and with ease, especially for the uplift of the masses.

**I have no doubt in my mind about the bright future that awaits Pakistan when its vast resources of men and material are fully mobilized.**

The road that we may have to travel may be somewhat uphill at present but with courage and determination we mean to achieve our objective, which is to build up and construct a strong and prosperous Pakistan.





## Irani visitors meet Quaid-e-Azam (9 April 1948)

Interview with Messrs, Massodi Farmarzi and Maliki of Iranian Goodwill Mission

In an interview with Iranian Goodwill Mission on 9 April 1948,

**the Quaid-e-Azam ascribed the visit of this mission as a third gesture by Iran to establish cordial and friendly relations between the two neighboring countries, the first two being, generous contributions by the Iranis to the Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund and exchange of diplomatic representatives.**

The Quaid-e-Azam also emphasized the need for harmony, unity of purpose and complete understanding among all the people of Asia, particularly the Muslims, as that would be a great contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.

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The 6th round of Pakistan-France Joint Security Commission Talks was held in the Ministry of Defense, Rawalpindi on 1st July 2019. Lt Gen (Retd) Ikram-ul-Haq, Secretary Defense led the Pakistan delegation while French delegation was led by Mrs Claire Landais, Secretary General for Defense and National Security.

## Common ideals of Pakistan and France (9 April 1948)

Speech in reply to the address of the French Ambassador M. Leon Marshall

Your Excellency,

It has given me great pleasure to welcome you today in your capacity as the first Ambassador of the Republic of France to Pakistan. With your appointment the relationship between our two countries assumes a closer and more intimate form and I hope and trust that this will presage the most cordial and friendly cooperation between our two countries.

The magnificent history of your great country and its achievements are well known to the world. In common with other nations, we in Pakistan have admired the high principles of democracy that form the basis of your Great State. The cry of liberty, fraternity and equality which was raised during your Great Revolution and officially adopted by your great Republic had its repercussions throughout the world as is known to every student of history. These ideals and these principles are still buoying up the hopes of many downtrodden nations. As Your Excellency has yourself observed the traditions (and may I add the culture) of Pakistan, as the youngest of the free Muslim countries of the world, has been inherited from a long past; –a past which, in view of the manifold contacts of France with the Muslim world over several centuries, is well-known and familiar to the Government and people of France.

**Indeed in view of this long contact of France with the Muslim world, the people of France and Pakistan are not strangers to one another. I hope and trust that with this background of intimate contact between our two peoples and in particular with Your Excellency's knowledge of our brother Muslim countries, your appointment will inaugurate a new era which I hope will lead to closer friendship between France and Pakistan.**





The 6<sup>th</sup> round of Pakistan-France Joint Commission talks was held in the Ministry of Defense, Rawalpindi on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 2019. Lt Gen (Retd) Ikram ul Haq, Secretary of Defense led by the Pakistani delegation while French delegation was led by Mrs Claire Landais, Secretary General for Defense & National Security

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I assure Your Excellency that we in Pakistan will give you our support and cooperation which you may require in promoting relationship of goodwill and friendship between our two countries and I trust that in the result, Pakistan and France will unitedly play their part in re-establishing peace and prosperity in the present distracted world

Once again, Your Excellency, I assure you of a warm and friendly welcome to Pakistan.





## Responsibilities of the youth (12th Apr 1948)

Reply to the Address presented by the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar  
on 12th April, 1948

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am indeed very happy to be present here today and to have the privilege of meeting and addressing the students of this great Dar-ul-Ulum, who are the future builders of Pakistan.

On this occasion the thought that is naturally uppermost in my mind is the support and help that the movement for the achievement of Pakistan received from the student community, particularly of this Province. I cannot help feeling that the unequivocal and unmistakable decision of the people of this Province to join Pakistan, which was given through the referendum held last year, was helped considerably by the contribution made by the students. I take particular pride in the fact that the people of this Province have never and in no way lagged behind in the struggle for freedom and achievement of Pakistan.

Now that we have achieved our national goal, you will expect me to give you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we can put our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all wish it to be; namely one of the greatest States in the world.

**The first thing you should do is to learn to appreciate the difference in the approach to the problems with which we are faced now, in contrast with those which were facing us when we were struggling for our independence. During our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan we were critical of the Government which was a foreign Government and which we wanted to replace by a Government of our own. In doing so we had to sacrifice many things including the academic**



careers of our younger generation. May I say that you played your part magnificently. Now that you have achieved your goal, that is, a Government of your own, and a country which belongs to you and in which you can live as free men, your responsibilities and your approach to the political, social and economic problems must also change. The duties required of you now are: develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background.

You must devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State. You must learn to obey for only then you can learn to command. In your criticism of the Government you must learn to be constructive. Government welcomes constructive criticism. You can make a big contribution towards bringing about harmony and unity where for personal and other selfish considerations some people may adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity.

**Remember that your Government is like your own garden. Your garden flourishes by the way you look after it and the efforts that you put towards its improvement. Similarly, your Government can only flourish by your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts to improve it.**

I am not making any particular reference to you but now that I have had the opportunity of talking to you I must warn you not to allow your actions to be guided by ill-digested information or slogans and catch-words. Do not take them to heart or repeat them parrot-like. Take advantage of your period of training that this institution offers you, by equipping yourself to become leaders of the future generation.

There is a common fault with the students against which I must warn you. The students believe that no one can tell them anything which they do not already know. That mentality is harmful and often leads to quite a lot of mischief. But if you want to learn by your own experience, and not by the experience of your elders, let me tell you that as you become older, you will be more ready to learn from your costly experiences and the knock that you shall have received during your lifetime, which will harm you more than anybody else.

I naturally welcome your statement that you do not believe in provincialism.

**You must learn to distinguish between your love for your province and your love and duty to the State as a whole. Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond provincialism. It demands a broader sense of vision, and greater sense of patriotism. Our duty to the State often demands that we must be ready to submerge our individual or provincial interests into the common cause for common good. Our duty to the State comes first; our duty to our Province, to our district,**



Quaid-e-Azam with Bucha Muslim League Council Members. Jinnah took keen interest in the establishment governing the Indian subcontinent and its legal and political affairs, focusing more on the empowerment of Indian Muslim youth. He staunchly believed that instigating positive behavioral change amongst the youth of the country will result in a more united and disciplined nation.

**to our town and to our village and ourselves comes next. Remember we are building up a State which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World. We therefore need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanize and weld us all into one united and strong nation. That is the only way in which we can achieve our goal, the goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Musalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives.**

You have referred to the question of Khyber University. Let me tell you that nothing is nearer to my heart than to have a great center of culture and learning in a place like Peshawar, a place from where the rays of knowledge and culture can spread throughout the Middle East and Central Asia. I therefore, fully sympathize with your aspirations on this behalf and, provided you go the right way about it, perhaps you will get your University sooner than you can imagine.

Finally, I would earnestly advise you to think and act with sobriety and in all humility as selfless and true soldiers of the people, and with absolute loyalty to Pakistan.

Remember, you must have patience. Rome was not built in a day. Time factor, therefore, is essential. You must trust in your Government and I assure you that they are fully alive to the needs of the people, and particularly the masses who require special attention. Give them full chance and opportunity. The success of our achievements will depend upon our unity, discipline and faith not only in ourselves but in God who determines the destinies of peoples and nations.



I thank you once more for the honor that you have given me today. I wish you every happiness and success.

There is one thing which I am sorry to say I missed to refer to in my written speech.

**My young friends you must now fully realize the vital change, the fundamental change that has taken place. You are not now merely to confine yourselves to becoming Government servants which was the avenue to which most of you aspired. You must now realize that fresh fields, new channels and avenues are now being thrown open to you where you have unlimited opportunities, namely, you must now direct your attention to science, commercial banking, insurance, industry and technical education.**

You must be reading newspapers and knowing how Pakistan is moving fast in creating various institutions of the kind I have mentioned. Many of you do not know how fast it is going, but it is going very fast and as we go on, these institutions will multiply. Those are the avenues, those are the channels where you can do well to yourselves and also serve the nation better than as clerks. I want to impress upon those who are responsible for the education of our young boys that they must concentrate and direct all energies in this direction.

You do not know what is waiting for you. I give one instance to illustrate. I know one young man who took a Government job as usual after he had completed his university career. He was a B. Com. and had some training in the commercial system. He was very happy to get a job in a Government department on Rs. 150 p.m. He was quite happy because an average B.A. does not get more than a tongawala or a taxiwala. He was very happy. He would not have received more than a few hundreds even after 35 years' service. But suddenly somebody picked him up and got him in his bank and straightaway he was given Rs. 500/- p.m. Now, today, that is four years after, let me tell you, that he is drawing Rs. 1,500 p.m. --Rs. 1,500 he would have never received till the time he died. Now, therefore, I once more impress upon you to direct your minds to these channels.

One thing more I would like to say that there is some impression that the public is kept away from me. This you may call the Government's management or the State visit of mine. I want this impression to be removed. I want to make it clear that the public is absolutely free to do what they like, provided they maintain discipline; whereas the public get so excited that they break every rule and every arrangement in their enthusiasm and regard for me. But that does no good to anybody and it is dangerous. Therefore, I hope that everyone will impress upon the people, especially my young friends, to line up if they want to see me. You can by all means come and see me with full freedom, but line up properly, keep order and maintain discipline so that I can comfortably pass as the object is that I should see you and should see me.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honor you have done me today.



Arshad Nadeem, first Pakistani track and field athlete to receive direct qualification for the Olympics. Arshad finished fifth in the men's javelin throw event with a throw of 84.62 m.

## Importance of physical culture (12th Apr 1948)

Message to the First Olympic Games on 12th April 1948

For sound minds we should have sound bodies and that is why nations the world over attach so much importance to body-building and physical culture. The first Pakistan Olympic Games should act as an incentive to all Pakistan nationals to emulate the Olympic Motto “Citius, Althius, Fortius” i.e. “Faster, Higher and stronger” I wish the organizers of the games and all competitors the best of luck.

**Build up Pakistan higher, firmer and stronger.**

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'X' followed by a long, sweeping diagonal stroke.





## Strong Air Force - A shield against aggression (13th Apr 1948)

Speech to the Royal Pakistan Air Force Station Risalpur on 13th April, 1948.

It gives me great pleasure to pay my first visit to a unit of the Royal Pakistan Air Force.

**There is no doubt that any country without a strong Air Force is at the mercy of any aggressor. Pakistan must build up her Air Force as quickly as possible.**

It must be an efficient Air Force second to none and must take its right place with the Army and the Navy in securing Pakistan's defense.

I am well aware of air developments in other countries and my Government is determined that the Royal Pakistan Air Force will not lag behind.

The Royal Pakistan Air Force has started with very few assets, except loyalty and determination, to succeed. But the Royal Pakistan Air Force is already taking shape; this school formed only 7 months ago is a worthy example of this.

I know also that you are short of aircraft and equipment, but efforts are being made to procure the necessary equipment and orders for modern aircraft have also been placed.

**But aircraft and personnel in any numbers are of little use, unless there is a team spirit within the Air Force and a strict sense of discipline prevails.**

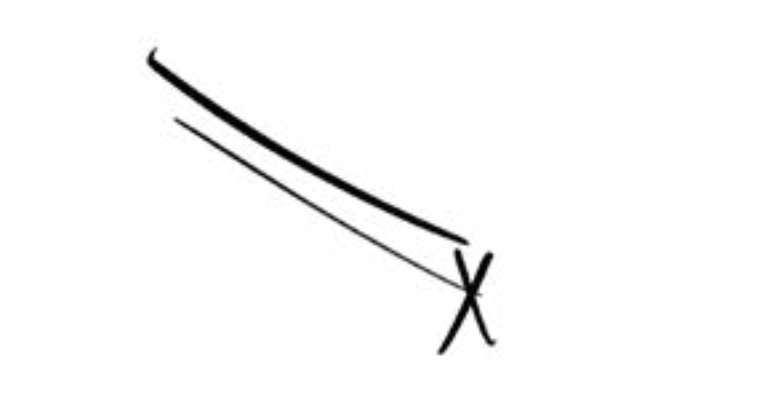
I charge you to remember that only with discipline and self-reliance can the Royal Pakistan Air Force be worthy of Pakistan.



Prime Minister Imran Khan oversees J10-C fighter jets’ induction to PAF

I am pleased to learn of the progress which this School has made and as desired by the Commander and yourselves I name it from today “The Royal Pakistan Air Force College”

I thank you all and I wish your school and yourselves all success.







## Historical role of 3rd Armored Brigade (13 Apr 1948)

Address to Officers and men of 3rd Armored Brigade, Risalpur on 13th April, 1948

I am pleased to have visited you today at your Headquarters. “Risalpur”, as the name indicates, had been the home of the Cavalry for a long time. For centuries the cavalry has been regarded as the “Corps d’elite of every nation. Although you have now changed your mounts for the awe-inspiring machines – the tanks, your perseverance, patience, coolness and dash that had to be displayed by a cavalier, must still remain your guiding light.

**Your Brigade is the only one of its kind in the Pakistan Army, in fact, in the whole of Muslim world. This unique distinction that you enjoy is a befitting compliment to the biggest Muslim State.**

Your victories and achievements in World War II are too well known for me to recount. Your Brigade invariably formed the spearhead of the Fourteenth Army’s advance from Manipur Road to Rangoon, and the privilege of continuing to wear the famous Fourteenth Army badge by your Brigade is befitting of your deeds.

Since the establishment of Pakistan almost every unit of this Brigade has been reformed, and within this short period of 8 months you have knit yourself into a formidable team.

All this happened while you were continuously being called upon to perform multifarious duties, such as evacuating millions of stranded Muslims from the Eastern Punjab, and State, and maintaining law and order within your own borders. This is a great achievement in itself and can only be attributed to the high morale, integrity, and selfless devotion to duty and loyalty.



I have no doubt that you will always be prepared to take on any hazardous duty which you may be called upon to perform.

Lastly, I would like to mention how pleased I am to see this formation which is fully equipped and trained to fight with up-to-date and modern instruments. This is indicative of a nation's fitness to take an equal place with other big nations of the world.







## Armored Corps -Spearhead of the army (13th Apr 1948)

Address to Officers and men of Pakistan Armored Corps Center, Naushera 13th April, 1948.

Officers and Men,

As you know on partition all Armored Corps Training Establishments were in India. We were left with absolutely no training Establishment for the Armored Corps. Literally, we in Pakistan had to start from scratch in this particular field. And it was very essential to take steps to open a Pakistan Training Establishment as soon as possible so that the intake of recruits should not be held up and their training should continue with as little break as possible and Courses could be run for Regiments. But unfortunately, considerable delay was caused owing to the impossibility of moving the Pakistan element from India until October, and I am glad to say it is due to the untiring efforts of all of you that, in such a short space of time, the Center is now functioning fully in all departments.

The Cavalry has always been the spearhead of the Army. This is no less true in these days of mechanization than it was in the day of horses. To carry out their role, Cavalry must have the very best in Officers and men; whether they do in fact attain this level depends very largely on you. You produce the recruit and turn him out as a trained soldier. You train officers and men in all the latest developments of your arm of the service. Upon this training and teaching depends on the efficiency of the Armored Corps as a whole.

Those of you, who are in the Staff of the Center, make up your minds that there is always room for improvement, and much depends upon your efforts.

Those of you, who are under training, are determined always to do your best, to take the fullest advantage of your opportunities here.

There are many of you on parade today who have come here before going on pension or release.

**Your Army Service is completed and you have given the best years of your life to the service of your Country. Your Country is grateful. Many of you may not wish to go—but it is unavoidable. After all great wars, it is necessary to reduce the Army to its peacetime strength and all cannot remain.**

Remember that you have learned much of the world and of the duties of a good citizenship in the Army. You can continue to serve your Country in your homes by spreading this knowledge and by the example of your way of living.

There are many among you, who are refugees from India. You are uncertain of the future for yourselves and for your families. I can assure you that problems are receiving the most earnest attention of the Government and that no efforts are being spared in endeavoring to arrange for our resettlement. I am glad to know that this Center contributed the sum of Rs. 4,516 to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, which is giving much aid in this work.

**Do not forget esprit-de-corps – pride in your Regiment, pride in the Corps as a whole, and pride in and devotion to your country, Pakistan; Pakistan depends on you and puts her faith in you as defenders of your Country. Be worthy of her. This Army was built up and made its reputation due to the devotion and bravery of your fathers and grandfathers. Make up your minds to be worthy sons.**

You have started well and have accomplished much. Continue as you have started and all will be well with the Pakistan Armored Corps.



X





## Administration must be impartial - Advice to Govt. servants (14th Apr 1948)

Informal talk to Civil Officers at Government House, Peshawar on 14th April, 1948.

The reason why I wanted to meet you is that I wanted to say a few words to you, who are occupying a very important position in the administration of Pakistan in this Province.

**The first thing that I want to tell you is this, that you should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician. If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants to the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. Service is the backbone of the State. Governments are formed, Government is defeated, Prime Ministers come and go, Ministers come and go, but you stay on, and, therefore, there is a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders. You should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political leader—this is not your business.**

Whichever Government is formed according to the constitution, and whoever happens to be the Prime Minister or Minister coming into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is not only to serve that government loyally and faithfully, but, at the same time, fearlessly, maintaining your high reputation, your prestige, your honor and the integrity of your service. If you will start with that determination, you will make a great contribution to the building up of Pakistan of our conception and our dream—a glorious State and one of the greatest nations in the world.

While impressing this upon you on your side,

**I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they ever try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism – which is a horrible disease, and for which not only your province, but others too, are suffering – if they try and interfere with you in this way, I say, they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan.**

I hope that each one of you will understand his own sphere of duty and responsibility and act with others harmoniously and in complete cooperation, keeping in mind that each has to do his duty within the sphere to which he belongs. If you on your side start with that determination and enthusiasm – and I hope the other side will also realize what terrible evil they are raising up and how it demoralizes the service to try and influence this department or that department; this officer or that officer – and if you will stick to your determination you will have done a great service to your nation. Putting pressure and influence on service people, I know is a very common fault of politicians and those today, resolve and determine to act according to my humble advice that I am giving you.

Maybe some of you may fall victim to not satisfying the whims of Ministers. I hope it does not happen, but you may even be put to trouble not because you are doing anything wrong but because you are doing right.

**Sacrifices have to be made and I appeal to you, if need be, to come forward and make the sacrifice and face the position of being put on the blacklist or being otherwise worried or troubled. If you will give me the opportunity of your sacrifices, some of you at least, believe me; we will find a remedy for that very soon. I tell you that you will not remain on the blacklist if you discharge your duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally to the State. It is you who can give us the opportunity to create powerful machinery, which will give you a complete sense of security.**

Everybody should realize that there is a fundamental and vital change of the entire Government and the constitution under which we are working. You should try to create an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that everybody gets a fair clean and justice is done to everybody. And not merely should justice be done but people should feel that justice has been done to them. There may be some selfish people – and I know your class is no exception – who think of immediate advantages, and work or act for better prospects and promotions and so on for themselves, and therefore, for the time being, they create difficulties and sometimes they start slogans about outsiders such as Punjabi, Sindhis or Pathans all such things are a hindrance and an obstruction in the way of galvanizing the people and welding them together as a great nation. It is not that we want to put any difficulty in the way of the sons of the province. No doubt, it is your province; if you have men who are fit for high jobs, I assure you, they will not escape our notice. You should draw

our attention and tell us that here is a man; and not only shall we be very glad that he should flourish, prosper and progress in this province, but we shall see to it that he is given his proper place in Pakistan.

**We want men who are fit for high jobs and sometimes it is really difficult to find the right type of men. There are so many things that are going on and I sometimes find great difficulty in getting the right man for the right post. It is very difficult; I am trying my very best to get the right men. If you will give me time and your support and cooperation, believe me, that the field for service is not going to be confined so far as you are concerned, to your province but will be extended to the whole of Pakistan.**

Of course, it must take time; it cannot be done at once. I hope that with assistance, co-operation and support from you and from the people, we shall be able to make very rapid progress.

Finally, I congratulate you for having done well so far. The dangerous position, in which we were placed when we took over power from the British Government, has passed.

**It was a big task and things were made difficult for us. I need not go into details, but you know how we were constantly faced with an organized plan to crush Pakistan and to break us. In other provinces as well as in your province, the services have done well in spite of all that. We have warded off and withstood all machinations, and your province has not lagged behind in this respect. And, therefore, I sincerely congratulate you for the way in which you have managed things here, and I hope that you will continue in the same spirit.**

There is plenty of room for improvement. We have to learn a lot and we have to adjust ourselves to new developments and new issues which are facing us. But I am sure you will play your part well.

I thank you for giving me this opportunity to say these few words. I wish you all success in your efforts.





## Essential qualities of a regiment (15th Apr 1948)

Address at the Presentation of Colors to the 2/15th Punjab Machine Gun Regiment, Peshawar, on 15th April, 1948

This occasion, which has afforded me the opportunity of presenting colors to your Regiment, is an honor of which I need hardly say that I feel very proud. The qualities that are required for the making of a Regiment like yours of a very high order such as an unbounded sense of discipline, loyalty, and selfless devotion to duty and physical endurance.

**A man cannot at all times be thinking of great qualities – and indeed he would be a poor sort of man if he were to lose himself in an analysis of qualities – but let me tell you in a nutshell, they are all embodied in one simple phrase – loyalty to your Regiment – and your colors are a symbol and a reminder of what your Regiment stands for just as you stand for your nation.**

It is not for me to praise your records in the battles that you have fought, that is a matter of history and facts. But I may venture to say that I have learnt of your heroic deeds with great interest and pride.

**But a Regiment has much more to do than be in the firing lines of the battlefield, and you have, I hope, more years of peace than war before you.**

Live always true to the ideals to which you have just dedicated yourselves afresh – to the service of Pakistan, and make your contribution to the protection of the weak

and to the hollowed memory of your comrades and thus enhance the glory of Islam.

**It is not words that count so much as deeds**

and – I am confident that you will live up to your traditions when you are called upon to defend your country and the safety and security of your nation. You will, I am sure, hold aloft the banner of Pakistan and maintain its honor and prestige as a great nation.

In your new journey, let me tell you that you have my best wishes.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'X' followed by a long, sweeping diagonal stroke.





## The Frontier policy of Pakistan (17 Apr 1948)

Address to the Tribal Jirga at Government House, Peshawar on 17th April, 1948

I have been looking forward to meeting you, representatives of the Tribes of the North-West Frontier, and it has given me very great pleasure indeed to have met you here today. I am sorry I have not been able to visit you in your own part of the country, but I hope to be able to do so sometime in the future.

I thank you for your warm welcome to me and for the kind personal references you have made about me. Whatever I have done, I did as a servant of Islam, and only tried to perform my duty and made every possible contribution within my power to help our nation. It has been my constant endeavor to try to bring about unity among Musalmans, and I hope that in the great task of reconstruction and building up Great and Glorious Pakistan, that is ahead of us, you realize that solidarity is now more essential than it ever was for achieving Pakistan, which by the Grace of God we have already done. I am sure that I shall have your fullest support in this mission.

**I want every Musalmans to do his utmost and help me and support me in creating complete solidarity among the Musalmans, and I am confident that you will not lag behind any other individual or part of Pakistan. We Musalmans believe in one God, one book—the Holy Quran—and one Prophet. So we must stand united as one Nation. You know the old saying that in unity lies strength united we stand, divided we fall.**

I am glad to note that you have pledged your loyalty to Pakistan, and that you will help Pakistan with all your resources and ability. I appreciate this solemn declaration made by you today. I am fully aware of the part that you have already played in the establishment of Pakistan, and I am thankful to you for all the sympathy and support you gave me in my struggle and fight for the establishment of Pakistan.

**Keeping in view your loyalty, help, assurances and declarations we ordered, as you know, the withdrawal of troops from Waziristan as a concrete and definite gesture on our part – that we treat you with absolute confidence and trust you as our Muslim brethren across the border. I am glad that there is full realization on your part that now the position is basically different. It is no longer a foreign Government as it was, but it is now a Muslim government and Muslim rule that holds the reigns of this great independent sovereign State of Pakistan. It is now the duty of every Musalmans, yours and mine, and every Pakistani to see that the State, which we have established, is strengthened in every department of life and made prosperous and happy for all, especially the poor and the needy.**

Pakistan has no desire to unduly interfere with your internal freedom. On the contrary; Pakistan wants to help you and make you, as far as it lies in our power, self-reliant and self-sufficient and help in your educational, social and economic uplift, and not be left as you are dependent on annual doles, as has been the practice hitherto which meant that at the end of the year you were no better off than beggars asking for allowances, if possible a little more.

**We want to put you on your legs as self-respecting citizens who have the opportunities of fully developing and producing what is best in you and your land.**

You know that the Frontier Province is a deficit province, but that does not trouble us so much. Pakistan will not hesitate to go out of its way to give every possible help – financial and otherwise – to build up the economic and social life of our tribal brethren across the border.

I agree with you that education is absolutely essential, and I am glad that you appreciate the value of it. It will certainly be my constant solicitude and indeed that of my Government to try to help you to educate your children and with your cooperation and help we may very soon succeed in making great progress in this direction.

Your desire for entering the Pakistan Service in the Civil and Military will receive my full consideration and that of my Government, and I hope that some progress would be made in this direction also without unnecessary delay.

You have also expressed your desire that the benefits, such as your allowances and khassadari, that you have had in the past and are receiving, should

continue. Neither my Government nor I have any desire to modify the existing arrangements except, in consultation with you, so long as you remain loyal and faithful to Pakistan.

I know there has been scarcity of food grains, cloth, and sugar. You must realize that we have all been passing through difficult times all over the world and Pakistan is no exception; indeed the whole world is facing hardships, but we are not unmindful of this problem, and we are endeavoring to the utmost of our capacity, with special care for Balochistan and the Frontier Province, and you will not be neglected in this respect. We will do our utmost to see that essential commodities reach you in time and in reasonably sufficient quantities. I am hoping and looking forward to the time when more normal conditions may present themselves to us, so that we may be able to live with more ease and comfort in the way of food, clothing, housing and all the necessities of life.

In the end, I warmly thank you for the wholehearted and unstinted declaration of your pledge and your assurances to support Pakistan, so that it may reach the pinnacle of glories of Islam and become a great and mighty nation among other nations of the world.





## Educational progress of Frontier Province (18th Apr 1948)

Reply to the Address of Welcome Presented by the Principal, Staff and Students of the Edwards College, Peshawar on 18th April, 1948.

Mr. Principal, Members of the Staff and my Student-friends,

I am no stranger to this Institution. I came here, as your Address rightly records, in 1936. Well, perhaps many of you do not know what happened then, but, Mr. Principal, the sympathy and the kindness that your Institution showed me at that time, I shall always remember. I was, to put it one word, literally dismissed from this Province in 1937. But that did not dishearten me, I came again, I believe, in 1945 or 1946 during the time of the last election. I found then that there was a great change, but, unfortunately, on that occasion also we were defeated. I do not like to remind you of unpleasant things. My young friends, ladies and gentlemen, I would say one word and it is this that this Province of yours had to undergo a lot of suffering and trouble, but it was ultimately saved by the Grace of God. Today, I am happy to see better things here. What more can one really expect than to see that this mighty land has now been brought under a rule, which is Islamic, Muslim rule, as a sovereign independent State.

**Now, we have much more difficult task ahead – how to reconstruct, how to build it up and how to revolutionize and re-model the past legacies from which we are suffering, namely, the mentality, the character and the evil customs of which we have been the victims for a century or more as slave people.**

Mr. Principal, every time I came, your Institution was kind to me and today, you were good enough to pay me a compliment of the highest order. I thank you, your Staff and my young friends. I am very glad to note the development of this Institution. The history of your College is one, which any student should feel proud of. It is very gratifying to learn of your many activities in the realm of education and the spreading of knowledge and learning amongst the people of the Frontier. In your Address, Mr. Principal, you have touched on subjects to which I am paying close attention. I am glad you are giving a new re-orientation to the system of education.

I entirely agree that instead of turning mere clerks and Government servants, your College is now offering suitable subjects for students, which would enable them to take their places in commerce, trade, industry, banking and insurance business. It should be the aim of our Colleges to produce first class experts in Agriculture, Zoology, Engineering, Medicine and other specialized subjects. Only thus shall we be able to come to grips with the problems that are now facing us in the task of raising the standard of living, especially of the common man.

The interest of Frontier Province is naturally close to my heart. Its affairs are more directly the concern of the Office that I have the honor to hold. I can assure you; therefore, I shall watch with great interest what this Institution is doing to help in spreading education amongst the people of this Province. I am very glad to note that the Provincial Government and your Prime Minister are looking after your Institution so well and extend to you their help and guidance. Mr. Principal, this is the most refreshing note that I have observed in your Address, a thing that is generally very rare. It is when you say, "we do not mean to take this opportunity of placing our needs before you, because we are being very well looked after by the Honorable Prime Minister, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, who is a great source of inspiration to us". This is, as I have said, very rare. Generally every class, every section, every association, every individual is used to a system and a method. It is either full of praises and flattery, which is demoralizing, or it is full of grievances and complaints. Most of the Addresses are nothing, but petitions and prayers.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not blame you. It is the fault of the system under which we have been working and which has so demoralized our people.

**They do not see they cannot realize what a revolutionary and basic change has taken place. Now, you have not to submit petitions and prayers. This Government is your Government. But every Government is slow to move with regard to its policy, with regard to its program. The Administration moves in a particular way, and this applies to every sovereign independent Government.**

No doubt, I do not claim that ours is a model Administration. Far from it. I do not say that our Government has, within the few months that we have been in power, been always right. No, far from it. There is plenty of improvement in our room for

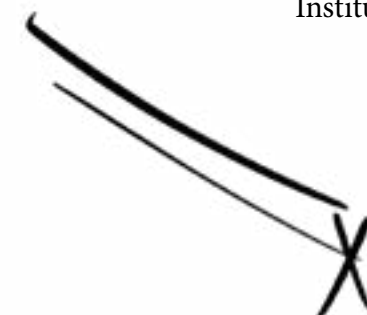


Administration and in those who are in-charge of the Government, the Ministers in the Provinces and at the Center, including myself. Everyday we learn, but now I want you to keep your heads up as citizens of a free and independent sovereign State.

**Praise your government when it deserves, criticize your government fearlessly when it deserves, but do not go on all the time attacking, including in destructive criticism, taking delight in running down the Ministry or the Officials.**

They are not bureaucrats now. This is not a foreign Government that you should take delight in exaggerating things, in indulging in destructive criticism. This is your Government. It is quite different from its predecessor. Therefore, appreciate when a good thing is done. Certainly criticize fearlessly, when a wrong thing is done. I welcome criticism, but it must be honest and constructive. Mind you, by that method you will improve matters more quickly for the benefit of our own people.

Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for the honor you have done this and me is the third time that you have received me so warmly. I hope in future also, I shall have the honor and the opportunity of visiting your Institution.





## Quaid-e-Azam's appeal to remain united (20 Apr 1948)

Address at a public meeting at Peshawar

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah addressing a mammoth public meeting in Peshawar, made a fervent appeal to the people of the Frontier Province to remain united under the banner of the Muslim League as they had been during their struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

The Quaid-e-Azam warned the people against the grave national emergency existing both internally and externally and stressed that under the circumstances they should have only one political party. He advised the people not to believe in new mushroom-like political parties organized by erstwhile anti-Pakistan elements, to avoid domestic controversies, petty quarrels and provincialism.

Referring to “evil legacies” of the past, the Quaid-e-Azam said that these could only be eradicated if they stood united as one nation and fully supported their government.

Mr. Jinnah stated that

**“We still have a long way to build up Pakistan but I have no doubt that by the grace of God, by adopting the right methods and the right course we shall march along to make it one of the greatest states of the world”.**

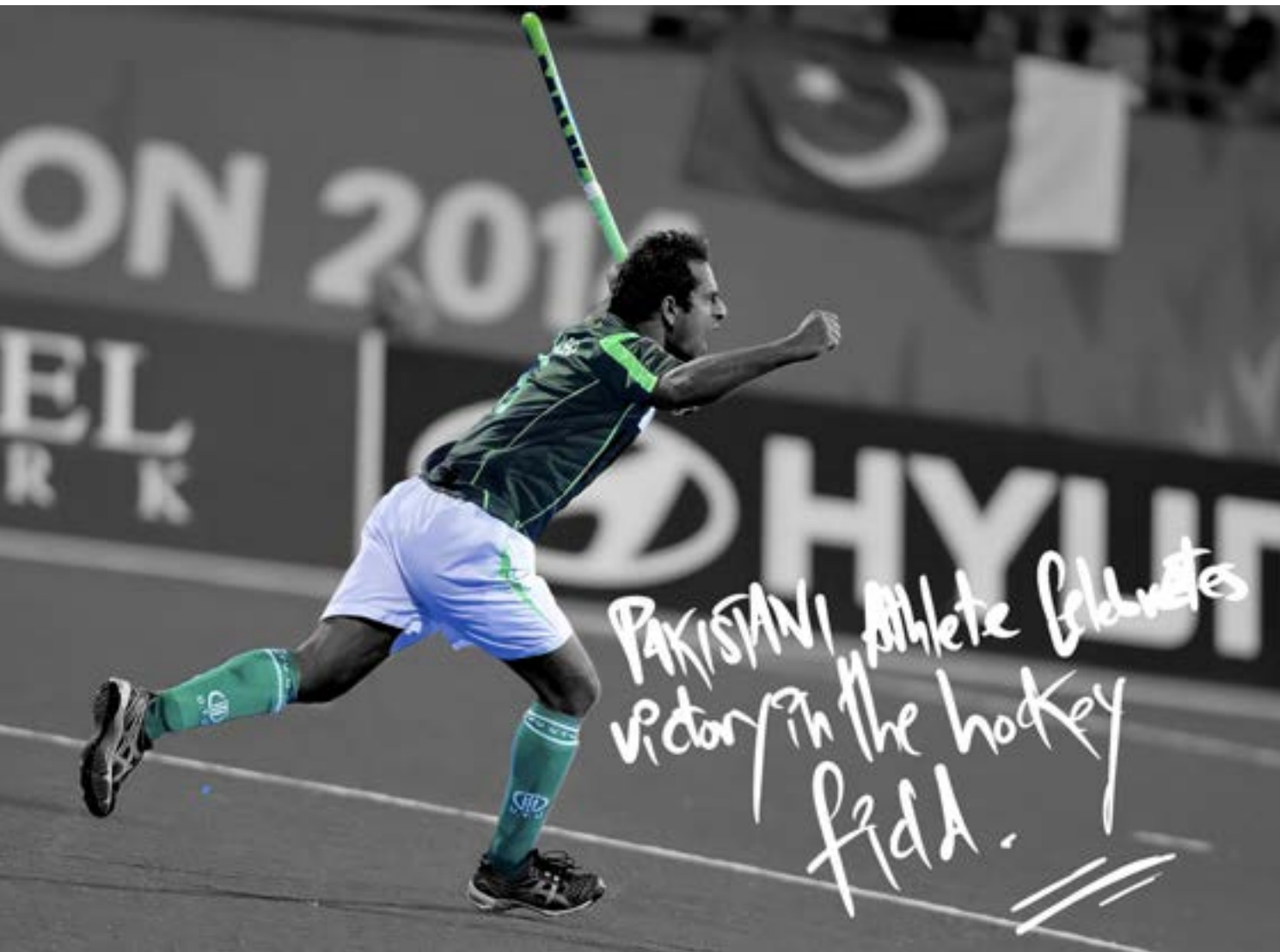
The Quaid-e-Azam continued “Do not be misled. You have seen, you have realized, that it is the Muslim League and the Muslim League alone that has saved the Frontier Province from going into the clutches of Hindu Raj. That Party has made sacrifices, and thousands have died in the achievement of Pakistan. Do you think that the Muslim League can give you the right lead or those who are against us, those who were in the enemy camp. Are they entitled to look after Pakistan or are we?”

### **Bribery and Nepotism**

Concluding, the Quaid-e-Azam observed “No doubt, we have got men who are selfish. I know we have got men who are selfish. I know we have men who are guilty of jobbery, bribery and nepotism. I know all this is going on. I do not mean that the Government is perfect, but now we have got the reins of the Government, believe me, we are wide awake. We are watching your government, your province, your ministry, your civil services and what is generally happening in this province. It is under our searchlight and there is no doubt we shall soon be able to x-ray it and throw out the poison from our body-politic. But you must have a little patience and give us a chance and a reasonable time.”







Pakistani athlete celebrates victory in the hockey field.

## Be a force of peace: advice to athletes (22 April 1948)

Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the First Pakistan Olympic Games at Karachi on 22nd April, 1948.

Pir Illahi Baksh, Mr. Ahmed Jaffer, Members of the Organizing and other Committees, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It has given me great pleasure to come here today to perform the opening ceremony of the first Pakistan Olympic games.

**I agreed to become the patron-in-chief of the Pakistan Olympic Association in the realization that the success of our people in all walks of life depends upon the cultivation of “Sound Minds” the natural concomitant to “Sound Bodies”.**

To the athletes and youth of the nation I bid welcome.

**My message to you is to build up physical strength not for aggression, not for militarism, but for becoming fighting fit, all your life and all the time in every walk of life of your nation wherever you are and always to be a force for peace, international amity and goodwill.**

After these games you shall go to the World Olympic at Wembley Stadium, London, representing us as messengers of our goodwill and my best wishes will go with you. Remember to win is nothing, it is the effort and the spirit behind the effort that counts.

To the organizers of Olympic games I say well-done for successfully completing the preparations for this meet in such a short time. You say you want a Stadium and are planning to hold Pan-Islamic Olympics in 1950, and I hope your wishes may materialize. It all depends on you. Your demand for a State Department of Physical Culture and Education is one which requires consideration of the Pakistan Government. I hope that they will examine this aspect of the matter in dealing with many educational problems that are facing us.

In the end, I thank you for your warm welcome and wish you every success.

# The commercial policy of Pakistan (27th Apr 1948)

Reply to the Address presented by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce on 27th April 1948.

It gives me great pleasure, Mr. Chairman, to be here this morning with you all at this 88th Annual General Meeting. I presume it is no accident to hold this meeting in the premises of the Karachi Cotton Association, for one can hardly dissociate Karachi from commerce and the commerce of this place from cotton. You have, Mr. Chairman, covered a very wide field in your address, from the founding of the sovereign and independent State of Pakistan to the petty usurpations of power by minor officials here and there over this far-flung Dominion, from the intricacies of cotton trade to the commonplace of delays. You will, however, hardly expect me to follow you in every detail in my reply. I cannot, however, let an opportunity, such as you have presented to me today, pass without calling attention to certain salient points arising out of your address.

Let me, Mr. Chairman first acknowledge the tribute which you have justly paid to my Government and my people for the manner in which they faced up to the tragic events which so closely followed the establishment of Pakistan. It was inevitable that many otherwise sensible people should greet Pakistan as an unwanted and intolerable child whose birth could not long survive their displeasure. You have rightly pointed out how mistaken were the people who, because the idea of Pakistan was new and unfamiliar to them, thought Pakistan would have but only an ephemeral existence.

**None can now doubt, in your words, Mr. Chairman, that a new Power was born among the nations of the world on August 14, 1947. The difficulties and the tribulations through which Pakistan has passed have helped to strengthen and temper the new State into steel, which is now, well and truly set upon the course on the uncharted seas of the future.**

The people who have made the effort which secured their separate freedom in the face of derision, disbelief and the utmost political opposition will not fail to make the additional effort necessary to consolidate their liberties, and any delusion or illusion from which some people still suffer, let me make it clear, that the sooner they bring their notion – Pakistan surrendering to India or seeking Union with



Central Government – the better it will be for peace and prosperity of both the Dominions and will help a great deal to establish goodwill and neighborly good feelings.

I am glad to note that you are disaffiliating your Chambers from the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India as a necessary corollary of the partition, and intend to form an Association of your Pakistan Chambers of Commerce.

You, Mr. Chairman, have rightly given pride of place to cotton in dealing with trade and commerce. I am glad to know that you have recognized that Pakistan's cotton policy could not have been more liberal or less restrictive than it was until the impact of India's decision to decontrol cloth and refuse it to us except in return for cotton, forced measures of regulation on us. Even so, all contracts made before 23rd January 1948 by traders in Pakistan – national or foreign – were honored. That the cotton trade should have shown such admirable capacity to adjust itself to changing conditions is a matter for gratification.

**I would like to express the appreciation of the Government of Pakistan for the manner in which traders have played their part in helping to move cotton to the port and from the port to the markets of the world.**

You have also referred at some length to the import policy of the Government of Pakistan and internal controls exercised within the country and have pleaded that, as few handicaps should be placed on trading as possible. Regulation and restriction with their attendant administrative evils will be imposed only where conditions compel, and any expressions of opinion you care to make from time to time will always receive my Ministry's careful thought.

**I can assure you on behalf of the Government of Pakistan that it is their intention and policy to let the channels of free trading flow as freely as possible.**

In so far as the internal controls on essential commodities are concerned, my Government has already decided to review them at a conference with the Provinces in an attempt to relax and remove as many of these as circumstances would now permit. So far as overseas trade is concerned a considerable sector of imports has been released from licensing by the notification of an Open General License for a wide range of goods coming from Commonwealth sterling countries. This list will be kept under constant review with the object of expanding it and the question of including therein imports and other soft currency areas is now receiving the attention of the Ministry for Commerce.

**The situation in regard to dollar imports and other hard currencies is, of course, very difficult and licensing must continue to protect the balance of payments. Even in this field, however, you can assist by bending your energies to directing and increasing our exports to dollar and hard currency countries. This, fortunately, should not be difficult in the case of the major Pakistan raw materials and I shall look forward, Gentlemen, to your constant support in**

**this matter.**

Anything that the Government can do to facilitate exports to these areas by removing as many restrictions as possible will be done. I have little doubt, gentlemen, that your efforts in this direction will bear fruit as we are rich in the commodities which the world so badly requires, like cotton, jute, hides, skins and wool. You have made a plea that is in the interests of trade. Government should make an announcement of the import policy in good time. The Government of Pakistan fully appreciates this view and will do all they can to make as early an announcement as circumstances would permit. The uncertain factors, which delayed the announcement of their policy in the past, will, the Government hopes, not recur in future.

The complete breakdown of the banking and financial mechanism in West Punjab is a matter which government action alone cannot remedy.

**We can make the conditions as favorable as possible but bankers alone can repair the machine. It is our unalterable determination to maintain law and order and to secure and retain public confidence in our administration of affairs. In this context and given your goodwill, the reconstruction and restoration of our commerce and trade should proceed apace.**

This is my appeal to you today, Gentleman, to make a steady and sustained effort to help us to help you.

There is one matter, Mr. Chairman, which you have mentioned only in passing, namely, the statement issued by my Government on the Industrial Policy of Pakistan. The statement is of such far-reaching character that I would ask you as a business community to examine it with the care and attention which the importance of the subject and the direct bearing it has on your own well-being, requires. That my Government should have taken time to consider matters carefully before formulating their policy, which must vitally affect the future of the country, is a matter that need not cause any sense of frustration.

**For I am reminded in the connection of an observation of that wise man, Francis Bacon who said – “It is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes and the ends to Briarcus with his hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed”**

Whilst I do not propose to recapitulate the statement here,

**I would like to call your particular attention to the keen desire of the Government of Pakistan to associate individual initiative and private enterprise at every stage of industrialization.**

The number of industries Government has reserved for management by themselves consists of Arms and Munitions of War, generation of Hydel Power

and manufacture of Railway wagons, Telephone, Telegraph and Wireless apparatus. All other industrial activity is left open to private enterprise, which would be given every facility a Government can give for the establishment and development of industry. Government will seek to create conditions in which industry and trade may develop and prosper by undertaking surveys of Pakistan's considerable resources of minerals, schemes for the development of the country's water and power resources, plans for the improvement of transport services and the establishment of the ports and an Industrial Finance Corporation. Just as Pakistan is agriculturally the most advanced country in the Continent of Asia as mentioned by you,

**I am confident that if it makes the fullest and the best use of its considerable agricultural wealth in the building up of her industries, it will, with the traditions of craftsmanship for which her people are so well known and with their ability to adjust themselves to new techniques, soon make its mark in the industrial field.**

I am glad to know that you are favorably impressed with the concessions announced by the Finance Minister to new industrial enterprises in the matter of Income Tax and depreciation that you regard the statement as holding out more encouragement to new industry than the corresponding statement of policy made by the Government of India. If you want any clarification of any aspect of the policy, my Government will be only too willing to furnish the same.

Fortunately, in the port of Karachi, we have adequate facilities to handle not only the trade of Western Pakistan but also such trade as offers for Afghanistan and the adjoining areas of the Indian Dominion. For reasons which I need not enter here, this trade has suffered a severe setback since partition. I hope that in everybody's interest you will endeavor to restore Karachi's standing in this regard. I have no doubt that the port of Karachi has a very bright future. It is the only port, which serves this side of Pakistan, and the location of the Pakistan Naval Headquarters has added greatly to its importance. I can look with confidence at its rapid development. The scheme for remodeling the East Wharf and the provision of Naval and Commercial Dry Docks is under our active consideration and should, when completed,

**make Karachi one of the most modern ports.**

I may assure the business community that I am watching with keen interest the present and future interests of the port.

**The end of the period of "standstill" and the consequent entry of India and Pakistan into normal international relations should advance and give precision to the movement of trade.**

Bonding facilities are being provided by my Government in Karachi port for this purpose. On the other side of the subcontinent, the Government of India has also agreed to provide bonding facilities in Calcutta so that from now on,

the capacity of the port of Chittagong to handle raw jute will be supplemented by transit facilities through the port of Calcutta.

In the field of Civil Aviation, Pakistan is fortunate in having Karachi, the best-equipped airport in the East. Its position and climate are in its favor and now that Karachi has become the Capital of Pakistan, there is no likelihood of the Airport ever losing its importance. Its preeminent position will be maintained, as we are alive to the need of its continued development in accordance with the international standards and to the need of facilitating in every way national and international air transport operations.

**Karachi will remain one of the main centers of international air traffic as most of the progressive countries of the world have approached us for bilateral air transport agreements and we already have agreements with the U.S., France, Netherlands, Iraq and recently negotiated agreement with India and Ceylon.**

Delegations from the U.K. and other countries are expected in Karachi soon. For all these Karachi will remain the airport of entry and departure. The use of Bombay as the port of entry for Trans-World Airlines was provided for in the Air Transport Agreement between the U.S.A. and India before partition and does not indicate a subsequent tendency to transfer operation from Karachi to Bombay. On this service Karachi Airport was used, in the first instance, as a temporary measure pending the provision of health facilities at Santa Cruz. You have referred to the rise in airline operating costs occasioned by the recently increased cost of aviation spirits in Pakistan. This is a question, which I have, no doubt will be considered by my Government in the light of your observations.

I am glad to hear that you have appreciated the difficulties which beset Orient Airways in establishing, at a very short notice, vital air communications within Pakistan between Eastern and Western Pakistan and between Karachi and Delhi and between Karachi and Bombay. These agreements had to be made on a temporary basis while a long-term national air transport was being formulated. The Government announced their policy on the 5th of December 1947, limiting air transport operations to two commercial airlines to be selected for the operation of all the scheduled services to be licensed by the Government. The names of these companies will be announced shortly together with the routes to be operated by them subject to finalization of an agreement recently negotiated with the Government of India. To serve these companies and to a large extent, the Royal Pakistan Air Force, it is also proposed to establish, at Karachi, a company to carry out major overhaul and repair of aircraft, the training of mechanics and maintenance engineers, and such other common services as the Government and airlines may require. The Government will participate financially in this enterprise and plans for the establishment of this company are now under active consideration of the Government.

You have referred to the difficulties experienced by your members on account of the uncertainty of booking restrictions. As you are aware, booking restrictions have been rendered necessary on account of coal shortage due to spasmodic and insufficient receipt from India. The North Western Railway has always



endeavored to move as much traffic as possible with their available resources. The movement of refugees placed a heavy strain on the Railway's capacity at a time when coal receipts were at their lowest, but in spite of these difficulties essential goods, e.g. food-stuffs, kept on moving though restrictions had to be imposed on the movement of goods carried under lower priorities. The Railways, however, relaxed restrictions to the extent possible whenever there was even a slight improvement in coal receipts, but whenever the coal position deteriorated restrictions were reimposed. In spite of the manifold difficulties created by inadequate supplies of coal from India, the refugee traffic, the numerous staff problems created by partition, the Railway administration, as and when the position improved, restored the facilities which had to be curtailed from time to time. I hope that the Chamber would appreciate their efforts in keeping the rail transport going. There was some improvement in the coal position on the North Western Railway during February and March and as you are aware, unrestricted booking was resumed with effect from 4th March in local bookings and from 12th April in foreign bookings. Unfortunately, coal supplies from India have been inadequate during April and, although some of the coal ordered from the U.S.A. has been received, stocks are dwindling. Representations have been made to India, and it is hoped that there will be no re-imposition of the previous unfortunate restrictions, except those occasionally imposed for operational reasons.

As regards the complaint that the railway staff at stations are unaware of the restrictions imposed from time to time, I am advised that all restrictions are conveyed to stations immediately on their imposition. It is possible that in the early days after partition, due to large-scale transfers of staff, there was a certain amount of disorganization resulting in incorrect information being furnished to merchants. The North Western Railway has, however, taken suitable action to ensure that correct information relating to restrictions is conveyed to merchants.

As regards preparation claims, I hope you are aware of the provisions of the Indian Independence (Rights, Property and Liabilities) Order 1947, under which the liabilities and financial obligations of the governor-general in Council, outstanding immediately before 15th August, 1947, devolved to the Dominion of India. The Pakistan Government has already made the position in this respect clear in their press note of the 25th March 1948. The matter is under correspondence with the Government of India and it is hoped that a settlement in regard to this outstanding question will be reached at an early date.

Reference has been made by you to the difficulties and anxieties, which naturally spring from shortage of residential and office accommodation in this town. The Government of Pakistan has, subject to the approval of the Constituent Assembly, decided to locate the permanent Capital of Pakistan at Karachi. Detailed planning of the layout will take some time but this should not delay construction of some residential accommodation. In this field, as in

many others, gentlemen, you have a big contribution to make. There are vast open areas where buildings could, with advantage, be constructed. Building materials such as cement and stone are available in abundance, though steel and timber are rather scarce.

**All the same, my Government would like to see the business community take up a program of large-scale building construction in Karachi.**

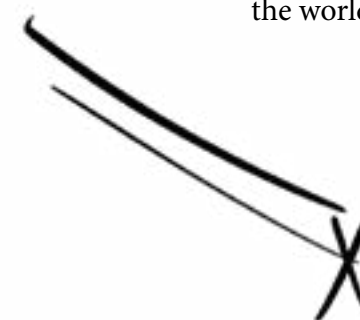
**Mr. Chairman, Commerce and Trade are the very lifeblood of the nation. I can no more visualize a Pakistan without traders than I can one without cultivators or civil servants. I have no doubt that in Pakistan, traders and merchants will always be welcome and that they, in building up their own fortunes, will not forget their social responsibility for a fair and square deal to one and all, big and small.**

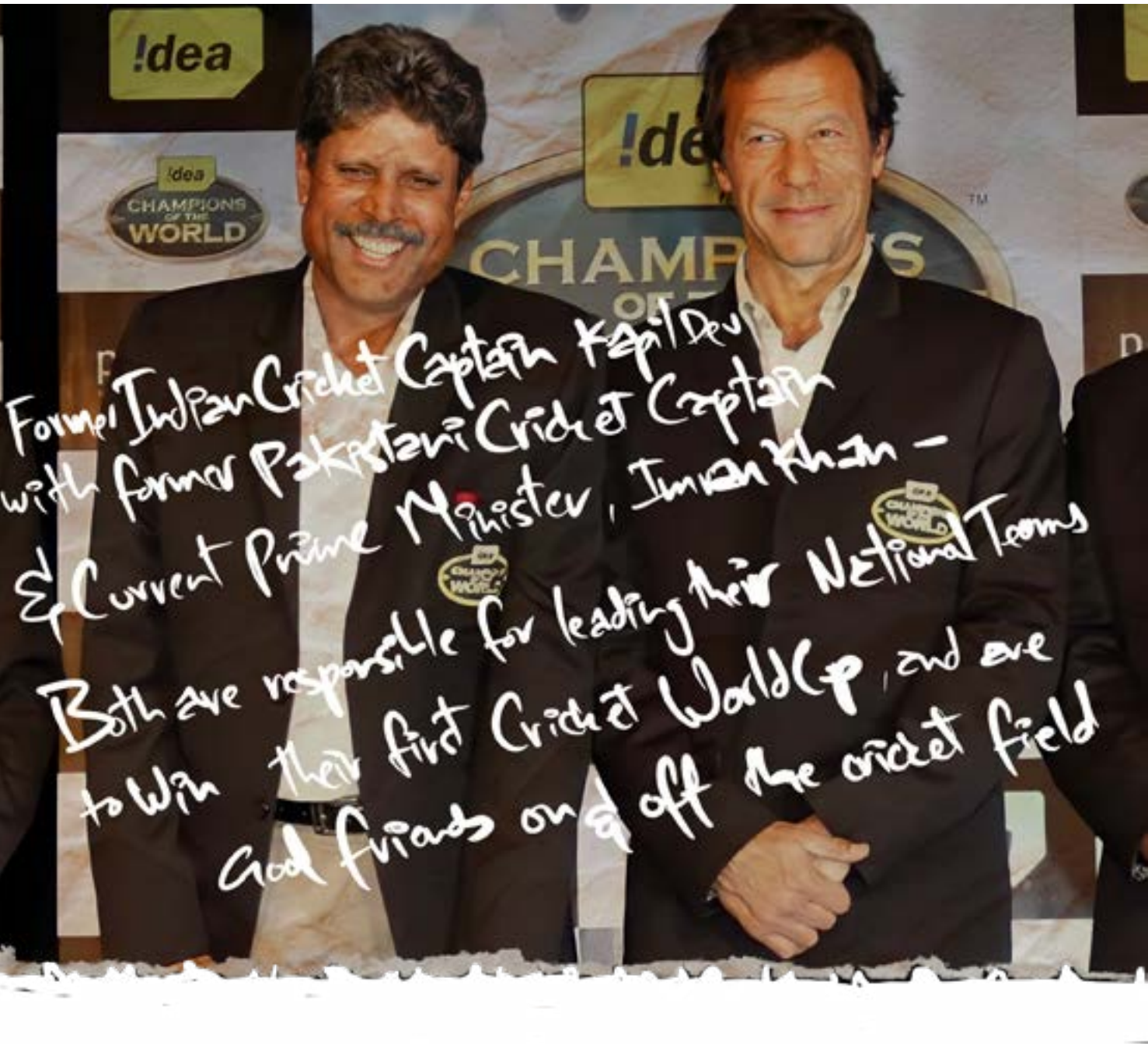
Government has for some time been perturbed over the constantly rising spiral of prices of the necessities of life in Pakistan. They are now engaged in a study of how best the spiral could be broken and prices brought down. I have little doubt that my Government can confidently count on your full support in every measure they may decide to take to achieve this object

Commerce, Gentlemen, is more international than culture and it makes you behave in such a way that the power and prestige of Pakistan gain added strength from every act of yours. I have no doubt the Commerce of Pakistan would be an effective instrument in the establishment and maintenance of high standards of business integrity and practice. If Pakistani goods are to establish for themselves a reputation all their own, a beginning must be made now and here. I assure you, Gentlemen, that anything my Government can do to achieve this end, and they shall do.

**I would like Pakistan to become a synonym and hallmark for standard and quality in the marketplaces of the world.**

Let me, Mr. Chairman, thank you once again for the honor you have done for me in asking me to be the guest of your Chamber on this occasion. I wish you and your Chamber well in the many years that lie ahead of us and may you as true Pakistanis help to reconstruct and build Pakistan to reach mighty and glorious status amongst the comity of nations of the world and that let us pray that Pakistan will make its contribution for peace, happiness and prosperity of the world.





Former Indian Cricket Captain Kapil Dev with Former Pakistani Cricket Captain and current Prime Minister Imran Khan - both are responsible for leading their national teams to win their first Cricket World Cup and are good friends on and off the field.

## Need for real friendship (5 May 1948)

Message to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on his appointment as Governor-General of the Indian Dominion

My warm congratulations on your appointment as Governor-General of the Indian Dominion. Under your guidance, I hope, will come real friendship between the two Dominions. It is no less essential to India than to Pakistan.





## Pakistan and Afghanistan - Bound by age-old links (8th May 1948)

Reply to the Speech made by His Excellency the Ambassador of Afghanistan at the time of presenting Credentials on 8th May, 1948

Your Royal Highness,

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to welcome you today as the first Ambassador from Afghanistan. The Government and people of Pakistan greatly appreciate the action of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan in sending to us an Ambassador from the Royal family of Afghanistan. We hope and trust that with a Representative of Your Royal Highness' distinction and experience the age-old link which binds our two peoples will be further strengthened thus paving the way for a bright and happy future for both our countries.

Your Royal Highness has rightly referred to the natural bonds of friendship and affection, which bind the people of our two countries.

It could hardly be otherwise as these bonds are based on ties of faith and culture and common ideals. With such powerful bonds already in our favor we cannot, I feel, fail to bring the people of our two countries closer towards each other closer than they were before the birth of Pakistan.

As a newborn State, Pakistan desired nothing so ardently as the goodwill of the world. Its people are determined to work with heart and soul in the task of consolidating their new liberty and while so engaged in this great task they will be deeply conscious of the help and cooperation extended to them by the other States of the world particularly at this moment.

We are indeed glad that we have amongst us today a distinguished representative of our closest neighbor and, Pakistan, I am sure, very much appreciates the message of good wishes Your Highness has brought to us.



Pakistani and Afghan cricket teams share a friendly moment

Your Royal Highness can rest assured that in striving to cement the bonds of friendship that already exist between our two peoples, my Government will give you all possible help and cooperation. Coming as you do as a representative of the great Muslim nation, you are most welcome to us and we hope and trust that you will be able to discharge your duties successfully in the light of your good wishes and sentiments for Pakistan.

I hope that your Royal Highness's stay in Karachi will be very happy and comfortable.







## Constitutional position of Balochistan (13th Jun 1948)

Reply to the Address presented by a Deputation of the members of the Quetta Parsi Community on 13th June, 1948

Gentlemen,

I am very pleased indeed to meet you all and have an opportunity of hearing your well-considered views about Balochistan, and I have no doubt in your sincerity and loyalty to Pakistan. Your community is really very well organized and I am happy—and I always say so—that it is better equipped than any other community that I know of in the sub-continent. You, therefore, although small in number, can make a very great contribution to the welfare and progress of Pakistan and particularly Balochistan.

Now coming nearer to Balochistan, I know that people have not yet fully realized what the present constitution is—that is true even of well-informed and well-educated people.

The establishment of Pakistan was a catastrophic change and thus came so suddenly that people have not yet fully realized what it is. I dwelt on this point in my Sibi speech and may I, therefore, request you to read that speech if you can get a copy of it. I cannot go into all the details but I think as citizens you ought to know what is the real position. Under the present constitution it is the Governor-General who is vested with all authority—executive, administrative and legislative—in Balochistan.

I am, therefore, directly responsible for all executive, administrative and legislative measures that may be necessary to be adopted in Balochistan. Rightly or wrongly the burden is placed on my shoulders.



Now, you must have realized that Balochistan has been the most neglected part of this sub-continent all these years. In some respects it is criminal negligence on the part of those who were responsible for the welfare of Balochistan. You have got a deep-rooted ancient century-old system which is in vogue here and your administration has been stagnant for nearly a century.

This is a problem that I am faced with as the Executive Head of Balochistan. Now you cannot change these things overnight together sincerely, honestly and selflessly and as servants of Balochistan.

In the very nature of things it will take eighteen months to two years before the new constitution of Pakistan is ready but we cannot wait until that work is completed and, therefore, I have made a small beginning, as I have said but a very important one and if as they say small beginning, but a very important one, after consulting various interests in Balochistan, namely, I have decided to set up Governor-General's Advisory Council. I am at it and perhaps very shortly the constitution, rules and procedure of that body will be announced.

**That is of course, a small beginning as I have said but a very important one and if as they say small things lead to very great things and if you handle it and manage it properly I am sure it will result in great progress and development of Balochistan.**

But as I have said, it will depend on how the people of Balochistan will handle the Governor General's Advisory Council. This Council will enable people to associate themselves, no doubt as an advisory body, with administration – its executive and legislative side. That is the first step that I have taken because I cannot wait until we have a final constitution of Pakistan ready.

As regards your points regarding shortage of water supply and communications they are already under examination and with the help of our people and **with their cooperation and advice we may be able to make some headway in both these matters.**

As regards potentialities of Balochistan you are right. I have a great deal of information about it. That question is under our examination and

**I think there is a great future for Balochistan's development of its mineral wealth, agricultural resources, water supply, communication etc.**

Finally, Gentlemen, I am sure, though small in number you may be in Balochistan and in Pakistan as a whole, you will not lag behind in making your full contribution as true selfless Pakistanis.

**Although you have not struck any note of your needs and requirements as a community but you know that it is the policy of my Government and myself that every member of every community irrespective of caste, color, creed or race shall be fully protected with regard to his life, property and honor and that there should be peace in Pakistan and law and order should be maintained at any cost. I reiterate that you, like any other minorities, will be treated as equal citizens with all your rights and obligations so long as you are loyal to Pakistan.**

I am glad and it is very refreshing that you have not gone on with the same old rut and the hackneyed phrases which are echoed in various quarters about the grievances and requests of minorities, but I must tell you that these assurances have been given and they are going to be implemented. Minority communities must not by mere words but by actions show this that they are truly loyal and they must make the majority community feel that they are true citizens of Pakistan. Then you will help me and you will facilitate my task in carrying out the policy which we have laid down. You know you must dispel suspicion and distrust. It is now up to minorities to show by actions and deeds that they are true Pakistanis and dispel suspicion and distrust that has been created by deplorable and disgraceful events that have taken place.

**In the end, I thank you and I am very pleased to meet you all. Let us put our heads together and work together and make Pakistan what it really and truly deserves to be.**





## Responsibilities of the Defense force (14th Jun 1948)

Address to the Officers of the Staff College, Quetta 14th June, 1948

I thank you, gentlemen, for the honor you have done me and Miss Fatima Jinnah by inviting us to meet you all.

**You, along with other Forces of Pakistan; are the custodians of the life, property and honor of the people of Pakistan. The Defense Forces are the most vital of all Pakistan Service and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders.**

I have no doubt in my mind, from what I have seen and from what I have gathered, that

**the spirit of the Army is splendid, the morale is very high, and what is very encouraging is that every officer and soldier, no matter what the race or community to which he belongs, is working as a true Pakistani.**

If you all continue in that spirit and work as comrades, as true Pakistanis selflessly, Pakistan has nothing to fear.

One thing more, I am persuaded to say this because during my talks with one or two very high-ranking officers I discovered that they did not know the implications of the Oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a matter of form; what is more important are the true spirit and the heart.

But it is an important form, and I would like to take the opportunity of refreshing your memory by reading the prescribed oath to you.



**“I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I owe allegiance to the Constitution and Dominion of Pakistan (mark the words Constitution and the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan) and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully serve in the Dominion of Pakistan Forces and go within the terms of my enrollment wherever I may be ordered by air, land or sea and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me...”**

As I have said just now, the spirit is what really matters.

**I would like you to study the Constitution, which is in force in Pakistan, at present and understand its true constitutional and legal implications when you say that you will be faithful to the Constitution of the Dominion.**

I want you to remember and if you have time enough you should study the Government of India Act, as adapted for use in Pakistan, which is our present Constitution, that the executive authority flows from the Head of the Government of Pakistan, who is the governor-general and, therefore, any command or orders that may come to you cannot come without the sanction of the Executive Head. This is the legal position.

Finally, gentlemen, let me thank you for the honor that you have done for me by inviting me. I will be glad to meet the officers informally, as suggested by the General Officers Commanding in his speech, and such a meeting can be arranged at a time convenient to us both. I have every desire to keep in close contact with the officers and men of the Defense Forces and I hope that when I have little more time from the various problems that are facing us in Pakistan, which is for the moment in a state of national emergency, and when things settle down—and I hope it will be very soon—then I shall find more time to establish greater and greater contact with the Defense Forces.



## Provincialism- A curse (15th Jun 1948)

Reply to the Civic Address presented by the Quetta Municipality on 15th June, 1948.

I thank you for your address of welcome and for the kind words and good wishes you have expressed for me and Miss Fatima Jinnah, and I greatly appreciate your handsome and generous contribution to the Relief Fund and noble cause which it represents. Though luckily Baluchistan was spared the tragedy which the Punjab went through on the establishment of Pakistan, and, on account of its situation, does not face the refugee problem in the same way as other 'parts of Pakistan do, the welfare of refugees and all who suffered because Pakistan was achieved is the responsibility of us all. The relief and rehabilitation of these stricken people is a matter of great importance and urgency for Pakistan for, until they become useful members of the society, the progress of Pakistan will not be fully accelerated. Every effort made in this direction, therefore, is most welcome, as it will advance the cause of progress and welfare of Pakistan.

**Quetta has been for many years an important town and cantonment: with the establishment of Pakistan, its importance has increased and will increase further.**

Its situation and healthy climate entitle it to special attention and I am, therefore, really glad that despite the havoc wrought by the earthquakes of 1935 and the disabilities created by the war later and the dislocation caused by the movement of population more recently it gives the appearance of an orderly and busy town. The credit for this goes to a large extent to the Quetta Municipality and the City Fathers here. The town apparently has been well-planned and whatever buildings have been put up look neat and elegant.

**I share your hopes that better times are ahead and not very long hence the temporary structures, which constitute most of the town at present, will be replaced by permanent earthquake-proof buildings. While the municipality should play its part, private enterprise is necessary, so that Quetta may be as great a civil station as a cantonment and the more you improve it the more attractive it will become.**

For a large part of Western Pakistan it will be the natural summer resort and draw a larger and larger number of visitors, which will not only be an additional source of revenue but also will bring and establish contact with other parts of Western Pakistan. This ought to be kept in view. The difficulty regarding water supply and other problems should be tackled with boldness and imagination, and I am sure, the Government will give you willing help whenever it is needed.

However, one must love one's town and work for its welfare—indeed because of it—one must love one's country and work more devotedly for it. Local attachments have their value but what is the value and strength of a “part” except within the “whole”. Yet this is a truth people so easily seem to forget and begin to prize local, sectional or provincial interests above and regardless of the national interests. It naturally pains me to find the curse of provincialism holding sway over any section of Pakistan. Pakistan must be rid of this evil. It is a relic of the old administration when you clung to provincial autonomy and local liberty of action to avoid control—which meant—British control. But with your own Central Government and its power, is a folly to continue to think in the same terms, especially at a time when your State is so new and faces such tremendous problems internal and external. At this juncture any subordination of the larger interest of the State to the provincial or local or personal interest would be suicidal.

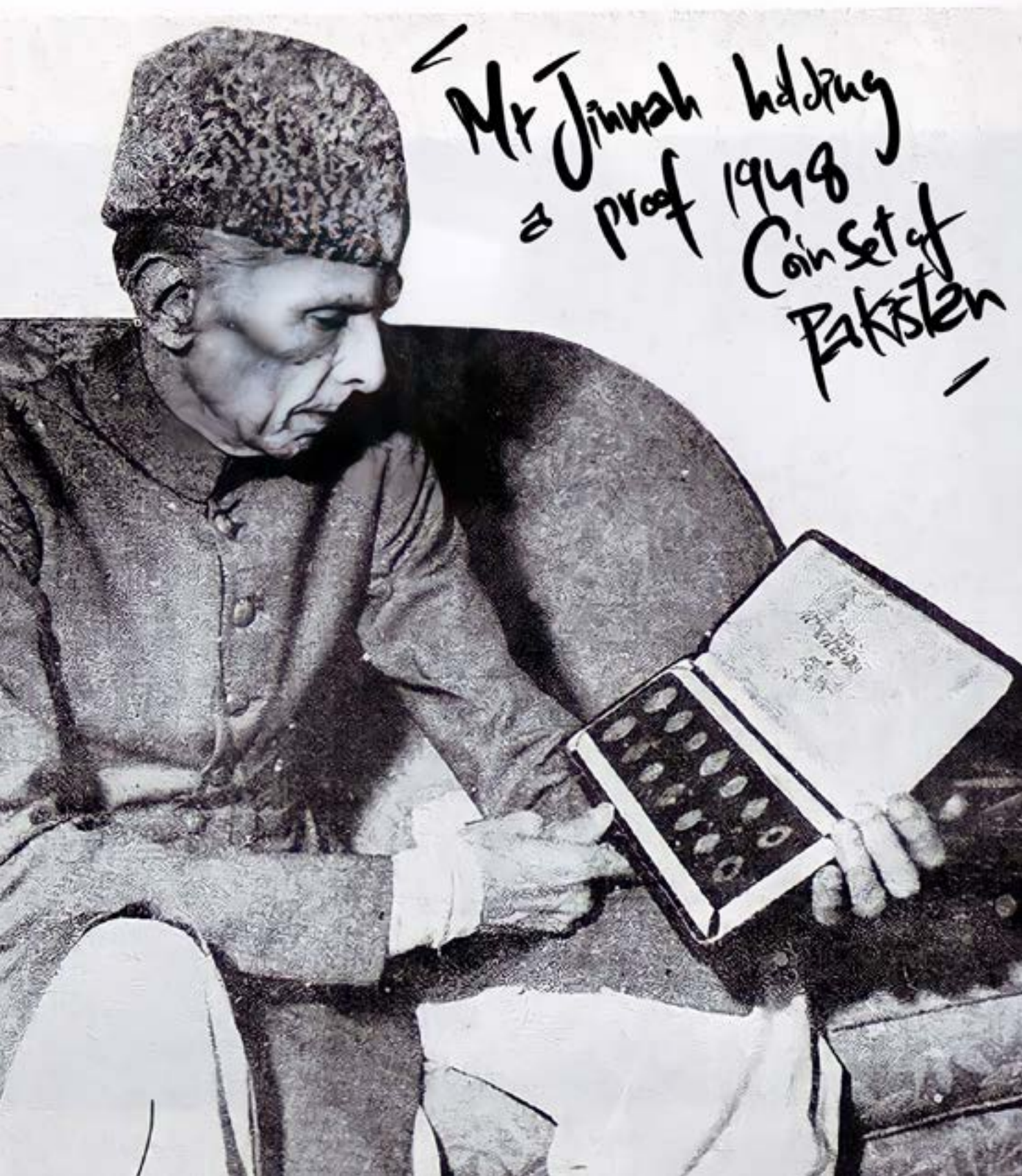
Balochistan is the land of brave independent people and to you, therefore, national freedom, honor, and strength should have a special meaning. These whisperings of mulki and non-Mulki are neither profitable for the land nor worthy of it. We are now all Pakistanis – not Baluchis, Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis, Punjabis and so on – and as Pakistanis we must behave and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else. I ask you to always pause and consider before taking any step whether it is conditioned by your personal or local likes and dislikes or is determined by consideration of the good of the State. If each individual is scrutinizing himself and forces – for initially it will require a certain amount of force – upon himself the principle of honesty to others as well as to himself, regardless of fear or favor. I see a very bright future ahead. If individuals both officials and non-officials play their part thus and work in this spirit, the Government, the Nation and the State will immediately bear their stamp, and Pakistan will emerge triumphantly as one of the greatest nations of the world.

As you all know I am specially interested in Balochistan because it is my special responsibility. I want to see it play as full a part in the affairs of Pakistan as any other province, but it will take time to remove the symptoms of long

neglect. In order that this time may not be a minute longer than necessary, I earnestly request you to co-operate with me, to give me your selfless support, and not to make my task difficult. Representative government and representative institutions are no doubt good and desirable, but when people want to reduce them merely to channels of personal aggrandizement, they not only lose their value but earn a bad name. Let us avoid that and it is possible only if, as I have said, we subject our actions to perpetual scrutiny and test them with the touchstone not of personal or sectional interest but of the good of the State.

I thank you once-again for your generous contribution, your courtesy and for the honor you have done me by presenting this civic address and giving me an opportunity to say a few words.





## The State Bank of Pakistan - A symbol of our sovereignty (1st Jul 1948)

Speech on the occasion of the opening of the State Bank of Pakistan on 1st July, 1948

The opening of the State Bank of Pakistan symbolizes the sovereignty of our State in the financial sphere and I am very glad to be here today to perform the opening ceremony. It was not considered feasible to start a bank of our own simultaneously with the coming into being of Pakistan in August last year.

A good deal of preparatory work must precede the inauguration of an institution responsible for such technical and delicate work as note issue and banking.

To allow for this preparation, it was provided, under the Pakistan Monetary System and Reserve Bank Order, 1947, that the Reserve Bank of India should continue to be the currency and banking authority in Pakistan till the 30th September, 1948. Later on it was felt that it would be in the best interest of our State if the Reserve Bank of India were relieved of its functions in Pakistan, as early as possible.

The date of transfer of these functions to a Pakistan agency was consequently advanced by three months in agreement with the Government of India and the Reserve Bank. It was at the same time decided to establish the Central Bank of Pakistan in preference to any other agency for managing our currency and banking. This decision left very little time for the small band of trained personnel in this field in Pakistan to complete the preliminaries and they have by their untiring effort and hard work completed their task by the due date which is very creditable to them, and I wish to record a note of our appreciation of their labors.

As you have observed, Mr. Governor, in undivided India banking was kept a close preserve of non-Muslims and their migration from Western Pakistan has caused a good deal of dislocation in the economic life of our young State.

**In order that the wheels of commerce and industry should run smoothly, it is imperative that the vacuum caused by the exodus of non-Muslims should be filled without delay. I am glad to note that schemes for training Pakistan nationals in banking are in hand.**

I will watch their progress with interest and I am confident that the State Bank will receive the cooperation of all concerned including the banks and universities in pushing them forward. Banking will provide a new and wide field in which the genius of our young men can find full play. I am sure that they will come forward in large numbers to take advantage of the training facilities, which are proposed to be provided. While doing so, they will not only be benefiting themselves but also contributing to the well being of our State.

I need hardly dilate on the important role that the State Bank will have to play in regulating the economic life of our country.

**The monetary policy of the bank will have a direct bearing on our trade and commerce, both inside Pakistan as well as with the outside world and it is only to be desired that your policy should encourage maximum production and a free flow of trade. The monetary policy pursued during the war years contributed, in no small measure, to our present day economic problems. The abnormal rise in the cost of living has hit the poorer sections of society including those with fixed incomes very hard indeed and is responsible to a great extent for the prevailing unrest in the country. The policy of the Pakistan Government is to stabilize prices at a level that would be fair to the producer, as well as to the consumer.**

I hope your efforts will be directed in the same direction in order to tackle this crucial problem with success.

I shall watch with keenness the work of your Research Organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from the disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two world wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency, is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our

own way and present to the world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

May the State Bank of Pakistan prosper and fulfill the high ideals, which have been set as its goal.

In the end I thank you, Mr. Governor, for the warm welcome given to me by you and your colleagues and the distinguished guests who have graced this occasion as a mark of their good wishes and the honor you have done me in inviting me to perform this historic opening ceremony of the State Bank which I feel will develop into one of our greatest national institutions and play its part fully throughout the world.





## Achievements of the first year -A firm basis for optimism (14 Aug 1948)

Message to the Nation on the occasion of the first Anniversary of Pakistan on 14th August, 1948

Citizens of Pakistan,

Today we are celebrating the first anniversary of our freedom. A year ago complete power was transferred to the people of Pakistan, and the Pakistan Government, under the present Constitution as adopted, took over charge of the affairs of the country in its own hands.

**We have faced the year with courage, determination and imagination, and the record of our achievements has been a wonderful one in warding off the blows of the enemy which have been so often referred to before, especially the pre-planned genocide and pushing on with real constructive work internally. The result of our constructive and ameliorative work has gone far beyond the expectations of our best friends.**

I congratulate you all—my Ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister, members of the Constituent Assembly and of the legislatures; officials working in various administrative departments and the members of the Defense Forces for what you have achieved during so short a period, and I thank the people of Pakistan from whom we have received patience and genuine support in every effort that we have made to put forward the program of the first year.

But that is not enough: Remember, that the establishment of Pakistan is a fact of which there is no parallel in the history of the world. It is one of the largest Muslim States in the world, and it is destined to play its magnificent part year after year, as we go on, provided we serve Pakistan honestly, earnestly and selflessly.

I have full faith in my people that they will rise to every occasion worthy of our past Islamic history, glory and traditions.

The story of the millions of refugees who had to flee from their homes across our borders and seek asylum in Pakistan is well known to you all. The tragedy occurred even before our State had time to settle down. In fact it involved also a large proportion of the people who as Government personnel, where to set up the very machinery of the State. I know that it has not been possible to do all that might have been desired for these homeless and oppressed brethren of ours. There are still many hardships that many of them have to face. But the very fact that a large number of the refugees have already been rehabilitated in their new home, with the prospect of new and a happier life ahead of them, is an achievement of no mean order. But for the spirit of brotherhood shown by the people of Pakistan and the courage with which the people as well as the Government faced the almost overwhelming difficulties created by a catastrophe unparalleled in the history of the world, the entire structure of the State might well have crumbled down.

Disappointed in their efforts by other means to strangle the new State at its very birth, our enemies yet hoped that economic maneuvers would achieve the object they had at heart.

**With all the wealth of argument and detail, which malice could invent or ill-will devise, they prophesied that Pakistan would be left bankrupt. And what the fire and sword of the enemy could not achieve, would be brought about by the ruined finances of the State. But these prophets of evil have been thoroughly discredited. Our first budget was a surplus one; there is a favorable balance of trade, and a steady and all-round improvement in the economic field.**

**One year is a brief period in the history of a State for finally assessing its progress or predicting its future. But the way in which tremendous difficulties have been overcome, and solid progress recorded during the last twelve months, gives a firm basis for optimism.**

In the administrative field, we had to start from scratch. And in West Punjab, at the very inception of our State, we had to face very nearly a breakdown of administrative machinery. But I am glad to say that

**we have successfully dealt with all threats to our solidarity, and on some major questions of the day, the Pakistan Government has displayed not only its determination but its capacity to deal effectively with the various world problems that have arisen from time to time.**

Nature has given you everything: you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you Godspeed.





## Eid Greetings to the Muslim World (27th Aug 1948) and Statements 1947-1948

Message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr on 27th August, 1948.

On this day of rejoicing I send my greetings to Muslims all over the world and wish them a very happy Eid.

For us the last Eid-ul-Fitr, which followed soon after the birth of Pakistan, was marred by the tragic happenings in East Punjab. The bloodbath of last year and its aftermath – the mass migration of millions – presented a problem of unprecedented magnitude. To provide new moorings for this mass of drifting humanity strained our energies and resources to breaking point. The immensity of the task very nearly overwhelmed us and we could only just keep our heads above water. The brief span of 12 months was not sufficient to see all the Mohajrees settled in profitable employment in Pakistan. Considerable progress has been made in resettling them but a good many remain to be rehabilitated. We cannot rejoice till every one of them has been put on his feet again. I am sanguine that by next Eid this formidable and intractable problem will have been solved and all the refugees absorbed in Pakistan's economy as useful members of society.

The history of the last 12 months has been one of continuous struggle against heavy odds, but what sustained us during these dark days, was our unity of purpose and firm resolve to see that our young State did not founder under the blows of our enemies.

We have weathered the worst storms and the safety of the shore, though distant, is in sight. We can look to the future with robust confidence provided we do not relax and fritter away our energies in internal dissension.

**There never was a greater need for discipline and unity in our ranks. It is only with united effort and faith in our destiny that we shall be able to translate the Pakistan of our dreams into**



reality. You are celebrating Eid today after a month of fasting. Why was fasting enjoined upon Muslims if it were not to teach them discipline and orderliness? These are the virtues to cultivate and in that lies your salvation and that of the nation.

My Eid message to our brother Muslim States is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world.

Let me, therefore, appeal to you—in whatever language you may put, when the essence of my advice is boiled down, it comes to this—that every Musalmans should serve Pakistan honestly, sincerely and selflessly.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'X' followed by a long, sweeping diagonal stroke.





## Economic Endeavours

“There is an immense scope in technical education for we want technically qualified people very badly. You can learn banking, commerce, trade, law, etc which provide so many opportunities now. Already you find that new industries are being started, new banks, new insurance companies, new commercial firms are opening and they will grow as you go on. Now, these are avenues and fields open to you. Think of them and divert your attention to them, and believe me, you will thereby benefit yourselves more than by merely going in for government service and remaining there, what I should say, the circle of the clerkship, working there from morning till evening, in most dingy and uncomfortable conditions. You will be far more happy and far more prosperous with far more opportunities to rise if you take to commerce and industry and will thus be helping not only yourselves but also your state.”

- Mr. Jinnah / Quaid-e-Azam

Government service may provide prestige in limited Pakistani circles but it is not an outlet for economic endeavors that solve hard problems, subsequently create value and generate wealth.

DEEPER REFLECTIONS

Hard problems can be solved by applying human intellect aided by tools. Tools augment human ability to solve problems by at least an order of magnitude.

We can think of tools in the context of technological waves. Pakistan is a largely agro-based and semi-industrial economy and has not experienced the full effects of the post-industrial waves of innovation, which means there is an incredible opportunity that is up for grabs.

Internet

- The information superhighway and the world wide web that provides access to any information from our personal computer, acted as a great equalizer, ushered in ecommerce and disrupted traditional brick and mortar businesses.
- The Internet caused a great advance in financial payment processing, web development, social media, digital marketing, data, analytics and various other areas. This meant that many companies positioned themselves as an “internet company” to raise capital and create value.
- However, Pakistan experienced the internet wave in the form of entertainment, content and consumption but ecommerce did not fully take root in the late 90s and early 2000s because of limited internet connectivity infrastructure and barriers against financial payment processing on the internet.
- The common man remained largely oblivious to the internet because desktop and computers had not been democratized to the general public yet due to pricing, affordability and technical know-how.

Mobile

- In 2008, when Steve Jobs introduced the iPhone, the next wave started. It didn’t matter if you were an internet company like Google or Facebook, it mattered if you were a mobile company like Uber and Snapchat. Steve Jobs changed the game as iPhones had significantly stronger computing power than Apollo 11 guidance computers responsible for humanity’s first moon landing, which represented “one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind”. Moore’s law helps us understand this better, Gordon Moore in 1965 observed that the number of transistors that could be crammed onto the surface of a silicon chip appeared to double each year. Today, Moore’s Law no longer refers specifically to transistor density, rather it predicts that computing power tends to double every eighteen months. It appears that the true limit to Moore’s law is human engineering ingenuity, not solid-state physics.
- Smartphones were rapidly distributed across the globe and they also landed in the hands of the common man in Pakistan thanks to cheap second-hand Chinese handsets and widely available 3G/4G networks. 51% of mobile subscribers in Pakistan are using smartphones as of 2021 and Pakistan has the 4th largest smartphone user base in the region and 18th largest smartphone user base globally.
- Pakistan has barely harnessed this wave as traditional businesses haven’t fully perceived the opportunity at hand and, majority of our online users are poor and

barely literate. Very few use any other apps than Whatsapp (100%) and Facebook (60%). For the common Pakistani, there is a language and user interface barrier, understanding the interface jargon is definitely a source of friction. Primary mode of online communication is through voice notes on Whatsapp followed by Urdu messages. The existing ecommerce businesses have focused on the upper middle class that thinks, speaks and reads in English, and this has generated +\$4Bn in annual ecommerce sales. Read more here: The Fortune at the Bottom of the Digital Pyramid

- There’s incredible opportunity to leverage the “mobile-first” wave and create apps that are easy-to-use for the average Pakistani citizen and which will also build ecosystems for traditional businesses to leverage and accelerate a national digital transformation. For example, China is both a large and a fast-growing retail market - worth about \$5 trillion in 2020 - and highly digitized. Much of China’s retail growth can be attributed to “super-apps” which have created ecosystems that provide users with a single point of entry. For most digital retail consumers in China the first port of call is Taobao (Alibaba’s mobile C2C portal) or Alipay, both of which give access to Alibaba’s full ecosystem. Alipay, which is on almost every smartphone in China, integrates the platforms and service offerings of companies in Alibaba’s huge retail network, enabling consumers to pay for any product or service they may find there, from Nike shoes to wealth management.

Artificial Intelligence

- The Internet and mobile have led to a data explosion. There’s been a tremendous growth in the amount of data generated by online activity. Google gets over 3.5 billion searches daily, WhatsApp users exchange up to 65 billion messages daily and in 2020, every person generated 1.7 megabytes per second.
- There has also been tremendous growth in compute power. Graphics cards and graphical processing units (GPUs) were originally developed to do fast graphics rendering for computer games. The distinctive feature of GPUs is that they can carry out fast matrix multiplications. However, matrix multiplications are useful not only for graphics rendering but also for machine learning.
- Machine learning can be thought of as a training algorithm that can identify useful patterns by ingesting enormous amounts of data and create a model that can be used to infer learnings and make predictions from future real-time data. Artificial Intelligence\* is transformational because it creates a positive feedback loop on how we as humans can make better decisions and this compounds the accuracy of our predictions which enables us to solve problems in a cheaper, faster and more scalable way.
- The building blocks of AI in terms of computing, infrastructure and algorithms have been already established by Google, Nvidia and Amazon. Pakistan can benefit from the AI wave by focusing on its application in disrupting agriculture, healthcare, manufacturing and textile industries.
- The main challenge in Pakistan to take full advantage of the AI wave is to digitize the data that is currently captured on hard paper to a structured digital format that is stored in the cloud. For example, cotton textile production is



Pakistan's largest industry that accounts for 4% of GDP and 66% of exports. AI can access and collect historical and real-time operational data, providing insights that can improve operational efficiency, this means massive productivity gains can be generated if Pakistan focuses on the artificial intelligence wave.

Software-enabled companies are the future and have started to dominate industries outside of traditional high tech. Software is eating the world as even industries that focus on physical products (atoms) are integrating with software (bits). Tesla makes cars (atoms), but a software update (bits) can upgrade the acceleration of those cars and add an autopilot overnight. The spread of software in every industry is accelerating change faster than previously thought possible. Not only is the world moving faster, but the speed at which major new technology platforms are being created is reducing the downtime between the arrivals of each wave of innovation.

Today, multiple major waves seem to be arriving simultaneously, technologies like the cloud, AI, AR/VR. The new wave of Web3 is upon us where big tech companies are no longer the main guardians of the web's data, but rather blockchain tech enables data to be controlled and hosted collectively by users. In other words, apps built on the blockchain — like a social network, marketplace, or search engine — will enable users to participate, transact, and create without the need for an intermediary as in Web 2.0. In some visions of Web3, the online experience will also be fundamentally different thanks to AI, which will make interactions between users and machines richer and faster. The Web3 movement has gained traction amid the rise of crypto and other key Web3 concepts like NFTs, DAOs, and DeFi.

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The citizens of Pakistan are well positioned to create incredible amounts of value over the next couple of decades by solving nation's hardest problems related to human capital development, energy, climate change, education, healthcare and agriculture. There are clear "first-scaler" advantages and the Pakistani market is up for grabs for the bold and innovative Pakistani entrepreneurs, it is time to hustle.



# Data Driven Agriculture

## JINNAH’S IDEALS

“The People of Pakistan are mostly simple folk, poor, not very well educated and with few interests beyond the cultivation of their fields. As I say, they are poor; but they come from hardy, vigorous stock, and I think without boasting I can claim that they are brave. They make good soldiers and have won renown in many battles. They have fought side by your side in two world wars. For the present, agriculture is our mainstay. With a population of about 22% of what was formerly British India, Pakistan produces about 33% of the total tonnage of rice and about 40% of the total tonnage of wheat. In essential foods, we are, therefore, comparatively fortunate. We also have some important commercial crops, such as jute, cotton and tobacco... It gives us the great benefit of earning large sums of foreign exchange will be very valuable to us setting up and expanding our industries.”

- Mr. Jinnah / Quaid-e-Azam  
- Speech: Pakistan and her people  
- Context: Broadcast to the people of Australia, 19th Feb, 1948

## DEEPER REFLECTIONS

The vast majority of people of Third-World economies are poor, simple and not very educated and Pakistan is no different. While Pakistanis may be poor, we are brave, resilient, generous and good-natured folks. The most distinctive feature about Pakistanis is their hospitable and charitable nature. Pakistan contributes more than one percent of its GDP to charity which is comparable to much richer



nations such as Canada and the United Kingdom. Pakistan is also home to one of the largest refugee populations in the world and continues to display a spirit of resourcefulness despite the scarcity of wealth.

Some philosophers claim that the process of modernization begins with peasant revolutions that succeed. The word “revolution” has notions of “great uprising”, “rebellion” and “insurgency” associated with it.

Jinnah's Pakistan asserts that in modern times, with the advance of digital tools, revolution ought to be perceived only in economic terms, an outcome of a well-directed and organized entrepreneurial endeavor that empowers the peasant class. The internet has democratized access to knowledge, and it is no longer the national bourgeoisie or the native elite manufactured by the European colonists who will be the future entrepreneurs of developing countries. The American wave of global digital democratization has and continues to empower the down-trodden “natives” of the Third-World.

While the Third-World suffers from a fractured past and the forced integration into the international market system, the externally determined superimposition of modern technology upon pre-capitalist social and economic infrastructures and the consequent transformation of land and labor into commodities -- the power of the internet is flipping this historical context on its head. Participation in the free market via digital tools poses no significant barrier, anyone with a smartphone can partake in economic endeavors for personal economic progress and while accumulation of capital for the middle class in the colonial setting was an impossible phenomenon, with decolonization and independence paired with the power of the internet, the great emancipation is occurring with stupendous force and vigor.

The Citizens of Pakistan plan to empower the Pakistani farmer with technology and disrupt the \$83Bn Pakistani agriculture market. For the producer of food, to have to feed others before one could feed one's own seems a total reversal of good order. Pakistan's national prosperity is inextricably linked with the development of its agricultural sector.

37% of Pakistan's labor force is dedicated to Agriculture which contributes to 23% of the country's GDP. The Pakistani farmer is accustomed to a pre-capitalist lifestyle, dependent upon natural and social forces which are impervious to human needs, unyielding to effort or reasoning -- it's time to change that.



01

SOLVE SUPPLY CHAIN INEFFICIENCIES

The market is fragmented with supply chain inefficiencies and layers of middle-men between farmers and retailers, depriving them of fair prices.

02

INCREASE CROP YIELD THROUGH ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES

Farmers are not equipped with the latest tools to maximize crop yield and reduce crop damage.

03

BUILD DIGITAL FINANCIAL SERVICES FOR FARMERS

Pakistani farmers lack access to capital and don't have a seamless way to apply for a loan in the absence of credit history

1. Solve supply chain inefficiencies

- Retailers need to hit consistent supply volume and have full basket needs to fulfill consumer demand.
- Farmers find it hard to hit high supply volumes consistently and predictably and face challenges from natural forces and perishability of produce that they have to rely on demand aggregator middle-men and marketplaces to liquidate.
- The agriculture marketplace in Pakistan involves 5 layers of middlemen with 5% upcharge in price in each layer along with an uptick in transport cost at each stage.
- This results in a 140% markup to the final retail price, which means the farmer is grossly underpaid and is toiling hard for low-margins. This means by design, the farmer is not incentivized to research and innovate his production processes to generate profit.
- The citizens of Pakistan plan to solve this by building a digital marketplace that streamlines the connectivity between farmer and retailer by operating as a collection center for the farmers and last mile logistics for retailers. This will consolidate a fragmented market, provide data transparency for farmers and retailers and improve margins for all parties involved.
- Pakistan mobile adoption landscape:
  - 51% of mobile subscribers in Pakistan are using smartphones
  - Pakistan has the 4th largest smartphone user base in the region and 18th largest smartphone user base globally.
  - Startups like “Jiye Kisan” and “Tazha” have already started solving this

problem and various other well-funded Pakistan tech firms are marching forward to improve the landscape.

- Conventional marketplace with live auctioning and various middlemen between farmers and retailers

2. Increase crop yield through advanced technology

The Citizens of Pakistan plan to import American tech such as Climate FieldView’s leading digital farming software platform.

We will enhance data collection from sensors on farming equipment and in the field. The data will empower machine learning models to help our farmers:

- Understand optimal weather and soil condition fertilizer levels
- Become more informed on optimal seed selection
- Detect early signs of disease

This will lead to smarter decision-making to increase yields and reap greater profits in a low-margin industry. We will train our local farmers to become well-versed in variable seed rating, fertility management, field health imagery and crop performance analysis.

Tracking every aspect of farmers field

Further, drones will help us build Pakistan’s data-driven agriculture as they provide farmers with three types of detailed views:

- Seeing a crop from the air can reveal patterns that expose everything from irrigation problems to soil variation and even pest and fungal infestations that aren’t apparent at eye level.
- Airborne cameras can take multispectral images, capturing data from the infrared as well as the visual spectrum, which can be combined to create a view of the crop that highlights differences between healthy and distressed plants in a way that can’t be seen with the naked eye.
- A drone can survey a crop every week, every day, or even every hour. Combined to create a time-series animation, that imagery can show changes in the crop, revealing trouble spots or opportunities for better crop management.

The Government of Pakistan can play a role here by inviting Agro-tech firms to partner with us in modernizing Pakistan’s agriculture, and granting first-movers privileged access to our agro-data, creating a win-win partnership for all involved. We invite all engineers and entrepreneurs to co-develop advanced sensors, imaging capabilities, and drones to empower the Pakistani farmer deserving of your help.

This introduction, adoption and training of farmers on new technologies will build a culture of innovation and empower farmers to use new tools to become masters of their own economic destiny.

3. Build digital financial services for farmers

Farmers experience limited access to working credit and find themselves in an exploitative debt cycle from an informal credit ecosystem that is designed to cripple the farmer instead of empowering them.

We will build technology to provide micro-loans to people with a smartphone. Third-World economies suffer from lack of financial inclusion and this means, farmers don’t have formal lending history through a bank. Fintech apps can skip the formal history by investigating data from farmer’s smartphone and a loan application to determine if and how much to offer farmers.

These micro-loans will provide the capital needed for the farmer to run their operations and provide the financial space needed to focus on innovative methods to improve production vs. worrying about the family to feed and rent to pay.

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Pakistan should, also, explore opportunities to trade with countries with a decline in agricultural production such as South American and Caribbean regions, such markets are ripe for win-win partnerships.

The citizens of Pakistan recognize that prosperous farmers translate to prosperous Pakistan and we will deploy capital, build tools, invite global partners and work towards empowering our farmers.





## Emancipate Our Women

### JINNAH'S IDEALS

**“What the Muslim League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from that undesirable elements of Maulvis and Maulanas. I am not speaking of Maulvis as a whole class. There are some of them who are as patriotic and sincere as any other; but there is a section of them which is undesirable. Having freed ourselves from the clutches of the British Government, the Congress, the reactionaries and so-called Maulvis, may I appeal to the youth to emancipate our women. This is essential.”**

- Mr. Jinnah / Quaid-e-Azam

- Speech: Aligarh 1937

### DEEPER REFLECTIONS

Vigorous and direct action to modify Pakistan's social structure requires constant revitalization of its social energy. We cannot assume that social progress and evolution is automatic. Nor can we suppose that abuses and bad customs and wasteful ways of doing things will remove themselves.

Instead, we must fully realize that there are bodies of individuals attached by every selfish interest they have to the maintenance of these abusive customs. Further, Pakistan is acutely conscious that social progress depends upon tendencies and forces within its citizens.

We are also aware that bold imaginative actions executed towards social advance-

ment will inevitably result in a reaction from the obscurantist forces. In the tactful dance with the obscurantist forces, the citizens of Pakistan will never deliberately suppress or mutilate a new idea in order to make it congruous with the traditional prejudice or rationally surrender to the fact that majority of our contemporaries are not yet prepared to embrace a new idea. This is because we cannot compromise and reject the highest truth.

New progressive ideas may be said to be too good to be practicable, where, without adequate inducement in the shape of personal interest, it requires for its accomplishment that some individual or class of individuals shall have made a sacrifice of his or their personal interest to the interest of the whole. The citizens of Pakistan are ready to make such a sacrifice towards emancipating their women.

Towards this progressive effort, we can not leave the field open for religious zealots and clergymen to define the social role of our women. This is because if we do leave the field open then we are deliberately strengthening the hands of the persons least fitted by judgment, experience, and temper, for using such power rightly. And we are strengthening them not merely in dealing with religious matters, but, what is of more importance, in dealing with an endless variety of the gravest social and political matters.

For this reason the citizens of Pakistan will work with an undaunted spirit towards defeating the following key falsehoods present in our society:

**Women's role is confined to the house and domestic responsibilities**

- This criminal notion confines our women to their homes, enforces them to be economically dependent on the men and also, limits their political participation.
- The truth is that our history, culture and ethos demand that women must not only participate but also hold leadership positions in our national economy and politics.
- To practically defeat this falsehood, Pakistan will:
  - Launch national-level mass campaigns to popularize the idea that women's economic, social and political participation is absolutely essential to our nation's progress. We must remember that Mr. Jinnah clearly stated: "No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live."
  - Create a sense of greater political consciousness among all Pakistani women: those who wear the purdah as well as those who don't. There are many evils from which women suffer which are quietly accepted as inevitable because those who have political power are not those who have to endure the evils. A higher political consciousness in our women is essential for the eradication of these evils.

- Ensure providing internet to rural areas so that women who face real dangers and actual possibilities of fatal violence can still participate politically via technology from within their homes.
- Design it's cities for its women. This is because if we examine the streets of any major cosmopolitan metropolis and compare it to our cities we'll find the sheer absence of women on our streets contrastingly evident. The citizens of Pakistan plan to fully operationalize freedom of movement in every sense of the word and also create safe public spaces in our great cities.

**Daughters are to be parted with or married off while sons are stronger support systems for the family**

- This falsehood is responsible for confining the aspirations of our women to marriage, limiting their higher education and discouraging a commerce-driven life after marriage. As a result - awesome literary, scientific and entrepreneurial pathways are not fully imagined or pursued.
- The truth is that our women are the prime-architects of the nation's character and therefore, acquiring a world-class holistic education and pursuing commerce is the national duty of our women. Because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women and if they are generating wealth and are economically active, remember our children will not have much to worry about.

Lastly, we must remember Mr. Jinnah's words that "There are two powers in the world; one is the sword and the other is the pen. There is great competition and rivalry between the two. There is a third power stronger than both, that of the women."

The time has arrived that Pakistan fully nurtures its third power.







## Good Government

### JINNAH’S IDEALS

Ceylon is rich in material resources and talent and I have no doubt that under the guidance of her great leaders she will make rapid strides on the road to good government and prosperity and will play her rightful part in promoting goodwill and friendship throughout the world.

- Mr. Jinnah / Quaid-e-Azam

- Speech: On Ceylon's Independence | 4th February 1948

- Context: Message on the attainment of Dominion Status by Ceylon

### DEEPER REFLECTIONS

It is time for each citizen of Pakistan and Sri Lanka to get to work in building up their nations. Progress is reliant on their efforts, energy and imagination. There’s no exogenous force that can come in the way of a determined and organized people.

In this article, we’ll focus on the values of good government as we’ve written extensively on economic prosperity via market-creating innovation here and here. Similarly, for promoting goodwill and friendship, please read our quintessential article here.

When it comes to good governance, there’s a great narrowing of conversation towards fixing national institutions. However, institutions reflect a culture, they don’t cause it. Good laws and institutions are not sufficient enough to drive change. We must first define our values and create a culture that builds a self-propelling intergenerational momentum for a lasting impact.



## PAKISTANI VALUES ON GOOD GOVERNMENT

### Democracy

**“Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fair play to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fair play and justice for everybody.” -Mr. Jinnah**

Democracy rests on liberty and we are only truly free when we live under the laws of our own making. Liberty demands self-government but not the right to interfere with others. Only when we all sacrifice a little bit of our natural liberty, by submitting to the will of everyone else, can we be masters of our own collective fate.

However, the common man in Pakistan has yet to experience such liberty and deliberative process because the law is not respected by those in the corridors of power than by the ordinary people. Our historic democratic aspirations are impeded by:

- Politicians who have been venal beyond reason, and disrespectful of ethics of democracy no less than of the rule of law
- The military that has had a tendency to intervene when politicians fail. This intervention has been in fulfillment of personal ambitions, not of the national interest.
- The bureaucracy that has favored the certainties of authoritarian rule over the embarrassments and pressures of open politics.

Despite these obstacles, the Pakistani spirit has endured and is more determined than ever to create greater awareness of its democratic values and regenerate its historical promises of building an Islamic democracy. However, let's be conscious of the fact that the majority of the Muslims don't truly understand what Islam means as they've been reduced to chanting Quranic passages from dawn till dusk in a language they don't understand. The revitalization of Islamic principles of justice, equality, freedom, and tolerance will come from the educated and progressive youth of the country who will dominate the discourse on religion and its role in the State of Pakistan.

### Justice & Equality

**“Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realize the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State. I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of the human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanizing not only the State but also the Nation.”**

- Mr. Jinnah

In a democracy, the tyranny of the majority is a real danger. To give freedom to the strong to oppress the weak is not the way to secure the greatest possible amount of freedom in Pakistan. This means that we must endeavor to protect our minorities as all citizens of Pakistan are equal and dignified members of our nation. This is what the white in our flag represents. A denial of minority rights means rejecting Pakistan's historical premise and basis.

The Quran clearly states “Whenever he holds the upper hand, he rushes around the earth ruining it... though God does not like ruination” (Surah Bakra). A Muslim majority that holds the upper hand in Pakistan can not go ruining peace and subjugating the Ahmadi community.

Whenever the Ahmadi community is brought up - there is a certain segment of our population, especially a certain class of Maulvis, that will act in the most agitated and violent manner. The Quran explains their reaction “Those are the ones



who have purchased error at the price of guidance, while their bargain does not profit them nor have they been guided.”(Surah Bakra).

Mr. Jinnah clearly stated

**“I have been asked a disturbing question, as to who among the Muslims can be a member of the Muslim Conference. It has been asked with particular reference to the Qadianis. My reply is that, as far as the constitution of the All-India Muslim League is concerned, it stipulates that any Muslim, without distinction of creed or sect, can become a member, provided he accepts the views, policy and programme of the Muslim League, signs the form of membership and pays the subscription. I appeal to the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir not to raise sectarian questions, but instead to unite on one platform under one banner. In this lies the welfare of the Muslims. In this way, not only can Muslims make political and social progress effectively, but so can other communities, and so also can the state of Kashmir as a whole.”**

Further, Mr. Jinnah appointed Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, an Ahmadi, as the first foreign minister of Pakistan who excelled at this post and was the first Asian and the only Pakistani to preside over the International Court of Justice.

The principle of justice demands that those who are compelled to obey laws and pay national taxes should have a voice in making the one and imposing the other. This principle applies to all our citizens: Jatt, Punjabi, Pashtun, Sindhi, Saraiki, Muhajir, Balcoh, Pahari, Hindkowan, Chitralli, Ahmadi, Kashmiri, Kalash, Siddi, Burusho, Wakhis, Khowar, Hazara, Shina, Kalyu, Balti Christian and others.

Each human life is of equal moral worth and therefore, political decisions should pay equal heed to everyone's interests and preferences. As such, every person within a political community ought to have an equal chance to influence the decisions that affect them, and no elite group or person should be allowed to hoard power for themselves.

However, even the briefest review of Pakistan's politics suggests that the real obstacles to the growth of democracy in this country are to be found in the political class and not in the behavior of the people at large. This class has restricted social mobility, hoarded power and excluded an under-privileged majority by language, space, education and access to power. Every Pakistani city holds the affluent in one set of spaces; the poor in another. The citizens of Pakistan will remove this segregation and strive towards creating access to health, education and justice for the poor majority. A Pakistani's aspirations, motivations, sentiments and endeavors are dedicated to working towards raising the living standard of the masses of Pakistan. This is best captured by Prime Minister Imran Khan “What I perceive is, above all justice, where everyone has the same law” and “It's more important to try to do something for the crores of poor people of my country”.

## Human Flourishing By Constant Improvement

**“Remember that your government is like your garden. Your garden flourishes by the way you look after it and the efforts that you put towards its improvement. Similarly, your government can only flourish by your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts to improve it.”**

- Mr. Jinnah

The state is not merely a means for people to clump together in the same place but it exists for the sake of noble actions by its citizens through participation in public affairs. Some say, “We are unique in the way we regard anyone who takes no part in public affairs, we do not call that a quiet life, we call it a useless life”.

Participation in politics is an important means of self-improvement. Neither the routine of our daily work, nor the pursuit of private wealth, nor the mere satisfaction of daily wants can fully cultivate our moral and intellectual faculties. Something to do for the public requires us to weigh interest other than our own and to be guided, for a time, by the common interest rather than our own selfish desires. By taking part with others, we improve ourselves and our community.

We cannot take part in public affairs if a little more than half of our history since independence has been under military rule. Military rule thwarts the community in consulting, debating, iterating, evolving and constructing its own laws that shape human interaction. The military needs to understand that their entire existence has been gifted to them by a civilian leader whom we refer to as Mr. Jinnah. While, the military as an institution has repeatedly disgraced itself, it can still find salvation in following Mr. Jinnah's directive:

**“You have fought many a battle in the far-flung battlefields of the globe to rid the world of the Fascist menace and make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and equality of manhood in your own native soil. You will have to be very alert, very alert for the time for relaxation is not yet there.”**

It is very important to have the support of the army to the national struggle and make the military and national ideals correspond with each other.

We must ensure a stable and sustained period of democracy to develop a culture of constant iterations, ceaseless change at incredible speed and progressive re-adaptations of our institutions. Such improvements are most likely to be secured in the greatest abundance by limiting the sphere of authority, extending that of free individuality, and steadily striving towards equality of opportunity. However, that does not mean giving leeway to existing nepotistic and corrupt politicians as they, too, are a disgraced bunch. Their salvation lies in ridding themselves of nepotism. Fortunately, in a two-party system dominated by nepotistic dynasties (PPP & PML-N) -- a third party (PTI) has emerged triumphant that openly advocates democracy, meritocracy and equality of law. While some may argue that the PTI compromises

of crooked individuals as well -- let us remember Mr. Jinnah's words that are equally applicable for the PTI

**“The personnel of the League is far from perfect. It is no use making allegations; it is no use telling me that this man is bad or that man is undesirable. If you are really earnest - your only course is to join the League and make improvements.”**

We will work towards self-improvement with zeal, enthusiasm, optimism, and confidence.

**Truth over Expediency**

It makes all the difference in the world whether we put Truth in the first place or in second place. Pakistan counts her full share of fearless truth-seekers in most departments of inquiry but we must tighten the grip of truth-seeking over religious matters. We can never let religious imagination come at the cost of truth. Tampering with veracity is tampering with Pakistan's progress. We must fight and do a lifelong battle against the forces of unreason. After all, a Muslim is nothing but a truth-seeker. The consequences of placing social convenience over truth will result in lowering the level of national life. We must prevent the deadly weakening of our moral fabric and that's why it is every citizen's sacred Islamic duty is to speak up against the Blasphemy law. Our laws and governance will be designed in accordance with the truth such that we liberate the energy of our citizens, maximize self-reliance and invigorate their public spirit.

While the world progresses, human thought stirs and knowledge extends, some of our brethren remain fast moored by ancient formularies. While the spirit of man expands in search after new light, and feels energetically for new truth, the spirit of the Islamic clergy is eternally entombed in outdated modes of thought and processes. Religious zealots claim that they have crossed the threshold of manhood that they will search no more. They virtually swear that they will to the end of their days believe what they believe then, before they have had time to think or to know the thoughts of others. They take an oath, in other words, to suppress the truth and exploit religion as a tool to keep our population entrenched in falsehoods.

If we are to value the truth and consider it a commanding law to follow the truth no matter what, then we have to resist and overcome the conservative elements of our society so that our intellectual faculties grow as a community. There is hardly a single great controversy in modern politics, where our government does not find itself in immediate contact with the real or supposed interests, and with the active or passive sentiment, of religious systems and organizations. In such situations, the guiding principle for our government will be to uphold the truth over everything else.

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It is through the resurrection of our ideals and the preservation of them by each generation that we'll nurture democracy in our country. It is through the work by all citizens together, that we'll build up Pakistan.





## Progressive Nation

### JINNAH'S IDEALS

“Those of you who are about to enter the life, be on your guard against these people. Those of you who have still to continue your studies for some time, do not allow yourselves to be exploited by any political party or self-seeking politician. As I said the other day, your main occupation should be in fairness to yourselves, in fairness to your parents and indeed, in fairness to the State, to devote, your attention solely to your studies. It is only thus that you can equip yourselves for the battle of life that lies ahead of you. Only thus, will you be an asset and a source of strength and of pride to your State. Only thus, can you assist it in solving the great social and economic problems that confront it and enable to reach its destined goal among the most progressive and strongest nations of the world.”

- Mr. Jinnah / Quaid-e-Azam

- Speech: The Role of Students in Nation Building

- Context: Speaking at the Dacca University Convocation

### DEEPER REFLECTIONS

Pakistan's historic ambition is to transform itself into a progressive nation. A progressive nation believes that the conditions of the social union are not a mystery, only to be touched by miracle, but the results of explicable causes, and susceptible of constant modification, that the thoughts of wise and patriotic men and women should be perpetually turned towards the improvement of

these conditions in every direction.

The citizens of Pakistan cannot simply acquiesce to the social, legal, economic and political ordering and arrangements that have come down to us from the past. While there is dignity in ancestry, our society must condition itself to be elastic enough to endure a series of radical and rapid changes. Any contented acquiescence in the ordering that has come down to us from the past is selfish and anti-social, because amid the ceaseless change that is inevitable in a growing organism, the institutions of the past demand progressive re-adaptations.

A progressive society is like a growing organism and its values, cultures and institutions must be in a continuous flux of iterations and modifications. A nation's iterative process of rapid developments cannot slacken or cease to be visible as that means the demise of national conscience.

Social, economic and political improvements have explicable causes. Our progress will come from citizens who are equipped with superior moral insight, ferocious zeal, and habit of relentless energetic work in the face of obstruction and difficulties. We ought to enable our citizens by:

- Carving out the greatest possible scope for individual initiative and limit the sphere of authority.
- Creating a culture of equal economic & political opportunity. The guiding principle will be that people most likely to suffer from injustice must be enabled by increasing their participation in their own government and economy.
- Investing and disrupting our education system so that we create a nation-wide network of educational institutes that provide Pakistan with a definitive pipeline of future leaders.
- Promoting and protecting freedom of expression across all platforms. This will empower citizens to ideate and propagate new ideas aiming for Pakistan's progress. The time has always come, and the season is never unripe, for the announcement of fruitful new ideas.
- Developing a fact-based social, political, and economic culture where the truth weighs supreme. This is because the history of civilization is the history of the displacement of old conceptions by new ones more conformable to the facts.



# Jinnah's Pakistan

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