

A portrait of a man with grey hair, wearing a light-colored suit jacket, a white shirt, and a dark patterned tie. He is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. The background is a dark green gradient.


QUOTES

from the

QUAID

edited by

SHARIF AL MUJAHID *and*
LIAQUAT MERCHANT



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Foreword by
STANLEY WOLPERT

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FOREWORD

Every Pakistani, from your youngest child to your oldest scholar, should read this wonderful little book, *Quotes from the Quaid*, with pride and joy. Each page contains at least one inspiring thought, culled from the life's work of your great leader, illuminating Quaid-i-Azam's humane brilliance and the wisdom of his remarkable mind. The book is arranged alphabetically, and I could quote examples from every page, but will note just a few facets of Jinnah's vision of Pakistan which I found most valuable and exciting:

Duty of the Government: 'Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's

government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practice.... Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour, integrity, justice and fair play.’

Human Rights: ‘No man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure.’

Secularism and Secular Principles:
‘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 Subcontinent.’

Vision of Pakistan: ‘The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving ... is, by grace of God, an established fact today but the creation of a State of our own was a 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 rights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play.’

Those are just a few of the inspiring gems copied from this marvelous book of *Quotes from the Quaid*, so you can see what a brilliant work it is, and to remind Pakistan of what a wise and great leader your Quaid-i-Azam was.

I thank and congratulate my good friend, Liaquat Merchant, and his excellent Jinnah Society colleagues, for working so long and hard at culling so much of Jinnah's brilliant vision from the archive of his complete works, and I congratulate Oxford University Press and all my good friends there, especially Managing Director Ameena Saiyid, for publishing this wonderful, this truly visionary book.

Stanley Wolpert

PREFACE

A good deal has been written on and about Jinnah for the past six decades and more. And a good many tomes comprising his statements, speeches, messages and interviews have been compiled and produced. But what really sets this little book apart from the plethora of other volumes is that it is eminently purposive: seeking, above all, to spell out Quaid-i-Azam's vision of Pakistan in his own words.

The project was originally conceived by Liaquat Merchant, the moving spirit behind the Jinnah Society. This Society was founded by him in 1999 in collaboration with like-minded people to promote the ideals that Pakistan's founding

father had advocated and propagate the principles he had long stood for. I was entrusted with the task of identifying and culling from the vast Jinnah archives the core ideas and ideals that constitute, as it were, the foundational groundwork of his vision of Pakistan.

During his long political career (1904–48), Jinnah had spoken a good deal on an exceedingly wide variety of topics. However, in conformity with the title of the present slim book, included herein are only those excerpts which, shorn of the subcontinental and the Pakistan struggle context, are not only relevant to contemporary Pakistan but also provide eternal guidance to the people in various sectors of national life.

Sharif Al Mujahid

A DEMOCRATIC AND ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION FOR PAKISTAN

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 principles 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 men, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious

traditions ... 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.

— *Broadcast to the people of USA, February 1948*

ADVICE TO STUDENTS

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. 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.

— *Address, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

BLACK-MARKETING A CRIME

A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime.... 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 ... essential commodities, and cause ... starvation and want and even death.

— *Address, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan,
Karachi, 11 August 1947*

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO CHANGE GOVERNMENT

These ministers are, truly speaking, your servants and you are their virtual masters.

You have got the key to remove them from their ministerial gaddi if they no longer remain alive to their responsibilities.

— *Labore, 2 April 1944*

CONSTITUTIONALLY
ELECTED
REPRESENTATIVE
GOVERNMENT FOR
PAKISTAN

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....

— *Broadcast, Radio Pakistan, Dacca,*
28 March 1948

CORRUPTION. A CURSE

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

— *M. A. Jinnah to Ispahani, 6 May 1945*

DANGERS OF PROVINCIALISM — SECTIONALISM

So what is the use of saying, ‘We are Bengalis, or Sindhis, or Pathans, or Punjabis.’ 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 territory, 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. ...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 it; 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. ...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...?

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.

— *Speech, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

DEMOCRACY,
EQUALITY AND
LIBERTY— A MUSLIM
BELIEF

Democracy is in the blood of Musalmans who look upon complete equality of manhood [mankind] ... [and] believe in fraternity, equality and liberty.

— *London, 14 December 1946*

DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN

Muslims in Pakistan want to be able to establish their own real democratic popular government. This government will have the sanction ... of the people of Pakistan and will function with the will and sanction of the entire body of people in Pakistan, irrespective of caste or colour...

— *Interview to the Daily Worker, London, 1944*

DENIAL OF FREEDOM
OF SPEECH AND
THOUGHT IN
KASHMIR

I do hope that immediate steps will be taken by the Paramount Power to intervene and hold an inquiry into the recent occurrences in Kashmir which have resulted in bloodshed and the ruthless measure of oppression and suppression that have been adopted by the Kashmir government against the people and the press. From all accounts that I have received, there does not exist in Kashmir any freedom of thought or speech.

— 11 September 1945

DUTY OF CIVIL
SERVANTS TO
THE STATE AND
CITIZENS — 1

You have to do your duty as servants; you are not concerned with this or that political party; that is not your business.... You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants.

— *Address to Gazetted Officers, Chittagong,
25 March 1948*

DUTY OF CIVIL SERVANTS TO THE STATE AND CITIZENS — 2

Government servants, both Central and Provincial... 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 endeavour that you are capable of producing for your State. In the great task of building up this State, you have a magnificent opportunity.

— *Broadcast, Radio Pakistan, Dacca,
28 March 1948*

DUTY OF CIVIL SERVANTS TO THE STATE AND CITIZENS — 3

You [civil officers] should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader 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.

— *Informal talk to Civil Officers, Peshawar,*
14 April 1948

DUTY OF THE ARMED FORCES OF PAKISTAN

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 a battle 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.

— *Address to the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack
Ack Regiments, Malir, 21 February 1948*

DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT — 1

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.

...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,

*Address, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Karachi, 11
August 1947*

DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT — 2

The government can only have for its aim one objective — how to serve the people; how to devise ways and means for their welfare, for their betterment. What other object can the government have...?

— *Address, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

DUTY TO THE STATE OF PAKISTAN

Inaturally 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 [a] 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,

to our town, and to our village and
ourselves comes next.

— *Speech, Islamia College, Peshawar, 12 April 1948*

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY

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 an extremely dark picture 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.... 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.

— *Speech on the occasion of the presentation of new Pakistani coins and currency notes by the Finance Minister, 1 April 1948*

EDUCATIONAL
POLICY TO BUILD
UP CHARACTER,
INTEGRITY, HONOUR
AND SERVICE TO THE
NATION

If we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must... bring our educational policy and programme 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.... What we have to do is to mobilize our people and build up the character of our future generations.... In short, we

have to build up the character of our future generations which means highest sense of honour, 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 honour to Pakistan.

— *Message to All Pakistan Educational Conference,
Karachi, 27 November 1947*

EQUAL TREATMENT AND RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

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, and their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed.

— *Press Conference, New Delhi, 14 July 1947*

EQUALITY,
FRATERNITY AND
HUMAN RIGHTS

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 the denial of these human rights in this Subcontinent.

— *Address, Public Reception, Chittagong,
26 March 1948*

UNITY, FAITH AND DISCIPLINE

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. 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.

— *Reply to North Western Railway Officers' welcome address, Karachi, 28 December 1947*

FEUDALISM — EXPLOITATION OF THE MASSES

I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam.

— *Address, All India Muslim League Session, Delhi,
24 April 1943*

FREEDOM OF
EXPRESSION —
PROTECT
JOURNALISTS

I say, protect the innocent, protect those journalists who are doing their duty and who are serving both the public and the government by criticizing the government freely, independently, honestly which is an education for any government,

— *Speech on the condition of the Press in India in the Imperial Legislative Council, 19 September 1918*

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION

Iwant 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, indulging in destructive criticism, taking delight in running down the ministry or the officials.

— *Reply to welcome address, Edwardes College,
Peshawar, 18 April 1948*

GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONS TO FUNCTION FOR THE GOOD OF THE STATE

Representative governments 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. We must 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.

— *Address at Quetta Municipality, 15 June 1948*

HONEST AND CONSTRUCTIVE 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.

— *Address, Edwardes College, Peshawar,*
18 April 1948

ISLAM— DEMOCRACY,
EQUALITY, JUSTICE,
FREEDOM, INTEGRITY,
FAIRPLAY

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.... Let us make it [the future Constitution of Pakistan]. We shall make it and we shall show it to the world.

— *Address, Bar Association, Karachi,*
25 January 1948

ISLAMIC ECONOMIC THEORY AND PRACTICE TO SUIT PAKISTAN

The adoption of 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.

— *Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi, 1 July 1948*

LAW AND ORDER

Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the prerequisites of all progress. The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed.

— *Speech at University Stadium, Lahore,
30 October 1947*

LIBERTY, FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.... We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State.... Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in 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.

— *Address, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan,
Karachi, 11 August 1947*

LOOK AFTER THE POOR

It is your sacred duty to look after the poor and help them. I would never have gone through the toil and suffering for the last ten years had I not felt our sacred duty towards them. We must secure for them better living conditions. It should not be our policy to make the rich richer but that does not mean that we want to uproot things. We can quite consistently give all their due share.

— 27 *Ramzan* 1366

MERCHANTS AND
TRADERS WELCOME
TO BUILD FORTUNES
AND PAKISTAN

Traders and merchants will always be welcome and 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. I would like Pakistan to become [a] synonym and hallmark for standard and quality in the market places of the world.... May you, as true Pakistanis, help to reconstruct and build Pakistan to reach a mighty and

glorious status amongst the comity of
nations of the world....

—*Address, Karachi Chamber of Commerce,*
27 April 1948

MESSAGE TO PAKISTANIS

Work honestly and sincerely
and be faithful and loyal to
the Pakistan Government.

I can assure you 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.

— *Address to Civil Officers of Balochistan, Sibi,
14 February 1948*

MUSLIMS ARE A NATION — 1

Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours 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.

— *Presidential Address, 27th Session, All India Muslim League, Lahore, 22–24 March 1940*

MUSLIMS ARE A NATION — 2

We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million people and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions—in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all

canons of international law we are a nation.

— *Jinnah's reply (17 September 1944) to Gandhi's contention (15 September 1944): 'I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock'*

OATH OF THE ARMED FORCES OFFICERS

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 is 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 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 enrolment 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...’

— *Address, Staff College, Quetta, 14 June 1948*

PAKISTAN NOT A THEOCRATIC STATE

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)... But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.

— *Broadcast talk to the people of Australia,*
19 February 1948

PAKISTAN — A MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENT

We have undoubtedly achieved Pakistan and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of the 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 history of the world. Pakistan is now a fait accompli and it can never be undone. Besides, it was the only just, honourable, and practical solution of the most complex constitutional problem of this great

Subcontinent.

Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation.... Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Musalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly 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 the best of it.

— *31 August 1947*

PEACE AND
FRIENDSHIP WITH
INDIA — 1

I sincerely hope that they [relations between India and Pakistan] will be friendly and cordial. We have a great deal to do ... and think that we can be of use to each other [and to] the world.

— *Press Conference, New Delhi, 14 July 1947*

PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH INDIA — 2

First and the 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 neighbours 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.

— *Interview to Reuter's correspondent, Karachi,*
25 October 1947

PEACE AND
PROSPERITY
AMONG NATIONS —
UPHOLDING
PRINCIPLES OF THE
UN CHARTER

Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and

moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nation's Charter.

— *Broadcast to the USA, February 1948*

PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO PLACE AND REMOVE GOVERNMENT FROM POWER

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.

— *Address, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

POLITICAL ISSUES
CANNOT BE SETTLED
BY FORCE

Grave political issues cannot be settled by the cult of the knife or by gangsterism.

There are parties and parties but the difference between them cannot be resolved by attacks on party leaders. Nor can political views be altered by the threats of violence.

— *Eid message, October 1943*

PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

Minorities can rest assured that their rights will be protected. No civilized government can be run successfully without giving minorities a complete sense of security and confidence. They must be made to feel that they have a hand in government and to do this they must have adequate representation in it. Pakistan will give this.

— *Interview to APA representative, Bombay,
8 November 1945*

QURAN — A GENERAL CODE OF THE MUSLIMS

Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code, it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life to come, and our Prophet (PBUH) has enjoined on us that every Musalman should possess a copy of the Quran

and be his own priest. Therefore, Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collective[ly] and individually.

—*Eid message, September 1945*

RELATIONS WITH THE USA

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.

— *Reply to the US Ambassador's Speech, Karachi,
26 February 1948*

REPRESENTATIVE
GOVERNMENT—
FRIEND AND SERVANT
OF THE PEOPLE.
DUTY TO MAINTAIN
HONOUR, INTEGRITY,
JUSTICE AND FAIRPLAY

Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's government responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practice.... Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest

standard of honour, integrity, justice
and fair play.

— *Address to Gazetted Officers, Chittagong,*
25 March 1948

THE ROLE OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES

An opposition party or parties
are good correctives for any
party which is in power.

— 8 November 1945

THE RULE OF LAW, FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, CIVIL LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

No man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure... the powers which are going to be assumed by the executive, which means substitution of executive for judicial, such powers are likely to be abused and, in the past, we have instances where such powers have been abused... There is no precedent or parallel that I know of in any other civilized country where you

have laws of this character enacted... it imperils the liberty of the subject and fundamental liberties of a citizen....

— *Speech on Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill, Imperial Legislative Committee, 6 February 1919*

SAFEGUARDING THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

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... they need have no apprehension of any kind.

— *Press Conference, New Delhi, 14 July 1947*

SUPPORT FOR A PALESTINIAN STATE

Muslim feelings have been stirred over the issue of Palestine, I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom. You know the Arabs... who are fighting for the freedom of their country have been described as gangsters and subjected to all forms of repression... But no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices such as the Arabs of Palestine are making. All our sympathies are with those valiant

martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers. They are being subjected to monstrous injustices.

— *Address, All India Muslim League Session, Patna, 26 December 1938*

UNITED FRONT BY MUSLIM STATES

My ... 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 as 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.

— *Eid Message, 7 August 1948*

URDU — THE LANGUAGE FOR PAKISTAN

Urdu (is] 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 in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition ... is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries.

— *Address, Dacca University Convocation,
24 March 1948*

VISION OF PAKISTAN — 1

In Pakistan lies our deliverance, defence and honour.... In our solidarity, unity and discipline lie the strength, power and sanction behind us to carry on this fight successfully. No sacrifice should be considered too great. We shall never accept any future constitution on the basis of a united India.

— *Message on Pakistan Day, 23 March 1945*

VISION OF PAKISTAN — 2

We must get Pakistan at any cost. For it we live and for it we will die.

The Musalmans have to struggle and struggle hard for their honourable existence...you must work and work hard. By doing so you will contribute substantially not only to the honour of ten crores of Muslims but to the crystallization of a free Muslim state of Pakistan where Muslims will be able to offer the ideology of Islamic rule.

— *Address, Public Meeting, Mardan,
24 November 1945*

VISION OF PAKISTAN — 3

If we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should concentrate on the well-being of the people and especially of the masses and the poor. Everyone of you, no matter what his colour, caste or creed, is first, second or last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations. ...

— *Address, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan,
11 August 1947*

VISION OF PAKISTAN — 4

The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving ... 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 rights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find freeplay.

— *Address to Civil and Military Officers of Pakistan Government, Karachi, 11 October 1947*

VISION OF PAKISTAN — 5

The great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity..., constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also... [provide] 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 human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanising not only the State but also the Nation,

— *Address, Public Meeting, Chittagong,
26 March 1948*

VISION OF PAKISTAN — 6

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.

— *Speech, Islamia College, Peshawar, 12 April 1948*

VISION OF PAKISTAN — 7

The other and higher aspect of Pakistan is that it would be a base where we will be able to train and bring up Muslim intellectuals, educationists, economists, scientists, doctors, engineers, technicians, etc. who will work to bring about Islamic renaissance. They will spread over the Middle East and other Muslim countries to serve their co-religionists and create awakening among them. The entire belt of the Middle East will develop into a solid, cohesive block—a third block—which will be neither communistic nor capitalistic but truly socialistic.

— *Quaid-i-Azam as seen by his contemporaries, by
Jamiluddin Aali*

WE ARE MUSLIMS AND PAKISTANIS FIRST

Let me warn you in the clearest terms of the dangers that still face Pakistan.... 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 [of provincialism] in our body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanize yourself into a real, true nation. What we want is not

to talk about Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pathan, and so on, They are, of course, units. But I ask you: 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 here. So what is the use of saying, ‘We are Bengalis or Sindhis or Pathans or Punjabis’ No, we are Muslims.

— *Address, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

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. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of the Western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideas and standards. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of

life, avoiding the corrupt practices of
Western society.

— *Speech, Muslim University Union, Aligarh,*
10 March 1944

CHRONOLOGY

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|-----------------------|--|
| 25 December 1876 | Born in Karachi. |
| 1883 | Admitted to the Sindh Madrasatul Islam. |
| 30 January 1892 | Sails for England. |
| 1895 | Called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn, London, UK. |
| 1897 | Enrols as Advocate (OS) at the Bombay High Court. |
| 4 May-3 November 1900 | Acted as Third Presidency Magistrate, |
| 10 March 1904 | Elected Member, Bombay Municipal Corporation.
Resigns March 1905. |
| December 1904 | Attends a session of the Indian National Congress, in Bombay, for the first time. |
| December 1906 | Elected as a delegate to the Congress party. His first public speech at a Congress session, supporting the resolution on 'Validation of <i>Wakf alal-anlad</i> ' on 27 December. |

8 January 1907	Elected Vice-President, Indian Mussalman Association, Calcutta.
2 August 1909	Moves resolution calling on British rulers to consult Muslim leaders while creating Muslim constituencies, in a public meeting of Anjuman-i- Zia-ul-Islam, Bombay.
4 January 1910	Elected to the Imperial Legislative Council
25 February 1910	Clashes with the Viceroy, Lord Minto, over South African cruelty to Indian labourers during a session of the Imperial Legislative Council.
17 March 1911	Introduces <i>Wakf alal-aulad</i> Validation Bill.
19 March 1912	Supports G. K. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill.
31 December 1912	Calls on the AIML to confer with Congress to negotiate a Hindu-Muslim settlement.
10 October 1913	Enrols as a member of the AIML.

May 1914	Nominated chief spokesman of the Congress delegation to London.
11 November 1915	Dispels rumours of merging AIML with the Indian National Congress as baseless.
7-12 August 1916	Defends Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the District Magistrate's Court, Poona, against charges of sedition.
30-31 December 1916	Presides over the AIML Session in Lucknow which approves the Congress-League Lucknow Pact.
29 July 1917	Presides over a Home Rule League meeting in Bombay with Mrs Anne Besant and Tilak participating in it.
19 April 1918	Marries Rutenbai, daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit.
11 December 1918	Disrupts meeting in honour of Lord Willingdon on his departure.
28 March 1919	Resigns from the Imperial Legislative Council in protest against the Rowlatt Act.

14—15 August 1919	Birth of Dina Jinnah in London.
31 December 1919	Elected permanent President of AIML.
25 October 1920	Resigns from the Home Rule League (HRL) due to change in creed by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi whom he himself had inducted into HRL.
28 December 1920	Leaves Congress in disgust during the Nagpur Session protesting against Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Resolution.
26 January 1921	Protests inclusion of his name in list of politicians opposed to Non-cooperation.
20 April 1921	Resigns from the Chairmanship of the Board of Directors of 'The Bombay Chronicle.
27 December 1921	Visits Gandhi, along with Malaviya and Jayakar, to persuade him to make peace with the government.

February 1922	Organizes the Independent Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly comprising seventeen members.
31 March 1923	Revives AIML after its eclipse by the Khilafat Conference.
14 November 1923	Elected unopposed to the Indian Legislative Assembly.
18 February 1924	Supports a resolution on grant of full self-governing dominion status to India, moved by Bepin Chandra Pal.
6 March 1924	Demands 'Indianization' of the British Indian Army.
24-25 March 1924	Re-elected President of AIML whose members endorse his policies. Thwarts attempts by members of the Khilafat Committee to capture the AIML.
3 December 1924	Submits a Minority Report on Reforms opposing diarchy and calling for provincial autonomy.
17 February 1925	Supports a resolution for establishment of a Supreme Court in India.

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| 18 February 1925 | Supports a resolution for establishment of a Military College in India. |
| 18 March 1926 | Pleds for extension of reforms to the NWFP. |
| 18 February 1927 | Demands steps to make up the paucity of Sikh representation in government services. |
| 20 March 1927 | Presides over an informal conference of Muslim leaders and finalizes the Delhi Muslim Proposals. |
| 16 May 1927 | AICC accepts Delhi Muslim Proposals at Bombay. |
| 30 December 1927 | AICC ratifies acceptance of Delhi Muslim Proposals. |
| 28-29 December 1928 | Jinnah's 'minimum six Muslim demands' are steamrolled by the All Parties National Convention, at Calcutta, called by Congress to approve the Nehru Report. |
| 20 February 1929 | Death of Ruttie Jinnah in Bombay. |
| 28 March 1929 | Presents 'Fourteen Points' at Delhi. |

30 November 1929	Visits Gandhi at Sabarmati Ashram along with Vithalbhai Patel to arrange a Viceroy-Gandhi meeting on the proposed Round Table Conference.
12 November 1930	Participates in the First Round Table Conference in London.
12 January 1931	Pleads for separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency.
June-November 1931	Decides to settle in London. Purchases a villa on West Heath Road, Hampstead. Resigns from the Assembly.
1932-35	Attends Second Round Table Conference in London. Practises law in England but keeps in touch with leading Indian Muslim leaders.

April 1934

Reelected President of the reunited Muslim League, at a joint session of the two factions at Delhi. Presides over the AIML Council meeting and discusses the current political situation, condemns the constitutional scheme with the exception of the Communal Award.

11 October 1934

Returns unopposed to the Assembly from the Bombay Muslim Constituency.

4-7 February 1935

Jinnah's three amendments in the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report are accepted by the Assembly, thereby ensuring retention of the Communal Award.

February-March 1935

Jinnah—Rajendra Prasad talks held to find a substitute for the Communal Award; talks failed to yield any concrete results.

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| 24 October 1935 | Returns to India. States that 'the new constitution (1935 Act] had been forced on us' and called on Indian leaders to 'hammer out a definite and common policy...' |
| February-March 1936 | Visits Lahore to seek a solution to the Shahidganj Mosque dispute. |
| 1 April 1936 | On the inauguration of the new province of Sind, states, 'I sincerely hope that the two sister communities will wholeheartedly cooperate in the service of the province'. |
| 9 April 1936 | Inaugurates the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind Conference at Delhi. |
| 11-12 April 1936 | Attends the AIML session in Bombay. Lays down AIML's policy on the new constitution. |
| 21 May 1936 | Sets up a 56-member Central Parliamentary Board to contest the upcoming provincial elections on an AIML ticket. |

10-11 June 1936

AIML Central Parliamentary Board meets under his president-ship at Lahore and finalizes the manifesto drafted by him.

8 August 1936

Reconciles differences between the Nawab of Dacca's United Muslim Party, Fazlul Haq's Krishak Praja Party and the Provincial Muslim League to get all the Muslim groups to run elections through the ML Parliamentary Board; but Fazlul Haq reneges later.

11 October 1936

Launches election campaign in Lahore.

3 January 1937

Referring to Nehru's 'two forces' (the Government and the Congress) dictum at a mammoth public meeting in Calcutta, states, 'there is a third party in this country and that is Muslim India.

27 May 1937

In a letter to Jinnah, Iqbal writes that AIML's future depends upon its ability to solve the question of Muslim poverty and urges him to transform AIML into a mass party.

3 June 1937

Issues an appeal for funds for 'the uplift and advancement of Muslims and their welfare' and for establishing 'an independent press'.

21 June 1937

Iqbal suggests in a letter to Jinnah that the only solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem is the division of India along the line of the Muslim majority provinces.

7 July 1937

On the Congress decision to work on the 1935 reforms, hopes that it would cooperate 'with the Muslim party in the legislatures', emphasizing that 'the need of India is to create a unified front'.

28 July 1937

AIML-Congress negotiations in the UP finally break down with the Congress insisting on the AIML's merger into the Congress.

11 August 1937

In a letter, Iqbal suggests concentration of AIML activities on the Muslims of north-west India and holding an AIML session at Lahore.

16 September 1937

Moves three amendments to the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Bill which are adopted by the Central Assembly.

7 October 1937

In a letter, Iqbal urges Jinnah to declare the AIML's 'clear cut policy' on the Communal Award.

13—18 October 1937

Accorded a rousing reception by 20,000 persons on arrival at Lucknow. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Fazlul Haq and Sir Mohammad Saadullah Khan, the Premiers of Punjab, Bengal and Assam respectively, along with their followers, join the League.

The green Islamic flag with crescent and star is hoisted over the League pandal for the first time. In his presidential address, Jinnah criticizes Congress for imposing Hindi, Bande Mataram and the Congress flag as the national language, national song and national flag and asserts that 'the majority community have already shown that Hindustan is for the Hindus'. He urges the Muslims to organize themselves and establish solidarity and complete unity. The AIML changes its objective to the establishment of full independence in India in the form of a federation of democratic states. The chairman of the reception committee was Raja of Mahmudabad.

19 October 1937

In a letter Gandhi characterizes Jinnah's Presidential address in Lucknow as 'a declaration of war'.

23 October 1937

Presides over the All Bengal Muslim Conference at Behrampur, East Bengal. States, 'political power is a power that will safeguard our religion, culture or language'.

26-27 October 1937

Accorded a rousing welcome in Patna where he succeeds in getting all the Muslim parties to merge or coalesce with AIML.

26-28 December 1937

Addresses mammoth public meetings at Howrah Maidan and Mohammad Ali Park, Calcutta. Presides over the first session of the AIMS F (All India Muslim Students Federation) at Calcutta. Urges audience to organize their community and raise their people economically, socially and educationally.

18 February 1938

On his call, Muslims throughout India observe Shahidganj Day.

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| 3 March 1938 | Urges Gandhi in a letter to recognize the AIML as the only authoritative and representative organization of the Muslims of India. |
| 4 April 1938 | AIML representatives in the Central Assembly decide to form an AIML party in the legislature. |
| 17-18 April 1938 | Presiding over the AIML special session in Calcutta, asserts that 'the Muslim League claims the status of complete equality with Congress, or any other organization'. |
| 28 April 1938 | Gandhi-Jinnah talks on the communal question start in Bombay and continue over the next few months. |
| 11 May 1938 | Meets with Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Indian National Congress, in Bombay to resolve the Hindu-Muslim question. Corresponds with Bose over the next few months. |

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| 8-10 October 1938 | Presides over the Sindh Muslim League Conference at Karachi which calls for separate Hindu and Muslim federations. |
| 18 November 1938 | On his call, Muslims commemorate 'Kemal Day' throughout India on the demise of Mustapha Kemal Pasha of Turkey. |
| 2 December 1938 | Elected President for the following year unanimously by the AIML Council. |
| 26-29 December 1938 | Presides over the 26th annual session of the AIML at Patna. Criticizes the federal scheme, Congress ministries and the Congress high command. Addresses the AIMSFC Conference. |
| 8 February 1939 | At his call, Muslims observe 'Palestine Day'. |
| 16 March 1939 | Sends copies of the Pirpur Report and the Shareef Report to the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. |

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| 6 May 1939 | Declares in Bombay that the government should not settle the Federal issue with Congress alone. |
| 30 July 1939 | In a statement, urges the Viceroy and HMG not to impose the Federal Scheme upon an unwilling India. |
| 8 September 1939 | After meeting the Viceroy, states that 'to win the war, government should take Muslims into confidence'. |
| 5 October 1939 | Meets with the Viceroy along with Gandhi. |
| 18 October 1939 | In a statement, HMG agrees to review the Act of 1935. |
| 1 November 1939 | Confers with the Viceroy on a modus vivendi at the Centre along with Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad. |
| 3 November 1939 | Spells out Muslim demands for cooperation in the war effort in a letter to the Viceroy. |

13 December 1939	Demands the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate Muslim grievances in Congress provinces.
22 December 1939	AIML celebrates a 'Day of Deliverance' on the resignation of Congress ministries.
19 January 1940	Jinnah's article in <i>Time and Tide</i> (London) explains the AIML stand.
22-24 March 1940	Presides over the historic AIML session in Lahore calling for the partition of India.
19 April 1940	At his call, Muslims celebrate the 'Day of Declaration' to confirm the Lahore Resolution.
8 August 1940	HMG issues a statement suspending the Federal Scheme for the duration of the war and assuring Muslims their views on the issue would be considered.

1 November 1940	Declares that the observance of Muslim Countries Day on 1 November was meant to strengthen bonds of brotherhood between Indian Muslims and other Muslim countries.
14 November 1940	Inaugurates the Delhi MSF Conference in Delhi.
10 March 1941	Presiding over the Aligarh Students Union, states, 'Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India and you are its soldiers'.
23 March 1941	Calls on Muslims to celebrate Lahore Resolution day.
25 March 1941	Pleds for Pakistan in a meeting with Sir Stafford Cripps.
12-15 April 1941	Presides over the 28th session of the AIML in Madras. Amendment passed in the AIML Constitution making the Lahore Resolution its supreme objective.

- 18 April 1941 Meets with leaders of the Justice Party, Madras. Explores possibility of cooperation for attainment of common interests.
- 14 June 1941 In a letter to the Nizam of Hyderabad (Deccan), urges both the Nizam and Bahadur Yar Jang to avoid precipitating matters likely to disturb the status quo.
- 22 July 1941 Disapproves expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council.
- 30 July 1941 Threatens disciplinary action against six AIML members who joined the Viceroy's expanded Executive Council and the National Defence Council.
- 11 September 1941 Presides over the AIML Working Committee meeting which welcomes the resignation of the Premiers of Punjab, Bengal and Assam from the National Defence Council.

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| 11 October 1941 | <i>Dawn</i> , an English weekly, founded in Delhi, to espouse the Muslim cause in India. |
| 26 December 1941 | Presides over the fifth annual session of the AIMS F at Nagpur. |
| 2 January 1942 | In an interview, warns HMG against a departure from the 8 August 1940 Declaration. |
| 15 February 1942 | Criticizes the Haq Ministry of Bengal in his presidential address to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sirajganj. |
| 6 March 1942 | In a telegram to the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, states that any constitution without the AIML's approval would be unacceptable. |
| 3—6 April 1942 | Presiding over the 29th session of the AIML at Allahabad, declares that whatever proposals Sir Stafford Cripps might make, AIML would not accept anything less than Pakistan. |

13 April 1942

Explains at a press conference why the AIML had to reject the Cripps Proposals offered by the HMG.

28 July 1942

In a letter to Rajagopalachari, emphasizes that fundamental principles underlying the partition proposal should be agreed before details are discussed.

8 August 1942

Characterizes the Congress Working Committee's 'Quit India' resolution as a repetition of its old plan of establishing 'Hindu raj or a Hindu majority government'.

4 October 1942

In reply to Dr Ziauddin Ahmad, refuses to receive the honorary degree saying, 'I have lived as plain Mr Jinnah and I hope to die as plain Mr Jinnah.

22 November 1942

Addressing the Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, states 'No nation can make any progress without the cooperation of its women'.

4 June 1943

At a press conference in Karachi, states that the AICC Resolution of 8 August 1942 was 'a declaration of war' against the Muslim League.

3-4 July 1943

Attended the Balochistan Muslim League Conference in Quetta.

20 July 1943

An assassination attempt by Rafiq Sabir, a Khaksar, fails due to his [the Quaid's] alertness.

13 August 1943

Muslims observe 'Day of Thanksgiving' on the Quaid's escape from the assailant's dagger.

23 August 1943

Writes to Lord Linlithgow on political conditions in Kashmir.

- 20-26 December 1943 Presides over the 31st session of the AIML in Karachi. States that 'Karachi will be the gateway for Pakistan'. Declares the Quran to be 'the sheet anchor of Muslim India'. Announces the setting up of a Committee of Action and Planning Committee.
- 10 March 1944 In a speech in Aligarh, calls for raising the status of women.
- 18 April 1944 Receives the CR formula on partition from Rajagopalachari.
- 27 April 1944 Jinnah-Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana talks in Lahore end in failure.
- 30 April 1944 Punjab Muslim League Conference in Sialkot repudiates Tiwana.
- 9-27 September 1944 Gandhi-Jinnah talks in Bombay break down. Correspondence released.

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| 22 January 1945 | Repudiates Liaquat-Desai talks on formation of a reconstituted Viceroy's Council. |
| 25 June-14 July 1945 | Attends Simla Conference. States that opposition to AIML's right to nominate all the Muslims on the Viceroy's Council led to the failure of the Conference. |
| 16 July 1945 | Appeals for funds to fight elections. |
| 6 August 1945 | First contribution to the Muslim League Election Fund is presented at Bombay. States, 'Give me silver bullets and I will do the job'. |
| August-September 1945 | In response to his appeal, several top ranking Congress and Unionist' stalwarts join the Muslim League. |
| 29 September 1945 | In a cable to Prime Minister Attlee, opposes President Truman's proposal on Jewish immigration to Palestine and warns against any departure from the White Paper. |

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| 12 October 1945 | In a statement, supports Indonesia's struggle for independence. |
| 4 December 1945 | Elected to the Central Legislative Assembly. |
| 11 January 1946 | Muslims observe Victory Day to celebrate the Muslim League's one hundred percent success in central assembly elections. Addresses a mammoth public meeting in Delhi. |
| 24 February 1946 | In a telegram, congratulates Punjab Muslims and PML President, Nawab of Mamdot, on ML's success in provincial polls. |
| 4 April 1946 | Meets the Cabinet Delegation. |
| 7-9 April 1946 | Presides over the Muslim Legislators' Convention at Delhi where the Lahore Resolution (1940) is amended to call for 'a sovereign independent state', comprising six provinces in north-west and north-east India. |

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| 12 May 1946 | Sends AIML constitutional proposals to the Cabinet Delegation. |
| 19 May 1946 | Cabinet Mission Plan announced. |
| 4-6 June 1946 | AIML Council accepts 19 May Cabinet Mission Plan. |
| 29 June 1946 | AIML Council withdraws acceptance due to Jawaharlal Nehru's 10 July Bombay Press Conference statement that Congress was not bound by any clause of the Cabinet Mission Plan especially with regard to the grouping of provinces and decides upon Direct Action to wrest Pakistan. |
| 15 August 1946 | Meets Jawaharlal Nehru in Bombay on formation of the Interim Government. |
| 16 August 1946 | AIML observes Direct Action Day. Great Calcutta killings begins. |

2 September 1946

An all-Congress Interim Government sworn in. Muslim India observes 'Black Day' and hoists black flags everywhere.

29 September 1946

The Nawab of Bhopal induces Gandhi to accept the AIML as representative of all Indian Muslims,

September- October
1946

Meets with the Viceroy several times in connection with the Muslim League's entry into the Interim Government.

25 October 1946

The AIML, led by Liaquat Ali Khan, joins the Interim Government.

November 1946

Killings in Bihar State resulting in the death of 30,000 Muslims with 15,000 made homeless.

11 November 1946

Dissuades Muslims in majority areas from retaliation saying 'Retaliation for Bihar will be catastrophic'.

6 December 1946	The British government in London endorses the AIML stand on the grouping provision in the Cabinet Mission Plan.
9 December 1946	AIML boycotts the Constituent Assembly called in New Delhi.
19 December 1946	Jinnah meets Mufti Aminul Husayni and Egyptian leaders in Cairo.
28 January-February 1947	Muslim League civil disobedience movement initiated in Punjab against the Tiwana Ministry.
20 February 1947	The Muslim League launches a civil disobedience movement against the Khan Sahib Ministry in the NWFP.
3 March 1947	Welcomes Tiwana Ministry's resignation.
4 March 1947	Master Tara Singh's speech sparks riots in Punjab.
5 April 1947	First meeting with the new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten.
15 April 1947	Jinnah-Gandhi joint appeal issued for peace.

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| 20 April 1947 | Denounces, in a statement, the proposed dissection of Bengal and Punjab, and considers it a 'grave error'. |
| 2 June 1947 | Along with Liaquat and Nishtar, attends leaders' conference presided over by the Viceroy. HMG's Plan for partition circulated. |
| 3 June 1947 | Partition Plan announced. Acceptance of the Mountbatten Plan is broadcast. |
| 9-10 June 1947 | AIML Council endorses 3 June Partition Plan. |
| 25 June 1947 | Issues statement appealing to the Shahi Jirga, Balochistan, and non-official members of the Quetta Municipality to vote for Pakistan. |
| 26 June 1947 | Issues statement appealing to the Muslims of Sylhet to vote for Pakistan. |
| 5 July 1947 | Liaquat Ali Khan informs Lord Mountbatten that Jinnah would be Governor-General of Pakistan. |

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| 26 July 1947 | Formation of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. |
| 7 August 1947 | Calls for burying the past and starting afresh as two independent sovereign states and wishes Hindustan 'prosperity and peace'. |
| 11 August 1947 | First Session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Elected President. Outlines policies and principles to govern Pakistan. |
| 12 August 1947 | Liaquat Ali Khan moves resolution that Jinnah be known as Quaid-i-Azam (The Great Leader). |
| 14 August 1947 | Transfer-of-Power ceremonies held. Mountbatten transfers power to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of HMG. |
| 15 August 1947 | Sworn in as Governor-General of Pakistan. Appoints the first cabinet, headed by Liaquat Ali Khan. |
| 28 August 1947 | Participates in the Lahore Conference of Governors-General and Prime Ministers. |

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|---------------------|--|
| 31 August 1947 | In a talk broadcast from Lahore, states 'The Boundary Award may be unjust but it is binding on us'. |
| 11 October 1947 | Addresses joint meeting of civil and armed forces officers. |
| 25 October 1947 | In an interview with Reuter's correspondent, terms minorities in Pakistan as equal citizens. |
| 1 November 1947 | Discusses the Kashmir issue with Lord Mountbatten. |
| 8 December 1947 | Protests against the UN decision to partition Palestine in a letter to Truman. |
| 14-15 December 1947 | Presides over the last meeting of the AIML Council at Karachi which decides to split the AIML into two independent and separate bodies. With this, his tenure as AIML president comes to an end. |

25 January 1948

Addressing the Karachi Bar Association states that Islamic principles are as applicable to our lives today as they were 1,300 years ago.

30 January 1948

Sends a condolence message on Gandhi's assassination.

21 February 1948

Addresses officers and men of the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments in Malir.

February 1948

In a talk broadcast to the US, states that the Pakistan Constitution would be 'a democratic type, embodying the essential principle of Islam', but 'is not going to be a theocratic state'.

21 March 1948

Addresses mammoth public meeting in Dacca. Declares that Urdu would be the State language of Pakistan.

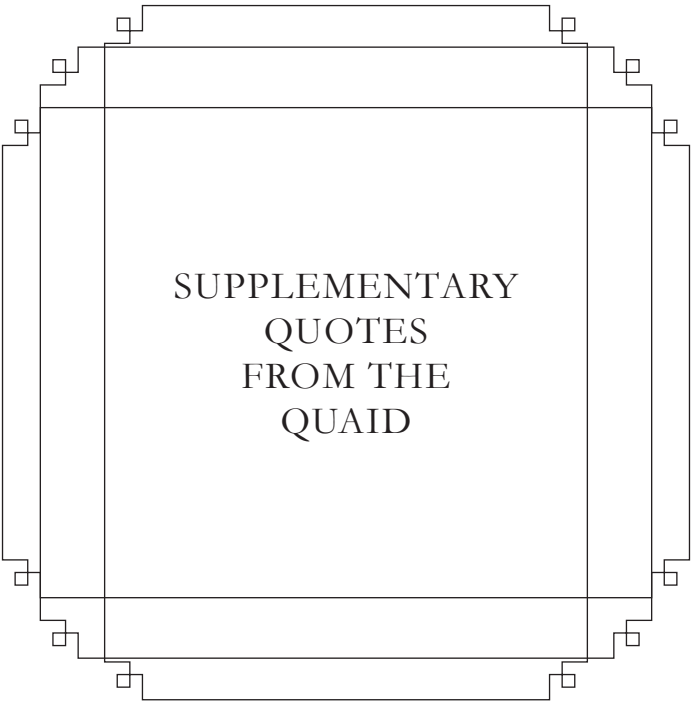
26 March 1948

Addresses a civic reception at Chittagong; recommends social justice and Islamic Socialism.

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 27 April 1948 | Addresses members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce. |
| 14 June 1948 | Addresses Staff College, Quetta. |
| 1 July 1948 | Performs the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, the last public function he attends. Calls for evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. |
| 14 July 1948 | Moves to Ziarat for health reasons. |
| 7 August 1948 | In his Eid-ul-Fitr message, appeals to Muslim states to stand united and confront the 'drama of power politics' that was being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir. |
| 13 August 1948 | Moves back to Quetta to convalesce. |
| 14 August 1948 | Issues Independence Day message. |
| 1 September 1948 | His health deteriorates. |
| 11 September 1948 | Passes away in Karachi. |

12 September 1948

State funeral.



SUPPLEMENTARY
QUOTES
FROM THE
QUAID

PEACE WITHIN AND PEACE WITHOUT

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

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 can a nation, containing many elements, live in peace and amity and work 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 neighbours and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against any one. We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.

15 August 1947

CALL TO DUTY

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.

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.

— *Address to Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force officers of the Pakistan Government at Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi*
11 October 1947

PAKISTAN WILL NEVER AGREE TO UNION WITH INDIA

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

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 centre.

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 agreements with any other foreign nation.

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.

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.

25 October 1947

ISLAM TEACHES EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY

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? Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said: 'Let us make it [the future Constitution of Pakistan]. We shall make it and we will show it to the world.'

Great Law-Giver.

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

— *Address to the Bar Association, Karachi, on the occasion of the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) birthday
25 January 1948*

NEW ERA OF PROGRESS FOR BALUCHISTAN

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 law-giver, 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 Baluchistan, 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.

— *Speech at Sibi Durbrar*
14 February 1948

HIGH OR LOW — WE ARE ALL 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.

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 is possible, your pleasures and put in as much time and as much work as you can in the job which is entrusted to you.

— *Address to a gathering of the Civil Officers of Baluchistan of the rank of Naib-Tehsildars and above, at Sibi 14 February 1948*

PAKISTAN AND HER PEOPLE — I

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). 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 welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.

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 a supreme place.

— *Talk broadcast to the people of Australia*
19 February 1948

SELFLESS DEVOTION TO DUTY

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.

— *Address to officers and men of the 5th Heavy Ack ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments in Malir*
21 February 1948

PAKISTAN AND HER PEOPLE — II

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 principles 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 men, justice and fair play 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.

— *Talk on the Pakistan Constitution broadcast to the people of
the United States of America*
February 1948

INDIA SHOULD DEAL WITH PAKISTAN ON AN EQUAL FOOTING

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 co-ordinate 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.’

— *Interview with Swiss Journalist, De Eric Streiff, special correspondent of the Neue Zurcher Zeitung*
11 March 1948

DO YOUR DUTY AS SERVANTS: ADVICE TO OFFICERS

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 the bureaucracy. It is people's government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices.

1. 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.

2. The second point is that of your conduct and dealing 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 honour, 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.

Now that freezing atmosphere must go; that impression of arrogance must go; that impression that you are rulers must go and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness and to try to understand the people.

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 per cent 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 will follow that rule believe me you will win the respect of the people.

— *Address to the Gazetted Officers at Chittagong*
25 March 1948

ARMoured CORPS: SPEARHEAD OF THE ARMY

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.

— *Address to Officers and Men of Pakistan Armoured Corps
Centre, Naushera
13 April 1948*

ADMINISTRATION MUST BE IMPARTIAL: ADVICE TO GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

Service is the backbone of the State. Governments are formed. Governments are 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 party, this political leader 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 honour 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.

— *Informal talk to Civil Officers at Government House,
Peshawar*
14 April 1948

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DEFENCE FORCES

I thank you, gentlemen, for the honour 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 honour of the people of Pakistan. The Defence Forces are the most vital of all Pakistan Services and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders.

Of course, an oath is only a matter of form; what is more important is 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 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 enrolment 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.”

— *Address to the Officers of the Staff College, Quetta*
14 June 1948

EID GREETINGS

We can look to the future with robust confidence provided we do not relax and fritter away our energies in internal dissensions. There never was greater need for discipline 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.

We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as 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 Musalman should serve Pakistan honestly,
sincerely and selflessly.

— *Message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr*
27 August 1948



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