“Directly Mr. Jinnah arrived I (Cripps) broached the question of my past attitude towards the Muslim League and told him that the views I took two and a half years ago were sincerely taken and represented my judgment of the situation as it then was and that I had regarded the Pakistan propaganda as pure political pressure. He responded very amiably to this, recognizing the sincerity of my views, which I told him the last two years had changed in view of the change in the communal feeling in India and the growth of the Pakistan Movement…. I then gave him the documents to read….. which I think rather surprised him in the distance it went to meet the Pakistan case.”¹

This article discusses in details the growth of Pakistan demand from 1942 to 1944, its official recognition by the British government and acceptance by Mr. Gandhi. The Cripps mission was sent to India due to unexpected Japanese victories which were threatening the invasion of India during the Second World War. The British were also under pressure from the US to resolve the political
deadlock in India after the Congress ministries resigned due to the failure of negotiations between the Congress and the government. Sir Stafford arrived in India on 23 March, 1942 and gave a statement saying that he had been more associated with his friends in the Congress party but also indicating that he was opened to all other points of view. In the meantime, the Muslim League was celebrating its Pakistan day celebrations. Jinnah in his speech, referred to the Cripps mission advising Muslims to be patient until his proposals were put forward officially. He indicated that the League will not accept his proposals if it were detrimental to Muslim interest; he also mentioned that he will resist and if needed, the Muslims would die fighting for the creation of Pakistan.

He also cautioned Cripps and the British government in London indicating that agents of the Congress and agents of the British were making attempts to sabotage the Muslim League plans. He also brought in to attention of all the parties that although Cripps was a friend of the Congress and enjoyed personal association and hospitality of Nehru, it will not have any negative effect on his dealings with the Muslim League. He made it clear that Cripps had come to India not in his personal capacity but as a representative of British government. On 25 March, Cripps privately disclosed his proposals to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and Maulana Azad as presidents of Muslim League and Congress respectively. Cripps apologized to Jinnah for saying some rude things in the Tribune about Muslims and told him that he had revised his views on Pakistan demand due to the growth of Pakistan movement during the last two years. There was an option clause in Cripps proposals which allowed a province to succeed from the main Indian union; Cripps thought that this clause had particularly surprised Jinnah which he thought went to meet Jinnah’s Pakistan demand.
On 29 March, Cripps released his documents and held a press conference. On 4 April, in his presidential address to the Muslim League, Jinnah pointed out that Cripps' proposals were only a draft declaration. He also said that creation of Pakistan was a remote possibility and there was a definite preference for a new Indian Union which was the main objective and suggestion and the draft declaration interviews and explanations of Sir Stafford were going against Muslim interests and the League was called upon to play the game with a loaded dice. He asked Cripps to make adjustments in order to give real effect to the Pakistan demand. On 13 April, 1942, at a press conference, he pointed out that Pakistan demand was not conceded clearly and the right of Muslims to self-determination was also denied. These proposals were therefore rejected by the Muslim League. Jinnah criticized the British Government and Congress party for another round of negotiations, ignoring the Muslim League at a later stage. What happened was that Cripps wanted to give benefits even handing over power to Congress Party and especially giving the defence portfolio of Viceroy’s council to his Congress friends but he could not do so due to the Viceroy, the commander in Chief and Churchill’s opposition. Jinnah criticized the Congress demand to make revolutionary changes in the Indian constitution because it would have torpedoed the Pakistan Scheme and demanded that British Government should first settle the case for Pakistan and then proceed to frame the constitution accordingly. Gandhi was also criticized for not even accepting the remote and veiled recognition of Pakistan in the draft declaration presented by Cripps.

In the meantime, Rajagopalachariya, Congress leader of Madras sponsored two resolutions in his Madras legislature, first recommending the acceptance of Pakistan demand so that national government could be jointly
formed by the Congress and Muslim League and the second resolution to get permission of Congress party for having a coalition government with the Muslim League in Madras. As a matter of fact Rajaji was thinking in the long-term basis suggesting the recognition of Pakistan demand with the hope that the Muslims would with the passage of time forget the Pakistan idea after having establish working relationship with the Congress Party. But the Congress was not far cited enough to have realized this deep thinking and the result was that Rajaji and his associates were either expelled from the Congress Party or were asked to resign. Jinnah said that in Congress opinion, Rajaji had not only committed a crime but a sin in favour of idea of partition; it was Gandhi’s new technique to mislead his people. 12 Although Congress policy was not to give even the slightest recognition to Pakistan demand, Jinnah declared that more and more recognition of his Pakistan claim was now coming forth. Even the British had now changed a century-old policy with regards to future constitution of India by admitting dominions instead of dominion and unions instead of federation. 13

Jinnah kept on issuing messages of “preparations for all sacrifices” in the cause of Islam and Pakistan, giving warnings that Islam and Muslims would be eliminated from India if Pakistan was not created.14 On 28 June, he criticized Gandhi for declaring that the unity and Hindu-Muslim settlement could only come after the achievement of India’s independence; Gandhi had thrown off the cloak that he had worn for the last 22 years. That Gandhi had been befooling the Muslims but at last had shown himself in his true colors. Jinnah said that he knew all along that Gandhi never wanted to settle Hindu-Muslim question except on his own terms of Hindu domination; that Gandhi alone had dashed Muslims hopes whenever there was a chance of agreement and now he was presenting his Quit
India formula; Gandhi always kept a loop whole but in an orderly manner. Those who understood Gandhi’s language knew it very well that he wanted the British government to accept that Congress meant India and Gandhi meant the Congress party and therefore the British should come to terms with him as the sole spokesman representing every party in India regarding the transfer of power.

Jinnah said that Gandhi wanted to create Congress Raj with British force and to dominate Muslims and other minorities; both Gandhi and Nehru were indulging in slogans only. Nehru had made it quite clear that he was not prepared to discuss the issue of Pakistan nor was he prepared to discuss the communal issues until India’s independence was achieved. Nehru had made it clear that those who were talking of Pakistan were befooling the people; and the Muslim League had no constructive program. But Jinnah declared that nothing was going to move Muslims from their declared purpose of achieving Pakistan. In his discussions with Rajaji, he had declared that only way that British could do justice was to hand over Muslim homelands to Muslims and Hindu homelands to Hindus. This would cause little amount of trouble and friction. Pakistan scheme was just and reasonable for both Hindus and Muslims. The Congress proposal for united India was a Hindu Raj over hundred million Muslims. That the Muslims were a nation and they insisted upon their rights as a nation being acknowledged; that the Hindus would reconcile themselves within a few months if partition was implemented. It was more favourable to them because in this way, they would have received the government of three-fourth of India whereas the Muslims would have only one-fourth of the country. Jinnah said that Congress slogans of independence, freedom and national government were nothing more than empty words. The Congress had never given any solid form of constitution on
which they wanted to setup an all India United Central Government. He said that the Muslims had the experience of 27 months of Congress rule not long ago under the 1935 Act. During Congress rule, every effort was made to suppress language, customs and culture of the Muslims. In educational institutions, which were only Muslims, students were pressurized to use text books prescribed by the Congress government emphasizing on Hindu Culture and belittling the Muslims in many ways. He pointed out that Muslims had their distinctive culture, language, literature, art, architecture, names, nomenclature, values, legal laws, moral codes, customs, calendar, history, traditions, attitudes and ambitions; that they had their own outlook on life and off life and therefore, by all canons of international law, they were a nation.16

He said Congress had hegemony, supremacy and domination with the help of British. The British would never be forgiven if they tried to let down the Muslim community. He warned that national government which Congress wanted to be installed, would try to sabotage the Pakistan demand. He reminded that the remotest recognition of Pakistan demand by Cripps proposal17 was described by Gandhi as “wicked”. This was the first time under the British rule in India that principal of Pakistan had been recognized by the British which was described as the beginning of the end. Jinnah was confident that the process of creation of Pakistan had begun and thought that with determination, patience, unity and discipline, the Muslims would soon open a new chapter of history in India.18 He wanted Muslim women and students, to cooperate in this regard. He was reminding the students that pen, sword and economic, banking, commerce, book keeping, industrial power – all knowledge was necessary. He cited the example of Japan, imparting technical and commercial education to the boys 30 years ago.19 He also reminded that
when Rajaji was in favour of accepting Pakistan demand, Gandhi had declared that Pakistan in his opinion was a crime and sin; all India Congress committee had also rejected Rajaji’s initiative completely turning down any idea of Pakistan. Nehru had also made it clear that he was not prepared even to discuss Pakistan scheme and called it a mockery. In his press interview at Lahore 22 March, 1942, Jinnah refuted the charges that Muslims had planned to establish Pakistan through the British help. He said that “we depended upon nobody except ourselves for the achievement of our goal and that Muslim India was ready and willing to face every quarter and obstacle that may come”.

On 2 August, 1942, Jinnah declared that the Quit India movement of Congress had an objective to get the control of Indian administration and destroy the Pakistan demand; that Gandhi and his Congress party were blackmailing the British and coercing them to accept a system of government to transfer power that would establish Hindu Raj under the British bayonet, thereby placing the Muslims and others at the mercy of Congress Raj once again. He said when Gandhi had failed as an advisor to the British, he became a coercer. He pointed out that Gandhi could not bear the remotest idea of separation under the Pakistan scheme, because all those who favoured the idea of separation were expelled from the Congress party or were asked to resign from the Congress party. He said that hundred million Muslims stood for Pakistan demand and will never submit to Hindu raj and reminded the British that under their declaration of August 1940, the British government was bound to consult the Muslims with regard to future constitutional advance in India leading eventually to the transfer of power. He rejected the Congress argument that no agreement was possible between Muslims and Hindus as long as the British were in India. He repeated
that the object of the Congress was by hook or crook to bring about a situation in India that will destroy the Pakistan scheme; however he declared that the Muslims would not remain spectators any more.\textsuperscript{23}

On 10 August 1942, he said that quickest way to achieve freedom of all the people of India was by accepting the Pakistan scheme by agreement. He advised to the Muslims to keep away from Congress movement and continue their normal life peacefully. He warned the Congress not to pressurize, interfere, harass or picket the Muslims; he also said that the Muslims would only join provisional government if a declaration accepting the principle of Pakistan demand was issued by the British government.\textsuperscript{24} He repeated that all parties should agree and guarantee the rights of the Muslims especially by recognizing their right to self determination; that even under the stress of war emergency, they would not accept any proposal that would prejudice the Pakistan demand.\textsuperscript{25} That the Muslim League had never put forward any demand which could be characterized as unreasonable; that there could be no compromise on the question of right to self determination of Muslims nation; it is their inherent birthright and to deny that was to deny their very existence.\textsuperscript{26}

He also pointed out that the Muslims countries like Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey were in full sympathy with the Pakistan demand and that newspapers in those countries were supporting the Pakistan scheme and that in case of conflict between Muslims and the British, these countries would support the Muslims.\textsuperscript{27} In his message, he reminded his critics that Muslims had come to India as conquerors, traders, preachers and teachers and brought with them their own culture, civilization and established mighty empires and built-up great civilizations. They reformed and remodeled the Indian subcontinent. That
hundred million Muslims of India represented the largest compact body of Muslim population in any single part of the world. They had their own national culture and civilization distinct from others. The Muslims stood for complete independence and equality of all nations. Muslim India was destined to play a part as a powerful factor in the world struggle that was going on as well as future new world order and postwar peace settlements of the world. The Muslims of India were determined to establish their own independent and sovereign states where they were no less than 70 millions, which were their homelands and where they were in a majority. He appealed to the Muslims to solidly stand by their goal of Pakistan that was a matter of life and death for them and the future destiny of Muslims India and that if they did not achieve Pakistan they would perish in the world.  

On 2 November, 1942, presenting an address at Muslim University, Aligarh, Jinnah said that Gandhi had hit upon the Quit India slogan without consulting any other party and with the aim to side track the issue of Pakistan; he said Quit India Movement was not only a war against the British but also could lead to a civil war, that was destructive of Muslim civil rights. He said that for last one thousand years, the Hindus had not ruled any part of India; that Pakistan proposal concedes to them three-fourth of India; they were advised to grab three-fourth and establish their Hindu Raj and leave one-fourth for the Muslims; that Muslim India will cooperate with the British and with the Congress only on equal footing and not as an inferior party. He said that some Hindu leaders had now begun to
realize that Pakistan offered the best solution and that it was now a reality. He also remarked that the Muslims had now found one essential ground and a rallying point for themselves and that was Pakistan. U.S. President Roosevelt declared that the Atlantic Charter was applicable to whole of humanity, but we did not stand in need of Atlantic Charter, Muslims had their own Charter that was the Charter for Pakistan; that they were in the arena reasoning, negotiations, discussions leading to a peaceful settlement. There could never be justice to anybody for an indefinite period. Non-Muslims had nothing to fear from Muslims because it was in the blood of Muslims to be just and fair to everybody; nobody could say to Muslims to quit India; their call was just and they would win.

Addressing Muslim Students Conference on 15 November, 1942, he demanded that the British government should issue a declaration guaranteeing the Muslim demand for Pakistan; they should give a pledge that they were ready to recognize the right of Muslims to establish their sovereign states in zones where they were in majority which would be decided by Muslim plebiscite. There could then be a provisional government with all parties to cooperate with the same. Regarding the Sikh apprehensions he pointed out that the Hindu-Muslim question was an all India one, but the Sikh-Muslim question was a question between Pakistan and Sikhs. On 17 November, Sir Nazim-ud-Din also added that the Sikh community was not given a voice by the Congress party and no influence in the working committee of that political party whereas in the Punjab, during the last 20 years, there had been always a Sikh representative in the Punjab Cabinet and they were having an effective voice in shaping policy of the Punjab government. In the federal government of north western Pakistan the Sikhs could not be ignored. A few days later he said that this solemn declaration and
solemn assurance would treat minorities not only in the manner that a civilized government should treat them but better because it was an injunction in the Quran to treat the minorities in a much better way.38

Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, gave a speech in Lyallpur session39 of the Muslim League, November 1942, in which he said that he had been supporting the Muslim League right from 1937 Lucknow session and fully supported the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League and his new formula (Punjab formula) was not against the spirit of Lahore resolution.40 Jinnah also pointed out that in near future, opponents of the Pakistan scheme would give up their intrigues, mechanization and maneuvering. He assured them that if they examined the Pakistan demand honestly, dispassionately and in fairness and justice, he had no doubt that they would also come to the conclusion that it was the only solution of India’s complex problems and the only method of enabling the two nations to live happily in peace and friendship. He warned that “the Hindus could never be able to rule over the Muslims and they should give up their dreams of establishing Hindu Raj. Concluding, he said “if you did not what was due to you, let me have what was due to me. If you do not, I will take it”.

A few days later, in his press conference, he criticized the Congress decision to launch a rebellion against the British Government. He warned that the Congress decision was meaningless and impossible to implement and there was no way out of the political deadlock. That the Congress wanted the British to bow to the Congress wishes and if they did not drop pistol, there was no chance of negotiations. He said that he was not ready to postpone the question of Pakistan. He said that transfer of power was subject to the agreements and adjustments between the
major political parties on the basis of equality and the right of Muslims to self determination and an agreement to give effect to the Pakistan demand when the partition was carried out. He said that it was not the first time in history that the territories/borders would be redrawn; it had been done earlier also. He was not prepared to discuss in details such as the redistribution of Punjab’s boundaries. Being philosophical 25, Dec. 1942, he said “the position of Muslim India during the last 200 years has been that of a ship without a rudder and without a captain, floating on the high seas full of rocks. For 200 years it remained floating, damaged, disorganized, demoralized, still floating. In 1936 with the cooperation of many others we salvaged the ship. Today the ship has a wonderful rudder and a captain who is willing to serve and always to serve. Its engines are in prefect working order and it has got its loyal crew and officers. In the course of the last five years it has turned into battleship”.

Speaking of the reward of those who have ceaselessly worked for Muslims, Mr. Jinnah said:

"The greatest reward is that today there is Muslim unity and solidarity. The Muslims are today speaking with one voice. You have not only a flag and a goal, but also a platform. I venture to say that there is no other community in this subcontinent which is more organized than Muslims today." Let us thank; God for it. We have to forge our own charter — not the Atlantic Charter. But it is Pakistan. Pakistan is there. We have only to take it. We have to prepare ourselves for every sacrifice. We have worked only for five years. If we work with the same spirit I have no doubt that Pakistan will be achieved sooner than we may have anticipated. Muslim Indian today is entirely different from what it was five years ago."
In the meantime, Viceroy Lord Wavell and secretary of state also added his share into the troubles of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and his demand for Pakistan by supporting the concept of India’s geographical unity. Jinnah undauntedly criticized both the Viceroy and the secretary of State said “While Mr. Amery was engaged in the research of Indian history and preached united India, we find that the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, has suddenly discovered almost seven years after his stay here that India is geographically one. What does this indicate to any intelligent man? The Hindu Mahasabha by its Akhand Hindustan resolution which it adopted at Cawnpore has made a new year present to the British die-hards. Nullifying the Viceroy’s support for Congress stance and also boosting Muslim moral, Jinnah said that Muslim should work for the collective good of their people and for a higher and nobler cause. Pakistan demand aimed at it and if we stood united, and faithful to our cause, the time was not far off when the Muslims would achieve their goal and prove themselves worthy of their wonderful and glorious past. He said that the Muslims were determined to achieve their goal that is Pakistan and that no power on earth could prevent them from attaining that goal. He said that the day was not far away when the Muslim will have their own capital.

Next month (on 24 April, 1943), Jinnah pointed out that Muslims were confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority, therefore, they were naturally afraid that after being released from the British yoke, might in their case result in enslavement to the Hindus. This fear was not to be ridiculed. He quoted none other than Maulana Muhammad Ali who had been a right hand man of Gandhi saying that Gandhi was working under the influence of communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He indicated that the Mahasabha and Congress agenda are the same. Both
organizations were fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and submersion of Muslims; Gandhi never consulted the Muslim community on the question of starting civil disobedience movement. He wanted to pass over the head of the Indian Muslim Community. Muslims had been oppressed and persecuted by the Hindu majority in the last ten years but Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemned Hindu terrorism against Muslims. He never denounced the movements like *Shuddhi* and *Sanghatham*\textsuperscript{51} which openly aimed at annihilation of Muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke down the Madras Hindu-Muslim agreement; now Muslims had no option but to follow the Quranic teachings to through the treaties and agreements on Hindu community.\textsuperscript{52} Jinnah said Gandhi occupied the same position among Congress as held by Mussolini among fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stallone among communists; that the Congress as it stood was constituted and created by Gandhi.\textsuperscript{53}

On 28 May 1943, Jinnah said that some responsible leaders told him that Gandhi now realized that he had made a mistake and that he would be prepared to reconsider his position if he was given an opportunity and also that he had changed his attitude towards the Pakistan scheme and would be willing to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan but the British Government were preventing Hindu-Muslim settlement by refusing the people of high stature to establish contacts with him for this purpose. Jinnah suggested that Gandhi should write to him saying that he had abandoned his previous stance and was willing to come to an agreement on the basis of Pakistan demand then the Muslim League would be willing to bury the past. Jinnah declared that government will not make any attempt to stop a letter\textsuperscript{54} from Gandhi reaching him as the leader of Muslim League.\textsuperscript{55}
Muslim League leader was always on the move doing excessive hard work not even caring about his poor health to the extent that he visited far flung and remotest areas in Baluchistan and Frontier province. He appealed to the Baluchi people to stand united and to make efforts to achieve the cherished goal which was Pakistan. No power could deprive you off your right. He said that Baluchistan although was a small and backward province, it was most important part of his Pakistan scheme and when Pakistan was achieved, Baluchistan will play an important part in that Islamic kingdom. He reminded the people of Baluchistan that in 1927-28, he formulated “fourteen points” and one of the points was that Baluchistan should be given a status at power with other Indian provinces and should be given same consideration and be brought on the same footing as other provinces of India. He said Mussalmans had now understood what Pakistan meant but there were agents of our political opponents who were deliberately misleading our people. By achieving Pakistan everybody understood that the Muslims would achieve independence and would not be dominated by Hindu raj or their powerful central government; the minority provinces Muslims were happy that their brothers in the north-west zone will have their own Hakumat.

On 10 July, 1943, in a public speech in Pasheen, he declared that the Pathans of Baluchistan area had done wonders during the last three years and if they continued to work with the same spirit, then he assured that time was not far off when Pakistan would be a reality. He said that there was a wide awakening amongst the people of Baluchistan. They had fully realized the position in which they were placed. He asked them to forget their petty differences and unite under the flag of Muslim League for the achievement of their cherished goal of Pakistan. Jinnah also conveyed a similar message to the Pathans of frontier saying that the
eyes of the Muslim India were looking at their response because every Muslim of India had a great faith in the Pathans and believed that they will be the unconquerable soldiers of Islam like the unconquerable rocks of the Frontier province and through their efforts, Islam in India would be able to revive its glorious past.

It was followed up by his Eid message highlighting that hundred million Muslims of the subcontinent have a great history and past and the Muslims should prove worthy of their past by bringing about true renaissance and revive its glory and splendor that Muslim India will not rest until they had achieved cherished goal of Pakistan; they will work for it, live for it, and if necessary, die for it.\(^61\) He appealed them to vote for Muslim League candidates in coming elections.\(^62\) Jinnah was attacked by a Khaksar during this period but he gave message to his followers to concentrate their energies in winning the elections which were being fought on the basis of Pakistan.\(^63\) It may be noted that even facing an assassin, Jinnah behaved with a remarkable dignity. And in the meantime, giving an interview, he said that Pakistan was an indispensible condition of any settlement between Congress and Muslim League. He declared that he had the support of the 99% of the Muslims of India as proved in the recent bi-elections. He demanded that Pakistan should be brought into operation without delay. He confidently declared that Lord Wavell would not be able to hinder the creation of Pakistan; two states must be established, the Muslim state of the north with a population of 80 million and Hindu state of south with 250 million.\(^64\)

Addressing the annual session of Muslim League at Karachi, in December, 1943, he declared that Muslims had made a remarkable progress over the years and now they were impressing upon the British government to divide and
quit. He said that the British Prime Minister, Churchill, had declared that he did not become prime minister to liquidate the British empire; but he must be told that the voluntary liquidation was more honorable than compulsory liquidation and that British empire would have to be liquidated one day whether, Churchill liked it or not.\(^6\) He was confident that neither the Hindus nor Congress party nor British with all diplomacy would not be able to prevent the creation of Pakistan.\(^6\) On 10 March, 1944, Jinnah said Pakistan was not the product of conduct or misconduct of Hindus; it has always been there only the Muslims were not conscious of it. Hindus and Muslims although living in the same neighborhood, towns and villages and never been able to blend into one nation. They were always two separate entities. He said that Pakistan started the moment the first non-Muslim was converted into Islam. This happened long before the Muslims established their rule over India. As soon as a Hindu embraced Islam, he was outcast not only religiously but also socially, culturally and economically. Throughout the ages, Hindus had remained Hindus and the Muslims had remained Muslims and they had not merged into one entity; and that was the basis for Pakistan. He said that every Mussalman was the author of Pakistan. Now the question was how to create it – not by asking, not by begging, not even by saying prayers but by working with trust in God. He confidently declared that Inshallah Pakistan was now in our hands.\(^7\)

9 March, 1944, in his Aligarh Muslim University address, he said that Lord Wavell was fishing in the Congress waters. He criticized Viceroy for appeasing the Pundits of \textit{Akhand Hindustan}, declaring that division of India was inevitable, blending of Hindus and Mussalman was impossible and Pakistan was a certainty; it was futile and unwise for the British to delay the creation of Pakistan. He said that Muslim League was the authoritative and
representative organization of Muslim India. Viceroy and Gandhi performed the funeral of Muslim League but we were saved by the God. Muslims had established their charter of Pakistan and they did not need any other charter. The Muslims did not want any lesson in geography, or history. Jinnah said that he was asked to become Prime Minister of Great United India because the key to the situation was in his hands. The planning committee of ML will make a scientific study and survey of Pakistan areas to find out what natural mineral wealth Pakistan areas contained and what was the scope of various industries in these areas. They wanted qualified technicians, scientists and experts who could help buildup economic and industrial life of Pakistan zones.

He criticized Viceroy’s slogan of geographical unity. He said viceroy had failed because he had disregarded the demands of Muslim India and because he had gone out of his way to please the philosophers of Akhand Hindustan. Muslim India deeply helped him to win the war, it was essential for the viceroy to have conceded Pakistan demand because the division of India was inevitable. He said the Muslim League was not strong enough to see that no mechanization succeeded. Jinnah discussed the form of government, Pakistan was going to have by saying that people were confusing by asking about the form of government whether Pakistan will have a democratic, social or nationalist form of government. These issues were raised to hoodwink Muslims at present, they stood by Pakistan only; it meant that they had to take possession of a territory first, because Pakistan could not exist in the air. When we had taken possession of our homeland only then the question would arise as to what form of government we were going to establish. He did not allow Muslim mind to be diverted by these sidetracking ideas. He appreciated that many Englishmen and Hindus had shown realization that
the effective solution of communal problem was to divide India into Hindustan and Pakistan. This was the best solution of the India’s problem because the truth was dawning more and more clearly on the minds of the Hindus. With the passage of time, the opponents of Pakistan scheme would realize that Pakistan was really more beneficial to the Hindus than the Muslims. The Hindus had been obsessed with the ideas of establishing united central government over the whole of India, which they should have known was an impossibility. The good thing was that this obsession was now slowly fading away and it was hoped that it would be knocked out of their minds altogether.\(^{69}\)

Jinnah also criticized the sinister moves and questions such as the classification of casts and sects in Islam. He said Islam did not recognize any kind of distinction of various classifications and the Prophet (PBUH) was able to level down all casts and create national unity among the Arabs. They wanted to destroy the curse of caste system which had ruined the Muslim India. The Muslims were not going to allow anyone to create disruptions of this kind. Our bedrock and sheet anchor is Islam; there was no question of even Shias and Sunnis. A little later, he said that Pakistan would give freedom for all religions and unity among Muslims and complete toleration was an essential condition, precedent to the achievement of Pakistan. As long as this condition was not fulfilled, they were not fit to get Pakistan. \(^{70}\) We were one nation and we would be able to achieve Pakistan; he also declared that the caste system was responsible for the slavery of India. He warned the communists by saying that Islam was their guide and complete code of life and they did not want any ism. He once again said that geography had been altered in the case of Suez Canal, Panama Canal, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, Ulster in Eire and Sudan in Egypt – saying that it
was only a shooting reference. He asked Muslims to keep on marching and marching forwarding with full determination.\(^{71}\)

On 22 March, 1944, he said that the Muslims were nearer to the realization to their goal of Pakistan and the achievement of their freedom than ever before; for Muslims Pakistan meant their defense, their deliverance and their destiny. It was the only way which would ensure freedom and the maintenance of Muslim honor and the glory of Islam. The final victory depended upon the hard labour that would be putting forth.\(^{72}\) He visited Punjab in April 1944, and rejected the suggestion that he should not have carried out propaganda for Pakistan in the Punjab, because Punjab was with the Muslim League only in All India matters, according to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact\(^{73}\); he declared that his Muslim League was fighting for the creation of Pakistan not on Bombay but in the Punjab, which was the cornerstone of his proposed Pakistani State. He anticipated that even the Hindus who did not accept Muslim demand today would do so in future and he appreciated that the Sikh friends had already begun to appreciate Muslim view point although they were not ready to express their feelings publicly.\(^{74}\)

He said that some of the Sikh leader’s policies\(^{75}\) supporting United Hindustan was impossible and could not be accepted by us nor it was in their own interest. They were completely misled by outside agencies who were poisoning their minds against Pakistan demand.\(^{76}\) In his press interview in Lahore, he declared that the chief minister of Punjab and his ministers whole heartedly supported the Pakistan demand. Speaking in Urdu, he declared that Punjab held the key to Pakistan. He ridiculed all those who had raised the slogans Punjab for Punjabis and all those who were having divided loyalties. He said
that there could be no divided loyalties as far as Muslim League was concerned. Muslim League was the custodian and trusty of all interest and classes that constituted the Muslim nation.\footnote{77}

In the meantime Sardar Shaukat Hayat\footnote{78}, a minister in Punjab Cabinet, was dismissed by Governor Punjab on the recommendation of the Chief Minister, Khizer Tiwana.\footnote{79} Jinnah issued statement saying that Tiwana had violated party discipline.\footnote{80} Actually what happened was that Sardar Shaukat Hayat had been issuing statements and making speeches in favour of creation of Pakistan and he was warned by Governor and Chief Minister of Punjab but he did not stop and continued the campaign for Pakistan. Shaukat became a martyr after his dismissal and the result was that Pakistan Movement gained a tremendous strength and following amongst the Muslims.\footnote{81} Jinnah issued statements and made speeches criticizing Punjab Chief Minister and popularizing the Pakistan demand; he appealed to every Muslim organization including Ahrars to join the Muslim League and support its program and policies. He advised the Muslims to bury their past and work for their goal of Pakistan for which the Muslim League was carrying on struggle.\footnote{82}

Rajaji continued his efforts to bring about Hindu Muslim agreement; he met Gandhi in jail and got his approval for a formula known as the Rajaji formula.\footnote{83} The Congress would accept the Pakistan demand in principal and in return the Muslim League, in return, would cooperate with the Congress in its demand for independence and interim government for the transitional period. The fact of the matter was that both Rajaji and Gandhi were not serious in accepting the Pakistan idea in principal.\footnote{84} Both Rajaji and Gandhi were playing for time calculating that with the passage of time, the Pakistan
demand will fizzle out. There was a series of letters between Rajaji, Gandhi and Jinnah and eventually talks between Gandhi and Jinnah were held from 09 to 27 September, 1944. No agreement was concluded between the two leaders but the acceptance of Pakistan demand by Gandhi and Rajaji invited a great deal of criticism, especially in the Punjab and Bengal. The Hindu Mahasabha argued that the Congress did not represent the Hindus and Indian provinces did not belong to Gandhi or Rajaji; and these leaders were not having any authority to distribute Indian provinces as they wished. Various political parties of the Sikhs criticized Gandhi accepting the idea of Pakistan.

However, the Pakistan demand received a tremendous boost due to the discussion, correspondence between the leaders and then the media coverage of this issue. For the first time, the possible areas for the future state of Pakistan were discussed, whereby Jinnah demanding all the majority Muslim provinces and according to Rajaji-Gandhi formula only the areas where Muslims were in absolute majority were to be given to Pakistan. Jinnah and the Muslim League were happy that henceforth the settlement will be on the basis of creation of Pakistan. Secret military, intelligence and CID reports analyzed this situation saying that due to the acceptance of Pakistan demand, Congress had severely damaged its relationship with the Sikh community. Now the Mahasabha and the Sikhs feared that one day all the parties will accept the Pakistan demand. In official circles, it was conveyed to viceroy by the Governor CP and Berar that Gandhi had conveyed to Mookerji that in reality he had no faith in Pakistan and his approval of Rajaji formula was only a matter of desirability and that Gandhi’s views on partition, Vivisection of India and Pakistan scheme had not changed. On the other hand Jinnah did not have any faith left in
Gandhi’s promises. The reality was that both leaders wanted to score points in the art of diplomacy because there were pressures on both Jinnah and Gandhi to have meetings to sort out their differences ending the political deadlock between Hindus and Muslims. Official circles finally gave credit to Jinnah for getting Gandhi’s previous stance changed into at least accepting the Pakistan demand in principal. Governor of Sindh had conveyed to the Viceroy that Jinnah did not trust Gandhi and knew that he had not changed his positions that he took up two years ago.

Dailies such as The Ehsan and Zamindar of Lahore gave captions reading; “Gandhiji accepts principal of Pakistan and Muslim League’s glorious victory. Congress eventually accepts Pakistan principal”. Mookerji of Hindu Mahasabha commented that Gandhi should not have allowed his name to be dragged into this amazing offer which was virtual acceptance of Pakistan idea; that Public opinion should vigorously assert itself and give indication that under no circumstances a political settlement would be accepted which was based on self destructive principal of Pakistan either of Jinnah or Rajaji’s brand.

Another top brass Mahasabha leader, Moonje asked what right had the Congress to settle the communal argument without securing the cooperation of Hindu Mahasabha? Congress although claiming to represent the whole of India did not and could not represent either the Hindus or the Muslims. Bhai Paramanand said that it was most astonishing to find a man of such determination as Mahatma Gandhi should have given his consent to Rajaji formula which was the first and far most important step towards the fulfillment of the scheme of partitioning the country.
Jinnah and Muslim League were able to get tremendous popularity after the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations; Jinnah, in his public address\textsuperscript{91} in Rawalpindi, 27 July, 1944, said that he would be able to convert both the British Government and other Hindu Parties to his views and make them agree to accept the Pakistan scheme. It may be noted that the Khaksars were making attempts to sabotage his public addresses, because he did not accept their invitation to take salute from a contingent of local Khaksars of Rawalpindi and also that Jinnah had not accepting their advice to have meetings with their leader and Gandhi to sort out communal differences between Congress and Muslim League.\textsuperscript{92} Jinnah appreciated Gandhi that at last he had accepted the principal of Pakistan and the remaining argument was that how and when this had to be carried out.\textsuperscript{93} Jinnah said that he did not mind all vilification and misinterpretation and the campaign that was carried on against Rajaji’s proposal. He also said that Gandhi had realized that 1944 was not 1941.\textsuperscript{94}

Now Jinnah was frequently repeating his statements on Pakistan concluding that “Inshaallah, Pakistan was coming much earlier than anticipated” and also another statement repeated was that Gandhi had accepted the principal of partition or division of India”.\textsuperscript{95} As regards the position of Sikh community, he advised them not to be unduly perturbed. He asked them to give their proposals for negotiations with the Muslim League and also advised them not to put any obstruction in the way of achieving Pakistan as they would be in a much better position in Pakistan than in Akhand Hindustan. He repeated his statement even in his press conference that he did not dispute that the Sikhs were a nation; that they should give the Muslim League their considered demands and must forget what had happened in the past between two communities suggesting to have a fresh start.\textsuperscript{96}
To conclude, due to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah’s effort, the partition demand of the Muslim League became a major issue in Indian politics since the Pakistan resolution was passed. Muslim League leader very successfully, persuaded the British government to recognize the Pakistan demand, while discussing constitutional advance in India.

It may be mentioned that British Prime Minister Churchill had refused to give any generous treatment to India under the Atlantic Charter; he sincerely believed that he had not become the British Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of British Empire. It was during his tenure that British Government had to recognize the principle of separation. Sir Stafford Cripps who had been a great supporter of Congress cause had to change his mind by accepting the principle of separation. Jinnah kept on adding to the strength of the Pakistan Movement making very difficult to ignore his demand for Pakistan. When the Congress launched its Quit India movement pressurizing the British to leave India as a united and independent country, Jinnah described this movement as a war against the Muslim League and Muslim India. When Rajaji and Gandhi approached Jinnah for negotiations, they were asked to accept the fundamentals of Pakistan resolution first and then proceed to settle the matter in details. Jinnah demanded that Pakistan scheme be recognized before Indian independence; Gandhi was ready to accept this after India became independent. In summary, from Cripps Mission to Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Jinnah was able to increase his prestige and was able to tremendously advance the cause of his partition demand or the case for Pakistan.
Noted and References


7 Ibid. p. 1560

8 Ibid. p. 1562

9 Ibid. p. 1564


12 Ibid. p. 1585


14 Ibid., p. 10

15 Ibid., p. 13

16 Ibid., pp. 17-18


19 Ibid., p. 131

20 Ibid., p. 19

21 Ibid., p. 22

22 Ibid., p. 28

23 Ibid., p. 31

24 Ibid., p. 43

25 Ibid., p. 49

26 Ibid., p. 55

27 Ibid., p. 58
28 Ibid., p. 63


31 Ibid., p. 76

32 Ibid., p. 79

33 Ibid., p. 94


36 Ibid., p. 99

37 Ibid., p. 112

38 Ibid., p. 150


41 Ibid., p. 122

42 Ibid., pp. 124-25

43 Ibid., p. 135

44 Ibid., p. 135


47 Ibid., p. 172

48 Ibid., p. 176

49 Ibid., p. 182


53 Ibid., p. 189


57 Ibid., p. 232

58 Ibid., p. 235
59 Ibid., p. 241
60 Ibid., p. 249
61 Ibid., p. 275
62 Ibid., p. 252
63 Ibid., p. 261
64 Ibid., p. 272
65 S. Q. Abid, *Struggle for Independence*, p. 348,
67 Ibid., p. 397
68 Ibid., p. 403
69 Ibid., p. 408
70 Ibid., p. 406
71 Ibid., p. 427
72 Ibid., p. 433
75 For details see, S. Q. Abid., “Sikh-Muslim relationship, 1921-1947: A Brief Survey,” *Journal*


77 Ibid., p. 457


88 File of Zamindar and Inquilab available at Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, see also Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation’s Voice*, Vol. III, p. 517


90 For statements of Mahasabha leaders, consult Waheed Ahmad, Vol-III, pp. 518-19

91 For Jinnah’s speeches, see also, Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad *Speeches and statements of Mr. Jinnah*, 2 Vols. Lahore, 1952.


93 Ibid., p. 537

94 Ibid., p. 545 / Jinnah had been raising his demands with the passage of time; from 1928 to 1940, his demands kept on going higher and higher.


96 Ibid., p. 563