

FEDERATION SOUVENIR

MADRAS, AUGUST 15, 1947



EDITED BY

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The Madras Provincial Muslim Students' Federation

MADRAS

OFFICE OF THE AD

MADRAS

RED CRESCENT HOSPITAL

HIGH ROAD, TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

AN APPEAL

The Red Crescent Hospital, Board of management, announces with pride the successful operation of its medical scheme now for a period of over 10 months, during which more than 20,000 poor sick patients were given adequate medical attention. Started with a meagre fund of less than 600 Rupees, on September 25, 1946, the hospital, progressing steadily, today issues medicines alone worth Rs. 500 per month. The conditions of working, the requirements of management, the need of funds, have all changed profoundly, due to the continuous and ever-increasing influx of needy patients. No longer, do old arrangements hold water, and it is obvious, to one and all, that unless the increasing demands, in finances, management and attention, are met with, the very aims of the hospital will soon be defeated.

It is with this situation before us, with this urgent demand on our hand, that we, the Board of Management of the Red Crescent Hospital give out an appeal to one and all, to extend their help in every possible way, either financially or by endowments, and gifts or by starting profitable concerns in the name of the organisation, in order to meet not only our immediate necessities but also to enable us to bring about a city-wide expansion, details of which we submit below. It hardly needs emphasis that the organisation, its aims and efforts are irrespective of caste, creed and colour.

Scheme of Expansion

1. **Hospital:**—With adequate funds at our disposal, a central hospital for the organisation shall be constructed with provision for hundred beds. Other Out-Patients distributed throughout the city, serving as admission posts will be set up in order to serve their respective localities by disbursing medicines to patients not requiring hospitalisation, as well as by directing others requiring admission, to the Central Hospital.

2. **Rural Upliftment:**—An ambulance Division serving the purpose of a First Aid unit as well as a social service corps will be maintained in order to facilitate and enhance the working of the hospital. The social service corps consisting mainly of a body of medical students will tour from place to place delivering lantern lectures on Public Hygiene, prevention and control of disease, Domestic cleanliness etc., etc., in order to improve the general standard of health of the Nation which is the main aim of all Rural uplift work.

FAITH, UNITY, DISCIPLINE

MADRAS AUGUST 12, 1947

Dedicated
TO
Those Fighters of FREEDOM
WHO
Sacrificed their sacred lives
AT
The Altar of Muslim Freedom
THEREBY
Making PAKISTAN a living reality



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Federation Souvenir

MADRAS, AUGUST 15, 1947

FAITH, UNITY, DISCIPLINE

To-day is a great day : the day of days and the day of our destiny. The day for which India's four hundred million people struggled, suffered and sacrificed inexorably, unsparingly and incessantly for nine decades facing lathis, firing-squads and tear-gas, has at last come. To-day marks the triumphal return of the ship of our freedom after facing innumerable trials and tribulations and after struggling against embattled hosts. The tears, blood and toil of the thousands of patriots who smilingly and ungrudgingly underwent all kinds of sufferings and privations and even laid down their lives at the altar of freedom have found fruition and consummation in a triumphant and glorious way to-day. To-day is the Appointed Day.

The Appointed Day

To day is the Appointed Day because to-day India, as a whole, has an appointment with freedom, because freedom has come not to one community or a section of the people, but to all—to Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others; because not only that India has wrested freedom to-day from the unwill-

ling hands of Britain but also that the Muslim Nation has successfully carved out a State of its own in complete independence to Hinduism, thereby shattering to pieces all dreams of a Hindu Empire and ushering in an era of Islamic renaissance and rejuvenation in India. Thus we stand to-day at the end of an age, and at the threshold of a new one.

A new Era of Independence & Freedom

Yes, the dawn of August 15 heralds a new era—the era of independence and freedom, as symbolized by the two national flags of Hindustan and Pakistan proudly fluttering in the air. So that we are a free people today; we have a status different from the one we had yesterday; we are beginning to stand up to our full stature; to keep our heads high up in the air and to enter, with pride, the comity of free nations. Now none will be able to look down upon us, for we are no longer a subject race. Imperialist Britain had had to bow to the inexorable logic of world events and circumstances, and concede our right to independence. Thus stands crippled, cribbed and cornered western

Imperialism in India, rather in Asia, and thus stands exorcised the ghost of white supremacy in the East. Hence gone are the days when the western powers could make hay while the sun of ignorance, lethargy and slumber shone over us; gone are the days when the ghost of *White-manism* stalked and strutted about the whole land and thus has been the theory of White Man's Burden nailed at last to the counter. And today, by the grace of Almighty Allah, we are a free people, a fully awakened and emancipated people—a people who are in no mood to tolerate foreign domination and exploitation any more. And from today, this great day of August 15, begins our new task—that of reformation and reconstruction.

As stated before, to-day we stand on the cross-roads of history, reflecting our hoary past in our minds and looking forward to our glorious and splendid future in which we will have ample opportunities for playing a magnificent and resplendent part in the history of the world and the progress of humanity. We have achieved freedom, but

that is no end in itself. It is a means to a far greater end—that of ushering in a state of unhampered progress and prosperity in the country, thereby making it a great nation.

Anti-Imperialist Basis of M. S. F.

The M.S.F., as is the case with other organisations, students' as well as peoples' in countries dominated by foreigners, was organised on an anti-imperialist basis. So that now that imperialism has staged its exit our policy and programme should undergo a radical change. No doubt, they (the Muslim Students) would have to be active, alert and vigilant for the safeguarding of their rights and interests and those of their Nation even in the new order of things; but for all intents and purposes, their fight for freedom has come to a successful close with the achievement of Pakistan. Till yesterday, they (the Muslim Students) rallied under one banner and one platform—that of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation—with the cries of "Down with Imperialism" and "Pakistan le kae Rahenge", and as such, the present situation, arising out of the events of the last few months, culminating at last in the emergence of two independent states, calls for a re-orientation of policy and outlook on their part. Mere slogans and catch-phrases will no more lead them to success and glory. It is high time, therefore, they divert their energies and zeal towards constructive and nation-building work

A PRAYER

*On no Soul doth God
Place a burden greater
Than it can bear.*

*It gets every good that it earns,
And it suffers every ill that it earns,*

(Pray :) "Our Lord !

Condemn us not

If we forget or fall

Into error ; our Lord

Lay not on us a burden

*Like that which Thou
Didst lay on those before us ;
Our Lord ! lay not on us
A burden greater than
Have strength to bear.
Blot out our sins,
And grant us forgiveness.
Have mercy on us.
Thou art our Protector ;
Help us against those
Who stand against Faith."*

— The Quran : Baqara ; 286.

Time for Constructive work

Now is the time for real, tangible, solid and substantial work—to run our organisation on some practical and constructive programme, to canalise our energies along constructive channels so that we may build our nation politically, economically and industrially. The youths, it hardly needs any mention, are the flower of a nation, its real architects. As a famous British politician once said—"Give me youths; I will make a new heaven and a new earth"—much depends on, and is expected of, the youths of a country. As such, the responsibility of building up the Muslim Nation here in the India of to-day rests with the Muslim students. They have fought the enslavers and have successfully routed them out and now they have to fight against the internal evils, inherent and permeating the Muslim nation. They have to fight against

the ulcers of illiteracy, ignorance and economic dependence which are eating away into the vitals of their national life. This calls for a living relation between the students and the masses, between the intelligentsia and the larger national life, one reacting on the other—which they should create for the success of their movement and mission.

In the past, most of our energy had been devoted to political matters and this was inevitable in countries dominated by foreigners; but now that alien domination has been routed out we can no more afford to lose ourselves in slogans, shibboleths and sentimentalism.

Progress in Thought & Action

As the Qaed-e-Azam once bemoaned, "unfortunately, we have lived a life of individualism, which is responsible for our demoralisation.

(Continued on page 12)

Their blessings

The future of Muslims is in the hands of Muslim



Youth and Muslim India looks to you in this hour of her trial. I am sure that when the call comes, the Muslim Youth will not be found wanting. The Muslim Students' Federation have been rendering yeoman service in the cause of Pakistan and I am glad to know that the Madras Section of the Muslim Students have not lagged behind. Let your motto be "Unity, Faith and Discipline" and God willing, you will soon achieve your cherished goal of Pakistan.

(Sd.) SARDAR ABDUR RAB NISHTAR.

20—2—37.

I am glad to hear that the M. P. M. S. F. is bringing out its "Souvenir" on the occasion of the Pakistan Day. I wish you all success in this venture. The Muslim nation in India is hemmed in on all sides, and deadly peril stares it in the face, the like of which it has never experienced in its long and glorious history in India. The Muslim Students—both boys and girls—should take their place in the vanguard of our armies. Let us stake our all and cheerfully go through this fiery ordeal and God willing, victory is ours.



(Sd.) ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN

30—1—47.

We have !

Those days are passed when youth was enjoined to keep within bound at a respectable distance from the activities of his elders whose monopoly, in special, was Politics. Present order of world activities calls upon each and every member of a nation to be helpful to one another. Our history has many instances of the days of our beloved Prophet when youngsters played their little pranks to get the permission to take active parts in martial outings. It is, therefore, that I most unreservedly welcome the Student Community to be up and doing. With discipline and organisation there can be nothing that young men cannot accomplish.

Madras Provincial Muslim Students' Federation is taking a right step in the right direction and I fervently pray for the success of the venture.

23—2—47.

(Sd.) HOSSAIN IMAM

I congratulate the Madras Provincial Muslim Students' Federation on their bringing out a Souvenir on the Independence Day with the enthusiasm which is a characteristic invariably revealed by them in ample measure for all noble causes. It is in fitness of things that they should have thought of putting up this memento on the memorable day of the 15th August 1947 when it is of course natural for them to experience intense joy, because that day marks the realisation of their yearning desire for freedom. A special zest will be added to their joy by the fact that freedom is being finally ushered in by the Muslim League formula which had the lusty and unflinching support of the Muslim Students' Federation. The contribution of the Muslim youth for the achievement of freedom has been magnificent and I am sure that in the maintenance and for the real success of Independence, they will make an equally magnificent contribution. The Independence is theirs indeed as is the future. I am confident that they can be fully depended upon to cover themselves with further glory by discharging with resounding credit the onerous duties which freedom will impose upon them as enlightened citizens of the State. May the Almighty grant them strength, success and happiness !

12—8—47.

(Sd.) MOHOMED ISMAIL

President, Madras Provincial Muslim League.

I am glad to know that the Muslim Students' Federation are proposing to bring out a "Souvenir" this year. I understand that this is the first occasion that such a venture has been undertaken. It is a welcome idea as through this medium they will be able to establish relations amongst the Muslim Students' Federations throughout the Country and it would be an incentive to such of the students as have an aptitude for journalism to make a beginning by sending their contributions to the Souvenir. I hope that this Souvenir will be the harbinger of a well-organised journal of their own, for the need for such a vehicle for giving expression to the news and views of the Muslim students in particular and Muslim Youth in general cannot be exaggerated too much. Such a journalistic venture will work as a cement to strengthen the student movement amongst the Mussalmans in this province, particularly in view of the fact that the Muslim Youth in this province has a great responsibility to discharge. I wish the movement and their proposed Souvenir every success.

(Sd.) ABDUL HAMEED KHAN, M.L.A., Madras.

25—7—47.



THE NEW ORDER



THE dying lamp of the once mighty Mughal Empire was extinguished in 1857. With it disappeared Muslim supremacy in India. The new rulers, with the active and energetic co-operation of the missionaries and the non-Muslim elements of the population, particularly the castemen, started on a ruthless campaign of extermination of the Muslims and began to root out, lock, stock and barrel, every vestige of their influence in the land. While the Muslim was licking his wounds and bewailing the loss of his empire, his fellow-subjects, for whom the new scheme of things meant just a change of masters and of the language of the court, were building the new empire. Nations have risen, seen the heyday of their glory and disappeared in the history of man. He, who had witnessed the downfall of the Muslims of India, in the post-Mutiny decades of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, would have foretold their extinction as definite and certain. The prophetic eyes of Hali saw another vision. He gave the message of hope to his fallen and heartbroken brothers.

In his famous quatrain,

Pasti ka koye had say guzarana
dekhay
Islam ka gir kar na oobharna
dekhay
Mane na kabhi kay mad hai har
jazer kay badh
Darya ka hamaray jo ootarna
dekhay

he said: he who sees the limitless depths to which we have fallen and he who does not see any signs of a resurgence of Islam after its decline, can never accept that there is a tide after every ebb when he witnesses the receding away of our waters. Hali himself did not know that his vision was to materialize and take substantial shape within the short period of four-score years and ten. The miracle, however, has happened. *The tide has turned and a Muslim State, in two divisions, has been re-established in the country, standing sentinel on its eastern and western frontiers and guarding it against all unwelcome visitors.*

That the new State will be small in dimension, with one part separated from the other by a distance of over a thousand miles, need not deter its builders from taking the new road courageously and hopefully. They may even dis-

count the economic spectres, commercial, industrial and geological, being raised as quite capable of being controlled and brought into the service of the new State. It may be predicted safely that the sincerity and enthusiasm of the leaders as well as the led, in the new State, will bring achievement nearer.

BY

★ **Abdur Rahman Siddiqi** ★

The history of Islam affords not one but many instances of the genius of Muslims in building mighty institutions out of small beginnings. The Great Muhajir from Makka, entered Yathrib, with one solitary companion. The community of Ansars and Muhajirin that welcomed them was small in numbers and poor in wealth. Determination and faith in the righteousness of the mission entrusted to them brought them the leadership of the then known world in thought, culture and civilization in a period shorter than any other world movement had taken. The armies from the Madinat-un-Nabi, that broke the Byzan-

tine Empire in the north and the Sassanian in the east, were no match in numbers and equipment to their opponents. Sultan Mahmud of Ghor, is reported to have entered Hindustan with 6,000 followers. Babur came with 12,000 men and established one of the greatest empires of the world. Bakhtiar Khalji conquered Bengal, with 18 men, including himself. *It is not the territorial conquest or the political supremacy attained that should arrest our attention. It is the new outlook on life and on human relationships that followed in the wake of Muslim conquests that were and shall remain the permanent contributions of Islam to human progress and advancement.*

Islam brought freedom to man.

It removed the incubus of sacerdotalism and priesthood that was crushing his soul. It shattered racial and colour distinctions. Bilal, the manumitted Abyssinian slave stood shoulder to shoulder with the proudest of the Quraish. The message of Islam removed the cobwebs that had enmeshed the human conception of the Deity and it preached a gospel of toleration and brotherhood unsurpassed till our own day. That history can and must be repeated, for the world needs

it to-day more than it did in the days of Heraclius and Khusru Parviz.

That the crystal-clear purity of the message of Islam became polluted in its passage from the centre in Madina, to the ends of the earth, cannot be gainsaid. *It took local colour wherever it went and to that extent lost the urge its first propagators had given it.* The disruption of the centre and its translation to Dimashq and Baghdad, aggravated the malaise. The vanquished conquered the victors and the house of Islam became divided into kingdoms and peoples as others. It is again Hali that bewails this part of the tragedy, when he says—

*Wo deen jo is shan say nikla tha
watan say
Is daes may wo aj gari-bul-
gurba hai*

The faith which had marched forth in such glory from its original home is, to-day, in this country the strangest of all strangers. That lost glory has to be snatched back from the hands of a cruel fate which, in conjunction with our own weaknesses and inability to comprehend the fundamental truth of the message given to us, has brought us to our present sorry pass. *Pan-Islamism may have been a bogey created by European Christendom to serve its political ends and purposes but Islam is a reality and Muslims must hold on to this rope of Allah as a people in their multitudes.*

The house of Islam was commanded to live and have its being as the *Millet-e wahida*: one people. It stands divided and disrupted. The rivalries of the Bani Thaqif and Bani Tamim led to the downfall of Moorish Islam in Spain but the feud between Banu Hashim and Banu Umayya created a schism that refuses to be appeased. Hindu Caste System has penetrated so deep into Islamic society in India, that large sections among us defy the injunctions of the Qur'an and deny to women the rights, given them for the first time in Islamic Law, to inheritance and equality.

Kingships created a priesthood and this developed into the tariqats, which established the agencies of Shaikhs between the Muslim and his Creator. *Our downward course can be measured in the spread and advancement of these institutions repugnant to the spirit of Islam.*

Our degradation can be measured in another direction too, by the senseless manner in which we have adopted western conceptions of government and political theories without discrimination - Nationhood, racial or territorial, unknown to the internationalism and fraternity preached and practised by the Muslims of earlier generations, is becoming the order of the day. Slogans such as Egypt for Egyptians, Turkey for the Turks and Iran for the Iranians hold the supreme position in Muslim thought to-day. Political subjection is bad and irksome but intellectual slavery is damnation itself.

We have strayed miles away from the Straight Path. It will take us long to come back to it. Adopting the principle of 'take what is pure and shun what is impure', there is nothing to stop the children of the pioneers of modern science and knowledge, to distinguish and choose. There is, however, an exception to this. Muslims have been told that "this day I have perfected for you your faith and accomplished My bounty on you." We have, thus, nothing to choose, select or learn from others in the way of our relationship with our Maker. Outside of that, we have been commanded to seek knowledge, in every branch of human activity and progress, even if it be in distant China. *There is no distinction between the Church and the State in Islam. We do not believe in a Caesar. All that is in the heavens and on the earth is God's and everything returns to Him. To the Muslim, therefore, life is a compact whole. One God, one creation, one book and one brotherhood.* Wendell Wilkie may have stumbled upon his ONE WORLD after witnessing the horrors of the war but

the Founder of Islam had taught that lesson a millennium and three hundred years ago. Liberty, equality and fraternity may have been the cry of the French Revolution and the doctrine of the Rights of Man may have been evolved in America but the scripture known as the Qur'an gave a directive to man for better life which shall remain unexcelled and unsurpassed till the end of time. Jesus, the son of Mary, cried out for peace on earth and goodwill among men, but Christendom disobeyed him. Islam, which means submission to the will of Allah, has preached and practised peace, toleration and brotherhood, the like of which has not been witnessed by man before or after the advent of Islam.

Holding to these fundamentals—and they are common to all, members of the Muslim fraternity can begin the process of reclamation and rediscovery of what they have lost. The embers of the war of 1939—1945 have not been extinguished and yet those who started it are getting ready for another within eight years. Democracy and peace sound hollow on their lips. Old rivalries, political and commercial, for world hegemony are reappearing on a vaster scale and in uglier shapes. If not for the exaltation of the Word of Allah, then for our own safety we have got to concert measures to stop it. The experience of the last two wars has established the fact that belligerents, possessing colonial territories and dependencies, have made cruel use of their inhabitants to fight battles in which they had no interest, direct or indirect. This new form of slavery has been made use of by the white races without compunction and without consideration for the feelings of their non-white dupes. Are they not shouting even to-day of the "Volunteer Army" of India? *If we decided not to shed our blood for so-called "righteous causes" which are not ours, we shall have advanced the pace of World Peace*

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AN APPRECIATION

★ The Advocate and Architect

Conspicuous "as a star when only one is shining in the sky," Mr. Jinnah scintillates in resplendent glory in the political firmament of India, eclipsing all other leaders. Far from being able to boast of a counterpart to this peerless Muslim Leader, "the brute majority" finds to its chagrin that the greatest leader whom it can put in the field, all things considered, is no more than a star of the third magnitude, where Mr. Jinnah has been acclaimed by the world as belonging to the first magnitude category.

The man to whom Muslims are most beholden for the status they now enjoy in India, for being able to hold up their heads proudly and "look the whole world in the face," for having escaped the dreadful fate of being submerged in the surging and all-engulfing tide of Hindudom, for being in a position to enjoy untrammelled independence which is their inherent birthright without the humiliating necessity of servilely and cringingly expecting crumbs to be patronisingly thrown to them from the table of grabbing, grasping, power-drunk plutocratic Hindu dictators, parading under the guise of mild democrats—is *Qaed-e-Azam* Jinnah, the *primum mobile* of Muslim India.

Congress Game Exposed

He has fully exposed the sinister game that the Congress has been subtly playing on the political chess-board of India—ostensibly making a show of promoting the unity of India and establishing democracy, while in reality disrupting the Muslims by roping in hirelings, stooges and quislings

with the ultimate object of obtaining a strangle-hold and subjecting them and other minorities to abject helotage. He has opened the eyes of the Muslims and all Indians, as no one else has done. Corroborative evidence of the dark designs of the Congress can be gathered from Pandit Nehru's tirade against "anti-nationalists" and States, Mr. Patel's sabre-rattling antics, and from the numerous statements issued of late by such eminent Hindus as Messrs. Patel, Munshi, Savarkar, Khare, Sukla, J. Mehta etc. All these breathing "fire and brimstone" and saturated with bellicosity, have made even Doubting Thomases sit up and think furiously, as a result whereof no doubts are left as to Bania mentality and the all-too-familiar pattern according to which it works.

Jinnah's Unique Gifts

This leader's worthy and triumphant advocacy of the impeccably just cause of Pakistan, and the inalienable Muslim claim to independence as a separate entity, has electrified and stirred the imagination of the world. This great and noble son of Islam by his sterling qualities, incorruptible integrity, unique approach to political problems, clear logical thinking, penetrating intellect that enables him to see through cant and hypocrisy and debunk it; by his bitter detestation of crooked,

tortuous, underhand methods; by his cultured mind quick on the uptake, and possessing a lightning-like capacity for speedily grasping the most complex and intricate problems—has arrested, rivetted and monopolised the admiring attention of the world as no other personality of this vast subcontinent has done during more than a century of British rule. These qualities have placed him in a class by himself among Indian leaders, at once unapproached and unapproachable. His inimitable *flair* for being above board in all his dealings, his unflinching habit of laying all his cards openly on the table have gained for him, most unquestionably the premier position among politicians, parliamentarians and statesmen and have earned for him a place of honour in the hearts of friends and opponents alike. Incisive logic, forthright ways, sterling qualities of the head and heart constitute the principal elements of his mental make-up. These have won for him universal tributes of admiration and esteem. The inimitable technique he followed during negotiations with that additional indescribable something which may be termed the Jinnah touch, made the impossible possible and enabled him to gain results without a parallel in their magnitude. Having observed the plutocratic, leviathan organisation, bloated with power and wealth; bear in vain against this worthy leader the greatest intellectual giants of Hindudom, we can gauge the dynamic, or rather, the atomic nature of the soul force and will-power that Mr. Jinnah's fragile, frail frame enshrines and can plainly see a convincing proof of the superiority of sheer intrinsic worth, merit and spirit over the bulky body of brute numbers. Had it not been for the healthy leaven of Mr. Jinnah's influence, Indian politics would have degenerated

of Pakistan ★

BY

J. H. P. VI (R) KAJI

to the lowest depths of degradation and chicanery.

Congress Outlook Changed

At first the Congress despised and ridiculed the League. Then, patronisingly, and with supreme condescension, it held that the League represented only a small section of the Muslims. Finally it was constrained to recognise its representative character and carry on negotiations with it. That is the position to which the League has been exalted, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. Jinnah. All his actions have been characterised by peerless integrity. He has always displayed supreme courage and where others have quaked and kowtowed to the bully of a Congress he has never hesitated to call a spade a spade, though the man held the most exalted position in the Congress hierarchy. He has welded the Muslims into a solid phalanx by offering them a vitalising battle-cry which has wrenched Pakistan from unwilling Congress hands.

Gandhi's Rout

During the Gandhi-Jinnah talks at Mount Pleasant Road, the Congress Leader with all his "trailing clouds of glory" came off only second-best. The world saw the irrefutable logic of Mr. Jinnah opposed to the jargonetic farrago of Mr. Gandhi. Never had Mr. Gandhi been seen to cut such a poor figure. Before the consummate parliamentarian of the Muslims, Mr. Gandhi's juggling efforts seemed puerile.

Jinnah Rescues League

Being straight in his dealings, Mr. Jinnah recoiled from the chicanery of the Congress; and soon, in disgust, washed his hands

clean off that putrid organisation to which state, in the course of three decades, the once-glorious body had degenerated. He has had unique and ample opportunities of studying the peculiar conditions prevalent in India, and of observing the puzzling pattern of Indian politics brought into being by Congress antics. With true insight he saw how the Congress made hay while the Khilafat-agitation sun shone. The crafty Congress fully exploited the concatenation of circumstances to disrupt the Muslims while, all along, it masqueraded as the staunchest supporter and promoter of the Muslim cause. The movement died down and left the Muslims in a parlous state, completely disorganised. The rot had set in to such an extent that the League found it difficult to get a quorum at meetings, and it seemed that the Congress would succeed in completely breaking up the Muslims. At the precise psychological moment, Mr. Jinnah stepped into the breach, and things began to assume a different complexion. To-day, holding a League meeting without the Qaed is like staging the play of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

Break with the Congress

To ponder over the basic fact why Mr. Jinnah, a once staunch Congressman turned anti-Congress, is to gain a true insight into the subtle, tortuous, underhand dealings of the Congress. There were serious contributory factors from the Congress side that brought about this revolutionary change. Having been a Congressman once, he has gained a perfect insight into the very pulse of the Congress machine and is therefore in the unique position of



INDIA'S GREATEST LEADER

assessing the full implications of every Congress move. His pronouncements on matters Congress are, therefore, authoritative. He has fully exposed as self-deception pure and simple, the Hindu cry of Akhand Hindustan. He has conclusively shown this to be a blind for the Hindus to seize supreme power. He has, times out of number, proved that the Congress ever tries to prop up by adventitious aids a cause that has no inherent justice about it. He is the one Indian endowed with sufficient courage to debunk the

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FAITH, UNITY, DISCIPLINE

(Continued from page 5)

Individualism must be merged in the community and for the interest of the community. Each individual must sacrifice for the interest of his nation. Today we stand as one of the most organised bodies in the world, and if you are earnest you can do great things". So progress in thought and action should be the bedrock and sheet-anchor on which the edifice of the M.S.F. has to rest. Thus, and thus alone, can we contribute our legitimate share in the onward march of the nation, in trimming its sails towards political progress, economic prosperity, educational advancement and industrial development.

Not Anti-Hindu

The M.F.S., as has been mentioned in a preceding paragraph, was founded on anti-imperialist lines in 1938, with a view to awaken and organise all the talents and dormant potentialities of the Muslim Students and to stir and spur them to life and activity, and not with that of arraigning them against the Hindu Students' Organisation, as some criticsasters allege. A Muslim wherever he may be, whether in the jungles of Indonesia or in the swamps of Burma, whether in the mountains of Riff or in the cities of India, whether in the valleys of the Nile or in the plains

of Palestine, is essentially a democrat, a believer in the cult of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and an eternal *bete noir* of imperialism, alien or native (that deny a people its inherent right to these privileges), by his mental make-up, character and training. As such, it is absurd to think of Muslims organising themselves on an anti-Hindu basis. No doubt the recent past, events unfortunately took such a turn that we found ourselves arraigned against our Hindu compatriots; but then, it was not of our making. We claimed, demanded and fought for our right to be free and, to our great misfortune, our sister community was bent upon denying it to us. But now that they have bowed to the logic of the inevitable, we again assure them that we have no quarrel with them, that burying the hatchet, the bitter memories of the past, we will work with them, on common grounds, notwithstanding our separate entity and that we will fully co-operate with them in solving common problems.

Faith, Unity, Discipline

The Muslim nation is just turning over a new leaf of its history today and let us, the youth of the nation, resolve on this great occasion to become worthy of the freedom we have just won, of the trust placed on our shoulders to lead the

nation on the Straight Path. The greatest Muslim Leader of the time has already given us a motto that of *Faith, Unity and Discipline*, which are the essential pre-requisites for the building up of a great nation. Our national Poet and Seer, Iqbal of hallowed memory, too has, in his famous couplet—

*Sabaq phir parh shuja'ath ka,
sada'quat ka, ada'lat ka,*

*Liya jayega tuj say kam
dunneya ki imamat ka*

called on the Mussalman for the creation of the same virtues in him, if he aspires to lead the humanity. So that if we, with Unity in our ranks, Faith in our cause and Discipline in our camp and the Quranic prayer—" Verily my prayers, my sacrifices, my life, my death are for Allah, the Lord of the Universe "— on our lips, put ourselves to the wheel and exert ourselves to the utmost in discharging our duties and responsibilities to the nation fully there is no reason why we should not succeed in our mission in the not distant future. Hence let us resolve on this day to stand true to, and work for, the principles underlying this motto, for that alone will lead us and our great nation to further success and glory.

THE NEW ORDER

(Continued from page 9)

a step forward for such a decision will ally automatically the ferocity of the war-mongers of the West.

The Arab League is a League of the Arab Governments. There is only one exception to this and that is Palestine; but the explanation given for it is that the League accepts the Holy Land, as an Arab State despite the British Mandate and notwithstanding the one-sided activities of the United Nations Organisation. The League has been thinking, so far, of Arabs, Muslim and non-Muslim; and an Arab has been defined as one whose mother-tongue is Arabic. The stirrings of new movements in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis have begun. Tripoli and Libya are showing signs of a re-awakening. The condominium over Soudan is about to end. The unity of the Valley of the Nile, whether under one monarchy or a dual regime, is as good as achieved. The Arab League, thus, is out to establish an Arabic Speaking Union of governments and peoples who are predominantly and overwhelmingly Muslim.

The next step has to be an Islamic Union, composed of Arab and non-Arab States. Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, come to the mind first but the two new States, one in India and the other in Indonesia, with their 150 million Muslim inhabitants, cannot be left out of consideration. These, along with the Arab States, one in existence and those to be, will form a bloc which should establish a better equilibrium in world affairs.

There are vast Muslim populations in China and Russia, with smaller ones in Finland, Poland, Jugoslavia and Albania. Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and the many unknown millions of Muslims in Congo,

Nigeria, Senegal and Gambia, make a formidable array which, in cultural and intellectual affiliation with the Islamic Union, can play an increasingly important role in levelling up and levelling down the injustices and inequalities now harassing mankind.

The war of 1939-45, and the havoc it has played in the West and in the East, among belligerents as well as non-belligerents have been unprecedented in the annals of human history. Changiz and Halaku, pale into insignificance before the users of blockbusters and atom-bombs. Its aftermath of famine, devastation and ruin over vast territories will take long to disappear. It does not seem to have opened the eyes of those who started the conflagration and fought it out to the finish. Modern total warfare ruineth those that are vanquished and also those that are victorious. The truth of this aphorism is obvious to all and yet furious preparations are being made for another war, more terrible than the one which preceded it. The reason for this strange mentality is not difficult for a Muslim to comprehend. Mammon has replaced God among nations that profess Christianity. So long as this attitude of theirs does not change so long will wars appear and re-appear and so long will peace evade them.

Can we save them and the world against these repeated catastrophes? The last Armageddon may not have been the turning point in the history of western nations but it has given the much needed and long-awaited shock to the believers in the last message of Allah to mankind. Indonesia, Pakistan and the Arab League are the spearheads of this awakening. The Muslim has realized that the present leadership of the world is defective, rotten and immoral. It must be changed. China is unable to replace it, while Hindu India is unfit to take it up because of its caste system and that terrible institution

of untouchability. The leadership is lying there to be picked up. Is the Youth of Islam ready to shoulder the responsibility? The answer cannot but be in the affirmative. The standards set by those who claim the leadership of the world are false. Their democracy is unreal, their equality is unbalanced and their liberty is hedged in by race and colour. Their coin is spurious and their commerce unclean.

There is nothing to fear and nothing to grieve if we carry the spark of the true faith in us. With pride in our heritage we have to go forward, onward, Godward or perish. We believe the Qur'an to be eternal. It must suit the conditions and requirements of every age. Muslim scholars throughout the centuries have understood and explained its principles and teachings in accordance with knowledge of man in their times: but knowledge is progressive. We have to keep pace with it. Razi and Baizawi were great in their own day. Re-interpretation and re-explanation of the Holy Book have become essential. With the Qur'an as our sustainer and the good example of the Hero of Madina, as our guide, we can conquer the world morally and spiritually and bring erring humanity back to the straight path, the path of peace, rectitude and submission to the will of Allah. Let us repeat with the poet,

*Biya ta gul biyaftanname womay
dar sagire undazame;*

*Flak ra saqf baya shaganame wo
tarah no der undazame.*

Come, let us scatter flowers all round and let us fill the goblet with wine;

Let us tear the roof of the heaven asunder and let us establish the New Order.

★ THE NATION

SO Pakistan will become a full-fledged State by August 15—that is what the Mountbatten Plan amounts to. Yes, Pakistan—which was considered a mere name, dream, a goal alluring and attractive from a distance, undiminishing and untraversable—has become a reality; has come with a bang on the map of India in a blaze of green. The immutable expression of the national will of the Muslims and the inevitable outcome of the evolution of their political life during the last two-hundred years is taking shape to-day. The “dream” of Iqbal has come true; the wish of Maulana Muhammad Ali—“*We want a corridor from Karachi to Calcutta*”—has found fruition, the prayer of the Quade Azam—“*I will live to see Pakistan established*”—has been granted. A hundred million Muslims bow their heads this day, this great, auspicious day of their victory and glory, in all humility to Almighty Allah for His blessings and help to them in their efforts and endeavours to establish a new state, based on the Islamic principles of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Humanity and Economic Justice, in this sub-continent of India, to usher a New World Order—the Islamic Order—in the world, torn and rent asunder as it is at present by conflicting creeds and criterions.

The Revolution of Pakistan

In the Lahore Sessions of 1940 it was that the League passed the famous Pakistan Resolution. The demand for Pakistan gained such a mighty momentum and significance and strength during the last seven years that Imperialist Britain as well as Fascist Congress had to bow down to the freedom urge of the Mussalmans, as epitomised in their demand for a separate sovereign State, and concede it. *The last seven years have been a period of tears, trials and tribulations for the Mussalmans of India. Truth to tell, there is hardly any other phase or*

period in our history in India when we, perching on the brink of sure disaster and destruction, have so ably, squarely and successfully raised ourselves in such a short period to our former position of an honourable nation. Countless trials, we had to undergo during this period, numberless hardships we had to face; tribulations unimaginable we had to suffer—in short, we had to literally wade through tears, blood and labour. But stout, dauntless people that they are, the Muslims stood intact, unshaken as a solid phalanx against these trials and tribulations, drawing strength and inspiration from their unflinching determination and unflagging zeal, from their unshakable faith and indefatigable courage and holding aloft all the time the crescent-sprangled green of Muslim Independence flying and fluttering above and over their heads.

Ours is an epoch-making struggle, an unforgettable revolution in the history of mankind—in fact, our crusade against the British imperialists and the Hindu Fascists adds a new chapter and gives a new character to the freedom struggles of the different peoples of the world. *The way in which a disciplined, conscious and well-organised nation rose sphinx-like from a rabble of disillusioned men and women and achieved in the short span of seven years that, which the Hindu Congress in spite of its being organised and disciplined from its very inception could achieve only in sixty years beats all past records at reformation, and of revolutions and introduces a new channel in this gnashing, foaming sea and fresh innovations in it.*

The Caravan, which, crippled and cabined to the point of desperation, resumed its march in the middle of the nineteenth century has at last to-day reached its destination, its journey's end. Many a hurdles it was confronted with, on its way; many a time it

was subjected to pillage and plunder by its enemies; many a hard, mountainous tracks, it had to cross, but fate had decreed that the Caravan, surcharged with the spirit of freedom and sacrifice that it was, should not give up its march, should not halt before it reaches its goal—and the Caravan did march on as usual, unabated. Moments, 'critical moments there were many during this great march when, hard-pressed by circumstances and conditions prevalent inside its camp and around it, broken in spirit and battered in faith, it was obliged to give 'it up—but it only proved to be the harbinger of greater activity. And when it resumed its march once again, there was no halting and the world saw to its great surprise

ON

and astonishment, the translation of the famous couplet of Iqbal—

*Koti undaaz ker sakta hai uskaay
zoor-e-bazu ka*

*Nigah-e-mard-e-momin say
badal jati hain tagdairain*
in action.

Early Stages of Our Struggle

In the initial stages of our struggle, our main and the only target was British Imperialism which had reduced Muslims, during its hundred years' rule, to the position of helots; hewers of wood and drawers of water. After the great Indian Mutiny, the British masters, being convinced of the futility of trying to buy Muslims, carried on a policy of persecution and exploitation of them: no stone was left unturned to squeeze them of their strength and stamina, power and potentialities, to reduce them to utter helplessness, economically, politically and culturally. So that the British rulers became the villain of the piece, and, as such, the victims of the Mussalmans' wrath and vengeance. *But as, time marched on, Hindu Capital began making inroads and*

after a time, the whole country came economically under the grips of this Octopus of Hindu Capital. Thus the Mussalmans were forced to face another menace—that of economic exploitation by the Hindus. And, unfortunately enough, the Muslims could see through the game, only when they had been completely dominated and superseded by the Hindus in every walk of life.

Now the Hindus were scheming to deprive them even of their inherent rights, but before they could finalise their plans and programmes to de-Muslimise them, the Muslim nation woke up—only to find itself groping in the dark! It was desperately struggling to free itself from the clutches of Britain

THE

and the iron grips of the Hindus, when the Qaed-e-Azam appeared on the scene and took up the task of steering the ship of the Millat safe ashore through the coming critical times in his hands. The ship, "battered heavily by winds and tides, scarred and seamed in many a fierce encounter with embattled hosts," had already suffered grievous losses and had had already to jettison much precious cargo. But with all that, she was a brave little ship, for she carried the highest hopes, ambitions and aspirations of the hundred million Mussalmans of India, and the God-sent Captain and Saviour Jinnah, manned and commandeered her in such a way that she sailed on from ocean to ocean, thus ushering a glorious era of national progress and political ascendancy.

The Birth of Pakistan

It was the time when the Poet and Seer, Allama Iqbal of hallowed memory had already sounded his clarion call; had already inspired faith and infused spirit in the motely crowd that were the Mussalmans then, by his revolutionary verses and soul-stirring addresses; and had already

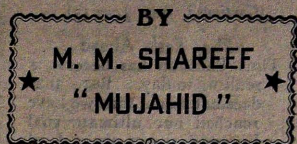
prepared the ground for a Jinnah to come and wield this surging mass of oppressed humanity into a disciplined nation, throbbing and pulsating with life and activity, vigour and vitality. On the dark, cloudy horizon appeared the proverbial silver-lining; and Iqbal gave the nation a plan for its future programme. Thus was born the idea of Pakistan, thus took root in the mind of Dr. Iqbal and then in those of countless millions of Mussalmans, the creed of Pakistan. *It was due to Iqbal and Iqbal alone that the Qaed-e-Azam got convinced of its efficacy as the only panacea to the many ills and ulcers, the Muslim nation was suffering from. Day by day, it gained momentum; it marched on from strength to strength, till at last on 23rd March 1940 a surging mass of a hundred million people pledged to establish it, come what may. This epitomised the new Magna Carta of our freedom, of future peace, prosperity and economic emancipation of humanity.* But Iqbal, the sponsor of this scheme had already left us by this time to take his place in the eternal heavens and we can hardly imagine, much less gauge the depth of joy and bliss, his soul would have felt on this Mussalmans' resolution.

The Goal in Sight

This historic resolution turned a new page in the history of Muslim India, nay, in that of the world; a new force came into full play with all its potentialities and the world witnessed the gradual but steady rise of a great and glorious nation, out to shatter to ribbons the old order and build on its rack and ruins a new

MARCH AGAIN! ★

solid order, based on the sure foundations of the lofty ideals of Islam which is the only sanction for the establishment of Peace and Security on earth. Thus was ushered in the most critical phase in the annals of India, and particularly of Muslim India which had to, as stated before, pass through



toil, blood and labour before its destination came in sight. During this fateful period, Muslim India was literally poised between life and death, was engaged in a life and death struggle. Sacrifices many it had to make at the altar of freedom which it did not shirk. The Hindus, the inveterate foes of Islam that they are since centuries, were out to try every sinister scheme and subterfuge that human ingenuity could think of to sabotage and pigeon-hole the ship of Muslim freedom. Manœuvres they tried in scores, machinations they attempted many. But ours was a just cause and the Divine help was with us; so that all proved vain, futile and unfruitful. And at last, we carried the palm when Britain recognised our claim to separate nationhood and statehood and conceded Pakistan in her latest Plan.

In fact, there is very little difference between what we demanded and what we have achieved to day; for the Lahore resolution speaks of establishing a separate Sovereign Muslim State only in those parts where Muslims are predominantly inhabited. We have very little to grieve over what has happened (ie) the division of Bengal and the Punjab. These Provinces were demanded

intact because they had become stable political units through a unitary provincial administration of a hundred years. But we do hope that after some time, the seceding parts will join the respective provinces.

(See overleaf)

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The Task Ahead

Thus Pakistan has become a reality to-day. But that does not mean that we have reached our ultimate goal but only marks the end of the first round of our struggle. The struggle will go on unabated and as ever but henceforward its character will be different from the one at the end of which we stand to-day.

Critical times are ahead and we cannot afford to slacken our efforts, activities and vigilance even by an inch, for we have to preserve and keep intact the freedom that we have won to-day after undergoing so many sufferings and sacrifices. Vigilance, it is said, is the price of freedom and victory; and lack of it will surely spell our doom and disaster. It is often seen that when the caravan reaches its destination—that which it thought to be an oasis—it turns out to be a mirage. Let this not happen in the case of Pakistan.

Pakistan—our leaders have been saying since years and we have been of the opinion—will be a haven for Muslims, which will facilitate free and full development of our culture, civilisation and language and will be a model Muslim state. *And it is to make it truly so that we have to strive hard from to-day onwards. We have to overhaul and revolutionise the whole system we are succeeding to, so that it may become an exemplar Muslim State, a "live" Pakistan. This can be possible only when we formulate our policy and programme in the light of the lofty principles, as enunciated in the Holy Quran and on the lines of "Khilafate Rashida." Thus and thus alone can Pakistan become a boon and blessing for the common people; can it become a bulwark against reactionism and fascism, help to further the cause of Peace and Security on earth, become the envy of all and a mighty state and last but not the least, hold aloft the proud banner of Islam.*

So let us bend our resources, potentialities and energies in this direction.

IN MEMORIUM

[BY THE EDITOR]

To the memory of those countless thousands of Mussalmans who fought and fell in Calcutta and Chapra, Bombay and Bihar, Ahmedabad and Allahabad, Gurmukteshwar and Gurgoen, Assam, the Punjab and the Frontier and on countless other fields of battle on the Indian soil; whose number is numberless, whose glory undying, whose martyrdom the most hallowed in Islam's history. They died because they believed in the Kalima: "LAH ILAHA ILLALAH, MUHAMMADUR RASULILLAH"—they died that you and we may live the life of honour, of freedom; that Islam may rise in stature and splendour; that we might achieve Pakistan. They shed their blood ungrudgingly and unhesitatingly that it may cleanse our hearts; wash our weakness away; steel our hearts; make us strong, united, fearless, formidable and invincible. With the shedding of every drop of their blood on this Indian soil was planted the seed of Pakistan, the plant which sustained its nourishment, water and strength from the sacred blood of these martyrs, from their unparalleled sufferings and unique sacrifices in the Cause of Islam; and on their slaughtered, maimed, and mutilated bodies were laid down the surest foundations for the Islamic State of our dream.

They perished for Pakistan, and by perishing made Pakistan more irresistible and inevitable. It is to them we owe Pakistan—Pakistan, which was considered a mere name, dream, a goal alluring and attractive from a distance, undiminishing and untraversable, became a reality and a fact through their sufferings and sacrifices. To a large extent, they are the makers of the Indian Muslim nation, the architects of Muslim Freedom, the heroes of Pakistan. Their lives were not lost for nothing, their blood was not shed in vain, their sacrifices have not gone fruitless; for on their amputated heads and skulls, on their blood and bones, on their sacrifices and sufferings, on their tears and tribulations, rises sphinx-like the independent Sovereign State of Pakistan comprising a total of 236,500 square miles of the Indian sub-continent in the North West and the East, the land where Islam shall prevail, which will hold aloft the proud banner of Islam—in this Great Human Tragedy we see the Divine way of our Destiny's fulfilment!

(See facing page)

Says the Quran:—

Be sure we shall test you
With something of fear
And hunger, some loss
In goods or lives or the fruits
(Of your toil) but give
Glad tidings to those
Who patiently persevere

—(Baqara: 155)

And again it assures:—

Those who leave
Their homes in the cause of God,
And are slain or die,
For them will God
Bestow verily a good position:
Truly God is He
Who bestows the best provision

—(Haji: 58)

Thus their blood atlast has lent colour to the map of Pakistan which has come with a bang to-day on the world's in a blaze of green. Clustering around ARSHUL AZEEM, the throne of God, they must be watching us and our actions. Pakistan has been achieved and established to-day but in name, and many a hurdle we have to cross and many a trial we have to pass through before it becomes a living reality, throbbing and pulsating, spangling its splendour and grandeur to the four corners of the world. So we have to prepare ourselves for the task ahead, to become the standard-bearers of Islam, to become the torch-bearers of Islamic Renaissance. And that is possible only when we become true MOMINS and MUJAHIDS—in the Quranic sense. And this is the most fitting, proper and the only way to pay our homage, at this hour of our victory and glory, to those martyrs of our hallowed memory—to those that fought and fell for the cause of Pakistan that courted death for the cause of Islam in India.

May we follow in their footsteps, stand true to the traditions established by them and thereby help the cause of Islam in India and the world at large. —Amen!

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dage to, human life, he disclosed. He further clarified that passing-off of this branch of appendage as religion is the commitment of a gross mistake. In fact, religion is not a part and parcel of life but pervades and permeates the whole life. It should be the soul, the moving vitality and the initiative vigour of life; it should be the understanding capacity, the discriminative capability, the creative thought and the clear insight; it should be the criterion for the differentiation of good from bad, of virtue from vice, of right from wrong; it should guide in every branch and on every step and should clearly show the diversity between the righteous path and the crooked way; it should save humanity from traversing wrong channels and place it on the straight road firmly and steadfastly; it should guarantee success and piety through the long and arduous travel, which engulfs life from the cradle to the grave.

That religion which performs all these miracles is Islam. To remain as an appendage to human life it has not come; the purpose of its advent is liquidated if it is relegated to the out-moded ignorant conception of religious appendage. It discusses the relations between God and man, it equally does so with the relations between man and man and, also, it attaches as much importance, to the relations between man and all other creations. To vindicate the reality that these branches of relations are not distinct, separate and unconcerned with one another, but the co-ordinate and co-operative components of a collective unit, on the correct composition and application of which depends the peace, progress and prosperity of man, is the sole aim and the real purpose of the advent of Islam.

There cannot be a right relationship between man and God if the relationship between man and creations is topsy-turvy. These two relationships complete and correct one another; these two

(Contd. on page 84)

Islam—A Perfect Cultural Unit

—By Abul Amal

BEFORE the advent of Prophet Muhammed, it was generally opined and believed throughout the universe that, out of the various branches of life, religion is one. In other words, attached to the worldly life, it was in the capacity and category of an appendage, through which a certificate could be easily obtained for deliverance in the life hereafter. Religion was understood to be a relation and connection between man and God, between the created & the Creator. Whoever aspiringly looked for first magnitude heights of deliverance, he has necessarily to disconnect himself from all other branches of life and totally dedicate to this one. And whoever is not after such unenviable degrees, but desires deliverance alone as also graceful looks of the Creator & bliss and blessings in worldly affairs, he simply has to attach this appendage of religion to his worldly life. The worldly activities are to be traditionally followed in their own mode and method; and, besides, the deity can be pleased by the performance of some religious customs and conventions. Man's connection with, and relation to, himself, humanity and the whole world around is one thing, and the links with, and leanings towards, the Creator are at variance from the former. That there was no connection or relation between these two was the general belief then.

This belief was born out of ignorance and on its foundations no structure of human culture and civilisation could be erected. Culture and civilisation cover the whole human life. On that which is simply an appendage of human life, no edifice of perfect life can possibly be constructed. This belief had always separated religion from culture and civilisation, everywhere in the universe. Though alternatively one was influenced by the other and

vice versa, this influence was neither useful nor longstanding as it was typically a union between two different and diametrically opposed ideologies.

The religious influence on culture and civilisation gave birth to exclusiveness, individual hatred towards materialistic connections and human relations, chagrin at other worldly religions, disconnection with the world and prejudicial ingredients. This influence, in the light of its results, could be in no sense and through no angle, counted as progressive and prosperous, but was a hindrance and obstacle for humanity on the hard road to worldly progress.

On the other hand, whenever culture and civilisation, the foundations of which were based on materialistic conceptions and on the carrying out of personal desires, whims and caprices, influenced religion, it was polluted and interpolated. All the drawbacks and defects of egoistic worship were injected into the veins of religion and everything, though the most obnoxious and the worst, but serving and satiating personal desires, was clothed in religious piety to get the maximum personal benefit. This device of giving pious colouring to personal motives prevented pinpricks of conscience as also charges and chagrins of others. It is the direct influence of such malpractices that some religions shamelessly display such passionate and disgraceful modes of prayers, which are considered and looked down as immorality by those followers, who do not come under the priestly class and category, of the same religions. These connections between religion and culture apart, it can be clearly seen that, in every nook and corner of the world, the structure of culture and civilisation was established on irreligious and immoral walls.

Truly pious and really religious people had been exclusively away from the world, meditatively thrashing out the plan of their deliverance. The worldly affairs were modelled and moulded on the whims and fancies of worldly men, who on their own imperfect experiences—considered to be perfect in all climes and climates, but proved to be imperfect always and everywhere—carried on the day-to-day worldly activities, according to their likes and dislikes. In case of solicitude for the Creator's pleasure and blessings, religion was attached solely as an appendage to human life and if it was there, it was considered, classed, conducted and counted as an appendage only. Inter-related with all kinds of political aggression and atrocities, every type of economic injustice, various ways of racial ineptitudes and different modes of cultural crookedness, religion went headlong in firmly cementing alliances even with dacoity and deceit, even with world conflagration and destruction, even with exploitation and annihilation and, amazingly enough, even with adultery and prostitution.

Islamic Conception of Religion

The mission of Prophet Muhammed was none other than to eliminate this ignorant belief and conception of religion being an appendage and to place its logical and natural connotation. Not only did he correctly appraise others of the real place and position of religion but also established a perfect system of culture and civilisation on religious basis and successfully practised and put it through.

That religion is immaterial and meaningless, if it is considered a branch of, or append-

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MUSLIM YOUTH AND PAKISTAN

— BY —

A. SAYEED

A NATION'S life is the life of its youths; its name, fame and prosperity lies in their hands. A dead youth of a nation is a liability instead of being an asset. A body with a strong structure minus soul is a heap of flesh and a mass of bones. A nation without its active youth is a dead community of individuals.

Such was the condition of Muslim India torn by its sectional, selfish and worn-out outlooks. The heads of the nation were divided; they stuck up to their out-dated and worn-out ideas of religion and social philosophy coined for furthering their selfish ends. They were dead against any kind of progress—spiritual, material, social and economical. They never thought of building the life of national youths. Every corner emitted darkness; every passage was found thorny. The old not only shut the door of progress to themselves but also killed the aspirations and enthusiasm of the youth.

Time it was for the repetition of a Second Spain here and in this land. The Britishers were dominating and domineering and their henchmen, the so-called "blood-brothers" of the Muslims were ready to stab in the back, though outwardly friendly and affable. The Muslims were between the devil and the deep sea. Those, who came forward to serve Islam and Muslims were butchered in cold blood under the lame pretext of rebels and mutineers. They were stabbed in the back by the 'sons of the same soil' and 'brothers of the same nation' at the crucial moments in the struggle for Indian Independence.

The then heads of the nation, the Moulvis, who were the religious and political leaders of the nation were totally unaware of

the conspiracy hatched against Muslims and were not in the know of the needs of the times. They were not only unable to steer the ship clear out of the troubled waters, but lead it to the Sindbad's Mountain of Apes.

Amidst this darkness and deluge, a star forced its way emitting its bright rays but the few rays emitted were overshadowed and melted away for a time by the strong and ignorant opposition. The rays forced their way untiringly. The darkness gave way though not totally. And that shining star was none but the unforgettable Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the pioneer of the Muslim University of Aligarh. His whole career was dedicated in clearing off this darkness, so that the individuals of his nation may come up to the mark, the others have already reached.

I should pause and say that though his life mission was to forge Hindu—Muslim unity, by making the Muslims conscious of their own position, he was dubbed as a first rank communalist inciting the Muslims to form a separate block of their own. On the other hand, Tilak, that arch-communalist, the embodiment of Sivaji, the dead enemy of Muslims, was and is hailed as a great nationalist — nationalist of the first rank! Nationalism has got a different connotation in Hindu lexicon; it means Hindu Fascism. His sole aim was not to divide the 'blood brothers' nor to incite one against the other, but to forge such a lasting unity as to keep both of them on equal footing. And for achieving this the seed was sown. He died keeping behind his aspirations unfulfilled, but the seed sown, gave slow but steady rooting and branching.

And then appeared on the Indian soil the saviours of Hindu — Muslim unity, the true fighters of Indian freedom and those who

made a 'Mahatma' out of a 'Mohandas.' They were the famous Ali Brothers—Maulana Muhammed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Though forgotten altogether now, they were the men who were hailed as heroes by their 'brothers of the same nation' till the day they played to the tune of the Hindus. But when truth dawned on them, they followed the steps of the Old man and began to water the sprouting seedling.

Then came a doctor who was solely responsible for the intellectual uplift of Muslims. Allama Iqbal, the poet, philosopher and politician of Islam infused life in the nation; he resplendently placed before their eyes, the forgotten grand History of their forefathers.

The assurance he gave to his nation, that they can again be what they were before, if only they throw aside their slumber and revive their dormant instincts and use them in the right channel created a flutter in Muslim doves. He worked on and on and clearly put before the nation the process of successfully rearing the plant, but a practical scientist was needed to use the process in right earnest bringing fruition and completion.

That scientist was rightly found in the person of Jinnah—the Prophet of Hindu-Muslim unity. From the time he dedicated his life to the service of his country, Mr. Jinnah had at his heart the sole aim of leading his country unitedly to the goal of independence—independence not only from the chains of the foreign imperialists but also from the clutches of the blood-sucking majority. Disillusioned and disappointed by the moves and motives of his "blood brothers" he at last came to the only sane

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Muslim Youth and Pakistan

(Continued from page 19)

and sound realisation that the grand Old man was right in his mission and the only way to rescue his down-trodden nation from the slavery of all kinds and ultimately make both the majority and the minority not only independent of foreigners but of each other also and thus pave the way for lasting unity among them on the footing of equality was to follow the process indicated by the late Iqbal.

He has nursed the plant to such an extent that the diversified individuals with one platform, one voice and one aim have achieved their goal—the goal of Pakistan, independent homelands of 100 million Muslims. From the motely crowd he has built up a strong nation and has achieved for them a worthy goal within a short span of seven years without shelving the nation into blood and fire.

It is time that the Youths of Muslim India wake up to remodel their lives and deeds on Islamic conceptions. Thus alone they can, not only maintain Pakistan, but also make it an ideal state to be envied and copied by all powers, big and small; thus alone can the Muslim nation be virile, alive, active and vigilant.

Let us translate into deeds all our tall talks and feelings; let us prove to the world that Muslim Youth is not a whit behind the Youths of other nations in any sphere of activity and in any branch of life.

**Pakistan Zindabad! Qaeed
Azam Zindabad !!**

Administration Under Pakistan

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munities and ameliorating the mental, moral and economic conditions of all citizens of the State without fear or favour. Thus, if dispassionate consideration is bestowed upon the question of Pakistan shedding off all prejudices the world will realise that Pakistan is not a bugbear but a blessing for others to copy.

Reflections on the Intellect of Youth

BY

S. N. A. RAZVI

THE intellect of the youth has, as is well-known, vast potential power. The vigour of youth is manifested not only in physique but also in the innumerable ideas that shoot out from the mind like wild flames. And unless these ideals are guided along proper channels, they may prove extremely dangerous both for the individual and the Society at large.

The mind of the youth vibrates with tremendous energy, which defies all attempts at suppression. Therefore the right thing to do is not to attempt to suppress the dynamic energy but to harness it for the right purpose. This energy **MUST** find an outlet, and there is no question of its being put out. Attempts at suppression will only result in their exploding with a terrible bang, letting loose an orgy of evil and crime around. The crime waves that sweep the world after a war or some such catastrophe, have been found largely due to these misguided energies of youth.

When such is the dangerous power of the mind, it behoves on all of us to take a little more interest in its problems that we have so far evinced. In this Country it never occurs to an elderly gentleman that young minds are capable of great and even terrible things. It is usual on the part of our elders to brush aside all youthful manifestations as simply "childish". Very often they are not.

The young mind, being wild with energy, must be tamed and trained to play its proper part. In other words, it must be sufficiently cultured to enable the youth to develop the essential qualities of a gentleman viz. Toleration, Magnanimity and that amount of broad-mindedness which can be acquired only by a process of intellectual training.

This brings us face to face with the problem of education. The responsibility of intellectual training has been taken up by Schools and Universities. In India, these institutions are more in the nature of a factory where there is a mass production of graduates destined to rot as clerks, than as a place of learning. It is incumbent therefore, on the part of the State and the educational authorities to reorganise our educational system in such a way as will enable a youth to broaden his mental horizon and "at raising the intellectual tone of Society....., at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspirations".

A cultivated intellect will naturally develop certain principles of life and take up a fixed ideal, for the realisation of which it will strive hard. Life, to many of us, is just like a rolling stream, taking its own 'natural' course, with its 'inevitable' ups and downs. Our educational system and the depressing environment around us have so corrupted our minds that we fail to realise that we are the makers of our own destinies to a certain extent. There is too much loose talk of ascribing every thing to Fate. The consolation that we derive from every evil that befalls us is that it is 'fated'. We have no principles and no ideals. Life is dragged on somehow or other. What we strive for is bread, and, in many cases, only that amount of bread as will manage to keep us on the border line between Life and Death.

Without certain principle and a fixed ideal, life becomes extremely dull and useless. A youth whose life is devoid of these things is a liability on the Society. When certain principles are

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A CALL TO THE YOUTH OF ISLAM !

BY

SIRAJUDDIN MUNIR (of Azamgarh)

IT gives me great pleasure to write for MUSLIM STUDENTS' SOUVENIR; Youths of Islam! you are the hope of Muslim India and the future pillars of Islam. 'Breathes there a Muslim with soul so dead as to have never said within himself: I WAS BORN FOR ISLAM, TO LIVE & WORK FOR ISLAM & TO DIE FOR ISLAM'. If we have forgotten it, let us now at least realise that we are born Muslims to redeem, deliver, educate & civilise Humanity on the Islamic principles of Humanity, Equality, Fraternity and Liberty. That is the Mission and role of Islam on this planet of ours and, therefore, the Great and noble Mission and Role of all Muslims in India and elsewhere.

Khalid, Tariq, Muhammad bin Qasim—great names in Islamic history. Have you ever heard of them and of their great achievements in the way of Allah and Islam? They all fought nobly and heroically not to subjugate peoples and countries, but for establishing justice and equity, freedom of conscience, freedom of religion. They could not tolerate invidious distinctions and differences between man and man. Islam had taught them that all human beings are equal in the eyes of Allah and the Law of Islam is the same for Muslims and non-Muslims alike as far as civil liberties and citizenship rights are concerned. The "White Man's BURDEN" had capitalist and Imperialist greed behind it. But these great and noble sons of Islam had no greed except the love and service of

Humanity for Allah's sake. They were true liberators, redeemers, educators and civilisers of Humanity on the Divine principles of Islam and Life and Teachings of the Holy Prophet MUHAMMAD of Arabia.

In our own day there are differences of whites, blacks, yellow, brown, differences of blood, race, caste and the curse of untouchability. How are we doing to alleviate human suffering and misery? If we have slept till now, let us rise and awake now and take up the Holy Quraan in one hand and the Sword of Justice in the other. The Holy Quraan for preaching and propagating the Divine Life and Guidance of Islam and the Sword of Islam to establish peace, justice and equity. THE SWORD OF ISLAM WAS NEVER USED TO KILL NON-BELIEVERS, BUT TO KILL TYRANTS, PHAROAHS AND DAJJALS FOR GIVING THE MUCH NEEDED PEACE TO PEOPLE LIVING UNDER THE FLAG OF ISLAM.

It being the close of the XIV Muslim century, the period for the second advent and rise of Islam is drawing nearer. YOUTHS OF ISLAM; IF WE HAVE THE BLOOD OF TRUE ISLAM RUNNING IN OUR VEINS, LET US TRY TO BECOME KHALIDS, TARIQS AND MUHAMMAD BIN QASIMS OF OUR OWN DAY. Raise aloft the banner of Islam and plant it on Allah's own world. But to do it we must change our own lives and conform to the ideas and ideals of Islam. Assimilate and reflect true Islamic character

in your lives. Let us dress like good Muslims, let us live like true Muslims. The world is for us and we are not for the world. Our origin is Divine and our soul always yearns to soar Allah-wards. We are permitted to live, eat and dress decently, but not to the extreme of becoming the servants of self. Islam asks us to pay equal attention to soul and body.

We often say in ecstasy: "PAKISTAN ZINDABAD". But let us not forget that Pakistan means a true Human Kingdom based upon the Human Religion & Principles of Islam. Therefore we should try to extend the blessings of Pakistan to greater and greater areas and regions by peaceful means of preaching and propagating Islam to non-Muslims from door to door. We are born to turn the entire planet of ours into PAKISTAN, that is, the Land of God and Humanity.

Qaed-e-Azam M. A. JINNAH is our POLITICAL MOSES who has almost succeeded in delivering us from the PHAROAHS AND DAJJALS of India. Let us walk in the foot-steps of our Great Muslim Chief of India and work for Greater Pakistan. The real and lasting peace and happiness of India and the world lies in Islam and PAKISTAN covering the entire world. Pakistan does not mean Muslim Communal Raj but TRUE HUMAN RAJ based upon the Islamic principles of Humanity, Equality, Fraternity and Liberty.

Let us, therefore, become MOMINS and MUJAHIDS in the true sense of the terms and work to that end.

Reflections on the intellect of youth

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developed and an ideal aimed at, life at once becomes glorious with immense possibilities. The intellect shines into a phantasy of glorious ideas, all converging

on the one fixed ideal. There is no more watering and no more wandering in life. The path becomes clear-cut and the goal distinctly visible. We begin to fashion our lives according to our principles and mould it according to the ideal. It may be that the

goal aimed at may never be reached but still is worth striving for. And without such principles and an ideal the life of a youth is like that of Macbeth's in his last days. ".....a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury signifying nothing."!

TASK BEFORE THE YOUTHS

BY

P. NAZIR AHMED

"GIVE me youths; I will make a new heaven and new earth." So said a famous British politician, fully conscious of the importance and potentialities of the modern youth in the making of a nation.

As students are youths, their potential power is accepted all the world over. The success of some of the greatest movements in Europe and in certain Muslim countries are due to the efforts of youths. In India presently, the students have just realised their importance and also the advancement of their nation's cause. The old order is bound to change yielding place to new. Qade Azam Jinnah addressing the annual convocation of the Lahore Islamia College on March 24, 1946, called for a revolution in the mentality and outlook of the Muslim youth, whereby alone the Muslims of India could find an honourable place in the comity of nations.

While other countries and nations are progressing, Muslim youths cannot afford to be lethargic and passive. They must keep going and race with the march of time. Only then, they will be able to stand on a footing of equality and be treated honourably. Every one is aware of how the other countries are establishing new records in social reform and how successfully they are combating the social evils. But here, the students are fighting shy to shoulder such responsibilities.

In order that they become worthy of their responsibilities they must, in the first place, study all the obstacles that lie in the way of their nation's progress and contrive means to eradicate them. In doing this, the students have ample opportunities.

In fact the period spent as students serves as the training ground for youths. As students they are expected to devote their time and energy to studies. If they miss the opportunities of equipping themselves with the qualities that would help them in future, they would not be able to render any service to the nation they belong. So, along with the right type of education, they should make the best use of the ample opportunities, that they come across face to face during their collegiate days to cultivate tolerance, develop arts of public speaking and writing which are the essential requisites for a successful leader.

As students they must realise that on them rests a great responsibility. The future depends on the student population which is getting trained to guide the destinies of the future generation. In short, the students of today are the leaders of tomorrow. It is not enough if the students exult in the thought that they are going to be the future leaders. They have to undergo the necessary training and equip themselves to shoulder the burdens of leadership.

So, for a leader, there are certain essential qualifications which should receive due attention during the students' period. As referred to earlier, the students should make use of the opportunity in cultivating the arts of speaking and writing which go a long way in making a nation. Hitler has rightly observed: "*I know that fewer people are won over by the written than the spoken word and that the growth of every great movement on earth is due to great speakers and not to great writers.*"

Students must pay special attention to character. It is the most important qualification for

a right type of leader. Without it there can be no leader, because "the crown and glory of life is character." Only through this, men can gain influence and not through their wealth or gift of the gab. *Even in misfortune it shines forth.* Without it, the existence of a man is futile. Likewise Mr. Jinnah has said: "*If money is lost, nothing is lost; if health is lost, something is lost; if character is lost, everything is lost.*"

These are some of the model weapons to face the battle of future. Armed with these, the students must forge ahead. With the high ideal of serving their nation they must keep their paces always onward. "I ask you to seek fresh avenues, to find out new channels, where you will not only make a magnificent career for yourself but can also serve your nation," so averred the leader of the hundred million Muslims.

Go!—"gone are the days when mere words held the field." Now is the time to put the words into action. If in such real spirit the Muslim students take up the task, there will be hardly any doubt about their performing marvels. The past glories of their forefathers are there to inspire them to action and it should be noted here that the secret of their success was due to their implicit faith in God and full confidence in the self. But where are such secrets in the present day youths?—whose hallmark is lethargy, indolence and inaction. While their forefathers were active, the modern youths are talkative. How long do they wish to remain in this state of affairs? Why not they realise and smash the chains of laziness? Why not they strive once again to revive their past? What was

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GO BACK TO VILLAGES

BY

SHEIKH ABDUL KHADER

GO back to Villages—that is an oft-repeated cry now-a-days. Unlike some Gandhian aphorisms, it does not belong to the realms of fancy and wishful thinking. Nor is it a far-fetched slogan of an interested politician. It is one of the few practical ways out of the growing unemployment in the unhappy land of ours.

The chief cause of the unemployment problem can be traced to the present system of education in the country. Even that notorious "Law Member" Macaulay must have turned in his grave at the appalling conditions which have resulted from the move sponsored by him—to ensure an unceasing supply of able clerks and loyal quill drivers to the Government. Today the colleges are almost functioning as factories turning out graduates of all sorts—under-graduates, graduates and post-graduates—at an alarmingly high rate. And the result: the country presents a sad spectacle of hundreds, nay thousands of well-educated men in search of jobs, struggling to earn their daily bread. Few jobs and too many hands—that is the bitter truth now so much so that modern education has almost come to mean spending of much money, time and energy, only to get "No vacancy" stare in one's face in the end.

The seriousness of the unemployment problem is all the more aggravated by the change modern education, in all its implications, has brought about in the minds of the Indian youths, who mostly pin their hopes on high salaried Government posts. Sweet castles in the air nothing are built about careers in which they will sit on cushioned-chairs and work under very comfortable circumstances. But often than not they find they were, after a mirage after all. In most cases

their hopes prove dupes. But such disappointment does not make them go in for some other profession which will stand them in good stead. They simply prefer to remain idle at home than adopt a career other than that they once cherished in their hearts but failed to achieve.

The chief bone of modern civilization—complement of modern education—is that it puffs up the youths with false pride and prejudice. It has made them so much enamoured of city life with all its alluring evils. Naturally they shun any work which needs exertion and love to pursue an easy-going life. No wonder that they care a fig for the dignity of labour. And that accounts all the more for the tragedy that is unemployment of educated in India.

Such an outlook on the part of the youths has been conceived from a wrong angle of vision. They do not seem to realize that Government jobs alone are not the be-all and end-all of one's life. They forget that there are many other walks, many other professions in which the educated youths could use their education and experience and fare better than their illiterate fellowmen.

India is mainly an agricultural country. In spite of the fast industrialization of the country and the big schemes of further industrial expansion, agriculture will play the main part in the life of its inhabitants. For India is a country of villages—7,00,000 in all. Naturally land will provide the people with food as well as the means to earn it.

Our country is now almost on the threshold of independence; and when it finally becomes free, it must be prepared to take its own rightful place among the comity of nations, befitting the glory and greatness that was India once. But it is a thousand pities that India is still slow in moving

with time and coping up with other nations in many fields of advancement.

As regards agriculture, only traditional and primitive methods of cultivation are being followed. Large scale farming, which alone can allow the use of modern implements like mechanised ploughs and harvest tractors is yet to be adopted in this country. Standing in the way of its introduction are the evils of the joint family system, which, through the passage of time, has resulted in the fragmentation and sub-fragmentation of the land and consequently uneconomic land-holdings. And it is not unusual to find one's plots not contiguous but scattered here and there, which exclude the possibility of either intensive or extensive farming. How good it will be, if the law of primogeniture which is in force in some Western countries like England, is enacted in our country too so that the eldest male member may succeed to his father's estate? And that alone can ensure the holdings remain intact and vast.

The Indian farmers, like the generality of their countrymen, are illiterate and ignorant, with the result that they are forced to live within their narrow little world, keeping aloof from the wide moving outside world. They are consequently not in the know of things about their brethren in other countries. They are in the dark regarding agricultural improvements carried out elsewhere. Visual demonstrations, and not books and magazines, can teach them anything. They have to be taught rather than made to learn through reading—all due to lack of education. Another cause for the stagnant economic position of the farmer is his chronic sense of contentment with no incentive for work or the spirit of initiative. He just prefers to be satisfied with his lot which is far from satisfactory.

Again the uneconomic land-holdings give the farmers only a very meagre return for their efforts all the year round. Natu-

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WE, MUSLIM WOMEN

BY

(MISS) SAFIYYA H. AL-HAMDANI

BEFORE the advent of Islam the Arab Society gave women certain rights and privileges and their duties were not confined to the home. The Arabs have always been chivalrous to women. The word 'chivalry' (*fursiyyat*) was given by the Arabs to the Medieval Europe. It is true that when a female was born in a pre-Islamic Arab family, she was looked upon with consternation! Not because they disliked girls, but on account of their intense love for their daughters. They feared lest their daughters, whom they loved so much, were dishonoured, should they ever lose their lives in the battle-field. Some of them went to the extent of burying their daughters alive—a pernicious custom called by them *w'a'd*. The Arabs regarded their women as precious jewels, which they guarded with jealousy and tenacity.

But then came the Holy Prophet and he raised the position and dignity of the woman. The *Holy Qur'an* has explicitly laid down the position and rights of women not only at home but also in society. Islam recognised the fact which has now been proved by modern sciences that women were in no way inferior to men intellectually and morally, though they may not be physically, the equals of men, and they may not possess the strength of their sinews. "Men are in Islam, in charge of women" because of this physical disability and because men spend their property for the support of women. It is true that women cannot claim equality with men in every respect. What Islam has given women is the equality of opportunities; for women are not debarred from pursuing independent vocations in life.

Education indispensable

Education is not the sole monopoly of one sex, for it is incumbent

upon every Muslim—male or female to be equipped with knowledge, but some of our Muslim brethren refuse to give the women the right which the *Holy Qur'an* and the Holy Prophet have given them. These believers in the word of God forget that women have been given the right to educate themselves. Moreover, we are told that higher education is not needed for women and they should be content with what little is imparted to them by way of elementary or primary education. Even this little is denied to most of our sisters. To fight this tendency in our men, the educated Muslim women should come out and strive to give our less fortunate sisters the blessings of education, without which our Muslim nation cannot take their rightful place in the fast advancing human family.

Early Muslim Women

Besides, Islam has given women the right to inherit property, which clearly shows that women can attain economic independence. Women are encouraged to take part in every walk of life, except that which involves great physical effort. Women are not even debarred from taking part in politics. The History of Islam testifies to the fact that Muslim women have actively participated in shaping the history of their times. Even our beloved Prophet Muhammad (may the blessing of God be upon him!) needed the help of his wife—Lady Khadija, whose inspiration, counsel, moral and material support contributed substantially and significantly to the success of his early mission. The Prophet himself has acknowledged the favours conferred by Khadija, the Mother of the Faithful on him. Further did not Lady Ayyish play an important role in politics for nearly half a century? Was not Hazrat Fatima, the Lady of light, there on the battle-field to-

gether with the Prophet to wash the blood from his mouth, along with other women who brought food-stuffs, nursed the men and even carried arms? There are innumerable instances in the history of Islam where women have performed heroic deeds. Razia Begum of India conducted the government herself. Take the example of the great Arab Queen Arwa, the Sulayhid of the Yemen about whom it is recorded that she not only presided over council of ministers and advised them about State affairs, but also conducted negotiations with foreign diplomats and planned masterly strategy in consultation with her generals.

Prison-walls Crumbling

These great Ladies of Islam could not have left their glorious record if they were confined by the sort of 'Pardah' practised in the India of to day. This kind of Pardah is the outcome of our ignorance and heathen influences on our customs and creed. The Pardah, as it now prevails in India, never existed in the early days of Islam. What the Muslim women practiced then was the Islamic modesty (*hijab*); but they were gradually consigned to seclusion, which the jealousy of men made stricter and stricter. Fortunately, in our own times with the proper orientation of Islam and due to our impact with Western civilisation a change has come over. Even our men are helping at times in bringing about the change! At first women were criticised, condemned and malignised when they came out of their prison-walls, but now they are getting back their freedom which was sanctioned by Islam. It is, however, a pity that some women have escaped from the devil and plunged into the deep, for they have accepted the wrong forms of social behaviour, have taken to aping Western women and failed to preserve that *hijab* or modesty which Islam enjoins.

It is gratifying to note that Muslim women, though in many respects backward, are not slow

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GO BACK TO VILLAGES

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rally it so often happens the illiterate and simple-minded villagers fall into the devilish clutches of the money-lenders. Once steeped in debt, they could free themselves from it only by finally selling away their lands. And many of them go town-wards, in search of a living in the mills and factories. Thereby much of the land has to remain fallow through insufficiency of work-hands, much to the detriment of the general prosperity of the country. But the hope of the country lies only in the resurrection of the village.

Modern innovations in methods of cultivation have to be introduced and research work carried out—all to develop farming and increase India's agricultural output. But before that the Indian farmer needs general education and guidance. He requires some one at the top to goad him to improve his lot and to guide him into better ways. Indeed the crying need of the rural parts is leaders with vision, intelligence and courage to lead the farmers to progress and prosperity, infusing them with a new life and spirit.

And here the youth of the country can play an important part. For, agriculture provides an opening for a good career for

the unemployed but educated youths. They should be animated by a spirit of sacrifice towards the cause of their country and come forward to become farm-managers. Even while in the colleges, the youths must take more interest in the rural reconstruction work and many of them should go in for a course in agriculture as a first step towards assuming later the profession of farm-managing, which is popular and considered noble in the Western countries.

The present day youngmen of our country must set an example for the generations to come and become pioneers in the field. Farm-managing is indeed a very responsible job requiring good education and skill and in a country which is backward in education, the task is all the more difficult and arduous, as they have to educate the farmers to better standards of cultivation and living and "whip" them up to work with enthusiasm and optimism leaving superstitious beliefs to the winds. Not only a scientific system of production but a systematic marketing of the produce will be an important factor in the work of the farm manager, who must exert to make his farm a model one for others to emulate.

If only he puts his heart and soul in it, any educated youth will find the profession both paying and exhilarating, beneficial to himself and to others. He will get an excellent opportunity to improve himself, better the lot of his brethren in the rural areas and thereby serve the cause of his country too.

The youth can thus enhance Government efforts to make the village a better and happier place to live in. The call from the village is urgent. Will the youth shake off their present mistaken notions of prestige, and respond to it? Yes they must go back to where they have come from.

WE, MUSLIM WOMEN

(Continued from page 24)

to realise that they have rights, responsibilities and duties. It fills the heart of every Muslim with pride when he hears the way the Muslim women of the Punjab conducted our freedom movement, holding our national flag aloft. *This proves that Muslim women are wide awake and aware of their responsibilities.* Unless the women prove their grit and work side by side with men it is impossible for us to preserve our well-earned freedom and to strengthen our solidarity and, for that we shall have to strive hard. We are singularly fortunate in having Mr. Muhammed Ali Jinnah as our leader. He has achieved marvels. From a rabble he has made a nation of us. He has given us a hope and an ideal, when everything looked so dismal to us and what more, he has achieved that ideal for us within a short span of seven years. He wants us to equip ourselves with education and to organise ourselves, to play our part in this struggle of our national existence. We cannot forget our duty towards our men. Behind every man there is a woman's force. She must be his guiding star. She has to prepare for the struggle which lies ahead. And for that our watchword should be *Faith, Unity and Discipline.*

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THE NEED OF THE HOUR

IN desperate struggle against overriding Hindu domination and British imperialism we have been so much pre-occupied with matters of the moment that our vision of the future is strangely obscured. There is a vague feeling that we are heading forward towards a situation when we may have to make a vital decision, but we are only dimly aware of the nature of the problems about to face us and press for solution. There is for example the problem of constitution for the Pakistan territories. This is a problem on which our minds should have been clear long ago and the main outlines of our policy should have been drawn up at about the same time when we declared Pakistan as our goal and ideal of political endeavour. That, I believe, could have removed much of misunderstanding in the non-Muslim minorities of Pakistan and allayed fears, erroneously entertained by them of Muslim domination. By committing ourselves to a well-defined policy we could have made convincingly plain to them that we do not envisage any form of political domination, as is popularly understood by it nor mean to aim at economic exploitation of those in the fold of Pakistan. Then we could have given definite assurances of our good intentions and well meaning and much of the opposition from other quarters might have been eliminated. That a clear and unambiguous expression of our future policy in Pakistan should come forth immediately without any further loss of time is essential. A separate constitution making body for Pakistan with no reservations and limitations emanating from the centre is a reality to day and we do feel the lack of a blue-print of that constitution which we intend to enforce in Pakistan so that now suddenly confronted as we are with the task of constitution making decisions of far-reaching and lasting importance, we are some what taken aback.

Our task is heavy indeed. A

Hindu Constituent Assembly, can choose and pick freely, without much risks, from the present Indian constitution and from the constitution of other advanced countries. That is most probably what it will do. On the other hand by our very demand of Pakistan we have committed ourselves in favour of a certain constitution, which though at present fallen out of use, hold promises of real salvation of Mankind. We have to proceed on this work with a conviction that Islamic principles and details of constitution as found in the Holy Quran and the authentic traditions are by far superior to any man-made constitution. This conviction is not an expression of any blind fanaticism on

BY

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our part but one which is born of a rational appreciation of the beauty and perfection of those principles. Our deliberate judgment is that in a constitution framed on the foundations of these principles we can do real justice to ourselves and to others. It is in fact not with a desire to impose something which we call 'ours' that we seek to do this but to be able to offer the greatest possible measure of justice to every member of the Pakistan Society.

In framing such a constitution we have obviously one great difficulty—that we have no complete pattern to fall upon. The different elements of the constitutional law are scattered about and they have to be pieced together. This task was undertaken by great Muslim constitutionalists of earlier periods to meet the needs of their own times but now the results of their labour can only be a guide for us, as conditions and requirements have undergone considerable changes. The progress of this land stopped

when Islam as a dynamic spiritual force in the political sphere ceased to be effectively operative. Therefore when we look to it over a distance of many centuries we find it strangely inadequate to meet our needs. Thus our present task is that proceeding on the fundamental principles and important out-lines of constitutional law as enunciated in the Holy Quran and the Tradition we have to rebuild the huge edifice of law in all its details. The Quran does not merely enunciate principles in part but one which is part of a rational appreciation of its teachings and spirit; it also give ample guidance for their further development. So this is a task though difficult but capable of being achieved.

The Muslim League should therefore immediately set up a committee of experts chosen from among scholars of Islamic law and of modern law. The best scholars of Islamic law will naturally be found among those associated with old schools of thoughts. But as Islamic law is no longer operative they have lost a sense of proportion and place equal emphasis on the important and the unimportant aspects of law and jealously oppose adjustments for which in fact Islam leaves enough scope. They are well meaning people and a valuable asset to Islam in as much as they kept alive their interest in Islamic law though with the loss of political power, its discussions have only an academic value. Their assistance is invaluable and without their co-operation we run the constant risk of misconstruing things or distorting them. They have only to be corrected and tempered by scholars of contemporary law. With their mutual assistance they are sure to evolve a complete system of land and also the out-lines of constitution which has to form a basis of our future administration. Such a committee will also serve as a sort of advisory committee to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and would assist in clearing constitutional issues that prop up.

ADMINISTRATION UNDER PAKISTAN

BY

SARDAR HAROON RASHID

SINCE the passing of the Pakistan resolution by the All-India Muslim League in 1940 it had been subjected to severe and scathing criticism by the non-Muslim Press and politicians. Many charges were also levelled against the would be Government of Pakistan. It is a matter of regret that in India a continent which was at one time peculiarly subject to the influence of the Saracenic civilization, a knowledge of their history and Government is a thing almost unknown. In order to get a true and graphic account of their civilization and Government it is necessary for the Hindu Journalists and politicians to know the social, economic and political developments of their life. Such a work might serve to remove many prejudices and bitterness.

Political System

The political ideology of Islam is inherently opposed to dictatorship in any form whether Fascism, Nazism or Nationalist Socialism. Islam propagates democracy. Islamic democracy is true and genuine democracy, a democracy in spirit and content. The type of democracy that Islam recognises is not based on man-made laws but on Divine Laws, the Shariat. The head of an Islamic State is to be elected by universal suffrage who should by no means be a dictator. He cannot wield absolute power nor can he repeal or over ride the ordinances of the Shariat. His authority is therefore subject to severe limitation. The first and the foremost principle of democracy, the equality of man is very lucidly enunciated to the world only by Islam. It propagates equality of man and the universal brotherhood among all the nations of the world irrespective of the

racess, creed or colour. The one thing which has been so largely responsible for promoting warfare in the world is the theory of "chosen races." The words of Allah in the Holy Quran, "Verily, the noblest among you in the eyes of Allah is he who is most righteous," sounds the death-knell of all the superiority and inferiority among men based on social or economic condition. Thus Islam lays down the basis of a vast brotherhood of man in which all men and women to whatever tribe or nation or caste or colour they may belong and whatever be their professions or ranks in society, the wealthy and the poor, have equal rights and obligations. Throughout the long history of its Government in different countries and over different races it had never encouraged separatist tendencies on grounds of blood and birth.

Protection of Minorities

Protection of the rights of the minorities is the most thorny problem now faced by politicians and statesmen of India. The two instances given below from the life of the Prophet of Islam are a clear indication of the form and type of Government under Islam under which the rights of the minorities are protected. When the centre of Islamic activities was shifted from Mecca to Medina the Muslims had to deal with the native Jews. The Muslim state had to look after both the Muslims and the Jews. The great foresight and political acumen of the Prophet of Islam is displayed in the charter he granted to the Jews in which, among other things, it was declared that they were as much the citizens of Medina as Muslims themselves, that the guilty would be punished whatever their faith might be and that both would be called upon to defend the State. In spite of

this, when Medina was threatened by the freebooters of Mecca the Jews revolted against the State. Undauntedly, the Prophet granted a charter of freedom to the Christians of Najran assuring them of their lives, property and religion, that they will have full liberty to practise their religion and that no cross or image would be destroyed.

Law and Justice

Quran lays down a correct estimate of the needs of man. It says supreme sacrifices in the cause of the rule of Law may be disliked by the individual, still they are enjoined as they ultimately lead to the good of all. This points out the antagonism, which is essential between the individual and the State and the possibility of sacrificing property, life and all one holds dearest in the cause of the collective good. Quran propounds the principle of retaliation in the matter of murder because without this sanction there will be no security of life. This legislation of the Holy Quran is not confined to crimes like theft, murder or to the great principle of retaliation but it also lays stress on the broad principle of evidence and even legal basis. The great prominence which this doctrine has in the Quranic system is evident from the qualifications and instructions given to the Judges. Judges are ordered to do justice and not to be led away by personal likes or dislikes, love or hate, and the witnesses are required to say the whole truth. The salutary principle is also laid down that whoever makes a false prosecution should be punished with an iron hand. These systems will adorn the system of any state, and whoever studies this with an unprejudicial mind must clearly see the feasibility of their world-wide application.

Social System

Holy Quran describes the universal brotherhood as the union of hearts. It enjoins upon all

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WHAT IS PAKISTAN?

BY
F. KRENKOW

(in 'Encyclopaedia of Islam')

PAKISTAN means the land of Paks. The word *Pak*—is not adequately translatable into English. It stands for all that is noble and sacred in life for a Muslim. The name Pakistan—which was originally applied to the Muslim Provinces in the North-West of the present-day India, and which now stands for the homeland of the Muslims in the North-East and the North-West as the citadel of the hundred million Indian Muslims—is composed of letters taken from the names of its original components Punjab, North-West Frontier (of which the inhabitants are mainly Afghan), Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan. These territories were christened Pakistan by C. Rahmat Ali, founder, of the Pakistan National Movement, in 1933, with a view to preserving their historical, national, and cultural entity as distinct from Hindustan proper.

The Movement is strongly opposed to the Indian Federation and, owing to the fear of being merged in, and submerged by, the over-whelming numbers of Hindus (the proportion being 4 Hindus to one Muslim), it resists amalgamation with Hindustan which it considers fatal to the future of the Muslims as an independent nation in the predominantly Muslim territories of Pakistan. The Pakistanis maintain that the Hindu-Muslim problem in the India of to-day is basically international rather than inter-communal; and that it will submit itself to a permanent solution on that basis alone. They claim that only the acceptance by Hindustan and Great Britain of the demand of Pakistan for the recognition of her right to national existence under her own national government will end the age-old Hindu-Muslim conflict.

The Pakistan National Movement aims at the reintegration of the Indian Muslim as a nation in Pakistan possessing equal

status with Hindustan, as also with other civilized people in the League of Nations. The supporters of the Movement have been carrying on intensive propaganda in support of their demand for national justice and honour in Asia, Europe, and America. For the first time since the fall of the Mughal Empire in India, the Movement has reawakened the Muslims in the *bi-national* sub-continent of India to a sense of their national future; and its religious and patriotic character has deeply attracted the younger generation to its ideals. It is a Movement which may, if successful, exercise a profound influence not only a Pakistan and Hindustan but, possibly, throughout Asia.

The Pakistan Movement has certainly not escaped the Hindu leaders, who aim at an independent India under the rule of the Congress and in order to obtain aid from the British Government, they have pointed out that the Movement constitutes not only a grave danger to the Hindus in the North-Western Provinces of India of to-day, but also to the British Government (*Lahore Tribune*, Oct. 12, 1935, and *Lahore Eastern Times*, June 16, 1934). Also the English Press of India and England faces danger as expressed in the *Delhi Statesman*, August 3, 1933; August 6, 1933; and the *Morning Post*, London, February 8, 1935.

Administration Under Pakistan

(Continued from page 27)

to do what is right and to prevent what is wrong. It advises the businessmen to weigh and measure their wares according to the standard weights, and that theft, adultery, scandal-mongering and other wrongs should be completely eradicated. These were not put forward as ideals alone but the proud Arabs were made to practise them.

Economic System

Islam can never tolerate, far less favour, any machinery so

framed as to secure economic advantage over the weaker sections of humanity. Within the framework of Islamic economic system there is no place for commercial hegemony or industrial oligarchy. The economic laws of Islam have been so framed as to effectively prevent accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few at the expense of many. The institution of Zakat, the obligatory surrender to the State of 2½% of the year's profit while it is a levy prescribed in the exclusive interest of the poor, has the effect of forcing wealth into circulation, and is therefore an effective measure against hoarding. Islam recommends a happy relation between the capital and labour and does not favour nationalization of labour by the State. It recognises individual enterprise and does not deny the individual the fruit of his enterprise.

Laws of War

Wars are to be fought only when one's religion is in danger of being wiped out or a major community persecutes the infant community or when there is danger of one's independence being snatched away.

Toleration

Toleration of religion is the most important point which has been left out purposely or otherwise by the politicians. "Unto you your religion, and unto me mine," sounds the meaning of toleration enjoyed by the peoples of other religions under Muslim rule.

Such is the State of Islamic conception which transformed the nomads of the desert into merchants, generals, conquerors, and statesmen and attained a state which was superior to those who now boast of a high and rich civilization.

Pakistan will therefore be governed by the laws of the Shari'at as laid down in the Holy Quran declaring equality of man unto man, preaching the gospel of large-hearted toleration, administering impartial justice, developing the faculties and resources of all the com-

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HOW WE WROUGHT FOR PAKISTAN

BY

AHMAD SHAFI

"SWEET", says Shakespeare, "are the uses of adversity, which like the toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious jewel in his head". How aptly this applies to the Sessions of the All-India Muslim League which met in Lahore early in 1940.

Soon after the start of the World War II, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha declared their political objectives which allowed the Mussalmans no better status than that of helots in a State run by caste Hindus. According to the accepted rules of the political game the Mussalmans were expected to define their goal before the British Government could disclose their policy towards India. The course of politics like that of true love never runs smooth. Just at this critical hour the Khaksars misjudged their might and thought that they would be able to force the issues in their own way. They hurled themselves against the forces of law and order and as was to be expected got shattered. The tragedy of this senseless clash diverted for the moment the attention of the Mussalmans from the constitutional issues and cast a gloom over the sessions of the League, not so much for the reason that the ideology or the methods of the Khaksars had struck a sympathetic chord in the Muslim heart but for the fact that a body of Mussalmans had suffered grievous loss of life at the hands of Government which claimed to protect the Muslim interests but in fact had failed to do so. It was from this ugly situation that the precious jewel of Pakistan resolution was fished out.

The Government of the day found itself in an awkward situation. The episode of the Khaksars had made its name stink in the nostrils of the Mussalmans. For practically the same reason the association of its Muslim half with the League created a suspicion in the Muslim mind whether it really meant well for

the Muslim cause. The first business of the workers of the League therefore was to disengage the fundamentals of the issue from the temporary phases of administrative policies and to pick out the grain from the chaff. This task was performed under every discouraging circumstances. A determined band of youngmen endowed by Providence with the zeal of youth coupled with the discretion of ripe age assisted by a tiny group of thoughtful writers doggedly held the field. The Pakistan resolution had heralded a revolutionary change in our politics which the elder politicians were slow to realize. They were naturally reluctant to respond to it. But they could not deny the justice of the cause nor could they plead with any show of reason that there was an alternative to it equally efficacious and beneficial. For a while they pursued a policy of drift thinking that the new movement would spend itself out into mere noise. It was a hard and long drawn out struggle to break down this apathy. Arguments after arguments were produced and facts were heaped upon facts to convert these doubting Thomases till at last their interest was aroused and the movement gained very valuable support. A harder nut to crack was the small but compact and influential block of men who hovered round those who exercised governmental patronage and bestowed privileges and custom. They believed that the bird in hand was worth two in a bush and relying on their worldly wisdom were afraid to help in the break up of the system from whose rotting carcases they sought their precarious sustenance. Being nearer governmental hierarchy a false sense of importance had grown round their persons. To win them over it became neces-

sary to expose the weakness of their props and to concentrate on the inevitability of the change. Fortunately for the Mussalmans the men in power were not of the calibre which could retain their allegiance for long or win over new elements to replace those which had broken away from them. Some ostensibly sat on the fence and did not know for a long time on which side to climb down. By an irony of fate a hostile element entered the field on the sly. The Hindu press and politicians soon left no choice for any Mussalmans but to fall in with the brethren of their faith. The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha purposely pursued their hostility to Mussalmans to extreme lengths so that they should in sheer despair of friendliness be driven to seek succour from the British and thus by their own choice put themselves in the wrong. The firm hand of our Qaid-e-Azam Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah at the helm steered us clear of this nasty fate. We planted our feet firmly on our own ground and steadily faced the future, helped by our own internal resources of courage, hope and faith. All this time a swarm of croakers and grumblers and defeatists kept humming round us like filthy flies of summer time—not that they mattered much, but they were annoying in their methods and delighted in creating situations which tried patience and shortened tempers.

The core of resistance which later developed into open obstruction was formed by the Ministers of State. The Constitution Act of 1935 had reduced the Muslim majority to the position of dependence upon the sweet will of the Hindus and the Sikhs. The initial mistake was made when the Muslims accepted equality with the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Governor's Cabinet. At first it appeared that the matters would adjust themselves satisfactorily subject to the exigencies of

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How We Wrought For Pakistan

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personal equation between the Governor and his Ministers. The Governors however, changed but not this proposition. Another mistake was made in the selection of personnel and the third was made in the distribution of portfolios. The cumulative effect of all these ill judged actions was to give the administration a tilt away from the Muslim interests. The agrarian laws did no more than scratch the surface and in their working benefitted all the communities in almost direct proportion to their numbers in the Province. But the industry and trade and commerce of the province was allowed to pass into the hands of the Hindus.

The administrative policies betrayed that the Muslim Ministers were not pulling their weight either because they did not realize their responsibility to their constituents or were unable to make themselves felt. To gloss over this incompetence a vicious plea was developed that in Provincial matters the Mussalmans should steer their own course while in All-India affairs they associated themselves with the Mussalmans of other Provinces. The idea was to defy the All-

India Muslim League with the help of the Hindus who continued to receive inspiration from the Congress and the Maha Sabha and the Sikhs who allowed themselves to be used as the tools of the Hindus. In pursuance of this policy shady tactics were employed to evade the implications of the Pakistan resolution which demanded the reconstruction of Provincial Ministry and the reorientation of governmental policies. Long and loud and acrimonious and bitter was the controversy that raged round this evil excuse. The Muslim Ministers instead of veering round to the Muslim League clung closer to their Hindu and Sikh Colleagues who could then do as they pleased to promote the interests of their respective communities, even to the extent of gravely prejudicing the interests of the Mussalmans. This state of affairs assumed scandalous proportions and all responsible sections of Muslim opinion became disgusted. Their patience was exhausted and one fine morning the Muslim section of the Unionist gang was forced to declare their true allegiance. It is true

that from tons of dross we could pick up only a few grains of gold but the process gathered tremendous momentum by an incredibly silly action of the authorities. A young Minister who had won his election on the League ticket was eliminated under very thin excuse. If some one thought it would kill the League he must have received the surprise of his life when he later saw that the whole province embraced the creed of the League. This sorry episode shook to its depths a class which had so far remained indifferent to the arguments of the politicians. Something must have gone very much wrong, they thought, that such things could happen with such ease. No, this could not be tolerated, they opined, and in the next general election they elbowed out without ceremony the crowd that had held the field for over nine years. The general elections sounded the death knell of the Unionist squatters and the Province heaved a sigh of relief. At this stage in sheer cussedness the Congress forgot all its principles except its hostility to the League and in pursuance of it, it lent its support to the very elements whom the Muslim Punjab had beaten in fair election. It did more than that—it entrenched a stooge of bureaucracy in position of power which legitimately belonged to the Muslim League. And all this was done by a man who calls himself a Mussalman and pretends to serve their interests. Hypocrisy and self delusion are sister vices and this particular dignitary seems to have been amply endowed with them.

These sorry episodes revealed more than ever before another danger of which we had not been quite unaware but which we had never expected would confront us in the manner and to the extent it did. The Constitution Act had made the Governor an autocrat and an autocrat he has proved himself to be. The League could not pull its weight against him for the sufficient reason that the Communal Award

Each and all

Eat and Enjoy

HEARTS' DELIGHT
CONFECTIONARIES



IT IS ENTIRELY A MUSLIM CONCERN



2/153, BROADWAY, MADRAS

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THE DAWN

[By Leslie Bivas]

I stand upon the brink of night
As morn approaches slow;
And patiently await the light
Of dawn's fair crimson glow.

"When will it come?" myself I ask,
"When will the dawn break clear?"
Who will remove the horrid mask
From India's face so dear?

With dawn will come prosperity,
And woe and strife subside;
O, cast away adversity,
Gain freedom at a stride.

Yea, life is sweet with dance and song
Why waste it like the beast?
Come let's unite, for strife is wrong;
And dawn breaks in the East.

Come brother man and sit with me,
Let's drink and talk and eat;
Let bygones ever bygones be,
As friends henceforth to meet.

Thus in our sacred unity,
The pow'rs of evil kill'd,
Dawn will awake serenity
And India's strife be still'd.

Task Before the Youths

(Continued from page 22)

possible for their forefathers is as much possible for them too, provided they pattern their life on the same lofty principles of Islam as their ancestors did. It will also be possible if they unite and act instead of indulging

only in a crusade of words. They too can once again establish new traditions and make new history. Therefore action must be the watch word of the Muslim Youth; for, rightly has Hazrath Ali said: "Action is the word of Allah; Passive thought is but its shadow."

Today the need of the hour is

How We Wrought for Pakistan

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had shorn the Samson of hair. However, that may be the King Demos refuses to be beaten.

[This period of intrigue, of sufferings, of tears, toils and tribulations for the Mussalmans has, at last come to an end with the June 3rd statement of the British Government, although Muslim Punjab had to pay much in blood and bones, lives and limbs, heads and skulls even after this date, in communal clashes riots and fracas. The Province has been divided through a British-Bania alliance and while western Punjab has become the promised land of freedom, of faith—Pakistan—the eastern part has been left at the tender mercies of the Congress demi-gods and Sikhs blood-hounds. But we are confident that the blood, toils and labours, the people in this part are undergoing, as their larger fraternity in the different minority provinces, will be temporary and before long, they will rise in strength and stature and conserve and consolidate their energies, resources and potentialities, inherent and latent in them as to make their enslavers shake in their shoes and thus they will hold aloft, we are confident the proud banner of Islam—Editor.]

action—yes action, action, action and nothing else! It is time for us to march ahead. Other nations are making history and are adding new records to it. Time beckons to us and say: "March on! Let not the posterity point its accusing finger at you and say that while other nations were making history you were just turning the page of history."

"Budgetary Position of Pakistan"

BY
PROF. M. RIAZUDDIN AHMAD

It has become almost customary to challenge the budgetary position of the proposed Muslim State - Pakistan. Unfortunately this aspect has been left so awfully unexplored that even those of the League point of view feel obliged to sleep over the challenge and accept the opponents' deficit theory *ipso facto*. It might, therefore, be useful to provide below some outstanding facts and figures about the revenue and expenditure of Pakistan, and see whether the deficit theory can be upheld by an impartial verdict.

Before analysing the data available it would be necessary to proceed with the following assumptions and explain. Firstly, the component units of Pakistan will enjoy a much more independent position than the existing provinces do, and as such they will have full freedom over the use of their revenues. This would result into a clear doubling of the revenues of Muslim provinces, for they would become independent of the Centre, which usurps almost the same amount of their total revenues as is raised by them for local use. In normal times the total revenue raised by the Centre from Muslim provinces was 30.74 lakhs against Rs. 24.52 lakhs which they were able to raise for themselves. In the case of some provinces when taken separately, the share of the centre was more than double.

Secondly, while the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League is not unequivocal about the position and status of the Pakistan Centre, it may be assumed that the Muslim Centre if any will be a loose one, something like the one which has been proposed by the British Cabinet Mission for the Union of India. This would mean a drastic curtailment of the financial requirements of the centre.

Thirdly, as an independent State, it would be necessary for Pakistan to cut short the top heavy expenditure of provinces as well as the centre. If a even

reduction of 25 per cent is effected a big saving may easily be made.

Fourthly, the maintenance of the centre will be a common responsibility of the component units, who would supplement and subsidize the finances of the Centre according to an agreed principle. Thus the provinces, which had hitherto been subsidised by the Centre will begin to subsidize the centre.

Fifthly, for the sake of argument let us further assume that no new sources of revenue will be expected and the industries would remain steady on the same level.

With these assumptions the budgetary position may be summed up thus (Figures are in Lakhs of Rupee.)

Item.	1939-40 Revenue	Expen.	1944-45 Revenue	Expen.	Remarks
Railway	6.71	6.00	19.25	19.00	Expenses estimated roughly maximum. Correct figures not available.
Post & Tele.	0.20	0.23	4.11	0.34	At the worst Defence income in the peace time will remain the same as in normal times, while the expenditure may be raised to the level of existing prices.
Debt services	0.24	4.09	0.48	6.78	
Currency & Mint.	0.30	0.14	3.33	0.78	
Defence	5.89	55.17	5.89	97.65	
	13.34	65.63	33.06	1,24.55	

To the revenue side may now be added provincial surpluses which were Rs. 30.40 lakhs on the basis of 1939-40 and Rs. 1,03.02 on the basis of 1944-1945. The revenue and expenditure figures of the centre thus come to Rs. 43.74 and Rs. 65.63 lakhs respectively for the former and Rs. 1,36.08 and 1,24.55 lakhs for the latter year.

Under this arrangement there is deficit of Rs. 2,189 lakhs at the Centre during the pre-war year and a surplus of Rs. 1,553 lakhs in the war year. Here it should be remembered that all figures except that of defence have been apportioned to the population of Muslim provinces. Thus we find that on the basis of

normal years we can maintain only about 60 per cent of the present armed forces of India, while on the basis of the war year it would be possible for us to maintain in Pakistan as big an army as was maintained, in the whole of India during normal times, and yet there would be a surplus of about 1100 lakhs.

One may now object that under this arrangement whole of the provincial surplus in normal years and most of it during the war time is eaten up by the Centre. What, therefore, would happen to economic developments and how would it be possible for the present standard of living to rise? The answer is easy. By cutting the top heavy expenditure of the centre as well as the

provinces by 25 % we can make another saving of Rs. 8 crores a year. This, plus any other surpluses arising out of the development of economic life, may suffice for the purpose. It might be interesting to note here that the cost of development and planning estimated by the Government of India for the whole country is Rs. 8 crores, while according to V. Visvesvaraya it comes to 10 crores per annum.

From what has been revealed above it is difficult to admit that there is going to be a State of absolute bankruptcy in Pakistan. Some arrangement must indeed be possible, if not the above one, to set its financial machinery going on a perfectly sound basis.

HIJRAT OR MIGRATION

In the Light of Holy Qur'an from places where Islam is being Persecuted and Suppressed

Mr. S.M. Jalil, the author of this article is one of those few Muslims whose tragic fate it was to witness the blood-curdling and heart-rending scenes that was Bihar last November and were spared to tell their gruesome, gory tale to the world. In this brilliant article which he has been kind enough to contribute to our Souvenir, he with commendable precision and force proves the fact how migration, in cases such as Bihar, is not against the tenets of Islam and the injunctions of Quran.

He had been the editor of "New Life", an English weekly and had to pay securities more than once for his outspoken comments and criticisms, directed on the attitude of the Government towards Muslims. He is now publishing a book on 'Migration', a portion of which, we have the honour to reproduce here. The book is dedicated to the "VANGUARD OF ISLAM". and can be had from Messrs Shaik Mohamad Ashraf, Book-sellers & Publishers, Lahore.

Since this was written he has quitted Bihar and is now in western Pakistan.—Ed.

"THE VANGUARD (OF ISLAM) .

THE FIRST OF THOSE WHO FORSOOK

(THEIR HOMES) AND OF THOSE

WHO GAVE THEM AID, AND (ALSO)

IN (ALL) GOOD DEEDS, -

WELL-PLEASED IS GOD WITH THEM.

AS THEY ARE WITH HIM:

FOR THEM HATH HE PREPARED

GARDENS UNDER WHICH RIVERS FLOW,

TO DWELL THEREIN (FOR EVER) :

THAT IS THE SUPREME FELICITY. "

(Sura Tauba, 100 - The holy Qur'an)

INTRODUCTION

AFTER what has happened in Bihar, U. P. and Bombay Presidency, there seems to be no alternative left to the Muslims of Hindu majority Provinces but to migrate to the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal, the Punjab, Sind or the N. W. F. P. In Bihar, small number of Muslims, living in isolated villages in the remotest interior since time immemorial,

were attacked without any provocation from their side or warnings by neighbouring Hindus some times exceeding 50,000 or more. The Muslims, matched as they were 1 against 1000, put up a heroic fight reminiscent of the early mujahideens. But ultimately as was natural, they were overpowered and killed in most barbarous manners. Women old and ailing were butchered with fiendish and bestial frenzy.

Edited by :
S. M. JALIL,
Editor, "New Life"

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Even babes in the mother's lap were speared or dashed to the ground. The Muslims were killed because they were Muslims and not because of difference in political ideology. The congressists and the nationalist Muslims met the common fate of the Mussalmans although they follow the politics of the Hindus and are opposed to the ideals, aspirations and objectives of the Mussalmans.

The Muslim minorities form a small percentage as against the overwhelming Hindu majorities in Bihar, U. P., Orissa, C. P., Madras and Bombay. After the clear signs and warnings in Bihar, U. P. and Bombay presidency, it will be fatal and a national folly to ignore the shadows which the coming events have thrown so unmistakably. The next attack, which is bound to come in course of time, and in fact for which preparations are afoot, will be much more organised and ruthless and with full state support. Qaed-e-Azam recently declared in Delhi before foreign correspondents : "As soon as Pakistan is achieved this tension which exists, and will continue - that one nation is going to rule the other - will cease. These minorities will then settle down as minorities.. They will realise minorities can live only as minorities and not as a dominant body." Mr. Jinnah added : "At present the position is this. That minorities in Muslim zones naturally don't want Pakistan, because, with the backing and instigation of Hindu majorities all over India they are encouraged and are dominating Muslim majorities. Once they realise that they have to live as minori-

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thing after some time, may be a year or two years or five years, under circumstances much more adverse and inimical and in conditions of lawlessness and chaos.

The writer of these lines handed over to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, on the 5th of November '46, the following tentative proposals: "The Bihar Mussalmans, who have seen murder of their whole family and some times of their whole village, can only go back to their homes on guarantee of protection of their lives and honour from the Hindus and the Government of Bihar. After the present and past experiences, there can absolutely be no point in the assurance of the Hindus. Also the Government being of the Hindu majority is bound to reflect, in the matter of protection of the Muslim minority, the mental attitude of the majority community of Bihar which perpetrated, for more than half a month, carnage, loot and arson on a scale unprecedented in world history. Besides, the Mussalmans of Bihar cannot go back with any dignity to their homes in villages and towns - the places which witnessed their extreme humiliation, shame and degradation - not atleast for the present. The following, therefore, may be examined carefully as a basis of solution of the unprecedented situation:—

1. The Muslims of Bihar should be assigned an exclusive area in the province.

2. There should be real Hindu-Muslim settlement on All India basis.

3. The Muslims of Bihar should migrate to Bengal or other Muslim majority provinces.

Note:—The Government of Bihar would not agree to No. 1. No. 2 has been tried and failed. The gulf today between the Hindus and the Muslims has widened to the extreme limit. In the face of the all round Hindu intransigence and arrogance, any effort in this behalf would be cause of demoralisation among the Mussalmans. No. 3 may prove to be a feasible and the only solution."

Suggestions were made to the Government of Bihar by Mr. Firoze Khan Noon, Al-haj Khawja Nazimuddin, who came to Bihar on the first information and are rendering great service to their smitten co-religionists in Bihar, to (a) assign exclusive areas to the Muslims, and (b) to arm them. The proposals were turned down by the Government of Bihar. It has to be admitted that the proposal, although solving partly the present difficulties left the question of minorities unsolved. A similar proposal was made by the Bengal delegates to the recent session of the Congress at Meerut to divide Hindu and Muslim Bengal.* Such proposals in fact amount to creating tiny 'Pakistan' and 'Akhand Hindustan' in Hindu majority provinces and Muslim majority provinces.

The alternatives left are exchange of population, as demanded by Qaed-e-Azam, and *Hijrat* or migration. Exchange of population is a Western expedient and has not been found to be very happy. It has a great element of compulsion. It seems that the Sikhs and Hindu minorities in the Muslim majority

* Bengal and the Punjab have since been divided.

ties, then I think you will have really a stable and secure government in Pakistan and Hindustan. Why should there be a national quarrel? The position is reduced to a much smaller plane, that is, how best can the minorities be protected and safeguarded in the two states. Unless you say we are reduced to bestiality I do not see any reason why the Muslim majority in Pakistan should not deal with the minorities in a most generous manner?" Muslim minorities, nowhere, dominate Hindu majorities. Muslim majorities even now deal with more than 'most generous manners' with Hindu minorities. 3000 Muslims are shut up in jails, without trial, for 185 killed, according to the Bengal Government's statement. But in Bihar for 5000 killed, according to the Bihar Government's admission, barely 1500 have been arrested but easily released on bail. Even after the political issues have been settled, including the agreed constitution of Pakistan and Hindustan, the Muslim minorities will be as bad, if not worse, as they are today. What is happening today will happen more frequently tomorrow. Those who will not take heed of the actualities now and do what they can do now, will have to do the same

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HIJRAT

provinces are satisfied with the generous treatment of the Muslim governments—to our shame, in the Punjab and N. W. F. P. through a handful of Muslim traitors they were ruling over us—and entertain no fear regarding their future. If it is so, they should not be forced to leave their hearth and home. The best solution, therefore, of the situation is the Islamic solution of *Hijrat* or migration of the Muslims themselves: wherein there is no compulsion for the non-Muslims to leave the Islamic countries. This meets the objection of Sardar Swaran Singh, the Sikh leader, and partly of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's. Sir Setalvad's other portion of the statement is based on ignorance of Islamic Commandments and Inhibitions and Muslim history. *Hijrat* or migration is not 'fantastic and impracticable' but severely practical. As to the business and commercial interests of Chinoys, Habibs, Munjees, Rahimtoolas, the Yusufis and Killedars stated by Sir Setalvad, the verses of the Holy Qur'an quoted in this booklet are explicit.

Sardar Patel has described Qaid-e-Azam's proposal for exchange of population as an "absurd" one which "can never materialise." He has paid, as usual, little regard to decency in language. No one, who has knowledge of men and matters in this country, will feel disappointed by the complete absence of courtesy and dignity, which is cultivated in the formative period of a man's life, in the public utterance of Sardar Patel. The Sardar has given his statement in anger, as is now common with Hindu leaders. He has not adduced any convincing reason for believing that the Muslims from the South of India will never agree to migrate to the North. The Muslims of Bihar, in considerable numbers, have already migrated to the four corners of India—to Bengal, Baluchistan, the Punjab and Sind. It is indeed difficult for

Gandhi, Patel, Setalvad and even Mr. Azad to value and assess an issue in the spirit of Islam unless they first accept the eternal truth when every thing will be simple and clear. I cannot do better than quote the masterly comment of Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss) the famous Translator and commentator "Sahih Al-Bukhari":—

"The *hijrah* of the Prophet and his Companions to Madinah heralded an entirely new era in the history not only of Islam but of the world. Thanks to the support offered by the *Ansar*, the Prophet was able to realise the aim for which he had hitherto striven in vain: the establishment of a theocratic polity, the first of its kind in the world. All organisations on a theocratic or semi-theocratic basis before Islam had been limited by narrow conceptions of tribal homogeneity; thus, in the early theocratic state of the Jews when God was supposed to rule, it was necessarily the God of the Children of Israel alone. In the structure of Islamic thought, considerations of descent or tribal adherence never had any room; but the true significance of this attitude was not fully realised until the *hijrah*. While the Muslims were still in Mecca, Islam affected mostly Quraysh, their slaves or freedmen, and a few individuals from other tribes. To many of the non-Muslim Quraysh it appeared to be no more than a local extravagance, albeit very unpleasant to the conservative mind of the Meccans. But the *hijrah* changed everything. Suddenly it became clear both to Muslims and non-Muslims that *Islam aimed at much more than a mere moral re-orientation of man*, as was the case with Christianity, or the fulfilment of a national destiny with the help of the moral imperative, as was the case with Judaism: with the migration of the Prophet

and his Companions to Yathrib it became clear that *Islam aspired, among other things, to the establishment of a self-contained political community which cut across the conventional divisions of tribe and race*. The fire of persecution, endured for more than a decade, had purified and steelled the minds of the Muslims. But more than this; it had helped them to realise that ties of tribal kinship were of no importance as compared with the higher loyalty towards an idea. The new conception of a brotherhood of men united not by bonds of blood-relationship but by their consciousness of common outlook on life and common aspirations, found its expression in the Islamic principle of an organisation open to everyone—of whatever race or colour he be—who stands for the common ideal, and closed to everyone, even one's nearest kinsman, in case he refuses to accept the same. And more than thirteen centuries before this century of ours, which has elevated the conception of "nationality" to the status of Godhead, Islam unfolded before the world the dazzling spectacle of an idealistic—but none the less severely practical—commonwealth which was spiritually as far ahead of any society conceived on "national" lines as a motor car is ahead of ox cart. The *hijrah* of the Holy Prophet and his Companions to Madinah became the living symbol of this development." (Vol. V—Page 201.)

It is difficult to meet Mr. Gandhi's arguments. They are simple and appealing and yet misleading. Says Mr. Gandhi, "Every province is of every Indian, be he a Hindu, Muslim or of any other faith." This statement would have been true if made yesterday, during British rule—now in process of liquidation in favour of aggressive Hinduism. Today this assertion

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is completely opposed to truth. Why cannot Mr. Gandhi and his followers make an experiment of facing facts squarely? Nothing will be lost and everything may be gained by a shift on truth and actualities. Then, one cannot be sure by any means that Mr. Gandhi's views are considered and final. On 6th January 1940 Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan* :—

"I have suggested *Hijrat*. I repeat the suggestion. It is not unpractical. People do not know its value. High and mighty have been known to have resorted to it before now. Planned *Hijrat* requires courage and forethought. The second book of the Old Testament is known as Exodus. It is an account of the planned flight of the Israelites. In exile they prepared for a military career. In modern times we have the example of the flight of Doukhobours from Russia owing to persecution. There was no military career. On the contrary they were non-violent. There is, therefore, nothing wrong dishonourable or cowardly in self-imposed exile. India is a vast country. Though poor, it is well able to admit of intermigration, specially of those who are capable, hard-working and honest."

Again on 3rd February 1940 he wrote in *Harijan* :—

My advice to migrate is for all who feel oppressed and cannot live without loss of self-respect in a particular place. If the Muslims, where they are in a minority, were really oppressed and they sought my advice, I should give them the same advice that I have given to the Hindus." (Shareef, *The Star*, Bombay.)

The presidential address of Mr. Kripalani recently delivered at the Meerut session of the Congress suggests migration or exchange of population. He says,

"Nor can the rest of India be reasonably expected to harbour large section of population in its midst who openly repudiate their citizenship in that state. If the Muslim League claims Pakistan on religious and communal grounds, let it face all its implications and not try to eat the cake and yet have it. This is a terrible solution, as detrimental in the long run to the Moslem interests as to the Hindus, but it is a logical consequence of the communalism with which the League is infecting its followers and which is making a common civilised life difficult." This view of the Congress president is on the lines of Dr. Rajendra Prasad's as expressed in the addendum to the second edition of his book, "India Divided". In this connection it will not be out of place to quote the editorial of "New Life" :—

"Dr. Rajendra Prasad has written an addendum to the second edition of his book "India Divided" with a view to bringing it up to date. Dr. Rajendra Prasad examines the three alternatives proposed by Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah in the interview granted to Mr. Donal Edwards of the BBC. Mr. Jinnah had said, "Those areas, like Madras for instance, will have three courses open to them: they may accept citizenship of the State in which they are; they may remain there as foreigners; or they can come to Pakistan; I will welcome them. There is plenty of room. But it is for them to decide." Examining the three alternatives, Dr. Prasad says that a state may lay down restrictions on foreigners acquiring citizenship and even to prohibit it altogether. In regard to the second alternative, he says that Hindustan will not be bound to allow foreigners, particularly Muslims, who are in such large numbers, to remain on its territory. Referring to the third alternative, Dr. Prasad admits that the Mussalmans of Hindustan can leave Hindustan and go

to Pakistan, but they cannot carry away with them their lands and houses, even if they are allowed and are in a position to take away their movables like cash, jewellery, cattle and furniture. Hindustan will not be bound to give any compensation for what they leave behind.

The three alternatives proposed by Mr. Jinnah and critically analysed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad apply equally to Hindus in Pakistan. To the first alternative, Dr. Prasad is inclined to favour prohibition of the right of acquiring citizenship; to the second also, Dr. Prasad is adverse to allow foreigners, particularly the Muslims, to remain on its territory. Thus the only course left open to the Mussalmans by the learned doctor is to migrate to Pakistan. But here also, while Dr. Prasad is willing to allow the Mussalmans to go to Pakistan, he is unwilling that they be allowed to take away with them any of their properties, movables or immovables.

It is difficult to believe that these are the arguments emanating from the cool, and usually balanced, brain of Dr. Rajendra Prasad or the mad utterances of a rabid Mahasabhaite. Dr. Prasad should be knowing that the Mussalmans in Pakistan will have the same rights and powers as the Hindus in Hindustan. Any ghetto measure promulgated in Hindustan will be suitably dealt with in Pakistan. We do not know on what international authority Dr. Prasad has based his suggestion that the Mussalmans, as foreigners, will not be allowed to take with them their properties. If it comes, however, to this position, the Mussalmans will not be unhappy to leave behind what they have here, in Hindustan, and take possessions of what the Hindus will have to leave in Pakistan. We hope, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in blind communalism, will not sug-

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gest things which will harm the Hindus much more than harming the Muslims." (*New Life*, 7th June, 1946.)

While the Hindus, their leaders and the entire Hindu press are so openly inimical and hostile to the Muslims, it is indeed strange that they should show so much anxiety for the future of the Muslims and oppose the proposal of migration in the interests of the Musalmans themselves. The fact of the matter is that the Hindus have not entirely given up the ambition of dominating the whole of India.

I had completed this little book on 5-12-1946 while in Patna my place of birth and residence till yesterday. Unlike Mr. Gandhi I could not ignore the stern realities, as many millions of Bihar Muslims find today, that 'every province is not of every Indian if he is a MUSLIM' and consequently migrated to Eastern Pakistan—Bengal. (Since then, the author has migrated to Karachi, the *Dar-us-Saltanat-e-Pakistan*.—Ed.)

(Continued from Col. 3)

Owing to the unrelenting persecution which the early Muslims had to suffer at the hands of the pagan Quraysh, the Prophet decided to send his followers away from Mecca. He himself and a few persons with him were comparatively safe owing to the protection afforded to them by Abu Talib; but the same did not apply to the rest of his followers. They resolved to migrate to Ethiopia, which was ruled by Christian kings who afforded to every one full freedom of belief and worship. So it came about that in the month of Rajab in the fifth year of the Prophet's Mission, about a dozen Muslim men and four women left Mecca secretly and embarked for Ethiopia where they were friendly received by the Negus

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"When Angels Take
The Souls Of Those
Who Die In Sin
Against Their Souls,
They Say: "in What (Fight)
Were Ye?" They Reply:
"Weak And Oppressed
Were We In The Earth."
They Say: "Was Not
The Earth Of God
Spacious Enough For You
To Move Yourselves Away
(From Evil)? "Such Men
Will Find Their Abode
in Hell.
What An Evil
Refuge: -"

—Sura Nisa, 97 - The Holy Qur'an

1. THE immediate occasions for this passage was the question of migration (*hijrat*) from places where Islam was being persecuted and suppressed. Obviously the duty of Muslims was to leave such places, even if it involved forsaking their homes, and join and strengthen the Muslim community among whom they could live in peace and with whom they could help in fighting the evils around them. But the meaning is wider. *Islam* does not say: "Resist not evil." "On the contrary it requires a constant, uneasy struggle against evil. For such struggle it may be necessary to forsake home and unite and organise and join our brethren in assaulting and overthrowing the fortress of evil. For, the Muslim's duty is not only to enjoin good but to prohibit evil. To make our assault we must be prepared to put ourselves in a position from which such assault would be possible, and God's earth is spacious enough for the purpose. "Position" includes not only local position, but moral and material position. For exam-

ple, we must shun evil company where cannot put it down, but organise a position from which we can put it down. (The Holy Qur'an, English Translation and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali.)

The latter portion is obligatory. It is the duty of Muslims - Except those who are (Really) weak and oppressed - Men, women, and children - who have no means, in their power, nor a guide - post to direct their way. For these, there is hope That God will forgive: For God doth blot out (sins) And forgive again and again. - to move away from the places of evil. If they do not do so there is punishment for them: "Such men will find their abode in Hell - What an evil refuge!" Editor.

2. The Migration to Ethiopia. "A'ishah said: The Prophet said: I was shown (in dream) the goal of your migration - a land of palm-trees between two tracts of black stones. - And those who had resolved upon migration migrated thereupon to Madinah; and most of those had (previously) migrated to the country of Ethiopia returned to Arabia and betook themselves to Madinah."

(Continued in Col. 1.)

HLJRAT OBLIGATORY

Ashamae, who had evidently strong leanings towards the doctrine of pure *tawhid* preached by the Prophet of Islam. This first emigration to Ethiopia made a profound impression on the minds of the pagan Quraysh, who realised that the Muslims were prepared to sacrifice everything, even home and country, for the sake of their faith. Soon afterwards, the emigrants learned of Umar's conversion to Islam, and some of them returned to Mecca: for so great was the prestige of this extraordinary personality that the exiles could not believe that after his conversion the Meccans would still persecute the Muslims. But their hopes were soon frustrated. Umar's conversion caused such a resentment among the Quraysh that they redoubled their efforts to crush the Muslims. When the persecution became unbearable, the Prophet ordered his followers again to migrate to Ethiopia. In this second migration more than eighty men and eighteen women participated, for the Muslim community had perceptibly grown after Umar's conversion. Soon afterwards, the Quraysh sent a deputation to Ethiopia praying that the emigrants be forced to return to Mecca. (See No. 4) But the Negus was by this time fully convinced of the divine origin of the 'prophets, teachings, and he firmly refused to surrender the fugitives. About one half of them returned later to Mecca when they heard that the Companions had begun to migrate to yathrib! a few died in Mecca or were imprisoned there by the pagan Quraysh, and the rest reached Madinah. The remaining emigrants, led by Ja'far ibn Abi Talib, came to Madinah in the year 7 A. H. — *Sahih*

Al. Bukhari English Translation and Commentary, by Muhammed said (Leopold weiss) Vol. V—page 174.

3. "A" islah, the Prophet's wife, said: I do not remember my parents otherwise than as followers of the (true) religion. No day passed without the Apostle of God coming to us in the morning and in the evening. When the Muslims began to be persecuted' Abu Bakr set out with the intention of migrating to the country of Ethiopia, and reached Bark al-Ghimad. (There) Ibn ad-Daghinah, the chief of (the tribe of) al-Qarah, met him and said: Whereto goest thou, O Abu Bakr? - Abu Bakr answered, My People have made me leave (my country). Now I am going to wander through the world and to worship my Sustainer. - Thereupon Ibn ad-Daghinah said: Behold, a man such as thou art, O Abu Bakr, should not leave (his country), nor should he be driven away. Thou bringest gain to the destitute, and art kind to thy kindred, and supportest the weak, and art bounteous towards the guest, and helpeth those in genuine distress. Behold, I shall be thy protector; Return and worship thy Sustainer in thine own country. - Thereupon (Abu Bakr) returned, and Ibn ad-Daghinah accompanied him.

In the evening (after their arrival in Mecca), Ibn ad-Daghinah visited the nobles of the Quraysh one, by one and spake to them thus: Behold, a man like Abu Bakr should not leave (his country), nor should he be driven away. Do ye drive away a man who bringeth gain to the destitute, is kind to his kindred, supporteth the weak, is bounteous toward the guest, and helpeth those in genuine distress? - The Quraysh could not disregard the protection offered by Ibn ad-Daghinah, and so they said unto him: Bid, then, Abu

Bakr worship his Lord in his own house. He may pray and recite there as much as he liketh, but he shall not trouble us therewith, and shall not do it openly, for behold, we fear lest he lead astray our women and children.

Ibn ad-Daghinah reported this to Abu Bakr. And Abu Bakr did such-wise for a certain time. He worshiped his Lord in his house, and did not pray openly, nor did he recite (the Quran) outside his own house. Thereafter Abu Bakr changed his mind, and built a mosque in front of his house, where he prayed and recited the Qur'an. The women and children of the idolaters would throng about him, looking at him in wonder. And Abu Bakr often wept, for he had no power over his eyes whenever he recited the Qur'an. This caused anxiety to the nobles of the idolatrous Quraysh, and they sent for Ibn ad-Daghinah. He came unto them, and they said: We accepted thy protection of Abu Bakr on the condition that he worship his Lord in his house. Now he hath violated this (condition); he hath built a mosque in front of his house, and openly prayeth and reciteth therein. Behold, we are now afraid lest he lead astray our women and children. Forbid him, therefore, (to do this). If he choose to confine the worship of his Lord to his own house, he may do so. But if he persists in doing it openly, demand of him that he release thee from thy obligation to protect him, - in which case the Quraysh would be free to do violence to Abu Bakr - for we are loath to break our compact with thee. We never gave Abu Bakr the right to act openly.

A'ishah continued: Thereupon Ibn ad-Daghinah went to Abu Bakr and said: Thou knowest well what undertaking I gave on thy

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behalf. Now, either keep to it or release me from my obligation to protect thee. For, behold, I do not wish the Arabs to hear that an undertaking which I gave on behalf of another man hath been broken. Abu Bkr answered: Then, behold, I release thee from thy promise to protect me, and I shall be content with the protection of God, the Lord of Might and Glory.

At that time the Prophet was in Mecca. And he spake thus to the Muslims: I have been shewn (in dream) the goal of your migration — a land of palm-trees between two tracts strewn with black stones. These are the two stony, rugged tracts (near Madinah). Those who had resolved upon migration migrated thereupon to Madinah; and most of those who had (previously) migrated to the country of Ethiopia returned (to Arabia and betook themselves) to Madinah.

—Sahih Al-Bukhari

English Translation and commentary by Muhammad-Asad (Leopold weiss)—Vol. V—Page 206—209.

4. The Idolaters' Enraged:

It will be interesting, in this connection, to read the editorial of *The Indian Nation*, Patna — an

English daily representing Hindu Mahasabha views — owned by the Maharaja-Dhiraja of Darbhanga. Writing under heading "Extremely Disturbing" on Friday, December 6, 1946 the paper says:—

It is extremely disturbing to learn that there has been a heavy influx of "refugees" into West Bengal from Bihar. Sir Walter Gurner, Bengal's Relief Commissioner, gave out in a Press Conference at Calcutta that there were 16000 such "refugees" at Asansol, and that some refugees were also going to Dinajpur. The number of refugees in other parts of Bengal are not disclosed. The movement was continuing, so stated Sir Walter. But here in Bihar we are told, in all solemnity, that Muslim refugees were returning to their homes and that there was no large-scale exodus out of the province. All this is sickening. Any responsible Ministry should have by this time come out with the full story of the exodus of Muslim refugees indicating the steps taken to stop it and to minister to their needs. But there is the conspiracy of silence. The reputation of the province is sold away through the Ministry's inactivity and indifference.

We, furthermore, learn from Sir Walter Gurner that although the Bengal Relief Department was taking no steps to attract refugees from Bihar in Bengal, they must undertake all measures possible to deal with the situation arising from the "migratory trend." This raises certain grave issues. Firstly, the Bihar Ministry has practically done nothing constructive to stop the "migratory trend" encouraged by interested parties in our own province. Secondly, the nationals of Bihar are being cared for by the Bengal Government. And there has been uptill now no attempt by the Bihar Ministry to get back those refugees. Thirdly, the Government of Bengal are guilty of arranging for necessary measures without consultation with the Governments of Bihar & India. We have already pointed out that migration within India from or into a Governor's province is a central subject. Sir Walter Gurner admits that no indication has yet been given by the Central Government of any policy in this matter. In the circumstances, why should not the government of Bengal send out their request to the Bihar government to take back the nationals of Bihar and to adopt positive steps to stop "the migratory trend?" There is suspicion and distrust all about and the absence of cheerful co-operation all through.

We are perhaps pleading with our Ministry in vain. They have betrayed their incompetence in the handling of a difficult situation. But we are sensitive to the large-scale exodus of Muslim refugees, as we have reason to believe that this is taking place according to a design which we must fight against. Mr. Jinnah has propounded the theory of the exchange of population to avoid the brutalities of the Hindu majority. League volunteers in Bihar, as reports indicate, are working in pursuit of Mr. Jinnah's new

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HIJRAT OBLIGATORY

theory. Congress will naturally resist this machination. Sardar Patel chided the other day Mr. Jinnah for his fantastic theory. Mahatma Gandhi described the move as "unthinkable and impracticable", and "the logical consequence of any such step", to quote the words of Mahatmaji, "is too dreadful to contemplate." We feel naturally distressed that our Ministry is not making its all-out efforts to stop the exodus and to make Muslim refugees return to their homes.....The whole episode is nauseating. A thorough shake-up is called for. Is there none in the Ministry to resist the League's game and to keep aloft the banner of Congress ideals?.....

The wolf Admonishes the Dog: *The Searchlight*, Patna, owned by the Birlas,

is a semi-official mouthpiece of the Congress Government of Bihar. Writing editorially on Saturday, December, 7 '46 under heading "Irresponsible Criticism" the paper says :—

"Thousands were done to death and villages wiped out and life over large areas of the province was completely dislocated. Patna and other cities so placed were, more or less, overwhelmed by the unexpected avalanche of refugees who, in the very nature of things, preferred to be with or near their kith and kin. This explains the close association of the Moslem League with the refugee camps. Gradually, however, the administration acquired grip and instead of being handed over to others, as alleged in certain kite-flying circles, these camps have been run, except for men useful. As it were, in fetching and drawing, under the capable personal direction and control of

Mr. T. P. Singh, by Government officials. It is easy to talk irresponsibly. It costs nothing to do so. But the impossibility of shutting out Moslem relations and friends from these camps should have been apparent to men of common sense who cannot help seeing that refugee camps are no houses of prison.we do not see how and under what law any Government can prevent people from making fools of themselves by choosing to migrate to other provinces. If they allow themselves to be so misled it is their funeral.....Bihar knows that it is the Congress and the Congress ministers who will fight the menace that the League represents.....Difficult times loom ahead. Mr. Jinnah remains a thorn on the side of Indian Nationalism, a veritable disintegration of cherished values and sentiments threatens to assail. In such a situation the province will not tolerate mendacious calumny of tried and trusted tribunes.....

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MADRAS 1.

God's Earth Wide And Spacious Reward Assured

"He who forsakes his home
In the cause of God,
Finds in the Earth
Many a Refuge,
Wide and Spacious:
Should he die
As a Refugee from home
For God and his Apostle
His Reward becomes due
And sure with God:
And God is Off-Forgiving,
Most Merciful."

—Sura Nisa, 98-The Holy Qur'an

1. IN this verse *Hijrah* has been preached, and the *Muhajirs* are consoled: whoever will migrate for the sake of God and will forsake his home will get many places to live in and his earnings and wealth will be extended. Therefore do not fear, in migrating, as to the question of living and sustenance, and do not as well fear, for if death overtakes you on the way, you will get full reward of *Hijrah*, and death will only come on the appointed time—(Urdu Translation and Commentary of Holy Qur'an by Shaikul-Hind Maulana Mahmud Hassan.)

2. The word *hijrah* (going forth, emigration) has several meaning in the Islamic *shari'ah*: one is the emigration of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medinah, which inaugurated a new era in the history of Islam; another, more general, meaning is the emigration of Muslims from a place of danger to a place of security, as in the case of the Companions of the Prophet who, in order to escape the persecutions of the Quraysh migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia; another, the emigration from a place where unbelief reign to any place under Muslim rule. Whenever the word *muhajir* (emigrant) occurs in a Tradition

without any further qualification it refers to those Companions of the Prophet who emigrated with him or shortly after him (that is before the conquest of Mecca, in 8 A.H.) from Mecca to Medinah, in order to be able to live freely according to the tenets of Islam. Such emigration, entailing the giving up of home and family relations for the sake of God and His Prophet, was naturally regarded as an action of great merit; and so the designation of *muhajir* had not only a historical connotation, but was also a sign of particular distinction. —(Sahih Al-Bukhari, Translation and Commentary by Mummad Weiss.) Vol. Assad (Leopold V-Page 19.)

3. "Abd Allah ibn Umar used to say: No more *hijrah* after the conquest of Mecca;" Meant is here the *hijrah* from Mecca to Medinah, which had become unnecessary when Mecca came under Muslim control; this is made clear in Tradition No. 4 of this section. It is obvious that Iban Umar does not refer to *hijrah* in general, for that was, and is always incumbent upon a Muslim who is not allowed, in his own country to live according to the tenets of Islam. In such a case, migration to a Muslim country is ordained

in the *shari'ah*—(Ibid.—Page 204.)

4. It is a fallacy to say that a certain Muslim majority province in India is densely populated, and, therefore, there is no space in it for the emigrants. One who migrates finds in the God's earth many a refuge, wide and spacious. The Muslims must emulate the lives of the early *Muhajirs* and *Ansars*. The *Ansars* should invite the *Muhajirs*, welcome them and give them aid —Editor.

5. AND THEY PREFER OTHERS ABOVE THEMSELVES, THOUGH POVERTY BE THEIR LOT.
—(The Holy Qur'an.)

"A man came to the Prophet, and the latter sent a message to his wives. But they answered: We have naught but water. Thereupon the Apostle of God asked: Who will receive.

—or show hospitality to—

this man? A man of the *Ansar* said: I and He took (the stranger) to his wife and said: Honour the guest of the Apostle of God. She answered: We have naught but the supper of children. Thereupon (her husband) said: Prepare thy repast, and light thy lamp, and put thy children to sleep if they ask for their supper. And so she prepared her repast, and lit her lamp, and put her children to sleep. Then she rose as though set right her lamp, and extinguished it; and she made (the guest) believe that she and her husband were eating (with him); but they went to bed hungry.

And on the morrow (the host) went unto the Apostle of God, and the latter said: Last night, God hath smiled

—or was pleased—

on account of your good deed.—Thereupon God revealed (the verse). AND

God's Earth Wide & Spacious Reward Assured

THEY PREFER OTHERS
ABOVE THEMSELVES,
THOUGH POVERTY BE
THEIR LOT: AND WHO
SO ESCAPETH FROM
HIS OWN AVARICE—
SUCH, INDEED, WILL
ATTAIN FELICITY.—
(*Sahih-al-Bukhari, English
Translation and Commentary, by
Mummed Azad, Vol. V-Page
113-14.*)

6. THE PROPHET'S SAY- ING, WERE IT NOT FOR THE HIJRAH, INDEED I SHOULD (LIKE TO) BE ONE OF THE ANSAR:

"On the authority of the Prophet (or Abu'l Qasim.—The Prophet's *kunyah*—said): If the *Ansar* go through a valley or a ravine, indeed I shall go through the valley of the *Ansar*; and were it not for the *hijrah*, indeed I should (like to) be one of the *Ansar*!

The title of this section is a fragment from a Tradition quoted in Bkh 1-ii/58, No. 6. Thus the Prophet indicated that the giving up of one's home and possessions for the sake of religious ideal is an act of the highest merit; and next to it comes helping selflessly a community struggling for the fulfilment of that ideal. The tradition in this section (with a different *isnad*) has a wording similar to that from which the above fragment was taken. (*IBID*—Page 104).

7. THE BROTHERHOOD ESTABLISHED BY THE PROPHET BETWEEN THE MUHAJIRS AND THE ANSAR: "Abdar- Rahman ibn 'Awf came to us, and the Apostle of God established bonds of brotherhood between him and Sa'd ibn ar-Rabi' who was very wealthy. And Sa'd said: The *Ansar* know that I am one of the wealth- iest of them. I will divide my possessions equally between myself and thee. I have two wives; see thou

whichever of the two pleasest
thee better, and I shall
divorce her, so that thou
wed her when she becometh
lawful. Thereupon 'Abdar-
Rahman said: Bless thee
God in thy family! And
he did not come home that
day until he had made some
profit consisting of clarified
butter and cheese. And after
a short time he came to the
Apostle of God having on
him stains of yellow perfume.
The Apostle of God asked
him: What is this? He
answered: I have wedded a
woman of the *Ansar*. (The
Prophet) asked: What didst
thou spend on her in dower?
—He answered: Gold to the
weight of a *hawah*.

—or: a golden *hawah*—

Then (the prophet) said:
(Now), prepare a wedding-
feast, even though it be of a
single sheep!"

Most of the *Muhajirs* who came
from Mecca to Madinah
were destitute for on their
emigration they had to leave
their possessions behind. So
the Prophet suggested to the
Ansar that they should share
their means with the poor
Muhajirs; and the former
responded to this call with
enthusiasm. Ibn Sa'd
(I/i, 1) reports that about 60
or 100 persons, one half of
them *Ansar* and one half
Muhajirs, established between
themselves bonds of brother-
hood, each *Ansari* taking one
Muhajir as brother; and they
went so far as to give to the
Muhajirs the right of inheri-
tance equal to that of actual
brothers. This latter custom,
however, was abolished by
the revelation, after the
battle of Badr, of the
Qur'an—verse viii, 75, which
re-affirms the rule that only
the lawful relations of a
deceased may inherit his prop-
erty. (*IBID*—Page 104-6.)

8. THE PROPHET'S SAY- ING TO THE ANSAR, YE ARE THE DEAREST OF ALL PEOPLE UNTO ME.

"The Prophet saw women and
children coming
—('Abd al-'Aziz) said: I
believe (Anas) said:
(coming) from a wedding—
Thereupon the Prophet rose
and said: By God! Ye are
among the dearest of all
people unto me! He said
this three times." (*IBID*—
Page 108.)

9. THE PROPHET'S PRA- YER, BE THOU TOWARD THE ANSAR AND THE MUHAJIRS!

(1) "The Apostle of God prayed:
(O God:) There is no
life but Life Eternal. Be
Thou gracious toward the
Ansar and the *Muhajirs*:
(*IBID*—Page 113.)

(2) "On the Day of the Moat,
the *Ansar* said (those verses):
*We are those who swore alle-
giance to Muhammad.
To wage jihad throughout our
life!*

—And (the Prophet) answered:
O God! There is no
life but the Life Eternal; be
Thou bountiful toward the
Ansar and the *Muhajirs*!

(3) "On the authority of Sahl,
who said: The Apostle of
God came to us while we
were digging the moat (the
Campaign of the Moat—
al-Khandaq) and were carry-
ing the earth on our shoul-
ders. And the Apostle of
God said: O God! There is
no life but the Life Eternal;
grant Thou forgiveness to the
Muhajirs and the *Ansar*." (*IBID*—Page 113.)

10. WITH GOD IS OUR REWARD.

"We visited Khabbab, who
was ill, and he said: We
migrated with the Prophet
(to Madinah), seeking the
pleasure of God; and with
God is our reward. And
there some of us who passed
away without having obtain-
ed any reward (in this world):
one of these was Mus'ab ibn
Umayr. He was killed in
the battle of Uhud and left
behind him (naught but) a
striped cloak. And when
we covered his head there.

God's Earth Wide & Spacious Reward Assured

with, his feet remained uncovered. Thereupon the Apostle of God bade us cover his head (with the cloak) and put some sweet rush over his feet. And there were some from among us whose fruit ripened (in this world), and they were able to gather it." (IBID—Page 202-3.)

11. DEEDS WILL BE JUDGED ACCORDING TO THE INTENTION.

"I CERTAINLY heard the Prophet say: Deeds (will be judged) according to the intention. Hence, whoso migrateth for the sake of this world or to wed a woman, his migration will be (judged according) to that toward which he migrated. And whoso migrateth for the sake of God and his Apostle, his migration will be (judged as performed) unto God and his Apostle." (IBID—Page 203.)

(Continued from Col. 3)

throughout the length and breadth of the province, asking the Hindus not to purchase the properties of the Mussalmans so that they may not have the means to leave Bihar and migrate to a Muslim majority province.

(c) Various devices are being made to retain some Muslims, not all, in Lihar—of course on the terms of the 'proud Congress Government of Bihar (Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, the Prime Minister of Bihar asserted in the Constituent Assembly, after the State Killing in Bihar, that the Government of Bihar is a proud Government)—to serve as hostages to be dealt with suitably for any future 'misdeeds' of a Muslim majority province or provinces.

(d) It is not improbable that one or two blacklegs in the Bihar Provincial Muslim League will be gained over by the Congress Government to influence the Muslims to stay on in Bihar as veritable slaves of arrogant Hindus—Editor.

(Please turn to page 51)

Unbeliever's Plot Foiled God is the Best of Planners.

"Remember how the Unbelievers
Plotted Against these, to keep
Thee in Bonds, or Slay thee,
Or Get thee out (Of Thy Home).
They Plot and Plan,
And God Too Plans,
But the Best of Planners
Is God."

—Sura Anfal, 30—The Holy Qur'an.

1. THE plot against Mustafa (peace be on him) in Mecca aimed at three things. They were not only foiled but God's wonderful working turned the tables, and brought good out of evil in each case. (1) They tried to hold the Apostle in subjection in Mecca by putting pressure on his uncles, relatives, and friends. But the more they persecuted, the more the little Muslim community grew in faith and numbers. (2) They tried to injure or slay him. But the wonderful example of his humility, perseverance, and fearlessness furthered the cause of Islam. (3) They tried to get him and his followers out of their homes. But they found a new home in Medina, from which they eventually reconquered not only Mecca, but Arabia and the World. English Translation and Commentary of the Holy Qur' and by Abdullah Yusuf Ali.

2. How the modern unbelievers plot and plan (a) against the Muslims of Bihar who wish to migrate, leaving behind their properties, their hearth and home, as they are persecuted and oppressed in their land of birth by the vast Hindu majority, will be evident from the statement of the Director of Publicity, Government of Bihar:—

"A statement purporting to have been made by Malik Feroz Khan Noon to the Orient Press and published in the 'Morning News' alleges that Government do not allow Muslim League workers to go to the refugee

camp run by the Government. The statement as it is, is not borne out by facts. Contrary to what is alleged, the truth is that the detailed management of Digha and Phulwarisharif refugee camps, is in the hands of the Muslim League volunteers. It is a fact that the Government have issued instructions to the Relief Officers to regulate the number of volunteers in each camp in the mufussil areas. This course was forced upon them when it was found that far from rendering service to the refugees, some of the so-called volunteers had been engaging themselves in subversive propaganda among the refugees. Reports still persist of undesirable activities being carried on by many a volunteer. Government cannot, therefore, be blamed for the action they have taken or may be forced to take in future if such activities continued. They have always sought the co-operation of the Muslim League and have given full facilities to the League volunteers to work among the refugees. The latitude allowed, cannot, however, be allowed to be utilised for promoting political ends to the detriment of the refugees themselves." (Patna, December, 6 1946.)

(b) The vast Hindu majority, followers of Congress and Hindu Mahasabha, who have no differences and are united so far as the 'disposal' of Bihar Muslims are concerned, have now enforced economic boycott of the much-harrassed remaining Muslims in Bihar. Words have been sent,

(Continued in Col. 1.)

..... AND THIS IS Mr. JINNAH

RIGHT now Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah is the acknowledged and undisputed leader of the hundred million Muslims of India. He enjoys the complete confidence of the Muslim community in a way which has never been attained by any Muslim leader before. To-day he holds the key-position in Indian politics; of his community, he is the unquestioned leader, acclaimed lovingly as their Qa'd-e-Azam. His name is a house-hold word throughout the length and breadth of Muslim India. His is not a meteoric rise to eminence by a lucky combination of favourable circumstances, but the well-deserved reward for a long record of selfless service in the struggle for India's liberation and towards the renaissance and revival of his community.



A man of singularly exquisite charms, completely immune from the least trace of corruption and far above those mediocres who jostle for jobs, knighthoods and the like, his personality is an asset of incalculable benefit to the Muslim community. Tall and stately, luxurious of habits, accustomed to the rarefied atmosphere of a Parisian saloon, he has the plasticity and flexibility of a young man of twenty. Artistic in taste, aristocrat in likes and dislikes, he looks neat and tidy. He looks best in double-breast coat even though since lately he has shown a taste for long *sherwani* and black cap. He speaks faultless English fluently with an impressive accent.

You can with ease mark him out in any crowd—his personality is remarkably striking, his manner is singularly attractive. Dignified and courteous he is very inch cultured. To see him is to love him; after seeing once there is no forgetting him. He appears somewhat formal and rigid and even reserved and imperious, but his aloofness only

~~~~~ BY ~~~~~  
**Mr. A. A. RAVOOF**

Editor, 'The Deccan Times'



adds to his magnetic presence. It is very difficult to understand him even though he places all his cards on the table. He is an open book to friends and followers, to his opponents he is an enigma and a riddle. They try to catch him, but he slips through their fingers.

A very brilliant debator, he is blunt in his speech, resents humming and hawing, and is trigger-quick in his decisions. He is selfless to the extreme and very independent in thought and judgment. Free and extremely frank in the exposition of his views, he has absolutely no regard for his opponents when telling the truth. Unmindful of consequences and even against the hottest odds he sticks to his principles, come what may. *Constructive in criticism and pre-eminently practical, Mr. Jinnah is nothing if not a realist.*

Such a man is the accredited leader of hundred million Muslims of India to-day and in his hands lies the destiny of the Muslim nation.

At present he may be the champion of the two-nations' theory. But this is not born of his ill-will towards the great Hindu community. Even Mr. Gandhi had to accept it when he wrote: "I observe from the Qade Azam's speeches that he has no quarrels with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them." Addressing the Allahabad Journalists' Association recently Mr. Jinnah said:

"I agree that there is a wide difference to-day especially between Hindus and Mussalmans. Whether you are here Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, or Christians, all I can say to you is this, that however much I am criticised however much I am attacked—and to-day I am charged with hate in some quarters—let me tell you—and this I tell you most sincerely—that I believe and I honestly believe that the day will come when not only Mussalmans but this great community of Hindus will also bless, if not during my life

Editor Ravoo of India's premier Muslim weekly, the DECCAN TIMES, who shot into all India lime-light as the first biographer of Mr. Jinnah, is surprisingly young. He is just thirty. But his is an old head on young shoulders, becoming his responsible and respectable post.

Born in a family of skin merchants he was first earmarked for a career in barks and skins and later encouraged to go in for medicine. But to the surprise of all, but not of himself, and to the chagrin of some, he launched upon a journalistic career, fully aware of its many pitfalls and shortcomings in this unhappy land of ours. To him, money was not the be-all and end-all of life. Besides the journalistic vein in him was stronger even in his boyhood. No wonder he made his first digs at journalism while still a matriculate.

Many of his skits and short stories appeared in leading papers like the "Hindu," "Indian Express" & "Bombay Chronicle". But hardly would he have dreamt that one day he would become the editor of the very paper which published his maiden attempt twelve years ago. Since the seven years he has been in the DECCAN TIMES, his facile pen has been at the service of his community and country.

His writings, remarkable for their brevity and clarity of expression, display depth of thought and breadth of vision. He can dash off serious articles as easily as he can turn out "light" columns. Not a lover of cheap sensationalism he is motivated by constructivism and practical idealism. When young, Mr. Ravoo has dabbled in poetry, both English and Urdu; but he was not a poetaster. Even now he is proud of some of his composition, especially in Urdu.

*time, after I am dead, the memory of my name.*

"I have expressed many times that whatever differences there are they do not from my side arise from the slightest ill-will against the great community of Hindus or any other community. We may not see eye to eye to-day but I can only give you one example to illustrate. The first man that went to the street with an umbrella was laughed at and was mobbed

## Meet Mr. Ravoo



Chubby and bright-eyed Mr. Ravoo with his smiling face and beautifully broad forehead, is charming both of manners and speech. With his congenial conversation, general temperament and humorous disposition, he is a hail-fellow-well-met, bubbling with optimism. Always ready to give credit to the other man's point of view, even the most unwelcome visitor doesn't feel anything in what he says and returns satisfied. This author of "Meet Mr. Jinnah" met recently at New Delhi.

—The Author of:

## "Meet Mr. Jinnah"

by the crowd. Because they had never seen the umbrella before in their lives. I am carrying an umbrella. You may laugh at me, but time will come sooner than you realise that you will all not only understand what the umbrella is but you will use it to the advantage of every one of you."

### A Benevolent Dictator

Mr. Jinnah is accused of being dictatorial. Mr. Fazlul Haq



## ...AND THIS IS MR. JINNAH

ring him as the "proudest of the Pharaohs." A section of the Congress Press even to-day refers to him as "the League Feuhrer". If he acts like a dictator, he does so because he enjoys the confidence of a bloc of hundred million-Muslims as never before. *He is a benevolent dictator, and not a tyrant. He is a dictator, not forcing his interdicts at the point of the bayonet—but he is so by an unanimous verdict and by a people's choice.* He never trusted his ideas on others. On the contrary, he invited suggestions which he said would receive his earnest attention: "One suggestion or one idea may be of great value to the future of Muslim nation. I want you to help and assist. We want by these means to build up the nation and the chief organisation of the nation." Let alone his being dictatorial, he is even against his being made a life president. When this was suggested, Mr. Jinnah clearly stated: "Let me come to you at the end of every year and seek your vote and your confidence. Let your President be on his good behaviour. *I am definitely opposed to your electing a life president!*". Hardly the words of a dictator! At the time of the recent Central Assembly elections, he appealed: "I sent my application to the Central Parliamentary Board for my ticket to stand for election to the Central Assembly. My application was accepted. I am now standing before you and I assure you that it is my duty to serve the Muslim nation. If you vote for me, I am prepared to work for the cause of the Muslim nation. Even if you don't vote for me, I shall continue to work for you". He has often times said that if the community thought that he was doing a wrong it can replace him in twenty-four hours.

Critics accuse him of irreligion. Orthodox Mullahs even place him beyond the pale of Islam. But Mr. Jinnah is primarily a political leader. He doesn't pre-

tend or claim an all-round knowledge. He has often said: "I know two things in life—law and politics." In fact he is a master in these fields. He never claimed to be an *Alim*. He said: "*I am not a learned Maulana or Maulvi. Nor do I claim to be learned in theology. But I do know a little of my faith and I am a humble and proud follower of my faith.*" Since he undertook the re-orientation of the League, he has joined prayers several times. On I'd days he delivers speeches. During the Lucknow session he once led the *Asar* (evening) prayers.

Personal weakness he may have many. And which great man has not? But one most dreadful thing about him is his volcanic temper. Woe to the man who falls a victim to his wrath.

### Greatest Champion of Indian Muslims

*MR. Jinnah did not become a people's leader overnight. He has to his credit a long record of selfless public service.* Maulana Muhammad Ali had predicted that Mr. Jinnah would lead the Muslims "if great God put in Mr. Jinnah's head to take up the job". And Dr. Iqbal recognised that Mr. Jinnah alone could guide the Muslims on the right path. Writing to Mr. Jinnah he expressed: "I hope you won't mind my writing to you often, as you are the only Muslim in India to-day to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to the North West of India and perhaps, to the whole of India."

*He is the greatest champion of Indian Muslims.*

Critics call him all sorts of names. He is accused of being the Agent of British Imperialism in India. No one is a greater adversary of the British intentions. He was one of the first to advocate complete freedom when Mr. Gandhi and others were willing to be content with Dominion Status. His Assembly speeches proclaim the man. When other Hindu lawyers were hesitating and fighting shy to incur the displeasures of the authorities Mr. Jinnah volunteered and defended Balagangadhar Tilak in a sedition case. *His entire political life is free from official benedictions and when it comes to a question of Indian interests and bureaucracy, Mr. Jinnah spares no words and bangs the Government right and left, relentlessly and unsparingly.* During Khilafat days, provoked by the shabby deal meted out to the Turks, he expressed the resentment of Indian Muslims: "In the meanwhile there sits in Olympian Simla a self-satisfied Viceroy who alternately offers his sympathies to us, unfortunate Mussalmans and regrets Mr. Gandhi's 'foolish of all foolish schemes' being fortified with a charter from his Majesty's Government sent in a recent despatch from 'Home'. This is the changed angle of vision, on which we heard such high-sounding phrases during those critical stages of the war when India's blood, India's gold was sought and unfortunately given to break Turkey and buy the fetters of the Rowlatt legislation. One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon dis-appointment, and injury upon injury can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshe-



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vism. It has led Ireland to Sinn Feinism. May it lead India to freedom?"

### Incorruptible Leadership

THE one aspect of his character which stands in bold relief is his incorruptibility. His supremacy is supreme there. In all his political life he has never placed his self before sacrifice. He wants nothing for himself but everything for his country. He has always declined to utilise his public position for personal or private gain. It is this characteristic of the man that has won regard and reverence for him from friends and foes alike. Mr. Jinnadass Dwarkadass hails him in these words:

"Mr. Jinnah is one of those in India who have spurned all the rich prizes offered in the shape of highest Government posts by Government authorities."

Sir H. P. Mody's tribute was: "He is fearless and straightforward, seeks no popularity and is singularly free from political intrigues."

And Dr. C. R. Reddi, for the same reason, refers to Mr. Jinnah as "the pride of India, and not the private possession of Muslims."

During 1940, the cunning, short, dark-spectacled Mr. Rajagopalachari made a "sporting offer" during the course of an interview to the foreign press that a National Government be set up. Mr. Jinnah be made the Premier and he be allowed to select his own cabinet. Rajaji added that he would persuade his colleagues. This was too evident for Mr. Jinnah who, during the course of a debate in the Assembly, poo-pooed the idea saying, "Why doesn't Mr. Rajagopalachari invite the prospective Prime Minister to have a talk with him instead of wiring it to a London newspaper and saying, 'I shall persuade my colleagues.' Mr. Rajagopalachari has to-day justified his action by saying that it would have been improper to

make the offer to me in the first instance, for, I would then have legitimate grounds for considering it an insult and retorting that I was not after jobs. If Mr. Amery has accepted that offer and when the offer is then made to me, will it not be open to me to make the same retort and say that Mr. Amery and Mr. Rajagopalachari have combined to insult me? *I am not here for jobs.* Do give other people credit for commonsense."

An impartial observer like Mr. Arthur Moore, the late Editor of the *Statesman*, once wrote: "Mr. Jinnah's increased ascendancy in the Muslim Council is not entirely accounted for by successful strategy and tactics. It is, Muslims tell me, a tribute to a long public career in which he has shown himself to be no careerist. *Mr. Gandhi is incorruptible because he is not interested in possessions, Mr. Jinnah is incorruptible in that he possesses enough and has earned an honourable independence in his legal profession.*" Even the worst of his critics acknowledges, without question, Mr. Jinnah's incorruptibility. Dr. Syed Hussain said recently: "Though I am opposed to Pakistan, I must say that Mr. Jinnah is the only man in the public life whose public record is most incurruptible. You cannot buy him by money or offer of post. He has not gained anything from the British. He is not that kind of man. His character is as high as that of any other leader in India. *He has not accepted anything from British benefit or title although Mr. Gandhi did accept one from Britain after the Boer War.* The Muslim masses know that Mr. Jinnah is the only man who is not in need of money and who has no lust for power."

Strangely enough he is accused of being an agent of British imperialism, in the pay of the White Masters and playing Tory Churchill's game. But men who know and have studied Mr. Jinnah's political career hold different view about this magnificent personality. St. Nihal Singh, the reputed Indian journalist, in a very recent article wrote: "I

have a feeling that Muhammed Ali Jinnah may be using Churchill rather than permitting himself to be used by that British Conservative Ex-Premier. At least in my view he is too shrewd to play any one else's game if he plays any game at all."

During the year 1937-38, when the Muslim League was growing from strength to strength and Muslims were slowly weaning away from the Congress, the Congress leaders tried as the last resort to tempt Mr. Jinnah even with the bait of Congress Presidency, the greatest honour that Congress could give. But Mr. Jinnah could not be lured away. He said, "No, thank you."

Mr. Jinnah was never an applicant for nor an aspirant of official honours. He never stooped to bend his knee before any European or kowtowed to officialdom. There had been several attempts by Governors and Viceroy to woo and win him; but every time he was found unpurchasable. Lord Reading, so goes a story, threw before Mr. Jinnah the two baits—one of High Court Judgeship and the other of the Law Member of the Government of India. He had also offered knighthood to Mr. Jinnah and in order that his wife might persuade him to accept it, Lord Reading once asked Mrs. Jinnah: "Don't you wish to be called Lady Jinnah?" *Right like a gun-shot the lady dashed forth her reply: "If he accepts knighthood I will get a separation from him."* That was Mrs. Jinnah, who knew her husband more than any one else. Mr. Jinnah is a born fighter and an undaunted soldier—the hero of a hundred battles, the victor of innumerable fights, who has both given and received numberless blows. In fact his political life is all fights.

### The Valiant Wife of A Valiant Husband

MR. Jinnah's marriage with Miss Petit was all romance. Barrister Jinnah who was at the summit of fame during the



## . . . . And This is Mr. Jinnah

Lucknow Pact days, met beautiful Miss Ratan Bai Petit, Sir Din Shah Petit, the Parsi magnate's daughter and captured her heart. The Parsi community showed no liking for this match; that was because they did not like her embracing Islam to become Mr. Jinnah's wife. But the girl bundled up caste and creed restrictions and flinging them up into the Arabian Sea, got married to Mr. Jinnah. This apostasy had created a sensation and the matters had gone from the Police Court to the High Court as the Parsi community were determined to move the heavy machinery of law against the newly-weds. Rather an unusual, honey-moon, isn't it! But the whole world loves the lovers and the romantic couple commanded general sympathy and the case was withdrawn.

As long as Ratan Bai lived she was a tower of strength to Mr. Jinnah and a comrade in arms. She waged many a political battle alongside her husband and in that famous Town Hall incident, when demonstrators singing the praise of Willingdonian administration in Bombay, were routed by doughty Jinnah, in captaining enthu-

siastic volunteers, Mrs. Jinnah proved that she was the valiant wife of a valiant husband.

There are many interesting anecdotes about Mrs. Jinnah's power of repartee. It is said that soon after her marriage she went to Simla and was a guest at a dinner at the Viceregal Lodge. When she was introduced to Lord Chelmsford, she did not curtsy, but wished him in the Indian way. Dinner over, there awaited an urgent summons for her from the Viceroy. With an air of wounded pride he told her: "Mrs. Jinnah, your husband has a great political future and you must not spoil it. In Rome, you must do what the Romans do." Mrs. Jinnah was ready to the occasion. She forthwith replied: "That is exactly what I did, your Excellency, I wished you in the Indian way." Once she happened to sit next to Lord Reading at a Dinner Party at the Viceregal Lodge. The conversation soon drifted to Germany and Lord Reading grew reminiscent as he recalled his student days in that country. He told Mrs. Jinnah: "I am very anxious to go to Germany, but I am afraid I cannot do so." "Why not?" asked Mrs. Jinnah inquisitively.

Explained Reading: "You see, the Germans will not like us, the British, any more after the war and I cannot go there." "Oh!" said Mrs. Jinnah, adding: "How is it then that you come to India?"

### Cold-Blooded Logician

NEXT to incorruptibility, if there is a distinct trait, in Mr. Jinnah's character it is his independence of opinion. When he has seriously thought about a question and come to a decision, nothing will sidetrack him. Sir Cowasjee Jhangir was one of those who were impressed by this aspect of Mr. Jinnah which distinguished him in public life. He wrote once: "Nothing will sidetrack Mr. Jinnah from what he considers is the path of truth, righteousness and equity. No amount of opposition, No threats and no danger will daunt him in his determination. He is a man full of courage and tenacity. Few have been in public life for so long in India to-day as he has been and I venture to suggest that no one can accuse him of ever having been a time-server or an opportunist. Such men are rarely found in public life." Sir Shanmukam Chetty is another admirer of Mr. Jinnah's "uncompromising independence and sense of self-respect." And in fact Mr. Jinnah owes his present position in Indian politics to this trait.

He has the courage of conviction and can act boldly. He has no respect for dogmas. He will do what according to him is right. "I am a very peculiarly constituted person," he said recently, "I am guided by cold-blooded reason, logic and judicial training." During February 1943, When Mr. Gandhi went on a "fast-unto-capacity" for 21 days, the entire Hindu public were agitated about the precious life of their Mahatma. Hindu press was shrieking for the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. Some prominent leaders in India called for a Conference to agitate for the release of Gandhiji and an invitation was sent to Mr. Jinnah

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to attend it. He could not suppress his independent view even though he knew he would incur the wrath of non-Muslim public. He openly and boldly spoke out: "It is a matter for Hindu politicians to meet and advise Mr. Gandhi."

When it comes to a question of giving expression to his independent views, he makes no difference between a friend and a foe. He can speak bluntly—no matter whether he loses a friend or crushes an enemy. Political differences he might have in abundance, but they do not induce him to bear malice to anyone. Once he said:

"I went into the chambers of Sir George Lowndes, a penniless man. He was to me like a father and treated me as a son. When he was in Imperial Legislative Council as the Law Member to the Government of India, I bitterly opposed him. Withal, we have maintained our friendship unbroken till this day.....Pandit Motilal and I used to fight like a pair of wild cats on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. Yet on the same evening, of our altercation, he used to dine sumptuously with my wife at my cost."

But his independence of view must not be confused with doggedness. He is willing to be convinced and corrected. He never thinks that he is too old to learn. He never fights shy to confess. "I am conscious of my guilt," he said about his Congress days; "Then I was young and did not see the danger."

### Personal Courage

PERSONAL courage is a capital asset to Mr. Jinnah's leadership. He does not miss to use it when he knows he can do so with success. Sheer daring has won him respect. Never has he been spirited away and never has he lost his balance at the most trying times of his life. When it comes to a question of person-to-person you will never find him hesitating. He

can stand up to any man. There have been many events in his life when by personal courage and unflinching boldness he has carved his image in the hearts of millions.

The Nagpur session of the Congress was an instance in point. Amidst a scene dominated by Gandhiji and in an atmosphere surcharged with the spirit of non-cooperation, who could have dared to speak against the Non-cooperation resolution, conceived, fathered and sponsored by Mr. Gandhi? Yet one thin-bodied leader stood up with his head erect to oppose the resolution. It required guts to differ especially when twenty to thirty thousand persons who attended the session were passionately and even fanatically in support of the resolution. Yet Mr. Jinnah dared; for, he never believed in secret convictions. During the course of his speech, he did not even address the popular leaders with epithets commonly prefixed to their names out of respect. He referred to Gandhiji not as 'Mahatma', but only as Mr. Gandhi and to Maulana Muhammad Ali he referred as Mr. Muhammad Ali. When some of the delegates raised a hue and cry shouting: "say Mahatma Gandhi, say Mahatma Gandhi," he threw a resentful glance at them. But when the entire audience persisted in clamouring that he should also refer to Muhammad Ali as Maulana, he was infuriated and retorted with full force: "I refuse to be dictated by you. I am entitled to use my discretion to call a man by whatever designation I choose, provided it is parliamentary. I do not recognise Mr. Muhammad Ali's claim to be Maulana". On hearing this curt reply flung at them in a commanding voice, silence was instantly restored. It is said that the Big Brother Maulana Shaukat Ali, was enraged at this rebuke. His blood boiled as he considered his brother's insult as his own and he rushed at Mr. Jinnah with a stick; but it was fortunate for both that the cult of non-violence came in their way.

He moved with everyone on

equal terms. In all his official correspondence, he has successfully eliminated the beaten track. He would address the Premier of England or the Viceroy of India as "My dear Prime Minister" or "My dear Lord so and so."

When he resigned from the Imperial Council, he never made secret of his reactions. Condemning the Rowlat Act he wrote: "I feel that under the prevailing conditions, I can be of no use to my people in the Council, nor consistently with one's self-respect is co-operation possible with a Government that shows such an utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people at the Council Chamber and the feeling and sentiments of the people outside." During the Round Table Conference he refused to serve on the Minorities' Sub-Committee "to wash dirty linen before our White Master."

### The Prophet Honoured

Lord Willingdon once had the misfortune to know what it was to come into conflict with doughty Mr. Jinnah. Five years of Willingdonian Governorship of Bombay had produced a gang of admirers consisting of yes-men and *ji Huzoors*, while the public were bored beyond exasperation. They heaved a sigh of relief when they knew that the disgusting regime was coming to an end. But the clique of admirers true to salt or God-knows-what made arrangements to get up a public meeting to perpetuate the Willingdonian memory. Mr. Jinnah decided to rout the 'admirers'. Mr. Dwarkadas and Mr. Horniman were his chief collaborators. They took possession of the hall with Mr. Jinnah at the head in good time. Outside, Mrs. Jinnah was leading the picketeers. Mr. S. R. Bomanji who played Judas was moving heaven and earth for the yes-men. The long and short of the whole affair was that the Governor did not show up at all and consequently the meeting was a thorough failure and Mr. Jinnah had undergone a great personal risk and practically endangered



## . . . . And This is Mr. Jinnah

his life. Several of his followers were man-handled, assaulted and even threatened with dire consequences. *It was a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah and the Willingdonian memory was drowned in laughter and opprobrium, ridicule and scorn; hoots and hisses.* The idea of building a Jinnah's Public Hall originated for commemorating this bold act of his. The opening ceremony was done by Mrs. Naidu and the following cable was sent to Mr. Jinnah who was then in Europe: *A prophet is honoured in his own country and in his own time.*" Mr. Gunther in his *Inside Asia* writes: "It was decided to name the public hall in Jinnah's honour, and it was dedicated—the People's Jinnah Hall—with appropriate ceremonies. But now-a-days the Congress folk call it simply the 'P. J.' Hall, because their differences with the Muslims are such that they hate to use Jinnah's name."

### Bold, Courageous & Determined

MR. Jinnah decision to hold the annual session of the League in Lahore in 1940 according to the original announcement inspite of the sensational shooting of the Khaksars and the unpleasant incidents that took place at Lahore on the eve of the session and the great firmness and tact with which he controlled and pacified the demonstrators at the pandal who were agitated over the Khaksar shooting and asked for the blood of Sir Sikandar, are instances of his unshakeable determination and courage.

His announcement of the 'Deliverance day' created great agitation and commotion among non-Muslims and non-Muslim Bombay was boiling with indignation against him. It is said that persons who were asking for Mr. Jinnah's head were simply dumb-founded when they saw him quietly and coolly going in an open car through the crowded streets to attend the meeting called at Bombay on the 'Deliverance Day'.

The recent attempt on his life brought out this unflinching courage of the man. When Mr. Jinnah least expected it and when the assailant jumped to Mr. Jinnah's throat with a clasp knife, within the twinkling of an eye, it required the greatest presence of mind to parry the blow and break its momentum. It was a tug of war between youth and old age. Mr. Jinnah's mere strength of will made him catch the assailant's hand in time. The doctor's verdict that Mr. Jinnah was completely calm and cool, inspite of his old age, after the incident is worth noting and it throws ample light on the steadfastness and courage of Mr. Jinnah.

Insipite of the recent attempt on his life and several threats, except that visitors are not allowed to see him as freely as before, Mr. Jinnah even to-day moves about without check or hindrance. He has no bodyguards, has none about him to protect. He believes that the Saviour who protected him once can always do so. In a latest statement, he said: "I have trust in God. He will keep me alive as long as I am required to serve the Muslim nation."

### An accomplished and able Conversationalist.

MR. Jinnah is an accomplished and able conversationalist and he can convince any one by the cogency of his arguments.

Mr. Beverley Nichols with pronounced pro-Congress views sought interviews with Mr. Jinnah. The cogency of arguments and procession of ideas and forceful exposition of the case of Pakistan by Mr. Jinnah convinced Mr. Nichols so much that he left India as a great votary for the Pakistan ideal. Latter in his book *Verdict on India*, he described Mr. Jinnah as "the most important man in Asia, who is in a position of unique strategic importance. He can sway the battle this way or that

as he chooses. His 100 million Muslims will march to the left to the right to the front to the rear at his bidding, and at NOBODY else's. ....that's the point. It is not the same in the Hindu ranks".

With regard to Pakistan, Mr. Nichols was so greatly convinced by the Qaed-e-Azam's lucid and powerful case that he writes: "This dream empire may one day come out of the clouds and place itself on the world's map with a bang. I am one of those who believes that this will happen, but that it must happen."

Some time back even that great Irish wit and dramatist approved of the Muslim demand. George Bernard Shaw's contention was: "Pakistan is not rational! It is notional and natural like Ulster in my native country. Do not wrangle about it. Give it a trial." As early as 1917, Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India came to India and met a number of leading politicians. This was his impression about the Qaed-e-Azam: "They were followed by Jinnah, young, perfectly mannered, impressive-looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics, and insistent upon the dole of his scheme....I was rather tired and I fukned him. Chelmsford tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. Mr. Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country."

### The Most Lovable Man

SO much for the public personality he is. But his private life is his own, few have successfully penetrated into this fortress. Insipite of the fact that he is the undisputed leader of the Indian Muslims and he is the beloved of the millions, he lives alone, alone with his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, in a well-planned and well constructed modern building, on the heights of the Malabar Hill, where the cream of Bombay society lives. The house has a well-kept garden all around, where the beds of flowers and



variety of trees suggest keen taste and an eye for selection.

One of the busiest politicians Mr. Jinnah spends the largest part of the day in study, looking into co-responses, studying schemes or poring over plans. A thousand problems engage his attention. He studies them and solves them all alone—*there is no other leader in the League, of the position of Mr. Jinnah, who can share a fraction of his burdens or shoulder 'a part of his responsibilities.* These important and vital issues keep him busy and it is never before midnight that the light is switched off.

He has a big and well-furnished library, which is full of books on politics and law. In spite of the multifarious activities, he snatches time even now for reading. This taste for books was, in fact, acquired when he was a lad.

As a student at the Lincoln's Inn, whenever he found leisure, he used to rush up to the British Museum Library for reading books of his choice—lives of great men. In fact this study benefited him a good deal.

He had a special taste for Shakespeare and took leading parts in the college Shakespearean dramas. It is also said that as a student he was attached to a touring dramatic company in London. Whether this is true or not, one fact is certain: he can produce even to-day, without a moment's hesitation a Shakespearean quotation to suit any and every occasion.

He is a heavy smoker—alternately smoking a cigarette, cigar and pipe. Though not stiff-necked, he has a special liking for stiff-collars. He wears no glasses but when necessary he sports a monocle which adds to his grace and poise. He is accessible to almost everyone, himself goes down to the visitor to greet him with a smile and a warm hand shake.

He is a perfect gentleman, and personally the most lovable man politician par excellence, absolutely free from corruption. To

(Continued on page 57.)

(Continued from page 43)

## Where are the Muslims in the Bombay Presidency to be transferred and what is to become of their business and commercial interests in the Presidency?

—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

" Say : If it be that your fathers,  
Your sons, your brothers,  
Your mates, or your kindred,  
You wealth that ye have gained ;  
The commerce in which ye fear,  
A decline : or the dwellings  
In which we delight —  
Are dearer to you than God,  
Or his apostle, or the striving  
In his cause ;— Then wait  
Until God brings about  
His decision : and God  
Guides not the rebellious."

—Sura Tauba, 24, The Holy Qur'an.

1. Man's heart clings to (1) his own kith and kin — parents, children, brothers and sisters, husbands or wives, or other relatives, (2) wealth and prosperity, (3) commerce or means of profit and gain, or (4) notable buildings, for dignity or comfort. If these are a hindrance in God's cause, we have to choose which we love most. We must love God even if it involves the sacrifice of all else.
2. If we love our earthly ties & comforts, profits and pleasures, more than we love God, and therefore fail to respond to God's cause, it is not God's cause which will suffer. God's purpose will be accomplished, with or without us. But our failure to respond to His will must leave us spiritually poorer, bereft of grace and guidance : for God guides not the rebellious."

This is of universal application. But it was strikingly illustrated in the case of those faithful ones who obeyed the Apostle's call, left the comforts of their homes in Mecca and suffered exile in Medina, gave up their trade and their possessions, strove and fought for God's cause, sometimes against their own kith and kin or their own tribesmen who were enemies of Islam. They won through. Others were not prepared for such sacrifice, but their failure did not stop the accomplishment of God's plan and purpose.

(English Translation and Commentary of Holy Qur'an by Abdullah Yusuf Ali.)

## God's Light will shine

" Fain would they extinguish  
God's light with their mouths,  
But God will not allow  
But that his light should be  
Perfect, even though the unbelievers  
May detest (it)."

—Sura Tauba, 32, The Holy Qur'an.

(CONCLUDED)



IN RETROSPECT

## THE GENESIS OF PAKISTAN

*THE following lines are taken from Mr. Jinnah's presidential address delivered at the Delhi session of the All-India Muslim League. It is a masterly survey of events from the Mutiny up to the present day and places the problem of Pakistan in its true historical perspective. It is a thing to be read, re-read and assimilated by all those who are anxious in any large measure to understand the realities of the present Indian situation.*

\* \* \* \* \*

IN the first instance the Act of 1861 and the act of 1884 gave a very small kind of representation to the so-called Councils of the Governors and Governor-General. If you will remember, a small beginning was made of elected representatives being sent either to the Imperial or local Councils as it were then called or the local councils, or to other municipal or local or district boards in the country. The results of the working of the Act was—I am not exaggerating—that it was not possible for any Mussalman to get elected. Then came Minto-Morley proposals in 1907, the first time when seriously this elective principle was going to be enlarged or increased. At that time the Mussalmans who had learnt by experience from 1884 downwards right up to 1907, made a demand for separate electorates. Mr. Gokhale who was a great Hindu,—and I was quite a young man at that time and who had learnt at the feet of



would they not have entertained similar misgivings? We would undoubtedly have felt the same fears and adopted the identical policy which the Muslims are adopting today."

#### Hindu Nationalism

It is men of the character of that great Dadabhoj Naroji that inspired us with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment. But remember even at this period signs were that there was a section which was dreaming in terms of Hindu Raj. I give you one quotation from a prominent Hindu leader—Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. You will see that even as far back as 1913 that was the definite aim of a large section

of the Hindus. This is what Mr. Pal says in May 1913.

"National differentiations among us, therefore, have not been based upon territorial demarcations only or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture. Under the Muslims we had, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, one common Government, but that did not destroy the integrity of Hindu culture. We took many things from our Mohamedan neighbours, and gave them also something of our own, but this interchange of ideas and institutions did not destroy our special character or our special culture. And that special character and culture is the very soul and essence of what

Confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority, Muslims are naturally afraid that release from the British yoke might in their case mean enslavement to the Hindus. (This is not a fear to be ridiculed). Were the Hindus similarly situated as are the Muslims in regards to numbers and other things.



we now understand as Nationalism. This is by no means a mere political idea or ideal. It is something that touches every department of one collective life and activity. It is organised in our domestic, our communal, our social and our socio-economic institutions. In fact Politics form, from some points of least important factor of this nation idea among us. The so-called free political institutions of Europe might, indeed, hinder, instead of helping the growth of our real national life while under conceivable conditions mere political subjection might not be able to touch even the outermost fringe of that life. Then he goes on:

"The Nationalist Movement in India, which so far, is essentially a Hindu movement, stands:

1. Ideally, for (1) Hindu Nationalism (2) Federal internationalism (3) Universal Federation.

2. Particularly (1) for the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilisation, (2) The promotion of sympathetic and reverent study of other world-cultures, e. g. Christian and Islam, representing the composite of modern India, and the cultivation of the spirit of mutual understanding and the helpful co-operation with them, (3) the continuance of the British connection through the gradual building up of a Federal constitution for the present association, called the British Empire, a Federation in which India and Egypt shall be equal co-partners of Great Britain with Ireland and the British colonies, (4) The advancement of Universal Federation.

He stands for what? Hindu Nationalism. But as I say, undaunted, hope sprang almost eternally in my heart and soul, derived from Dadabhoj Naroji. I was not going to give it up, but nourish it. After the Karachi session of the Congress in 1913, I redoubled my efforts. What happened? Those of you who remember it know, it was our set purpose to remove this misunder-

standing. There where many others who were a pillar of strength amongst the Mussalmans as well as the Hindus who made great efforts. I was the arch culprit in this mission. I therefore tried and succeeded to get these two organisations—the Congress and the Muslim League—to meet at least in one city. That was in 1915. It was after laborious efforts that I got them together in the city of Bombay. At that time as it happened the war was on and it was expected that the Government would make some declaration of policy on Constitutional reform in this country. Our friends, the British at the time—even today I don't think they have given up this game—did not want that these two organisations should meet in the same city,—leave alone under one roll. You know, that the session of the All-India Muslim League at its first meeting was broken up under the very nose of the Police. We asked the Government to hold an enquiry as we felt that it was with the connivance of the Police and with the support of the bureaucracy that that meeting of Muslim League had been broken up. I do not want to go into details. It is a matter of history. I want just to skip over those events and give you the background. They saw through that and we were not for wrong. At the end of the next year, that is, in December 1916 the Congress and the League again met at Lucknow and there we signed, sealed and delivered the Lucknow Pact known as Hindu-Muslim Lucknow Pact. But that Pact was mutilated by the British Parliament in various ways. After that came the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms declaration.

#### Enter Mr. Gandhi

It was in 1916-17. While this was going on, came Mr. Gandhi on the horizon. Let us see what happened. Mr. Gandhi puts his declaration in 'Young India' on the 12th of May 1923—You will remember that in this same auspicious month of May Mr. B. C. Pal made his declaration seven years ago—and what does Mr. Gandhi say?

"It will be seen that for me there are no politics but religion. They subserve religion."

You will see later what Mr. Gandhi has done in pursuance of this declaration. He says further;

The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I take part in politics it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake, from which one cannot go out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with this snake, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends in politics by introducing religion into politics'.

Let me tell you, he has done that with a vengeance, as you will perceive when I go further. In 1921 after he captured the Congress at Nagpur he said in 'Young India' on 12th October, 1921:

"I call myself a *Sana tani* (Orthodox) Hindu because, firstly I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishad, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in Avatars and Rishis". Ultimately he himself became an Avatar.

Secondly, I believe in the *varnashrama Dharmam* (the law of the Caste system) in its vedic forms.

Thirdly, I believe in the protection of cow as an article of faith, and fourthly, I do not disbelieve in idol worship."

He says in a milder form "I do not disbelieve, in idol worship".

In spite of these declarations which are so clear and unequivocal the Hindu Nationalists got a little nervous about it. They did not know that here is a man, a far-sighted, shrewd man. So there was a little apprehension and nervousness and in order to reassure them, this is what he said in 1924.

"It has been whispered that by being so much with the Mussalman friends, I make myself unfit to know the Hindu mind. The Hindu mind is myself. Surely, I do not live amidst Hindus to



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know the Hindu mind when every fibre of my being is Hindu."

"My Hinduism must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse."

And yet, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will remember that when I expressed my desire to meet him as a Hindu leader he resented it and yet he says "every fibre of his Hindu" which means that his Hindu mind is impregnable. This was in 1924.

## 1925 And After

Ladies and Gentlemen: from 1925 onwards, as you know, many efforts were made for the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim differences. Every time we were the petitioners, the supplicants standing at the doors of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, with our proposals formulated. For some reason or other the reply was "No" They never made any counter-proposals. You remember, we formulated in 1927 at Delhi some proposals. Somehow or other, fortunately or unfortunately, those proposals were substantially accepted by the Congress at Madras at the end of 1927. Therefore the communal settlement was brought about and two committees were appointed, by the Muslim League and the Congress, to make jointly a Political demand. Let me tell you that when these two committees met, it was Mr. Gandhi who smashed it up (cries of shame, shame) and Nehru Report was started contrary to the resolutions of these two organisations and after the two committees had actually met but dissolved. So we were forced to withdraw our proposals. What happened next? Then came the Nehru report. You know the history of it. I shall only tell you what Maulana Mohammed Ali said about the Nehru report. He was an independent man. Some of the Muslims in the Congress had suffered more than

anybody else. This is what Maulana Mohammed Ali says:

## Difference

"In the days of the rule of the British India Company the Government street-criers used to announce the dual sovereignty of India before notifying any government notice, proclaiming the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ka—Mulk Maleka Ka, Hukam Company Bahadur Ki* (the people belong to God, the Country belongs to the Queen Victoria, and the Government belongs to the Company Bahadur). (Laughter). But under the proposed regime of the Nehru Scheme of Mr. Gandhi, the Government street-criers will announce that new dual sovereignty of India by declaring the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ka—Mulk British Ka, Hukumat Mahasabha Bahadur Ki*—(The people belong to God, the country belongs to the British and the Government belongs to the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur).

Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in 1930, Maulana Mohammed Ali, who had worked, suffered and made sacrifices, along with the Congressmen, says:

"Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the submersion of Muslims. He has never consulted the Muslim community on the question of starting Civil Disobedience movement. He wants to triumphantly pass over the head of the Indian Muslim community. We have not broken any pledge, pact or treaty. We are not traitors to India. The Mussalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last ten years but Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against the Muslims. He never denounced the movements of *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* which openly and clearly aimed at annihi-

lation of Muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke the Madras Hindu Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Quranic teaching, namely, "If you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers".

## Impossible Conditions

Now we come to the second Round Table Conference to which Mr. Gandhi went for the first time as the sole representative of the Congress. What happened there? All attempts for a settlement were again smashed up by him very clearly and with some excuse or other. You will find in Dr. Ambedkar's book that one of the conditions that he imposed upon the Muslim delegation in London was that he would be prepared to agree to our proposals on the express condition that we, the Muslims, should oppose the scheduled castes asking for any kind of separate electorates or special treatment. In other words Mr. Gandhi did not want special treatment to be given to the scheduled castes. Now I ask you how is it possible that any man, who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, fair play, of justice, to agree to this, that these 60 Millions, who are the biggest blot on the fair name of India, should be kept as untouchables, at the mercy of the Sanathanists, Mr. Gandhi being one. I assure you, in the name of humanity I care more for them than for Mussalmans. After all, we, Mussalmans, are capable of giving and taking. (Cheers) Could there be any condition so offensive and absurd as this one laid down by Mr. Gandhi. Second condition was that you Muslims agree that you will fight for the freedom of the country. Am I so degraded as to accept such a condition? I want the freedom of the people of this country more than any body else. (Cheers) It looked as if Mr. Gandhi has the monopoly for the love and the freedom of the country. A voice; 'He



does not want freedom.) The thing naturally broke down. When the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference met, this is what Mr. Gandhi said—and the real thing that was at the back of his mind always come out at the critical moment, in a roundabout way. He was addressing the Minorities Committee and Mr. Macdonald was presiding He said:

"Further you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. The solution of the communal tangle can be the crown of Swaraj constitution and not its foundation. Our differences have hardened if they have not arisen by reason of the foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom."

What did Mr. Macdonald say? Even the Prime Minister was provoked to such an extent that he spoke out. Whatever may be said about Macdonald, he had really very soft corner for the aspirations of India. This is what he said to Mr. Gandhi;

"Be honest and face the facts. The Communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not exist? I do not answer, I leave you honestly to answer it for yourselves and to yourselves.

"Then if the communal problem does exist, how can it be discussed with a view to settlement, either in India or here? At the foundation of any progress towards the setting up an Indian constitution lies the problem of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on."

That closed the chapter of the Round Table Conference. What happened then? I will tell you very briefly. Gandhi put up the following institutions;

1. "The Gandhi Ashram" (Monastery At Sevagram Wardha.) To serve as the Vatican of Gandhism and the Capital of the Congress.

2. "The Gandhi Seva Sangha" (A small body of nine Gandhian Cardinals or High Patriarchs who form the permanent Inner Cabinet of Gandhi and Gandhism).

3. "Gandhi Harijan Seva Sangh" (To consolidate the Depressed Classes as integral Parts of Hinduism and to prevent their conversion to Islam or Christianity).

4. "Gandhi Hindi Prachar Sangha," (To propagate Sanskritized Hindi as the state and national language of India and to displace Urdu from its place of primacy and popularity).

5. "Gandhi Nagri Prachar Sabha" (To propagate the idea

that all India Language should be written in Hindi Devanagari Script and to displace Urdu Script).

6. "Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha," (Village Welfare League to preach and propagate Gandhian Principles in the Villages).

7. "Gandhi Khadi Pratisthan" (To preach the cult of spinning wheel and Khadi or hand woven Cloth which is worshiped as a fetish).

8. "Gandhi Wardha Talimi Sangha," was also later organised to propagate Gandhian principles of religion, spiritualism, national economy and nationalism through a State controlled system of compulsory primary education. Under the Wardha Scheme the entire system of education of the Country was sought to be made subservient to the propagation of Gandhism (which was only a new form of Hinduism to the exclusion of all other religions).

9. "Gandhi Cow Rakhsha Sabha" (Cow Cult Association).

Gandhi is a great believer in the Hindu Cow Cult—the worship of the cow as a Goddess. He has therefore, made Cow Rakhsha Sabha and Cow Exhibition as an adjunct of the Congress.

Gandhi Seva Sangha is the Mother-Superior of all these associations (Laughter.) Mr. Gandhi addressing the Gandhi Seva Sangha says:—

Have You Tried  
Mohani  
Products?

If not Try Our



Manufactured: By THE MOHANI PRODUCTS CO.,

14, ANDERSON STREET, MADRAS-1.



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"Sphere of action of these associations is limited. But yours is unlimited. Yours is a mighty tree of which these various associations may be called branches."

## Gandhian Hierarchy

This is how he addressed this Mother-Superior. Not only that, but you will find that he appointed certain Deputies. Besides dividing the whole sub-continent of India into three definite Parliamentary Zones and appointing three Parliamentary Zone-Dictators like their Nazi counterparts of District Fuehrers, has also gradually developed Permanent Deputy Mahatmas in almost all provinces and zones. These deputy Mahatmas are the confirmed Cardinals of Gandhism, believers in the Gandhian principles and Gandhian Dictatorship and carriers of his message, and executors of his orders. For instance the Permanent Secretary of the All India Congress Office is Acharya Kripalani, a great exponent and theorist of Gandhism and author of the famous article; "The Gandhian Way." Kaka Kalekar is in charge of the Gandhian programme of Hindi and Nagri. Mr. Mashruwala is in charge of the Grand Council of Cardinals of Gandhism—The Gandhi Save Sangha, Mr. Arya Nayakam and Mr. Kumarappa are in charge of the Wardha Education Schemes. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, the Deputy Gandhi of Bengal is in charge of Khadi Pratisthan and Gandhi Ashram in Bengal. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Deputy Gandhi of Bihar is in charge of the Sadaqat Ashram in Bihar. Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar is in charge of the Hinduisation influences and emasculation of the martial Pathans, the bugbear of the dreamers of Hindu-raj of Hindu. (Laughter). He is in charge of the Gandhi Ashram in N. W. F. P. Sardar Patel is the Deputy Gandhi in Gujrat, and Bombay. Shankar Rao Deo is the Deputy Gandhi of Maharashtra. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah

another theorist and exponent of Gandhism, is the Deputy Gandhi of the Andhra Province, and so on and so forth.

## Gandhi, Hitler, Musso

It is not my testimony. I am going to give you the testimony of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All India National Congress that took place at Tripuri. At that time the organisation had developed to a very great extent. I want the people to understand the facts and then come to their own conclusions. This is what Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committee said :

"Our Congress organisation can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy the Nazi party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi neither are all Russians Communists; but they have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four-anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The Congress, as at present constituted is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi."

Now we are repeatedly told by this organisation in India that the Muslim League is a communal organisation. It is the Hindu leaders who have deliberately and with a set purpose destroyed any possible chance of adjustment between these two communities by well-planned and systematic manoeuvres and by organising themselves. And then they call it nationalism, nationalism, democracy, democracy.

I ask you : "Is this nationalism, is this democracy?" (Cries of No, No from all corners) When we say 'No', we have this experience for the last 25 years and unimpeachable evidence. But we have

heard and felt hurt when in vain they say, 'We have destroyed it and they talk of Nationalism and Democracy either they can't understand or they are dishonest. Don't they understand it when we say that the Parliamentary system democracy is not suited to the genius of the country? Surely it is obvious. It is not a question of Democracy as a foundation of popular representative constitutional Government.

We have made it clear that there cannot be any room for democracy when you have a nation working on these lines. Not only have we evidence; but we have suffered and experienced that. *When you talk of Democracy you are thoroughly dishonest. When you talk of Democracy, you mean Hindu Raj, to dominate over the Muslims, a totally different nation, different in culture, different in everything. You yourself are working for Hindu Nationalism and Hindu Raj.*

## Democracy is in our very blood

Ladies and Gentlemen, *We learned democracy 1300 years ago. (Cheers.) It is in our blood and it is as far away from the Hindu Society as are the Arctic regions. (Renewed Cheers.) You tell us that we are not democratic. It is we, who have learned the lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty? We are for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception which will turn the whole of India into a Gandhi Ashram or one society and nation, and will by its permanent majority destroy another nation or society in permanent minority and all that is dear to the minority.*

I give you these facts. I say give up, give up this pose. You have made your bed You may lie on it. Have your Hindu Nationalism: have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you God-speed. But I am not going, as long as there is life

(See facing page)



## JINNAH

(Continued from page 51)

day the critics may call him what they may—and they are one in black-mailing him—but not in the distant future, they will agree with him and with the cause he espouses. *He is the living symbol of Muslim aspirations, their champion, their advocate. Few can rival him in his independence of judgment and frankness of convictions. He has not bent his head low before any other leader. No Indian political leader, nor any from the Muslim nation, ever had the good fortune of adding Mr. Jinnah to the rank of his followers. He is a lone figure in Indian politics,—but how wonderfully he leads the masses without being one of them! To come across the best embodiment of Indian freedom, to get at the man whom corruption has not touched, whom official honours have not defiled, and who has the unique reputation of being the most clear-headed politician; you must meet Mr. JINNAH.*

—From "MEET Mr. JINNAH"  
published by Shaik Mohamed  
Ashraf, Book-sellers & Publishers,  
Lahore.

## PAKISTAN

left in a single Mussalman, to have this Hindu Raj. The Irish Nationalist Leader Redman met Carson, Ulster leader and told him "Look hear, can't we come to some settlement. Why do you want to separate from Ireland. Mind you, there is not one millionth part of the differences between the peoples of Ulster and Ireland. What was Carson's reply? "I DO NOT WANT TO BE RULED BY YOU". My reply to Mr. Gandhi is "I DO NOT WANT TO BE RULED BY YOU".

## Dr. IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY OF SELF

AFTER many centuries of philosophical slumber, a diamond came out from the dust of the Orient and that diamond was none else but Dr. Iqbal who made the persian concept of self annihilation topsy-turvy and polished the mirror of Rumi which was in his heart.

It is indeed very difficult to translate KHUDI into English language after looking at

BY

SAJAUDDIN A. VASI

its inner philosophical value, however, we can roughly identify it with self in the Fichtean or Nietzschean sense.

To trace the development of his Philosophy of self it will not be out of place to go into the historical development of the dynamics of the Ego. It was perhaps Mansur of Mullaj who first boldly uttered "ANAL-HUQ" 'I am the creative truth' and accepted the penalty of death, imposed upon him by the orthodox mullas who regarded him as an atheist. Iqbal understands well the inner psyche of Mansur and appreciates his idea of the survival of the personality. The "ANAL-HUQ" of Mansur opened the eyes of the many of the later persian mystics who poetized with it.

It was perhaps Maulana Jala-uddin Rumi who evaluated the philosophy of the self in the new light. Rumi says: that by realising the self imitatively one can capture even God.

*Beneath the towers of his majesty  
there are men who capture  
Angles, Prophets and even God  
himself.*

To the westerners who have not seen the miracles of the transcendent self now realised the truth of this couplet; may

seem to be mythological but to the self-realised it is a fact.

Coming to the modern philosophy it seems that beside Mansur and Rumi Iqbal is also indebted to Fichte, the great German philosopher for his dynamic conception of the 'Ego'. In the 19th Century philosopher Nietzsche gave new touch to the philosophy. His philosophy of 'Ego' is very dynamic but is not so creative and evolutionary as that of Rumi and Iqbal. The dynamic Ego of Nietzsche is material atheistic and lacks the element of spirituality. In his preface to the genealogy of morals he writes. "We are unknown, we knoweth ourselves to ourselves; this has its own good-reason. We have never searched for ourselves—how should it then come to pass that we should ever find ourselves."

Nietzsche is not much particular about the meaning of the word self. Sometimes he identifies self with the body—As in Thus Spake Zarathustra he writes: "Body am I and soul—so said the Child, and why should one not speak like the Child. But the awakend one, the knowing one said, 'Body am I entirely and nothing more, and soul is only the name of something in the body. Behind thy thought and feeling my brother there is a mighty word, an unknown sage; it is called Self; it dwelleth in Thy body; it is thy body." Dr. Iqbal accepts the dynamic aspect of Nietzsche's Ego and rejects the material side of it. Now let us see Iqbal's Philosophy of 'Ego.' The Ego is to Iqbal not merely a philosophical reality but also the practical reality. As he says:

*'The form of existence is an effect  
of the Self whatever thou seest  
is a secret of the Self when the  
Self awoke to consciousness, it  
revealed the universe of thought.*

Dr. Iqbal believes in the survival of the human Ego and not its annihilation. The finite Ego according to him must not loose

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# THE ATOM BOMB

WE now stand, at the end of the most terrible war the world has ever been scourged by, facing the future with our destiny clearly foretold. The last blow struck during the war has done that foretelling. Our scientists, our divines and philosophers for once are unanimous in their warning that if we follow up the potentiality of that last blow, mankind will destroy itself, and probably the planet which has harboured him for some millions of years.

Millions! It is not long, when compared with the time needed for the evolution of certain stars, and certain reptiles; not long, when compared with the patience of that thinking Life Force (as Shaw calls it) behind those evolutionary processes, of which man is the most subtle and the most nervous.

Speculation about this matter, unhappily, is so vast and so overwhelming, that most of us cannot follow it, and the question of the survival of civilization is constantly set aside while we turn our war-jaded minds and imaginations to the more immediate fringes of that fear. We see political and internal tangles of fear and suspicion, and we see them through a curtain of hunger and money-complexes.

That is surely enough to go on with at present. But the trouble is, that this "going on with" is what will lead to the disaster that we all know lies ahead next time we allow world-war to break out.

I suppose that since the use of the atomic bomb in August, everybody has been reading the flood of prophecies. I know I have. But it has been reluctant reading, for I am a man craving, with all my nerves and outraged spirit, to have done with

this perpetual consideration of force and brutal coercion. We have had six years of it in an exaggerated form. And force and brutality are latent in our lives from the cradle to the grave.

It has always been so, throughout human history. The nature of man has willed it to be so. And one may say that the story of civilisation is the story of his conscious effort to break down this latent will. So far as he has conquered his fear of himself and his fellows, his greed to possess more than his own share as an assurance against a hungry to-morrow, then he has set aside that atomic bomb and has turned, his vitality and his creative genius to co-operative use, the use of love and faith.

And what we have done we can do again, for good as well as for ill. I maintain myself today, against the dreadful wave for world despair

which is threatening to engulf us, by this conviction of the balance of events and its basis in the sanity of man. Hitherto that sanity has worked with slow, obstinate certitude, often in the guise of stupidity and crowd inertia, against the dangerous lightning flashes of our mad moments. But those mad moments grow more dangerous as we invent ever sharper weapons for suicide. Cain can no longer murder Abel without murdering himself. And who then shall claim the birthright about which the quarrel began?

Two things, apparently irrelevant, have brought me to the point of writing this article about the question which is in everybody's mind. I have no more competence than my reader to write about it. But it is teasing us all beyond the point of endurance and without some outlet we shall all dwindle into a sort of obsession and begin to neglect our immediate job and way of life.

And once we do that, the way is open to nightmare, a false world of fear in which our personalities split into two—a snake and a rabbit.

The first of these two things is a book. It is called *The Heart of Pascal*; a small book, almost a pamphlet, of sayings by the wonderful Frenchman, collected by a Cambridge theologian, Dr. H. F. Stewart (Cambridge University Press, 6s) from what he calls "the remainder of the scribbles contained in the great album which the Benedictines of St. Germain-des-Prés caused to be formed out of the scraps, collected in Pascal's death chamber." He refers to the famous *pensees*, that collection of seemingly disconnected aphorisms which is now world famous.

This selection refers to Pascal's Meditations and Prayers, his Notes for his anti-jesuit campaign after their attack on the Catholic Puritan movement at Port Royal, which he had recently joined, and finally, his reflections on the use of language and style. In this book they are in the original French, so I recommended the use with them of the English version in *Everyman's Library*, which contains Mr. T. S. Elliot's extremely valuable introduction.

Now, I was browsing over this book, when suddenly it focused my mind on what had been hitherto some vague and uneasy musing which had occupied me for some months past, following a letter from a reader, in which he complained to the Editor of my too frequent harping upon religious matters. I knew him at once. That savage intolerance of all that is outside the realm of pure reason is no new thing. It existed long before Karl Marx. It was a stance adopted by the majority of the progressive Greek philosophers (for example, Pyrrho of Elis in 300 B.C.) It was the foundation of the spirit of the Renaissance, which flowered into the modern Scientific Age, in which theology had been superseded by Physics.

BY

**RICHARD CHURCH**



The genius of Pascal at once shone before me as light to lead both me and my critic to some sort of mutual understanding, for he stands for one great section of mankind to-day, and I stand for another.

I see him as the spokesman of men who have struggled to find their way to freedom through the proclamation of pure reason. And who would deny the value of that effort? He fights against superstition, dogma, and the tyranny of the emotions. He sees most institutions as supporters of the dark past. And again, who would not support him in his belief that at all costs we must strive towards dispassionate, scientific detachment as the problems of building a new world confront us?

But I would ask him how this struggle originates in his nature. Is it not a painful and perpetual struggle of his mind, his spirit, to comprehend and control the sensible world of stone, leaf, blood; this dreadful Belsen world into which we relapse immediately we remove the controls of moral law and conventions?

I would tell him here that my reason—and I underline the word *reason*—for constantly harping upon religious matters is that I see the processes of reason (by which mankind is to save itself from annihilation in the near future) as always working in a sort of spiral (which is the hope of eternity) upward to that incandescence of the mind which comes as a crown to right thinking, the light in the brick-built tower.

Thinking, the functioning of reason, is merely an accumulative process until it suddenly takes fire, and burns to a conclusion. And that is thinking plus something extra. And when you get something more than thought, you get a set of conditions which demand new tools to cope with them. The tools are faith, and imagination. Both these faculties cannot humility, that ability to stand at the bottom of a ladder and to look up at it before climbing.

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## Dr. Iqbal's Philosophy of Self

(Continued from page 57)

its individuality in the infinite Ego, but preserve it. The drop should not perish into the stream for thereby it loses its individuality. The finite Ego should unite with the infinite in such a way as to preserve itself, as when iron is put into the furnace it becomes Self with the fire and yet does not lose its 'Self.' The aim of every finite Ego is to realise '*tat tvam asi*' (That art thou) or to put into the language of Mansur ANA-HUQ 'I am the creative truth.'

In order to realise the '*tat tvam asi*' or 'that art thou' there are three stages through which the Self has to pass for its perfection. First is the stage of *Ila'ah*: devotion and duty. There the Self obeys the command of the higher Self. This stage is compared to the camel who willingly loads himself (with duties and prayers) and reaches its '*manzil*'. The second stage is Self-control. In this stage the Self often sees the flashes of divinity. In its perfection the Self here becomes independent as the windowless monad of Leibniz which represents the whole world from its particular point of view. If one does not control its Self one is controlled by others. As Iqbal says in his *Asrar-E-Khudi*.

*He who does not command himself  
accepts the commands of the  
others.*

The third stage is NIYATE-ILAH. In this stage the finite 'Ego' unites with the infinite Ego and realises '*tat tvam asi*' or 'that art thou'. According to Iqbal's conception of Self, Eckhart, the great German mystic is quite correct when he says:

*"To gauge the soul we must gauge with God, for the ground of God and the ground of the Soul are quite the same."*

(From the perennial Philosophy-Aldous Huxday.)

How nicely the persian sufi poet says:

*If you did not worship your Self  
how can you know God.*

*Without becoming a disbeliever  
how can you know the delicious-  
ness of the faith.*

In order to strengthen the self begging should be absolutely discarded. Here begging should be taken in the very wide sense. Instead of suppressing the desire as Schopenhauer and Buddha thought the 'Ego' should always deserve and try to expand itself. As in his *Asrar-E-Khudi* Iqbal says:

*Life is preserved by purpose,  
because of the goal the caravan-  
bell tinkles.*

*In desire the life is hidden, its  
origin is hidden in desire.*

*Desire is an emotion of the Self  
It is a restless wave of the  
Self's sea*

The self that has realised itself desires God itself. As Ansari of Hesar says:

*A beggar Lord, I ask of thee  
more than a thousand king  
could ask.*

*Each one wants something which  
he asks of thee.*

*I come to ask thee to give me thyself  
(from the perennial philosophy  
of Aldous Huxley.)*

It is the love which unveils the litter of the reality and not the intellect for it is lost in the maze of how and why.

Dr. Iqbal's Philosophy of Self is very practical and the intuition of the Self is possible for everybody who tries it. One should well remember the saying of Nietzsche who says 'one should not love one's desire but the things desired'. If every Muslim grasps well Iqbal's concept of Self and tries to act accordingly, it will be in no time that the Muslims of India will be free from the clutches of the political draw-backs.



# THE PALESTINE ISSUE

**Z**IONIST ambition has made Palestine the storm centre of the Middle East and a vexed world problem. Jewish terrorism and fanaticism have gone beyond the control of the Mandatory Power. The Palestine Conference has languished in London for months and in spite of the ceaseless efforts of the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Ernest Bevin to arrive at an agreed solution, the Jews and the Arabs have not come a whit nearer. And out of sheer despair, the British have finally decided to absolve themselves of the responsibility and submit the Palestine issue to the United Nations.

## The Palestine problem, a British creation

Observers who are not acquainted with the history of the Palestine question would be tempted to regard the British as righteous intermediaries, honestly endeavouring to solve a delicate issue. But in reality the trouble in Palestine is entirely a creation of Britain. The root cause of this problem is the infamous and iniquitous Balfour Declaration made in the autumn of 1917, announcing British support for the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish national home.

We are told that this unjust declaration, fateful to the indigenous Arab people of Palestine, was made in a moment of levity by the British. It came in the nature of a reward to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a German Jewish scientist, who rendered great help to the British in connection with the research in T. N. T. during war.

This declaration had no justification whatsoever, historical or moral. But it was incorporated as one of the terms of the mandate and the British Government sedulously fostered Jewish immigration into Palestine, the Jews who were a small minority of ten per cent, about 50,000 in number in 1914, rose to a powerful

minority of 500,000 in the pre-war years, when due to Arab resistance the British were forced to issue the White Paper in 1939 by which immigration was restricted. The Jews now demand at the point of the bayonet unrestricted immigration and the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. It is thus clear that the entire problem is British made. *The Jews have no historical claim over it.*

The Jews claim that Palestine is their Land of Promise and they have a historical right over it. This is a specious pretence. It has been exploded by the famous letter of King Ibn Saud to

BY

K. A. Jaleel, B.A. (Hons.)

President Roosevelt. The Arabs have an inalienable right over Palestine because they are its inhabitants from time immemorial and they have been its rulers and masters, except sporadically. The Jews are foreigners to Palestine. Their original home was Canaan in Syria. A section of the Jewish tribe migrated to Palestine and happened to rule over some parts of Palestine and that for a short spell of years. Thus by no stretch of imagination can we understand the basis of the Zionist claim of historical rights over Palestine.

## False Propaganda Exposed

Another specious argument which Zionists and Zionist-inspired writers in Europe and America advance is the economic advantage that will accrue to the Arabs owing to the Jewish occupation. It is even claimed that the lead which the Jews gave in the economic field has raised the standard of living of the Arabs and that the novel methods employed in agriculture by the

Jews were object lessons to the Arabs.

Nothing can be further from truth than this baseless propaganda. The Jews and the Arabs are two isolated communities in Palestine economically. The Jewish agricultural farms are generally run on co-operative lines by Jewish labour and the Arabs have no place there. Arab labour is sought only by private Jewish proprietors and they are paid on a discriminatory basis. There are separate labour organizations for Jews and Arabs. To realize how complete the racial discrimination and economic boycott is, we have only to recollect the recent report in the press that the Jewish terrorist shot dead a Jewish hotel keeper for employing an Arab waiter.

Moreover the extravagant methods of Jews cannot be followed by the Arabs and they are not in a position to compete with Jewish prodigality. The Jews are prepared to sink millions and millions of dollars to reclaim even a small tract of wasteland for they have at their disposal enormous funds in Europe and America. These reckless extravagances are written off as investments for the establishment of a national home. How can the Arabs follow these lessons in agricultural economy which verge on madness? *Thus Jewish money, which pours in endlessly and which is spent recklessly, instead of improving their lot, threaten the Arabs with economic extermination.*

## Jews adopt the argument of the Big stick

It is clear that the Jewish claim of historical right and the argument about economic advantages are untenable. The economic argument of the Jews is in no way different from the arguments which Hitler and Mussolini advanced in favour of their occupying the Balkans and Ethiopia.

But International Jewry is not dismayed by logic. They have at their disposal a force of about 50,000 soldiers trained on commando lines



and equipped with modern arms, besides what is known as the Home Guard Force. If propaganda and money, fail they are ready to terrorize the mandatory power into submission. The Hagana, the Jewish underground movement and the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the terrorist organization are carrying on their blitz methods to coerce Britain and establish a Jewish state over the heads of the Arabs. And in spite of the embargo on immigration, illegal immigrants, are pouring into Palestine in large numbers from various parts of Europe.

### Truman Breaks Roosevelt's Pledge to Arabs

This situation has been further exacerbated by President Truman, the accidental successor of President Roosevelt, by insisting on the British Government to admit 100,000 Jews into Palestine forthwith. After the specific assurances given by President Roosevelt to the Arabs during the war, this ill-considered demand of Truman comes as a rude shock to the world at large.

If President Truman wants to help the persecuted Jews of Europe, he can very well begin his charity at home instead of thrusting the Jews on the Arabs of Palestine. Moreover if the Jews are anxious to have a free life they can repair to various other parts of the world, and especially to some parts of the U. S. S. R. where they have been offered hospitality by Stalin. But Zionist fanaticism turns only to Palestine and President Truman under pressure from the Jewish vested interests in New York and with an eye on votes for Democrats does not care for justice or fairplay or the plighted troth of his predecessor.

### The Anglo-American Commission and After

What follows is the dismal story of the Anglo-American

Commission and its report. No one who knows the power of Jewish dollar would have been surprised at that report. The operative part of the report consists of ten recommendations of which one is to admit 100,000 Jews forthwith into Palestine and to liberalize the immigration laws. Another recommendation suggests the continuation of the mandate or a trusteeship to be executed under the United Nations Charter. The report dismisses the idea of a Jewish State or an Arab State for Palestine in the same vein, as if the Arab demand for a free Arab Palestine can be treated on a par with the fantastic claims of the Jews.

Owing to the stout opposition of the Arab States and because of Britain's strategic interest in the Middle East, the British Government showed the cold shoulder to this Report and refused to take the responsibility for implementing it. Instead the British Government brought forward a compromise plan known as the Morrison Plan. It envisages a Federal Palestine with autonomous Jewish and Arab provinces. Virtually the scheme involves a partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish Zones, and the Jewish area would have its own immigration laws. The Arabs and the Arab States scented danger and pledged that they would oppose partition in any shape or form.

As a last minute effort Mr. Ernest Bevin brought forward a modified version of the Morrison Plan. This proposal provided for the autonomy of Jewish and Arab local areas within a unitary Government and the immigration of Jews at the rate of 4,000 a month for two years. It promised a Constituent Assembly of Jews and Arabs after five years of trusteeship. The Arabs refused to tie themselves down to any such scheme and basing their arguments on fundamental rights demanded the immediate establishment of an independent democratic Palestine. The Jews

also rejected all the compromise schemes and refused even to negotiate on the basis of any of these plans.

### A Jewish State in Palestine will be a threat to Middle East

Apart from the inherent justice of the Arab Case, the establishment in a part or the whole of Palestine a Jewish State will be a major disaster for the Arab States of the Middle East. Such a State will be a threat, political and economical, to the stability of the Middle East. It will prove to be a foot-board for a Jewish economic imperialism in the Middle East. Once securely established in Palestine, the Jews are bound to strive to expand. And the strategic importance of Palestine is such that it is imperative for the Arab States to see that Palestine remains in friendly hands. The Arab League has been fully awake as to the importance of the question, and they have wisely made common cause with the Arabs of Palestine.

Thus Palestine has become major international problem. Britain, whose strategic requirements demand peace in Palestine, after making incessant efforts to arrive at an agreed compromise, has now finally decided to submit the issue to the United Nations.

In spite of the inherent justice of the Arab cause and their inalienable rights over Palestine, we are not certain how the issue will be tackled by the United Nations. For power-alignments, at present, are unfortunately based on strategic reasons and not on Justice. However it remains certain that the Arabs of Palestine and the Arab States are resolved to have an independent Arab Palestine, and the sympathies and active support of the entire Muslim world go with them. And an unjust solution can be perpetrated on Palestine only after wading through streams of Arab blood and facing explosions throughout the Arab States and the Muslim world.



## ★ MUSLIM STUDENTS'

THE Muslim Students' struggle against Imperialism dates back to the Indian Mutiny. For, it was in those days when the Britishers here had let loose a hell over the country, that they found themselves arraigned against it. Before the Indian Mutiny Muslims were prosperous and a high percentage of their youths were undergoing study and training in *madrassas* and schools which were not a few in this sub-continent. Significantly enough, these schools and *madrassas* became the centres of resistance, when the bugle of revolt was sounded in 1857. So that, when the Britishers at last overwhelmed the patriotic forces by their superior might and main, they made it a point to see that these *madrassas* are demolished and the trustees and teachers tried and punished, for their resistance against Britishers and their urge for freedom. Thus it was in these days that the Muslim students first came in grips with their imperialist masters.

The enmity and hatred sown in their hearts, due to the ruthless persecution of them by the British masters, did not die soon, but persisted. And this was just the cause why they refused to study English and attend Government schools, discarding their traditional education, so much so, they carried on a movement of non-cooperation against the Britishers. Their opposition to their foreign masters and their system can be well gauged by the fact that they considered the study of the foreign tongue as heathenism, pure and simple and starvation and death better than serving in a Government office. And this was mainly responsible for their backwardness. For whereas the sister community had already adapted itself to the customs and culture of the new master and was marching on the road to progress, emancipation and political cons-

ciousness, they persisted in their opposition to the new system and were thus left behind and in a lurch.

This state prevailed for about three decades, when appeared on the scene a reformer, with the good of the community in his heart and determined to bring his community on a par with others. This was none other than Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. But then the spirit of hatred and animosity was so deep rooted in the Muslims' heart that he met with stiff opposition everywhere. He was derided as a *Kafir*, he was cried down as a heathen; he was called an agent of British Imperialism. But all praise to him that he carried on the struggle with determination, courage and fortitude and at last successfully founded the Muslim

## MOVEMENT

University of Aligarh. Once set on the road, the Muslim youths marched on from strength to strength.

We once again witness the anti-imperialist tendencies and patriotic propensities latent in them asserting and arresting the focus of the eyes and the ears of the world during the Khilafat Movement when their throwing their English books and boycotting Government Colleges & Schools, joined in large numbers the freedom movement that was raging on a high pitch all over the country. This was their supreme hour, when they constituted, the sword-arm spring board & spearhead of our national struggle. They underwent many sufferings & sacrifices trials and tribulations during this period and when at last after paying much in blood, bones and money, they saw that the movement has fizzled out, in spite of

their great sufferings & sacrifice, they became disheartened and dejected. Thus followed the proverbial calm after the storm in the annals of the Muslim Student Movement in India.

Once again we see life returning to our students in 1936, when an attempt was made to form a United Student's Organisation at Lucknow. But the acrimonious treatment meted out to the Muslim students there came as a rude shock to them—even to those who were striving hard for a united India, free from racial prejudice, caste distinctions and communal differences. *This at once opened the eyes of the Muslim leaders and students and impressed on them the necessity of a student movement with the specific object of organising the Muslims on one platform and under one banner.* Thus came into being the All-India Muslim Students' Federation in 1938.

Till then, the Muslim youth was in a deep slumber and age-long inactivity. There was no contact between the student community and the masses which is one of the conditions precedent for the success of any scheme or struggle. Further, the Muslims were passing through hard times then; critical days were ahead and hence the need for consolidation and organisation became all the more urgent. It has also been corroborated by recent events in Europe and other countries that the success of any movement largely depends to a very large extent on the youths and unless and until there is a *living* relation between the intelligentsia and the larger national life, one reacting on the other, there is no hope of its success. And thus the formation of a Muslim students' organisation separately became all the more indispensable.

## IN INDIA ★

The aim of this organisation was to organise all the talents and dormant potentialities of the Mussalman and to spur and stir

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# OUR CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

*THE M. P. M. S. F. Council appointed a Constructive Planning Sub-Committee to draft a Constructive Programme for the benefit of the M. S. F. Units of the province. It consisted of Messrs. Hafizur Rehman (Chairman), M. M. Abdul Khader M.A., M.M. Sharief Mujahid, Nazir Ahmed Delvi and Md. Kunhi. The following is the report prepared by the Committee and submitted to the M. P. M. S. F. Council for approval and execution:—*

\* \* \* \* \*

**T**HE Constructive Programme has three important aspects—organisational, social and economic. The entire programme may, therefore, be divided for convenience into these three broad groups. In attempting to give effect to the scheme due regard must be paid to local conditions and each unit should take care to pay special attention to those items that it can easily carry through with maximum advantage in its (that) particular local set-up.

In other words, concentrated attention and sustained effort must be bestowed upon certain items of the programme rather than attempting on an all-round and wide-based scale, only to make a mess of the whole thing or to grow despondent at initial failures which is doubly harmful in that it would inevitably lead to a slackening of effort and what is more, lack of enthusiasm and drive for the future. Practicability must be the criterion in the choice of items for the various local or district units.

Now, the scheme may be considered in detail.

**1. Organisational:** THE district and local units should take all possible steps and spare no effort to make the Federation really and truly representative of the Muslim students of the province. This calls for a vigorous membership drive. All Muslim boys and girls of age, as fixed by the central organisation should be enrolled as members of the Federation (and a sense of conscio-

us feeling should be infused in them.) This object should never be lost sight of.

1. Utmost attention must be directed to the building up of a strong social service corps (for which the constitution has already been drawn up by the M. P. M. S. F.) Every district and local unit must maintain its disciplined body of volunteers, for it cannot be denied that on it depends the success in carrying out the scheme itself, in part or in entirety. Only those active members who have a flare for social service, and can spare some time for the purpose be chartered for the task. It must always be borne in mind that more than number, quality counts for in social service activities. Merely enrolling a large number of members for the social service corps would not help to get things done. Select the most active, capable, and talented young men who can be confidently entrusted with the work and who may be depended upon in successfully carrying out the various items of the programme. A genuine interest in social service must be created in the general body of members, which undoubtedly forms the backbone and nerve-centre of all the activities of the organisation.

The need for intensive physical training of the volunteers is likewise important. Training in methods of self-defence has to be taken in hand besides taking steps to create and develop the capacity of making organised and sustained effort in times of stress and strain. It would be better

if the job of training is given to any suitable student, say for instance, one who has had the benefit of undergoing any specialised course in physical training and games. If such students are not available, trained instructors may be appointed; instructors in the local schools would not be hard to find on moderate pay. The M.P.M.S.F. is expected to render all possible help, financial and otherwise.

For the purpose of creating interest in the Muslim Student Community in national and international affairs, units of the Federation shall earnestly take up the work of organising study circles and discussion groups with the educational and cultural value of such activities is obvious, with suitable libraries attached to them. The Muslim Students' Federations in all districts can do a good deal in this direction and from the coming year every unit should give due attention to this very important and hitherto neglected branch of our activities. In addition to study circles, the Federation shall also pay attention to the holding of frequent debates and meetings in which the members should be persuaded and inspired to take active part. This will not only give an impetus to the study of subjects of general interest and ability but will also afford to the members abundant opportunities for the development of their innate talents in the art of public-speaking, debates etc.,

In order to co-ordinate the social service and other activities of the various district and local units of the Federation, the central organisation shall insist upon monthly and weekly reports from the units. To keep the units informed of the activities of each other, monthly or weekly bulletins may be issued by the central organisation on the basis of reports received from the districts. The central organisation (M.P.M. S.F.) may also contemplate the early starting of a Weekly News Magazine of its own, and until such time as it is able to do so, the Students' Horizon Columns



## Our Constructive Programme

of the Deccan Times may be arranged to be utilised for disseminating information regarding the activities of the districts and local units.

Modern age is, amongst other things, also an age of statistics and in view of the extreme educational backwardness of the Muslim community the central organisation may direct the district units to collect statistics regarding the following :—

1. No. of colleges or and High Schools and Middle schools in the locality and their respective names
2. Number of Muslim High and Middle schools, Govt. and Private and their respective names.
3. Total strength in each.
4. Number of Muslim boys, and girls (separately) in each.
5. Actual number of Muslim Boys and Girls of school-going age and the reasons as to why all of them do not go to the schools.
6. Number of Primary Schools.
7. Number of Muslim schools, Govt. and private.
8. Total strength in each.
9. Total number of Muslim Boys and Girls (each separately).
10. Actual total number of boys and girls of school-going age and the reasons as to why all of them have not joined the schools.

It should also be recorded in how many of them there is provision for Urdu and where there is no such provision, the number of boys who want to learn Urdu in each college and school should be separately and distinctly stated.

The central organisation shall specially impress on the districts the importance of the matter so as to induce them to take the necessary pains. Such statistics shall not only help us to understand where exactly we stand in education, what facilities are available to us and how much spade work will have to be done in the educational sphere but will

also be of immense help to us to make representations in respect of Muslim education to the authorities concerned and to agitate for our legitimate rights. It will be better if the central organisation takes the matter in hand at once so that the units may be ready to carry out the work during the vacation or early next academic year.

**II. Social:** In this important sphere the Muslim Students' Federation has to play a very important part, more perhaps than in any other sphere.

Corrupt and anti-Islamic practices have crept into the Muslim Society in many parts, particularly in the interior villages so much so that even Hindu religious customs and practices have found place in the beliefs and practices of Muslims and are eating into the vitals of our national life. Muslim students have to struggle hard incessantly with zeal and determination, to root out such evils by disseminating true knowledge of the Islamic beliefs and practices regarding every sphere of life. Side by side with this there must be an intense drive to inculcate in the people a reverence for Islam and an abiding fervour for the strict observance of the tenets of Islam in all their purity. For this purpose the District M. S. F. should send out to the villages propaganda squads at regular intervals.

Little attention is paid in the villages to public health, sanitation, personal cleanliness etc. The hygienic propaganda squads that visit the villages may, in addition to the above, impart lessons in more hygienic ways of living.

The educational aspect may also be considered under this head. The mass illiteracy amongst Muslims is most appalling. At present no Muslim or governmental organisation has made any leeway in solving this problem. The Muslim Students' Federation with its branches spread out all over the province is eminently suited not only to make a beginning by itself but to attract other local organisations

to this fruitful field of activity. This can be done by establishing adult night schools in every locality. The scheme can be easily attempted for, the M. S. F. members themselves can do the teaching by turns. From the coming year every M. S. F. unit may be advised to take up this exceedingly beneficial and at the same time easily practicable item of our constructive service.

Muslims as a rule do not realise the value of education and parents in most cases utterly ignore the educational upbringing of their children. Attention shall therefore be concentrated in each locality in getting as many boys as possible admitted in the schools. Our members shall bring home to these ignorant parents the necessity of sending their children to schools and in deserving cases render financial and other assistance. This will go a long way in improving the educational conditions of Muslims.

**III. Economical:** A great deal more can be done in this sphere than would seem apparent. First and foremost is the problem of rural indebtedness and how best our organisation can help in this line, especially as a very large number of the indebted peasantry consist of Muslims. Ignorant as they are these indebted peasants are blissfully unaware of the beneficial legislative enactments and other measures taken to relieve their distress. Here the M. S. F. can be of real help to them, by bringing to their notice the advantages conferred by such legislative measures, as for instance the various Tenancy Acts, Control of Money-lenders Acts, measures for the scaling down of debts etc. This can be done by taking out propaganda squads, by holding meetings in the Mosques on Fridays and adopting other suitable means. In practice the various other informative aspects of the programme as mentioned in the foregoing may all be dealt with together by the same squad and at the same meeting. This



is important as the only means of bringing relief to the poor ignorant and illiterate Muslim peasants.

Then there is the problem of what is known as the agricultural under-employment. The peasants have a good deal of spare time after their routine work even in the season, while at other times, three to six months in the year they merely idle away their time having nothing to do in the fields. The M. S. F. volunteers may advise them to take to some useful work to occupy themselves in their spare time. The various lucrative forms of cottage industries and handicrafts may be suggested to them with particular reference to local conditions and to the facilities available. Wherever possible the M.S.F. units may start technical schools (on the lines of the Ladies Sub-committee of the Madras Muslim Students' Federation) where training may be given to adults as well as boys and girls. Particular attention must be paid in selecting those crafts that are best suited to the particular locality and those that can be most advantageously pursued by the simple folk. Co-operative societies can do much in this line and the M. S. F. may do well to advise the people to do such work on a co-operative basis.

Another important thing that the M. S. F. can conveniently do is to help to check all sorts of extravagant expenditures incurred for marriage parties and such other social festivities, by bringing home to them the sheer waste and absolute futility of squandering away their money in these most unproductive and disastrous channels.

These are the broad outlines of our social service programme. As pointed out at the outset, in giving effect to the scheme, local conditions shall not be lost sight of. It is also not necessary to rigidly confine the activities to the four corners of this scheme. Suitable additions can always be incorporated into the scheme for convenient working and in accordance with local conditions so as to achieve the best results

## Muslim Students' Movements in India

(Continued from page 62)

them to life and activity, vigour and vitality. The cry of the Muslim youth to-day is for political, economic and social emancipation.

Since then, this organisation has marched on from strength to strength. *Many a battle royal it fought and many a resounding victory it won.* No doubt, in the August disturbances, mis-called the August revolution, it did not take part but it was not out of any love for the Britishers, much less out of any enmity towards its sister community and organisation, but because it was fully conscious of its duties and responsibilities, and was not prepared to barter away the rights and interests of the Mussalmans; *because it was not prepared to forge new chains of slavery and serfdom for the Muslim nation.*

As the Congress "Quit India" Movement was aimed at coercing the British Government to hand over the Muslim Nation, bound hand and foot to the demi-gods of the Sevagram and thus ultimately aimed at denying them their right to self-determination and to be the masters of their own destiny, the M.S.F. could not, never be a party to it. This explains their attitude to the Movement.

During the elections and afterwards, the Muslim students have done much service and contributed their proper and legitimate share in the national work. They carried the message of freedom, of political emancipation, of economic justice as epitomised in their demand for Pakistan to the nook and corner of India and saw that sham heroes and agents of imperialism, whether British or

thereof and to extend the scope of usefulness of our activities to the greatest possible extent. What is required is a genuine desire to serve the fellow students and our people and a readiness to work for their all-round betterment in our own way and to the best of our intentions and abilities.

Hindu, did not return as their representatives to sell their rights for a mess of pottage.

Since the elections, they have undergone through the fire in many places. The Muslim Students' contribution to the demonstrations held against the trial of the I.N.A. men and especially against the conviction of that I.N.A. hero, Rashid, by name, are still unique and unparalleled. In the beginning of 1947, there began in many provinces the fight for civil liberties and the students as usual contributing the lion's share. Their achievements in the Punjab, Frontier and then in Assam can never be forgotten.

One point I would like to stress here and that is that the basis of M.S.F. was always *anti-imperialist*—imperialist whether alien or native. It was so in the Mutiny days, it was so in the Khilafat days, and it has the same theme even to day. We have fought the British bullets and batons; we have faced firing squads and tear gas; we have risen against the suppression of civil liberties and we will again do so invariably of the fact who the doers. Democracy is in our very blood; we believe in equality and not in the division of society into four or five castes and we stand for equal rights for each and everyone. Anybody who acts against it, whether he may be a foreigner or a native itself, is our enemy and target, and we will, as in the past, direct our batteries towards him. We stand for the Islamic Principles of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Economic Justice and for the establishment of a State based on these principles. That will be an ideal state where the oppressed and emasculated humanity will find a safe haven and which should work for their emancipation and exaltation. *As such we cannot bear or brook imperialism or fascism, simply because it is native in character. A new-imperialism should not take root on the ashes of British Imperialism—that is the theme of our struggle.*—"M"



# A. I. M. S. F. :

## ITS PROVL. BRANCHES, THEIR BIRTH & PROGRESS

### Assam

THE Assam Provincial Muslim Students' Federation is in existence for the last seven years and has done yeoman service in the promotion of education among Assam Muslims. All the years the A.P.M.S.F. was guiding the students educationally, politically, socially and economically supplying journals, opening study-circles, libraries and debating clubs for their intellectual and Islamic requirements.

In the last general elections of 1946, the A.P.M.S.F. trained students in the arts of propaganda and publicity and mass contact and in First aid and sent them in batches throughout the Province. Their selfless services and ceaseless efforts got 92 % victory for the Muslim League candidates.

Besides, the A.P.M.S.F. formed a Parliamentary Sub-Committee with five members to help and suggest names of M. L. candidates to the Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board. The students' Sub-Committee suggested 34 names out of which 29 were accepted by the Provincial Parliamentary Board and for this wise step, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, President, Assam Provincial Muslim League and Chairman, Muslim League Parliamentary Board thanked and congratulated the Federation.

During his visit, the Qaed-e-Azam paid special tributes to the hard work done by the Muslim Students of Assam and addressed a special meeting of students at Sylhet, held under the auspices of the A.P.M.S.F. Notable among others who showered glowing tributes on the A.P.M.S.F. workers are Janab Liqueat Ali Khan Saheb, Chowdhary Khaliqzaman Saheb, Khan Saheb of Mamdot, Qazi Muhammed Isa, Maulana Abdul

Hamid Badayuni, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan Saheb and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy.

The eviction of Muslim Immigrants under the notorious 'Line System' evoked disapproval and resentment of Muslim Community and the Muslim students wholeheartedly responded to the call of Muslim League for fighting this barbaric system. Processions, Hartals and mass protest meetings were arranged by the A.P.M.S.F. on the detention of Moinal Haque Chowdhary Saheb, General Secretary All India Muslim Students' Federation and other Muslim leaders and workers. The students also fully participated in the recent League Civil Disobedience Movement.

In the service of the Millat, the students had to go through many troubles and tribulations, tortures and threatenings. A number of students had also to bleed in the cause of Islam, when their peaceful meeting on the "Direct Action Day" was forcibly and aggressively dispersed by hired goondas and the so-called Nationalist Muslims.

With the announcement of June 3 Plan, an onerous responsibility faced the Muslim students of Assam and particularly Sylhet district. It was a matter of life or death for the Muslims of Assam. Working under unfavourable circumstances, with a Congress ministry in the saddle and a pro-Congress Governor at the helm of affairs, the students have once again proved their mettle. The decision of Sylhet to amalgamate with Eastern Pakistan was, to a large extent, due to the services, sufferings and sacrifices of the Muslim students of Assam.

The students of Assam are now passing very busy days doing social, relief and organizational work.

### Baluchistan

FOUNDED in 1943, with Qazi Muhammed Isa, President, Baluchistan Muslim League, as its President, the Baluchistan Muslim Students' Federation at the outset had only four branches, two in Quetta, one at Sibi and one at Mushki.

During the visit of Qaed-e-Azam in 1944, the number of branches of the B. M. S. F. were raised to ten. The Qaed declared open the "Pakistan Library" of the B. M. S. F. This Library is one of the biggest libraries in Quetta and on its rolls can be enumerated four hundred members. The Federation is also giving six scholarships of Rs. 12/- each to the best and deserving students.

Baluchistan, being politically and educationally backward, had no knowledge of the Muslim League and the Muslim struggle for independence. By the grace of the Almighty, the Federation successfully carried the message of Muslim League and Pakistan to every nook and corner with the result that Baluchistan became cent-per-cent League-minded, the recent evidence has been recorded on the referendum issue, when the Baluch Muslims unanimously decided to join Pakistan.

'Rashid Day' in Baluchistan was organised on such a scale by the B. M. S. F. that the Government was perplexed and perturbed and banned all meetings arranged by the students. The Federation sent five students to work in the North-West Frontier elections and in the last General elections in Sind five batches of twelve students each were sent for propaganda work and electioneering campaign. They worked in Jacobabad and Shekarpur constituencies for the League candidates, Mir Jafar Khan



Jamali and Khan Shah Khan. An appreciable amount of Rs. 12,000 and a large number of clothes collected throughout Baluchistan were sent to 'Bihar Relief Fund' on behalf of the Federation.

In the Quetta Municipal Elections, the students played a major part and helped the League in capturing all the Muslim seats and also, four general seats. To take part in the Punjab League Civil Disobedience Movement and to help the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation and the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to continue the agitation launched by them, the Federation sent a number of students to Lahore.

The Muslim goal having been achieved, the B. M. S. F. has wholeheartedly devoted itself for the advancement of Baluch Muslims in social, educational and economic spheres.

## BIHAR

AFTER Aligarh and Bengal, the Bihar Muslim Students' Federation was the first Provincial branch to emerge out during the intensive tour of Mr. Md. Nauman, the then All-India Secretary and a net of branches was spread throughout the Province.

With the coming in of Congress Ministry in April 1937, Bande Mataram, the Tri-colour flag and Wardha Scheme of education were forced on Muslim Students; who not only resented such encroachments on their civic rights to mould their educational career on Islamic lines, but also resisted it peacefully. This peaceful resistance took a grave shape of communal rioting in Gaya, Bhagalpur, Monghyr etc. As a practical and positive step, a Private Muslim School, the inauguration of which was performed by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, was opened at Patna. A number of other schools were also started throughout the Province and they command a strong and stable position to-day. On the Jehanabad school affair, the

Federation brought out a booklet entitled 'Our Findings' and this along with the conflicts in the Patna High School, B. N. R. Training college and Bhagalpur Training school were settled favourably through the efforts of the Provincial Secretary.

In Oct. 1938, the first annual session of the Federation was held under the presidency of Mr. Hussain Imam and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq inaugurated it. The First Gaya District Students' Federation Conference had the unique honour of Qaed-e-Azam's presidency when addressing the students he made the historic pronouncement: 'You are the makers and breakers of the Empire'. The second session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation along with the 26th Session of the All-India Muslim

League was held in Patna in December 1938 and the Federation's work in organisational matters contributory works, hospitality and arrangements was praised by Raja Saheb Mahmudabad, the then President of the All India body. The Bihar Federation did a great sacrifice by withdrawing its candidates to the important and executive posts of the All-India body and leaving a free field for the other provincial units.

The ceaseless activities of the Federation were a menace to the Congress Government, which condescended to oppression and suppression of Muslim Student movement. The hostile policy of Government and its antagonistic behaviour were brought to light in a series of articles by Mr. Azizur Rahman, the secretary

## Bihar Provl. Executive



*Sitting* :—M. Z. Malik, *General Secretary* ; Md. Mushtaque Hussain, *President*.

*Standing* :—M. U. Ahmed, Ghulam Sarwar, Ashrafi Muhammad, Mansoor Ahmad, *Members Ad hoc Committee, B.P.M.S.F.*



### Bihar—(Contd.)

published in the Star of India, at which Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the then Vice-Chancellor got enraged and denied the degree of B. A., to Mr. Azizur Rahman, who qualified for it the same year. That unjust order stands to this day.

The Federation organised a series of lectures on subjects of topical interest and Maulana Azad Subhani's series of lectures on Islamic countries were very much appreciated. A physical institute with a Madras instructor was also started in the Anjuman Islamia Hall to train the Muslim Youths physically during the last world war. In the autumn of 1940, a Provincial session of the Federation was held and delegates from all the districts attended when Mr. Jafar Imam and Mr. A. Moid were elected President and Secretary respectively. With the 'Quit India' resolution of the Congress, all student organisations in Bihar were banned and the Federation had to carry out its activities under the camouflages of the Muslim Students' Defence Committee and The Muslim Students' Institute.

In the end of the year 1942, Mr. Batheja I. E. S., then Principal of the Patna College and a devotee of Vedic age renamed the College Magazine as "Mauryan" in commemoration of Mauryan dynasty. For six continuous months the Muslim students agitated and succeeded in their demand for the amendment of the new name. The next year saw Bihar in the grips of a ghastly epidemic which took toll of deaths rising to five figures. The Federation formed a Relief Committee and student volunteers were sent to every village to render medical aid and necessary treatment to all sufferers, irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

In October, 1945, the ban on the Federation was lifted. Soon after the Central and the Provincial elections followed. A camp office of the Federation was started in the Anjuman-

Islamia Hall, where student volunteers were given initial training in propaganda work and electioneering Campaign. These trained students were sent in batches to remotest corners such as the hilly tracts of Chotanagpur and the plains of North Bihar. They carried the message of League and of Pakistan to those, who were all the while ignorant of politics and the Muslim demand. In the central elections alone, 225 workers were scattered and in the Provincial elections, the number shot up to 3000. With meagre funds, the Federation headed all others of its kind elsewhere in India, in ensuring success to the League candidates. Through the ceaseless endeavours of the Federation, the League secured 85% success in Provincial elections. In this mission the students had to suffer and had to receive brickbats and stones. As the Federation was deeply engaged in election work Communist influence made way into Muslim labour ranks and led to the strike of 1200 Beedi workers. The Federation ended the three months' old strike by bringing about a compromise and brought out the Muslim labourers from the shackles of Communist domination.

After the elections, the Federation called a meeting of Muslim M. L. As. and presented to them a programme of bills to be fought out (E.G.) Muslim Waqf Bill, Muslim Education Bill, Abolition of Zamindari Bill etc. On the request of the Federation, the Muslim M. L. A's, unanimously consented to contribute 10% of their salaries to the National Fund. A plan of reconstruction and Nation Building, which if carried through would have minimised the losses of the Bihar killing considerably was presented by the Federation. Besides the Federation enrolled a large number of League members in 1946, a number exceeding the total of the last 10 years put together as a step towards organisation and reformation of the League. The Federation organised a walk-out by Muslim students of the Law College,

when Sri Krishna Sinha, a rank Mahasabhaite was invited to deliver the convocation address and also 'Direct Action' celebrated and 'Black Flags' days in a peaceful manner.

Meanwhile brisk preparations were going on throughout the province for the total elimination and annihilation of the Muslim minority. The Federation pressed the Provincial League to call for a meeting to devise ways and means to avert this danger. A meeting was arranged and it was decided to send batches of students during Puja holidays to warn the slumbering village folk. A sum of Rs. 1000 was collected on the spot. But the Federation could not take up the task due to lack of initiative on the part of those who were entrusted with the task and of funds. At last the expected took place. Starting as a minor clash at Chapra on October 25th, 1946, the mad communal frenzy tossed with Muslim life, limb and property in the most brutal way throughout the Province for full fifteen days. The students left their homes and hearths and educational institutions and rushed to the villages to help the poor dying Muslims. The Federation sent workers, who attended mainly to rescue abducted girls, Sudhyised Muslims and grievously injured victims. The Federation workers assisted by Frontier League Volunteers buried innumerable corpses. In spite of requests, the Vice-Chancellor refused to close educational institutions for a fortnight with a view to relieve the Muslim Students for relief and rehabilitation work. The Muslim Students left their institutions and came out into the open to the rescue of the oppressed Muslim masses. As a mark of protest on the rejection of their request for the closure of institutions for a fortnight, the M. S. F. boycotted the special convocation held on the 17th of January, 1947, in which an Honorary degree was conferred upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

In order to cope with the work efficiently, the old executive was



dissolved and a new *Ad-hoc* Committee with Mr. Mushtaque Hussain as President and Mr. Zubair Malik as Secretary was formed. This committee placed its suggestions for the solution of the problems facing Bihar Muslims after the great carnage before League leaders and Mian Mumtaz Daulatana promised to convey them to the League Committee of action. A copy of them was also sent to Qaed-e-Azam and we are glad to inform that the resolution on Bihar passed by the League on 30th January 1947 at Karachi contained substantially these suggestions.

The new *Ad-hoc* Committee

have set up the following departments covering all kinds of activities for mass uplift.

(1) The Publicity Department entrusted with the work of publicity, information, literary, debating and dramatic societies.

(2) Rehabilitation and Relief departments entrusted with the rendering of all possible help to the Student sufferers and the Muslim Nation.

(3) Muslim National Guards Department to create Student Militia.

(4) Pakistan Ambulance Corps, to train the students in First aid, fire fighting and other relief works.

activities; that Whole which our mathematics, music and poetry try to represent by their partial means.

It can never be done. It is always being done. The bridge over this contradiction is *humility*. Pascal had it in such abundance that he submitted his almost supernatural reasoning faculty to the dogma of the Catholic Church. What made him accept this artifice, which could not have been more than a ritual experience, a symbolism of some vast vision which he saw clearly, as Dante saw the geometry of Heaven? It was his knowledge that man is surrounded by so overpowering a force of unknown and indifferent elements that his draughty candle of reason is not enough. There must be something more to help him.

So it is with us today, in this terrifying moment when we have to make our international machinery for the control of our wickedly clever hands. As *The Times* said recently in a leading article, "the last word of all must come from the Governments and the peoples. They must realize that destructive science cannot be countered eternally, and that if opposed merely by material measures it will eventually slip out of control. They have an opportunity now to remove the danger by something loftier than material means, but if they miss the chance it may not recur".

—(From John O'London's Weekly)

'Punjab Day' was observed throughout Bihar and in Patna. Defying 144 Section, the M. S. F. took out a mammoth procession which was lathi-charged and was threatened that it would be fired upon. Undauntingly the processionists refused to disperse. Subsequently Mr. Zobair Malik, General Secretary, B. P. M. S. F. and seven other students were arrested. But the M. S. F. did not rest content till they were released unconditionally.

By God's grace, the Federation's efforts bore fruit and Pakistan has become a reality. The Federation has pledged anew to consolidate Muslims and work for their prosperity and preservation.

## Sarhad

**F**OUNDED in the early months of 1942, the Sarhad Muslim Students' Federation was of great service to the Muslim public in general and Muslim students in particular for the first one or two years. Due to the fall of League Ministry on account of corruption and nepotism, the dynamic and creative work of the Federation was suspended for sometime. In the summer of 1945, reorganisation of the Federation was earnestly taken up and it was too difficult to obtain mass support for the organisation as there was a Congress Ministry in the saddle and the people were dejected and disappointed.

Though others were impatiently waiting for an opportunity to take advantage of the weakness and drawbacks of Khan-Khanna Ministry, the Sarhad Muslim Students Federation arranged a big meeting costing Rs. 2,000/- which provided a fillip and an impetus to League activities in the Province. Since then the Federation is working regularly and relentlessly.

Among other things, the Federation offered a purse of Rs. 8,000 to the Qaed-e-Azam during his visit to the Frontier; helped the Provincial Muslim League very much in its propaganda work and electioneering campaign and sent a sum of nearly Rs. 5,000 towards

## THE 'ATOM BOMB'

(Continued from page 59)

Pascal, that superb genius, is high up that ladder at which I stand with my foot on the bottom rung, while my critic is trying to kick my foot away. Pascal, I would say, is one of certain people who are landmarks in the world of the mind. We choose our examples according to our temperaments. I would choose Uccello and Bonington in painting, Mozart in music, Spinoza in philosophy, and Pascal in mathematics and physics. Most of them died young, and all of them had that strange faculty of beauty in all they did.

I recollect that Professor of Pure Mathematics at Cambridge, G.H. Hardy, said to me early in the war that Pascal, in his great mathematical discoveries (that one conic section was made when he was sixteen) showed in his proofs the quality of sheer beauty. To me that announcement is important because it reveals the unity of all our human efforts.

Reason and mysticism, figures and symbols, numbers and words, these are our materials, which we use in our individual way towards a demonstration of that which is beyond demonstration, that Original upon which our religious systems are founded, and from which, alas, they wither into politics and mundane



### Sarhad—(Contd.)

Bihar Relief Fund in addition to clothes and Medical Mission.

Since the beginning of 1947, a new life and a new blood are running through the Federation. Batches of students from Frontier went to the Punjab to help the League civil disobedience movement there. Right on its heels began the Frontier non-violent struggle for civil liberties and the Muslim students were called upon to shoulder grave duties and graver responsibilities, which they carried out satisfactorily.

With the announcement of June 3 Plan, and Frontier Referendum, Muslim students invaded the bastions of Red Shirts and exposed their dirty game in all its heinous shape and Hindu character. The stunts and battle-cries of 'Pathanistan' proved ineffective before the elucidation of Pakistan, which the students did with pertinacity and precision. The Frontier's decision to join Pakistan was to a large extent due to the preparatory ground, to form which the students worked day and night.

The Sarhad Muslim Students look to future through constructive and creative angles and endeavour to create an Islamic atmosphere, thus giving a direct lie to the insinuations of the opponents.

### Orissa

**F**OUNDED in 1938, the All Orissa Muslim Students' Federation has been doing substantial service towards the general improvement and political consciousness of less than two per cent Muslim minority for the last nine years. During the last Provincial elections, it reached its peak of activity and was instrumentally helpful in getting all the Muslim seats in the Provincial legislature for Muslim League candidates and for routing the opponents, most of them having lost their deposits.

The initiative in the observance of 'Captain Abdul Rashid Day' was taken by the Federation and it also co-operated with other student organisations in the

observance of I.N.A. and R.I.N. days.

In 1942, the authorities of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, rejected the demand for so rearranging the time-table of the college as to facilitate the Muslim students to attend Juma Prayers. Thereupon, a deputation of the A.O.M.S.F. under Mirza Humayun Qader Baig waited on the college authorities and got the demand accepted to.

After the last elections to the District boards, where the Congress enjoys an absolute majority, a circular was issued to all institutions run under the direct supervision of such boards in Ganjam and Sambelpur districts directing the school authorities to hoist the Congress flag on schools, to sing Bande Mataram and to get the roll-call answered by Jai Hind. These instructions being against the spirit and interests of Muslims, the Working Committee of the A.O.M.F.S. passed a resolution requesting the educational authorities to exempt Muslim students from observing these instructions. The Educational Department of the Government of Orissa has been pleased to order that no Muslim student should be forced to do so.

Having no Muslim journal in the Province, most of the demands of the A.O.M.F.S. do not get the required support and public backing, nor the Muslim Papers of sister-provinces given publici-

ty to the news and views of the Federation. It is requested of all Muslim journals to help the Federation in airing the grievances of Orissa Muslims through their columns.

The Muslims and Hindus of Orissa had all along been living peacefully and had good neighbourly relations. Surprisingly a dispute over music, before mosque led to police firing on a Muslim mob, killing three and injuring seriously eight, one among them being a student. The Federation organised processions and meetings and demanded the appointment of a non-official commission to enquire into the cause of firing. The Government were pleased to appoint a commission, though official and enquired into the incident. The Federation has branches all over the province, except the hilly tract of Koraput. The Federation held its second Conference on 12th October, 1946 and has started a number of free night schools, where books and slates to poor students are distributed freely. It has even awarded scholarships to the poor and deserving Muslim students.

The Federation thanks Hajee Md. Ismail, then M.L.A. (Central) for his annual donation of Rupees one hundred, Mirza Humayun Qader Baig, the General Secretary and the executive of the A.O.M.S.F. for their meritorious services.

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and Friends on this*

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## MADRAS

## M. P. M. S. F.—

## Its District Units &amp; Their Activities

ON 9th August, 1947, when Muslim India was on the verge of the grim struggle of life and death, the executive of the Madras District Muslim Students' Federation was elected with Mr. M. M. Abdul Khader M. A. as President and Mr. S.A.K. Jeelany as General Secretary. Soon followed the Direct Action Day when all the Muslim students abstained from attending classes and organised a huge procession jointly with the District League and three representatives of the Federation spoke at the mammoth meeting held in Wallajah Mosque. Right on its heels came the Black Flag Day to mark 'the Muslim Nation's silent protest against the double betrayal of Muslims. The Federation called upon all the students to attend classes with black flags and sent three appropriate telegrams to the Qaid-e-Azam, the Viceroy and Pandit Nehru. To protest against the educational policy of the Madras Congress Government, 'Resentment Day' was observed on 15th September 1946, under the presidentship of Mr. A. S. S. Mustafa when speeches were made and a resolution passed criticising vehemently the educational policy of the Government. On the arrest of Punjab League leaders and banning of Muslim National Guards, all Muslim students including the Muslim women students declared strike and passed a resolution condemning the barbaric and dastardly attack of the Unionist quislings on Muslim League. The resolution was communicated to the Qaid-e-Azam, Lord Wavell, the Governor of the Punjab, the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Students' Federation and the Premier of the Punjab. Meelad-un-Nabi was also celebrated on a grand scale when members of various communities spoke on the life and teachings of the Prophet.

In response to the Qaid's call, the Federation collected one thousand two hundred and twenty four rupees nine annas and six

pies (1224-9-6). To deal with urgent problems an Action Committee consisting of Messrs M. A. Moqaddam, Khalid bin Sayeed, Shah Abul Hassan, Nazir Ahamed Dalvi and M.K. Shahul Hameed and the President and the General Secretary as ex-officio members was formed. There is a social service corps attached to the Federation and it is divided into three branches *viz*, Medical squad, Ambulance unit and volunteer corps. The Ambulance unit conducts lectures in first-aid and in Essa Abba School, Anderson Street, G. T., Madrasa-i-Azam and Muslim High School, Triplicane.

On the 25th September 1946, the Red Crescent Hospital was founded under the auspices of Madras Muslim Students' Federation Social Service Corps, with the meagre sum of Rs 559-8-6 collected on Ramzan Idd day. Through this hospital, inaugurated by Mr. Md. Ismail President of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, free medical aid is provided to more than a hundred poor and needy patients without the least distinction of caste, creed, race or religion. Messrs. M. A. Moqaddam, Pasha and B. Khaja Mohiuddin (Shaik) are continuously lending their support towards the efficient working of the hospital.

The Ladies, Sub-Committee formed only this year under the presidentship of Miss Syedah Usha turned out a very substantial work. There were five meetings of the executive of the Ladies Sub-Committee during the course of the year. The L. S. C. opened a *Darusa-i-Muslim* at on 31st January 1947, where besides education, vocational training is also imparted. Thirty girls and adults are being taught at the school located at Barber's Bridge Road. Imparting of first-aid training at the

school is under contemplation. The L.S.C. organised a general body meeting and a social break up of Muslim lady students on the occasion of Prophet's Birthday Celebrations. The executive of the L.S.C. visited Corporation girls schools and recommended to the authorities to improve the standard of English and religious instructions in lower classes. For the first time in the history of Muslim lady students, a strike was organised to voice their deep resentment at the inhuman barbarities perpetrated on the heroic Muslim women of the Punjab. The L.S.C. also helped a great deal in the collection of Bihar Relief Fund.

A conference of the Madras Muslim Students' Federation was held on 9th February 1947, when condolence resolutions on the demise of Mr. D. Abdur Rauf, M.L.A. and Dr. Hassan Shurawardy were passed. Other resolutions condemning Mr. Gandhi's prolonged stay at Noakhali, French aggression against Viet-Nameese, the A.I.R.'s one-sided policy and Kashmir ruler's suppression of civil liberties were also passed.

A general body meeting was held on August 2, when elections to the different portfolios took place. Messrs Shah Abul Hassan & M. M. Shareef "Muja-hid" were unanimously elected as the President and General Secretary respectively for the current year. A resolution condemning Dutch aggression on Indonesia was also passed.

The Federation thanks Messrs M. A. Moqaddam, M. A. Mehkari and a number of others who wish to remain obscure for the continued advice, guidance and support in smoothening its work.



## Trichinopoly

**F**ORMED in October 1943, with a view to promote religious, economic, educational and social well-being of Muslim students and to help in the propagation of Urdu, the Trichinopoly District Muslim Students' Federation was confined to the city of Trichinopoly. Now it has two branches, one at Manapparai and the other at Lalgudi.

On February 20th, Social Day, was observed, when prominent speakers addressed the gathering and the same night 'Prophet's Birthday' was arranged in Juma Masjid when Dr. Abdul Huq Saheb, the then Principal, Government Muslim college exhorted the Muslims to follow the principles and injunctions of Islam. On 'Direct Action Day' all the Muslim students abstained from attending classes and a mammoth procession was taken out throughout the city ending in a meeting where resolutions reaffirming confidence in the leadership of Qadee-Azam and condemning the gross betrayal of Muslims were passed. The Federation helped the local League in the celebration of the Seventy-first Birthday of Qadee-Azam and arranged a cycle procession consisting of more than one hundred cycles to form the vanguard of the procession.

Ramzan Eid Day, Bark Eid Day and Shahadat (10th Day of Muharram) were working days in St. Joseph's College and High School and Holy Cross college and sectional holidays in National college and High school. The Federation passed a resolution requesting the principals and headmasters of the institutions named above to declare them as public holidays. In response to this request, the National college and High school declared them as public holidays, the St. Joseph's college and High school as sectional holidays and the Holy Cross college assured consideration. The Federation strongly hopes that its request will be accepted in full in due course.

The Federation had all along been co-operating with the All-India and local Muslim League in all their activities.

## Salem

**F**OUNDED in 1946, the Salem District Muslim Students' Federation can boast of claiming all Muslim Students as its members without an exception. Federation units have been established in almost all the taluks. Due to communal disturbances, the work of the Federation was hampered in the beginning months of the year; examinations took away some of the months. However, the Federation turned out good work during vacations.

In January, the Provincial president Mr. Mehkari paid a visit to this district and surveyed the work of the Federation. The Federation arranges study classes once a week and the opening of an adult education centre is also under contemplation. Mr. Ibrahim, the regional secretary of the M.P.M.S.F. has been requested to visit the district.

## North Arcot

**F**OUNDED on 21st July 1945, the North Arcot District Muslim Students' Federation gained strength, popularity and reputation due to its excellent work during the last two years. Not only it was instrumentally helpful to the League in elections in North Arcot district but also its members did yeoman service in Chittoor bye-election and ensured the success of the League candidate.

The annual meeting of the Federation was held on 13th September 1946, in which Messrs. J. Azizur Rahman and M. L. Ahmed Basha were elected President and General Secretary respectively. 'Resentment Day' was observed throughout the district on 15th September 1946, when resolutions condemning the educational policy of the Congress Government were passed and communicated to the Premier,

the Education Minister, the Governor and the Secretary of M. P. M. S. F. On 25th December, 1946, Qadee-Azam's birthday was celebrated on a grand scale and a telegram congratulating Qadee-Azam on his success in London and praying for many happy returns of such days was sent to him. In the meeting it was emphasised that the door of M. S. F. should be opened to students reading in aided schools, Arabic Colleges and Maktabas. A resolution requesting the Muslim Legislators to bring pressure on the Government to implement assurances given to the sufferers of huge losses in the communal clash was also passed. Besides a deputation was sent to Mr. M. Ismail Saheb, Leader of the Opposition and Mr. N. M. Anwar, M. L. A. with a view to request them to take necessary steps in this direction.

Bihar and Punjab days were also observed. A resolution demanding impartial enquiry into the causes of the Bihar carnage was passed. On Punjab Day, Muslim students totally abstained from their classes and organised hartals and processions.

On 30th January 1947, Mr. M. A. Mehkari, President M. P. M. S. F. paid a visit and expressed satisfaction at the progress of the M. S. F. On that occasion a meeting of representatives was called for and ways and means of strengthening the Federation were devised. At present, the Federation has four units viz., Vaniyambadi, Vellore, Tirupattur and Pernambut. The President and General Secretary will shortly tour the district and establish more units.

## South Arcot

**T**HE first general body meeting of the South Arcot District Muslim Students' Federation was held on Direct Action day, the 16th August 1946 when Muslim students peacefully abstained from their institutions and passed a resolution condemning the betrayal of Muslims by the Cabinet Mission. 'Resentment Day' was



### South Arcot—(Contd.)

observed on 15th September 1946, when the regional language policy of the Madras Government was severely condemned and demanded the reinforcement of communal G.O. and a Muslim Educational Board to chalk out a plan for Muslim education. The General Secretary of the unit attended the Delegates Convention of the Madras Provincial Muslim Students' Federation. Prophet's Birthday and Pakistan Day were also observed in a fitting manner.

### Bellary

**F**OUNDED on 20th June, 1945, in the presence of Mr. Muqaddam, the then Organising Secretary, the Bellary District Muslim Students' Federation has branches in almost all the taluks of the district. In response to the directions of the Provincial Federation, a Ladies Sub-committee was also formed and a Ceded Districts' Lady Students' Conference was held at Bellary on 25th December under the presidency of Khatabae Hind Syeda Akhtar Saheba and a general body meeting of Muslim women was also arranged to explain them the ideal of Pakistan. Through the efforts of this committee the number of girl-students increased enormously, and the Muslim Ladies were prohibited from attending cinemas. The opening of a National School for Girls on modern lines is also under contemplation.

The second Muslim Educational Conference was held on 26th December 1945, under the presidency of Moulvi Abdul Hassan Syed Ali Saheb, when prominent Muslim League leaders of the province attended. A *Mushaira* was also held the same night under the presidency of Mahvi Saheb, in which poets from Bangalore, Hyderabad and other places participated. On 15th April 1946, Iqbal Day was celebrated at Royal Picture Palace, Bellary, and the same night a grand *Mushaira* was conducted under the presidency of Maherul Khadri Saheb. On Direct Action

Day all students abstained from attending classes. Muslim shops and theatres were closed; a grand procession went through the town and in the evening a mammoth meeting was held.

The Federation contributed Rs. 2000 to the Election Fund and more than three thousand rupees have been sent to Bihar Relief Fund. During the General Elections, the Federation sent batches to villages for electioneering work and League propaganda. The forfeiture of the deposit of the rival candidate was to a large extent due to the tireless efforts of the Federation in the cause of the League. Happily there was no contest for the Provincial Elections from Bellary district and late D. Abdul Rawoof Saheb was returned unopposed. The Federation supplies text books, note books, slates and pencils freely to poor students and also free scholarships are being given at Bellary and Adoni. Night schools for adult education and special coaching classes for S.S. L.C. students were also conducted. As the result of the Federation's agitation, the Government Muhammadan Training School was re-opened at Bellary.

On the sudden and sad demise of D. Abdul Rawoof Saheb M.L.A. a complete hartal was observed throughout Bellary and a condolence meeting was held under the auspices of the Federation which was attended by Bukhari Saheb, Professor, Islamic History, Muslim College.

The Federation extends its hearty thanks for the co-operation given by workers, well-wishers and patrons.

### Bezwada

**F**ORMED as the 'Muslim Students Union' on 2nd August 1938, the organisation soon after was converted to the Bezwada Muslim Students' Federation. For the last nine years this organisation has been consistently working for the welfare of the student community in particular and the Muslim masses in general.

The Federation had been since its very inception celebrating Prophet's Birthday, Pakistan Day and Jinnah's Birthday on a grand scale. Eminent men and prominent speakers, educationists, leaders and literates were invited on such occasions. A few among them are late Moulvi Bahadur Khan, Dr. Abdul Huq, then Principal, Muslim College, Allama Rashid Turabi, Abdul Hasan Syed Ali Saheb, Moulana Noorullah Hussaini Iftikhari and Haji Essack Sait. Processions and meetings were arranged in connection with the celebration of these days.

The members of the Federation did appreciable service during Provincial and General Elections. Carrying the message of League and Pakistan to every village and hamlet, they did so much useful propaganda that the opponents of the League forfeited their deposits. The Federation contributed Rs. 500 towards Election Fund. It also subscribed its mite to the Bihar Relief Fund.

The Federation has set up a number of committees to look after various branches of work like Propaganda, Funds etc. A memorandum protesting against the forcing of regional language on Muslims, whose mother tongue is Urdu, was presented to the Education Minister by the General Secretary, who was shabbily treated by the Minister. As a protest against the ungentlemanlike behaviour, Mahboob Ali Baig, M.L.A. and Abdul Huq M. L. C. cancelled their engagements fixed with the Minister.

The Federation has done much work in the literary field by arranging elocution and essay competitions and by opening a public library named 'Jinnah Library'. On Qaed-e-Azam's Birthday, sports were also conducted and suitable prizes were distributed to the winners.

The Federation places on record its deep gratitude for the help given by workers, patrons and sympathisers.



## Masulipatam

(Kistna District)

**F**ounded in December 1942, the Masulipatam Muslim Students' Federation has at present a membership of 56 students and hopes to increase it to 200 by the end of this year. During its life of nearly five years, it has done creditably well in the field of educational needs of the student community and the economical, social and political uplift of the Muslim Nation.

The first freak of public activity of the Federation found shape in the observance of 'Thanksgiving Day' on August 13, 1943, ordered to be observed by the General Secretary of the All India Muslim League on the providential escape of Qaed-e-Azam from the knife of an assassin believed to be a Khaksar. A well-attended meeting was arranged, prayers for the long life of the Qaed were offered and rice, wheat and cloth were distributed among the poor. The Federation sent a decent amount towards the Bengal Famine Relief Fund. When Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and members of the Committee of Action visited Bezwada, they were appraised of the Muslims' plight by the Federation.

The Federation is running a reading room where, besides daily and weekly journals, books are also provided for the benefit of the reading public. Books, pencils and other necessities of education are distributed among the poor students. The Federation had all along been helping the local League in its activities.

The first Kistna District Muslim Students' Federation was held at Masulipatam under the presidency of Mahboob Ali Baig Saheb M.L.A. when resolutions on Pakistan and Palestine and faith in the Qaed and the Muslim League were passed. The Federation members scattered themselves in villages for enrolling electorates and for League propaganda and election campaigns. The cent per cent success of the League candidate was no less

due to the services of the Federation.

'Direct Action Day' was observed by completely absenting from schools and colleges and 'Black Day' was also observed to mark our silent contempt. On the instructions of the Provincial body, 'Resentment day' was observed on 15th September, 1946, when resolutions requesting the Government to maintain communal G. O., to reject its merit policy in admission to colleges and to form a separate board to guide Muslim education were passed. The Federation also proved instrumentally helpful in enrolling Muslim National Guards and in establishing *Talim khanas*.

## Pamaru

(Kistna District)

**F**OUNDED on 20-7-41, with eighteen members, the Muslim Students' Federation, Pamaru, Kistna district, has been working ceaselessly among students awakening them to a sense of unity, solidarity and brotherhood. The Federation established a library containing 300 books on various religious, political and economic subjects and a reading room for which the Mussalman (Urdu), 'Muslim India', 'The Deccan Times' and 'The Onward' are subscribed. Due to the untiring efforts of the Federation an elementary school for young Muslim boys and girls has been opened in the village.

The Federation did yeoman service in the Central and Provincial Elections and every endeavour was made for the success of League candidates. The strength of the Federation is increasing day by day. The Birthday of Qaed-e-Azam was celebrated in a fitting manner by arranging sports and games and prizes were awarded to winners.

The Board High School, Pamaru did not declare a holiday on 10th of Muharram, though it is a public holiday and so was the case with Prophet's Birthday. As a mark of protest, the Muslim

Students did not avail of the holidays. For the last three years, Urdu classes are being disregarded in that they are held in a verandah, which lacks accommodation and is the cause of much inconvenience and disturbance. The attention of the authorities was invited to this sorry state of affairs but it is regretted, no appropriate action has been taken.

## Tinnevely

**B**EING one of the oldest units of the Provincial Federation, the Tinnevely District Muslim Students' Federation has done many a good deed in the field of education and general uplift of Muslims.

The nation lacks in education due to poverty and penury and due to the illiteracy, the Muslims are comparatively backward. The Federation, with a view to promote education, has been giving one scholarship for the last two consecutive years and this year the number of scholarships has been increased to five.

In Tinnevely District, Muslim Public holidays as ordered by the Government are not observed properly in Colleges and High Schools resulting in their non-enjoyment by Muslim students. The Federation has made representations to the authorities concerned and has now requested the Government to interfere in the matter. It is requested of the Provincial Federation to look up into this matter.

In the Tamil text for the S.S.L.C. Examination, only Hindu mythological verses and other allied songs are included ignoring altogether poems of Muslim interest. The Federation requested the Senate authorities to include also extracts from 'Seera Puram', a poetical work on the life of Prophet Muhammad written by the great poet Umar Pulawar nearly 150 years ago.

The Federation now and then conducts oratorical & essay competitions in English, Urdu and Tamil and awards suitable prizes to the winners. The Federation



### Tinnevely—(Contd.)

had at present six primary units at Pattamadai, Kallidaikurichi, Sambasamudram, Tuticorin, Tenkasi and Petai. Yearly contributions to the South Indian Muslim Educational Association are given through Ramzan Charity Tickets and the Federation also subscribed its mite towards the relief and rehabilitation of Bihar Muslims.

### Malabar

**S**TARTED in April 1942, the Malabar District Muslim Students' Federation was affiliated to the All-India Muslim Students' Federation as the Madras Provincial Muslim Students' Federation was started only afterwards. The Federation has, at present, 32 units viz., Payyanur, Tellicherry, Quilandy, Cannanore, Ponnani, Calicut, Malappuram, Kamanellur, Panoor, Chekili, Kadara-thur, Mattannoor, Cherukunnu, Kathirur, Thirur, Thirumangadi, Manjeri, Nilambur, Palghat, Charackad, Badagara, Nadapuram, Mahe, Aziyur, Feroke, Parappanangadi, Olavaokod, Pattambi, Perintalmanna and Ottapalem. Morayur and Kadalundy.

The Federation held two delegates' sessions at Calicut in January 1943 and August 1944, when a large number of representatives, from different units participated. The first session was presided over by Haji Sattar Bssack Sait Saheb, M.L.A. (central) and messages wishing the Federation success were received from Quade Azam and the President and the General Secretary of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation. Resolutions congratulating the Muslim Students of Malabar for their studious abstinence from the political demonstrations of other students in 1942, requesting the educational authorities concerned for conceding some special rights such as teaching of Urdu and Arabic in High Schools and Colleges, leave for Jumma Prayers, granting of scholarships and concessions to students and

reaffirming the resolve to achieve Pakistan were passed at the First Delegate Session. In the second new units were formed and Haji Sattar Essack Sait Saheb was elected as the representative to the All-India Muslim Students' Federation.

Two annual conferences of the Federation were held in May 1944 and in November 1946, when Hajee Abdul Sattar Essack Sait Saheb M.L.A. (central) and Janab K.M. Seethi Saheb spoke. Besides the Conference adopted a number of important resolutions.

The Federation has a total membership of 1200 students. It held six working committee meetings and three council meetings. It contributed large amounts towards League Election Fund and Bihar Relief Fund. Clothes and blankets were also despatched to the Bihar Central Relief Committee. Mr. M.A. Muquddam and Mr. M.A. Mekhari of the Provincial unit visited the district and praised the Federation's work. The Federation is at present contemplating to start a weekly or fortnightly with a view to place the Muslim view point.

### I. S. S. Conference

(Continued from page 77)

Student Movement in India and for that matter, of the Muslim Students' Federation.

Besides their efforts in the Commission to explain their position, the Muslim delegates in their personal and private talks with the other delegates discussed the Indian problem and left no stone unturned in convincing them of the justice of their cause. It is no exaggeration to state here that most of the delegates while returning home have come to hold views different from the ones they held at the time of visiting. Most of them grasped the full implications of the issue that was facing India when presented with facts and figures, and spoke in eloquent terms of the services the Mus-

lim Students have rendered in winning freedom for the Muslim Nation.

At one stage, the question whether there should be one organisation for the whole of India or two—one for the Hindus and the other for the Muslims—should exist came to the fore. The three main student organisations representing India at the Conference held different views about this question. *The A.I.M.S.F. was of the opinion that a separate organisation for the Muslim Students should continue to exist, as it is to-day while the A. I. S. F. and the I. S. C. were for merging all the three into one. The M. S. F. feared that once it merged itself in the proposed bigger organisation, it would cease to play an effective part and would have, for all intents and purposes, no say in matters concerning them, thereby placing the Muslim Students' needs, interests and rights in jeopardy.* Dr. Zakir Hussain at last wrote the finis to their never-ending discussion, centred around it when he asked the delegates to face realities and not to be carried away by mere slogans and political shibboleths. He said that the controversy over this question would be found unnecessary if they realised that they could have unity in diversity. *He warned them against magnifying their differences and added that since there was more than one culture flourishing in India, it was difficult to have one organisation.* Thus, he justified, there was place for two organisations but warned that that did not mean that those two must be antagonistic to one another. Concluding, *he appealed for co-operation and co-ordination between them on common problems facing the country and the students.*

As one takes the full view of the work done by our delegates at the I. S. S. Conference, one could not but be proud of it and say that they have kept the torch of their traditions burning—in full blaze, if you please.

—By "MUJAHID"



# ★ M. S. F.

THE I.S.S. South East Asiatic Conference was held at the Banquet Hall, Madras, from June 10 to June 17, 1947, under the presidency of Dr. Zakir Hussain of 'Jamia Millia', the President of the Indian I. S. S. Committee. It was a clear landmark in the annals of the Students' movements in the East, in so far as it provided the FIRST opportunity to student representatives of India, Indonesia, Burma etc., to come in contact with one another and discuss some of their common problems. It was a unique experience for the students of the different countries to know each

N. Rao, Secretary, Indian Co-operative Committee. The All-India Students' Congress, the All-India Muslim Students' Federation and the All-India Students' Federation are the three constituent organisations of this Committee. The M. S. F. representative, Mr. Khalid Bin Sayeed, holds the office of Treasurer in this Committee.

True to their tradition, the Muslim Students played a prominent part and left an indelible impression on the audience, the delegates and the visitors from foreign countries in this conference. Of all the representatives that represented the three constituent units of India, they were the most resplendent, contributing their legitimate and proper share towards the success of the

Khalid Bin Sayeed, M.A. Mehkari, C. S. Hafizur Rahman, H. M. Shareef Mujahid, M. A. Muqaddam, S. N. A. Razvi, Akbar Khan, Hasan and Ghousia Begum.

The Muslim delegates contributed more than their due share in discussions on problems of common interest for the students in the Commissions. These included *Expansion of University Education*, *Technical versus University Education* and *Student Movements and Students' Organisation* in Section I, *Social Transformation*, *Cultural Autonomy and Political Unity* and *University Curricula and Social Structure* in Section II; and *Relief Programme*, *Cultural Programme* and *Organisation and Policy of I. S. S.* in Section III.

## AT THE I. S. S. CONFERENCE ★

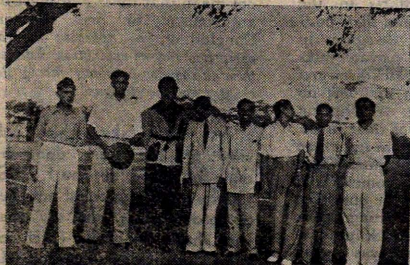
other and to be apprised of the day-to-day developments that are taking place in different countries of the East. Again, this conference was the first of its kind through which an effort was made to facilitate co-operation and co-ordination between the student organisations of the S. E. Asiatic countries. And, judged from the work it turned out, the conference was a huge success.

This Conference was called in the names of Messrs. Elizabeth Pothan, Field Secretary and M.

Conference and in impressing on the delegates and visitors from other countries the stuff that Indians, and more particularly, Muslims are made of. This is no piece of exaggeration for the visitors to this Conference bear testimony to this fact and have acknowledged it in eloquent terms. Even the press representatives from the city Newspapers have said so in their private talks.

The delegates from M. S. F. to the Conference were Messrs.

Mr. Khalid opened the discussion for Social Transformation and had been the Secretary of the two other Commissions. Mr. C. S. Hafizur Rahman, as the Secretary of the Commissions discussing *Technical versus University Education* and *University Curricula and Social Structure* arrested the attention and won commendation of the whole conference. Mr. Shareef Mujahid had been the Secretary of one of the most important Commissions—that discussing the Relief Prog-



(Right) Delegates that attended the Conference on behalf of A. I. M. S. F. (Left) Some of the delegates to the Conference.



ramme of the I. S. S. in the East. Mr S. N. A. Razvi opened the discussion on the subject of *Technical versus University Education*, in the absence of a delegate from Ceylon, scheduled to speak on the subject.

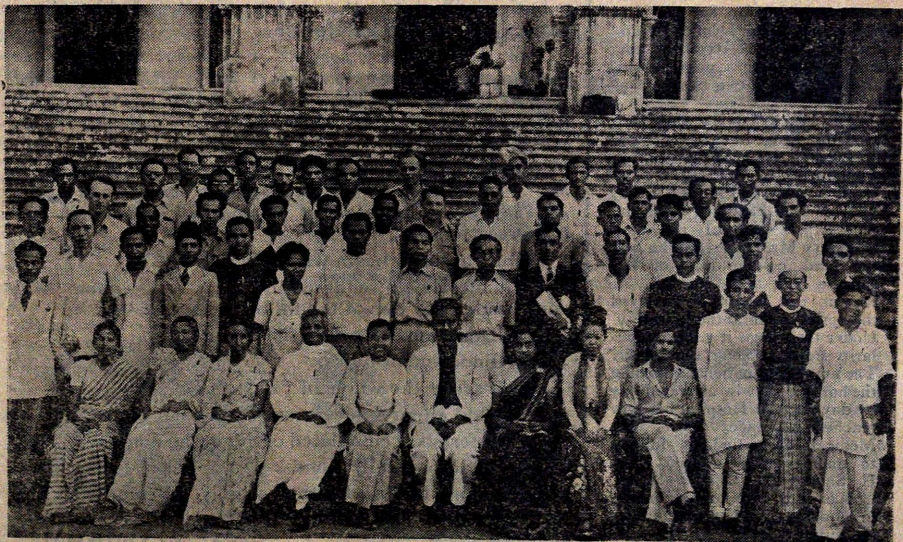
On all subjects, the delegates from the A. I. M. S. F. stressed their viewpoints with commendable vigour, precision and persuasive effect, and in most cases the foreign delegates were convinced and impressed by the line of action adopted by them. For instance, in the Commission dealing with Students' Movements and Organisation, they put on record how the Muslim Students' movement had its birth the same time the bugle of revolt against the foreign imperialists was sounded in those dark days of 1857, how they have been in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom and by their sufferings and sacrifices won Muslim freedom

as epitomised in the demand for the creation of a Muslim State, and how it was necessary to have a separate Muslim Student Organisation to safeguard their rights and interests in the circumstances that was India then and by virtue of their being a nation different and distinct from the rest. We are glad to record here that some foreign delegates especially those who hail from binational states did appreciate our point of view and gave their wholehearted support. In the Commissions dealing with Expansion of University Education and University curricula and Social Structure, our delegates put on record, how the inclusion of religious education is indispensable in the case of Muslims for the unhampered progress of their national life and to facilitate the Muslim Students establish a *live* relation and effectively co-operate and co-ordinate with the Muslim

masses. Our culture, stressed our delegates on the Commission discussing Cultural problems, was distinct from that of the Hindus and that it emanated from the fountain of religion and Muslim history and traditions, which stand for the ideals of Equality, Liberty, Fraternity and Economic Justice, while the so-called Indian culture drew its sanction from the principle of Varnashrama which advocated the division of society into castes and sub-castes. In short, on every point and on every subject, the Muslim delegates were clear, categorical, unambiguous and unanimous in their views and thus could present them with commendable force and precision which did carry conviction to most of the delegates from the neighbouring countries, who were till the other day ignorant of the basis and kernel of the Muslim

(Continued on page 75)

### I. S. S. South-East Asiatic Conference



In early June, the I. S. S. South-East Asiatic Conference was held at Madras. The above is a picture taken on the occasion. It shows delegates from India, Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China and visitors from France, Holland, Czechoslovakia that attended the conference to solve common Student problems and chalk out a relief programme.



## THE RED

THE Red Crescent Hospital was inaugurated on the 25th September 1946 at the Unani Darushafa Buildings, High Road, Triplicane, by Mr. M. Md. Ismail Sahib M.L.A. the President of the Presidency Muslim League. The Hospital was started with a meagre sum of Rs. 569/- collected on the Idul Fitr Day in the different Mosques of the City by the Members of the Muslim Students' Federation. This hospital is under the management of the M. M. S. F. Social Service Corps. It was due to the untiring efforts of our first Secretary, Mr. S. M. Padsha, that the Hospital was managed quite efficiently with this meagre sum under the able guidance of Dr. Musustaq Ali D.M.S. Dr. Mustaq Ali, it must be mentioned here, is one of those who readily volunteered to serve in this hospital five days in the week. His name will ever remain cherished in our memory for his directions and also for his generous donations in the form of equipments etc. to the Hospital, Capt. Rahim is one of those pioneers who also volunteered two evenings in a week.

It is needless to mention here the troubles one has to experience in running such an institution. Anyhow under the able direction of Our First President, Mr. Yousuff Sait Faiz and with the rich experiences of the then Secretary Mr. S. M. Padsha and the kind co-operation of Dr. Mustaq Ali and Capt. S. A. Rahim, this institution survived the period of infantile mortality. Under their aegis it gained popularity slowly among the public. The number of patients attending the hospital slowly increased day by day and our Hospital has now reached a stage when one Medical officer finds it difficult to manage single-handed. Dr. H. Sayeed M. D., Dr. M. M. Cooper M.B. B.S., are responsible in making it popular among the public.

A fully Representative Board of Management was formed on the 27th December 1947 with Mr.

M. Md. Ismail Sahib M.L.A. as the President and the following others as the other office-bearers.

### President :

Mr. M. Md. Ismail Sahib.

### Vice-Presidents :

- (1) Mr. C. L. Abdus Subhan.
- (2) „ Fazal Karceem.
- (3) „ B. Poker.
- (4) „ Yousuff Sait Faiz.

### Secretary-in-chief :

Mr. M. S. Addul Majeed.

### Administrative Secretary :

Mr. M. A. Muqaddam.

### Secretary-in-charge of Dispensary :

Mr. M. G. Naimullah.

### Secretary-in-charge of Membership :

Mr. M. A. Rahim.

### Additional Secretary :

Mr. S.M. Padsha.

### Treasurer :

Mr. M. Ismail.

## CRESCENT HOSPITAL

(Continued from page 2)

3. A Medical Unit:—Consisting of Qualified Doctors and Medical Students to render medical aid in times of epidemics and other emergency conditions.

4. Child Welfare Centres :—To educate our ladies in the art of bringing up children etc., which is the great need of today.

The above is merely an outline presented to you in order to give you an idea of the part your esteemed contribution will play in the near future towards the maintenance of the nation's well-being.

*In this enlightened age, one has to admit with shame the fact that whereas foreign missionary enthusiasts can be found working in every other locality, in our country, few and rare indeed are the welfare institutions, evolved as a result of our own efforts.*

*In conclusion, therefore, we appeal to one and all to contribute their mite, great or small, towards this common effort, and encourage us, in this relief scheme, with possibilities for infinite expansion.*

Our target to begin with is very humble.

Financial help rendered by our well-wishers will come under any one of the following heads:—

- (1) Donations—a recurrent or otherwise.
- (2) Endowment funds.
- (3) Part or the whole of “Zakaat.”
- (4) Odd annas & pies, monthly in their bank balance.
- (5) Interests accumulated of those who don't avail of it.
- (6) Blind box collections.
- (7) Supplying or bearing wholly or completely the cost of medicines.

M. A. MUQADDAM,

Administrative Secretary, R. C. H.



## Other Members of the Board

- (1) Dr. Syed Nayamathullah
- (2) „ Raza Shirazi
- (3) „ Syed Tajuddin
- (4) „ S.A. Kabir
- (5) Begam Mir Amiruddin
- (6) Mr. A. A. Rauf
- (7) „ Hasan Bhai Dhala
- (8) „ Fazlur Rahman
- (9) President of the M.M.S.F
- (10) General Secretary of the M.M.S.F.
- (11) Salar-e-Ala, of the M. M. S.F. S.S.C.
- (12) Mr. Raza Khan
- (13) „ K. T. Sheriff
- (14) „ Abdul Hussain
- (15) „ Sibgathullah
- (16) „ Hajee Nazir Hussain
- (17) „ T. Abdul Wahid
- (18) Dr. M. A. Allam
- (19) Mr. Ismail Sivijee
- (20) „ Ismail Namazi
- (21) „ Ilahi Baksh

It is my privilege to mention here that under the present board there had been considerable improvement in the work of the Hospital.

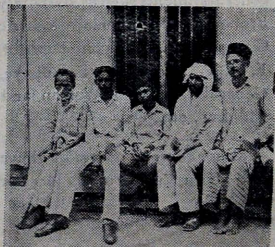
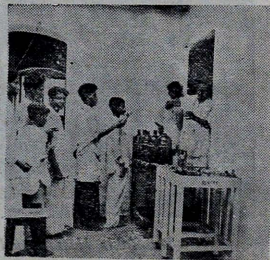
## Members of the Board

Among the members of the Board, special mention must be made of the few of our most enthusiastic members who are keenly interested in the affairs of this Hospital. One is Mr. M. Ismail, our Treasurer whose visit on Sundays make the staff alert and active and the other is Mr. Abdul Hussain Poppat Jamal. He has been and is a source of encouragement and help to us in our difficult times. Mr. Husan Bhai Dhala also needs special mention as one who is prepared to meet our emergencies.

(Continued on next page)



## RED CRESCENT HOSPITAL AT WORK





### Working of the Hospital

1. The Hospital works from 5 to 6-30 p.m. every day.
2. It is distributing free medicine to the poor.
3. The following Doctors and Medical Students are attending the Hospital during the evenings on days mentioned against their names :-

|           | Medical officers                                                   |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Sunday    | Dr. Mustaq Ali, D.M.S.,                                            |
| Monday    | Dr. Leggat, M.B., B.S.                                             |
| Tuesday   | Dr. M.M. Cooper M.B., B.S.<br>Dr. Azimunnisa Khanam,<br>M.B., B.S. |
| Wednesday | Dr. S. A. Kabir, M.B., B.S.                                        |
| Thursday  | Dr. Rashida, M.B., B.S.<br>Dr. D. Isaac, M.B., B.S.                |
| Friday    | Capt. Abdul Khader, D.M.S.                                         |
| Saturday  | Capt. Obaidullah, M.B., B.S.<br>Dr. H. Syeed, M.D.,                |

I am grateful to the medical officers and students for their regular attendance on the days specified. It needs hardly any mention that but for their help, the internal administration is not possible.

The average No. of patients treated monthly is as follows :-

| Period.                 | Males. | Females. | Children. | Total. | Daily average |
|-------------------------|--------|----------|-----------|--------|---------------|
| 26th Sept. to 26th Oct. | 149    | 46       | 22        | 217    | 7             |
| 27th Oct. „ 29th Nov.   | 610    | 314      | —         | 924    | 27            |
| 30th Nov. „ 31st Dec.   | 976    | 685      | —         | 1661   | 52            |
| 1st Jan. „ 31st Jan.    | 1427   | 1325     | —         | 2752   | 89            |
| 1st Feb. „ 28th Feb.    | 770    | 928      | 678       | 2376   | 85            |
| 1st Mar. „ 31st Mar.    | 788    | 772      | 559       | 2159   | 72            |
| 1st Apl. „ 30th Apl.    | 594    | 603      | 551       | 1768   | 59            |
| 1st May „ 31st May      | 182    | 821      | 365       | 1868   | 63            |
| 1st June „ 30th June    | 743    | 861      | 569       | 2171   | 72            |
| 1st July „ 31st July    | 719    | 800      | 497       | 2016   | 65            |

Total Patients treated in 10 months

17912

### Diseases treated during the year

We have been attending to all general ailments such as, dysentery, Bronchitis, Pneumonia, Gastric Complaints, Minor complaints of E. N. T., Minor infections of eye, General Diseases of Women and Children, etc., etc.

Minor surgical operations have also been performed in our hospital.

Cases which cannot be attended to in our clinic for some reason or other are directed to other hospitals.

### Our Hospital Staff

We have a paid compounder a clerk, a nursing sister, and an attendant. Mention must be made here of the their selfless sacrifices for the Hospital. The insti-

### Students

Mr. B. Khaja Mohideen.  
Mr. Azizullah Shariiff  
Mr. S. M. Pasha

Mr. S.I. Madani  
Mr. Razack  
Mr. Subhan.

Mr. Hadi.  
Mr. Krishnan Murty.  
Mr. Basheer.

tution in short is being managed by our Nursing sister who is working wholeheartedly towards the standard & efficiency of our Hospital. Our compounder is a man of 28 years' experience and has done his bit towards the maintenance of our Dysentery Dispensary. The clerk too is sincere in his work & has been very obedient & dutiful to his superiors.

### Finances

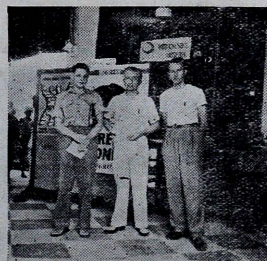
It is with a heavy heart that I have to confess here that our financial resources are too meagre —meagre enough to make this hospital crash any moment. We have always been very badly in need of Funds. Our expenditure has always been double that of our income. So I appeal to the philanthropic section of the Nation, particularly the merchant community to contribute liberally to the Hospital Funds, thereby making it a permanent feature of our larger national life and this institution, one of the best organised in the City. I hope my appeal will not fall on deaf ears.

—MUQADDAM,

*Administrative Secy. R. C. H.*



Dr. Zakir Hussain and other foreign delegates to the I.S.S. Conference at the Red Crescent Hospital.





# Muslim Students' Movement In Madras Presy.

EVER since the year 1932, attempts have been made by the then prominent Muslim Students and elders to organise the Muslim Students under the banner of one single organisation with a view to help the Muslim Students and represent their grievances in an orderly manner and also to spread education to the masses. The Muslim Students of the time like Dr. M. A. Hameed Baig, Mr. Habibullah, Mr. Ismail Namazi, Mr. Saleem Aslam and a few others, worked continuously at it, imbibing in their juniors the spirit of service and sacrifice for their fellow-students. By their strenuous efforts they were successful in forming a small body at Madras. But due to lack of enthusiasm among the other students, this organisation could not see the light of the day and faded away before it could blossom.

When the Madras Students' organisation, the branch of the All India Students' Federation, was formed in Madras, the same Muslim enthusiasts took up the reins of office in co-operation with a few of the non-Muslim Students' enthusiasts. The course of events proved that this unity with the sister community was detrimental to the interests of the Muslim Students. Hence in the year 1938, another organisation known as the National Students' Service Corps was formed by the same enthusiasts to render effective service both to the students and the masses. In this connection it may be mentioned here that Dr. Hameed Baig had been always the propelling force behind all Muslim Students' activities.

By the Grace of God, this was to constitute, as future events would have it, the foundation stone of the present Muslim Stu-

dents' organisation. The National Service Corps was soon transformed into Madras Muslim Students' Union in the year 1941. The year 1941 is a momentous year in the history of the Muslim students and also in the history of the Muslim masses of the Presidency. It was then that Madras had the good fortune of being the venue of the 28th Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, which was instrumental in awakening the political conscience of the Mussalmans and infusing a spirit of service and sacrifice in them. Mr. I. A. Salam, Mr. S. G. Rasool, Mr. A. A. S. Mustafa, Dr. Hameed Baig, Mr. Jeelany and

BY

★ **M. A. Muqaddam** ★  
Genl. Secy., M.P.M.S.F.

Dr. Hydari are among those who are responsible in re-kindling the enthusiasm of the Muslim students.

The Muslim Students' Union soon started awakening the dormant potentialities of the inertia-stricken Muslim Students and imbibing in them the natural thirst to get themselves organised under the banner of one Muslim Students' Organisation. In the month of March 1943, Mr. Ali Kunhni, who was till then in the opposite camp, moved a resolution to transform the Muslim Students' Union into a Muslim Students' Federation and get it affiliated to the A.I.M.S.F. Deccan Times and the "Reformist" organisation also did yeoman service towards achieving this objective. Mr. M. A. Hameed, Vice-President of the A. I. M. S. F. for South and Central Zone, was

invited by the Reformists and a provisional branch of A.I.M.S.F. was formed during the April of 1943, which was dissolved on the 7th August 1943, and a fully representative constitutional branch of A. I. M. S. F. was formed under the caption of Madras Provisional Muslim Students' Federation and together with it, its first unit at Madras was organised.

With the formation of the Muslim Student's Federation, the Muslim Students were definitely organised and their enthusiasm was properly canalised. The next achievement of M.P.M.S.F. was in organising a conference of the Muslim students of the Presidency on the 13th and 14th of January 1945. It was presided over by Nawab Siddique Ali Khan and inaugurated by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Delegates from 13 districts attended the conference. Subsequently, during the month of June and July, the Organising Secretary of the M. P. M. S. F. went on an extensive tour and organised district units in all the districts of the Presidency and had them affiliated to the provincial body. In this connection, mention must be made of the Cocanada Muslim Students who formed a branch of A. I. M. S. F. as early as 1937 when the A. I. M. S. F. was just formed. Malabar and Bezawada took the lead in organising their own respective units. Cocanada being a small town with a limited number of Muslim Students, it could not organise its units in other districts of the Presidency. Anyhow Cocanada should be remembered as a district which was the first to organise an active unit of A. I. M. S. F., when other districts could not have possibly conceived of this idea. It was

(See page )



# Advocate & Architect of Pakistan

(Continued from page 11)

fraud foisted on India by the Congress that it is a non-communal all-India organisation. He has fully exposed how, under this guise, it has by obvious methods, sought to establish Hindu domination in India. To him India is indebted for showing up in all its lurid colours the blatant Congress exhibition of dishonesty as a *motif* of inter-communal relations. Ater his talks with Mr. Gandhi, with rare powers of anticipation, he uttered a terse sentence, replete with the force of an atom bomb, that shook the world. It was in fact a knock-out blow to the suborned propagandist press of the country which tries to curry favour with the Congress. It ran thus:

*"If one does not agree with you (Mr. Gandhi) or differs from you you are always right and the other party is always wrong, and the next thing is that many are waiting prepared to pillory me, when the word goes.*

## Perfect Gentleman

It is indeed very difficult to define a gentleman. However, we insidiously know a gentleman when we meet one. Mr. Jinnah is the very embodiment of a perfect gentleman. He is, in the words of Shakespeare, "a plain blunt man" without any trappings of saintliness woven around his name. He holds his head up and stands four-square to the gaze of the world because his cause is just. Friend, philosopher and guide to the Muslims, they turn to him for a safe lead in their troubles. It is worth the comparison to observe the tin and tinsel-gods of the Congress swaggering about the land, bloated with egotism and arrogance, and compare with them this Muslim leader. The position he occupies would have turned the head of another man, but this noble soul maintains an admirable mental equipoise and advances no claims to saintliness. He has commanded respect wherever he has gone.

*He has never hankered after honours, they have come seeking him and they have certainly never adorned a more deserving man. He is a sincere, honest leader actuated by one lofty purpose, that of shielding the Muslims from exploitation and falling a prey to the seductions and blandishments of the Congress Circle that seems to have charmed and lured to their doom so many with the jingle of her illimitable supplies of gold. Mr. Jinnah is definitely greater than a great man in that he is a good man too.*

## Clean Politics

The negotiations with the Cabinet Delegations have thrown a flood of light on the two Indian parties, their leaders, their bearing, their mental make-up and their principles. English and even American papers furnished ample evidence to prove that the Muslim League emerged from them with its escutcheon of political department unsullied by even the faintest taint of underhand dealing. This certainly cannot be said of the Congress, because of its duplicity and hypocrisy, in spite of its loud professions of truth and purity. The world judges the Congress by facts, not by its own estimate of itself. Mr. Jinnah's patriotism genuine, not cheaply ostentatious, stands out limned plain for all to see. After scanning the political scene, one is constrained to conclude that Mr. Jinnah has scrupulously ruled out pettifogging methods in his approach to political problems.

## Contrast In Methods

Atlas-like, he shoulders the whole responsibility and carries on negotiations in the dignified manner of an erudite jurist, pre-eminent parliamentarian and born leader. Alone and singly he has proved himself to be a host in himself against the Congress hordes of leaders. His straight mode of negotiation, which we find palpably lacking in the

Congress, with his eyes fixed steadfastly on its practical aspect crystallised the highest traditions of diplomacy and laws of debate. Mr. Jinnah gains immeasurably in stature when compared with his *vis-a-vis* in the Congress. The latter put up a very poor show. They first praised the Delegation's proposals and recommended their acceptance. Some days elapsed and then started the inevitable hedging—the proposals could be accepted provided the Congress interpretation of the points was conceded. The *modus operandi* followed by the League and the Congress are not devoid of interest. The League leader goes singly, straight and with manly steps. The Congress leaders go singly, collectively, by twos, by threes exhausting in fact all permutations and combinations!

## Jinnah's Press Statements

The art of making masterly statements is Mr. Jinnah's most valuable asset. These flow effortlessly from his pen and mouth. Each resembles "a gem of purest ray serene"—a veritable piece of literature, with its economy of words and inimitable phraseology. These produce a magical effect and often

*"Fools who came to scoff remained to pray"*

Mr. Jinnah's knack of hurling caustic and withering clinchers in striking, pointed and polished language have been such that

*"even the ranks of Tuscany could scarce forbear to cheer."*

## Title to Greatness

The greatness of Mr. Jinnah fully emerges and grips our wondering gaze, when we contemplate the stupendous nature of his achievement in the teeth of the opposition such as only monied Hindus characterised by what may, for convenience, be termed in psycho-analytical parlance "usurper complex," can put up. The unique position which Mr. Jinnah has carried out for himself in the affections and esteem of Muslims, Harijans and other minorities is the envy of his oppo-







(Continued from page 81)

just the time when Mr. S. M. Fossil and others were contemplating to organise a Muslim Students' Federation on the same lines as the League.

Reviewing briefly the activities of the M. P. M. S. F. I, as one, feel that this organisation has been discharging its duties very creditably and has fulfilled many a responsibility. I am sure no other similar organisation in India would have shouldered such big responsibilities and organised the province in such a short interval of time, as the M. P. M. S. F. As a result of its zeal almost all the districts in the Presidency are having to-day well-established units. This was and is largely due to the team spirit of the Office-bearers elected from year to year. Among those who can easily be considered as the care-takers of the Muslim Students' Federation, mention must be made here of Messrs. M. A. Mehkari, A. A. S. Mustafa, M. A. Khader, M. M. Abdul Khadar, S. A. K. Jeelany, A. A. Sayeed (Guntur) C. Muhammad Kutty (Malabar), Sardar Hyat Khan (Coimbatore), Mr. Yaqoob (Ramnad), Sibegathullah (Tinnevely), Nisar Ahmed Khan (Trichinopoly), Shahul Hameed (Nellore), Subhan (Kurnool), Ghouse (Bellary), Adeni Brothers, Habibullah (Vizagapatam), Jaleel (Bezawda), S. M. Padsha, Zinulahddin and Ibrahim (South Arcot), Patel Ahmed Badsha (N. Arcot) and many others. It is their silent work which is responsible to-day for the conversion of Govt. Hobart School into Govt. College for Muslim Women, introduction of B. Sc. course in Government Muslim College, the proper maintenance of innumerable Night Schools, Adult Schools, and Tutorial Classes, Ladies' training centres etc., etc. The Red Crescent Hospital, which is being managed by the Madras Muslim Students' Federation, Social Service Corps, stands as the monument of the sincere services the Muslim students of the Presidency are rendering to their fellow brethren, irrespective of caste, creed and sex, yet unparalleled in the history of any students' organisation in India.

### Ladies' Federation

Reviewing the activities of the Womens' Federation on parallel lines, one cannot but sense, though much against his own wishes, an atmosphere of, may I say, inertia or stemmed activity. I do not, in the least, mean to label the Womens' Federation as indifferently apathetic, or wantonly negligent. Far from it. But an earnest desire in them to know, understand, and remove the present difficulties in their way is yet to be kindled and created.

It may be mentioned here of the present Muslim women that they do not lack proper leaders and presidents nor that they are utterly uninterested in the welfare of their sisters. By no stretch of imagination can I think of such difficulties confronting the present federation body, which, I am sure, consists of highly active women, far more zealous, earnest, and hard-working than what some think them to be.

The reins of the Government of Women's social status has rightly been placed in the hands of the women. *Will those governing hands please awake?—awake, I mean, not from any stupor or lazy inactivity, but awake, I mean, to the needs of the hour.* Men are said to be *possessed* and "to blow their own trumpets." *Women are said to be*

*silent sacrificers, contributing their tremendous share—silent not in slumber but silent by virtue of their unproclaimed deeds.* The burning problems of the day afford ample scope—can I say evidence?—to their incessant work done silently.

### Islam—A Perfect Cultural Unit

(Continued from page 17)

go to make a successful life. The main mission of religion is to mentally and practically teach and train a man for leading a successful life. The religions which do not accomplish this task are not, at all, religions. And the religion which fulfils this mission is Islam. Says the Quran:

"Innallazina-Indalla hal-Islam"

'Before God the only religion is Islam.' Islam is a distinct attitude of life and has got a distinct out-look of life. And the real shape, emerging out of this distinct mode of action in consonance with the particular attitude and out-look of life, is the religion, Islam; the same culture and the same civilisation, are Islamic. In Islam religion, culture and civilisation are not different or divergent, but all combined and connected together make a collective unit, that squanders right thinking and correct conception of life and that decides each and every problem of life.

### OUR THANKS

The eagerly expected "S souvenir" of the Madras Provincial Muslim Students' Federation is before you and it is for you to judge and say how far it has come up to your expectations. Special numbers and publications, we need, remind our readers, always fall short of expectations. As such, we will feel amply rewarded if it satisfies our readers atleast in some respects.

But one thing needs special mention here and we mention it with a sense of pride. It is that we have successfully brought out our first publication, which we fervently hope will be, as Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan has visualised in his message to us, "a harbinger of a well-organised journal of their own" in the not distant future.

And we are sincerely thankful to all those who have ungrudgingly co-operated with us in everything directly or indirectly connected with the preparation of this Souvenir. Special mention must be made here of Mr. A. A. Raoof, Editor, The Deccan Times who had given us much help to us in the publication of this number and of Messrs. A. R. Siddiqi and S. M. Jaili, lately editors of the Morning News, and New Life respectively. We are thankful to the Leaders who were kind enough to send us their message of hope and of inspiration and for the encouragement they have given us in our endeavours to bring out this number. We are grateful to S. L. V. Press, its Manager and Chief Foreman for doing their best to bring out the Souvenir in accordance with our wishes and requirements.

—M. M. Shareef "Mujahid"  
Editor.