

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, *Majlis-e- Ittihad-e-Millat* and All India Muslim League

مسلمان ہے تو مسلم ایک کا جھنڈا اڑانا چل
پیام آزادی کامل کالمت کو سنانا چل

Abstract

There are very few prominent personalities like Maulana Zafar Ali Khan who possessed a number of qualities of head and heart in one person. He was graduated from Aligarh Muslim University, founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, worked in various capacities in a number of Muslim states like that of the Hyderabad Deccan State, inherited the widely needed field of journalism from his father from Wazirabad, played active role in Muslim politics since 1906 when he participated in the founders' meeting of the All India Muslim League, resorted to journalism as Chief Editor of *Zaminadar*, most popular Urdu newspaper of his times. After the death of his father in 1908, he became a prominent parliamentarian, and significant writer, poet and leader of the Pakistan movement. Amongst the Urdu newspapers and journals, his *Zamindar* played a prominent part in popularizing the cause of Pakistan especially in areas of the Punjab, NWFP (now KPK), Sindh and Baluchistan.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan played a vital role during a crucial period of the subcontinent's history that was marked with turmoil. The man with extraordinary abilities ranging from oratory to poetry and from politics to journalism is mainly acknowledged as the father of Urdu journalism. Due to his extraordinary talent, he got prominence among the galaxy of political leaders of the time. He was the champion of the Muslim unity and brotherhood all over the world. He became associated with the All India Muslim League since its inception and attended various sessions. During the Khilafat Movement, he played a prominent role particularly as the President of the Punjab Khilafat Committee. Like other Muslim leaders of the subcontinent he also got frustrated with the disunity amongst the Muslim leaders and organizations during late 1920s and early 1930s which compelled him to found his *Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat* in 1935 which soon spread into various districts of the Punjab and other neighboring provinces.

In this paper, the aims and objectives for which Maulana Zafar Ali Khan established *Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat* will be discussed along with his association with the Muslim League. As a matter of fact when he established the *Majlis*, his focus was mainly the Punjab politics and the Unionist Party in the Punjab because he differed with the latter's politics, which, according to him, were damaging the interest of the Muslims in the largest Muslim province of British India. For the sake of Unity of the Muslims of the whole of British India, he first wanted the Muslims of the Punjab to become united around his *Majlis*. That was the reason

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that he founded the Majlis in 1935. When Jinnah, as President of the All India Muslim League, announced the formation of his Central Parliamentary Board in April 1936 he urged upon the smaller Muslim parties especially in the Punjab to join the Muslim League. For this purpose, leader of *Majlis, Jamiat-ut-Ulama-i-Hind, Majlis-i-Ahrar*, Khaksars and others were invited to come to the Muslim League Parliamentary Board meeting held on 8-11 June 1936 at Lahore. Their leaders participated and Jinnah requested them to merge their parties in AIML, but all refused to do so. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, leader of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat was, however, ready to cooperate with Jinnah because of his long association with the Muslim League, but seeing the mood of the other smaller Muslim parties and keeping in view the approaching elections, and for fear of division amongst the voters, he hesitated in merging his party in the Muslim League. He contested the Central Legislative Assembly elections and got elected. But after the elections in 1937 when Jinnah again approached him, he decided to merge his Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat in the AIML in October 1937. It had creased great impact on the Muslim politics that will also be discussed in this paper. Besides, Zafar Ali Khan's contribution in the Pakistan Movement will also be thoroughly examined.

A number of books have been written on Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, mostly in Urdu, but no focus has been made with reference to his role in establishment of Majlis-i-Ittehad vs. the Muslim League.² In most of the books on the Pakistan Movement, people discussed about Maulana but no particular attention has been paid to his contribution for popularizing Quaid's message with reference to the North-Western provinces which later became part of Pakistan.³ As local leader of the region, his contribution has not been highlighted in books on Pakistan Movement. Even in the archival records like those of the Papers of All India Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam Papers there is very little to be found in these archival repositories.⁴This is because of the reason that politics in the Muslim League were dominated by the feudal lords in Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P (now KPK). His newspaper *Zamindar* played pivotal role in popularizing the message of the Muslim League especially in the last years of the Pakistan Movement when there was anti-Khizar demonstration in the Punjab and anti-Congress Ministry in the NWFP.⁵

Maulana Zafar Ali Kahn was one of the distinctive leaders of the freedom movement from Punjab. His father Maulvi Siraj-ud-din started *Zamindar* in 1903 that highlighted the interests and problem of the agricultural community at the same time promoted social and political awareness among the Muslims. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan got his early education from Mission High School Wazirabad and Mahendra Singh College Patiala. He completed his graduation from M.A.O. College, Aligarh. Then became secretary to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk in 1895.

² For the study of his life and career see, for instance, Shorish Kashmiri, *Zafar Ali Khan* (Urdu), Lahore, 1957; Ashraf Atta, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan*, Lahore, 1962; Inayatullah Naseem Sohdarwi, *Zafar Ali Khan Aur Aunka Ahad* (Urdu), Lahore, 1982; N.H.Zaidi, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan-Ahwal-o-Asar* (Urdu), Lahore, 1986; Miskeen Ali Hijazi, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan* (Urdu), Lahore, 1990; Rabia Tariq, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan ki aap Beeti* (Urdu), Lahore, 1999.

³ For instance see S.M.Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture 2-Club Road,1997.

⁴ For instance see *AIML Papers* and *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad.

⁵ See the files of *Zamindar*, for the year 1946-1947.

Afterwards he joined “Hyderabad Translation Bureau” and later the home department of the same state i.e., Hyderabad Deccan. After his father’s death in 1908 Zamindar was taken over by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan who had already established his literary reputation by a number of books he had written in addition to his editorship of the “Deccan Review”. Due to his ample experience in journalism, he also contributed articles to other magazines and newspapers. Under his supervision, *Zamindar* became the most influential Urdu daily newspaper of Northern India which played a vital role in the Indian politics. Bearing an anti-imperialist point of view, its popularity can be traced back from the fact that it had thirty thousand issues, which until 1947 no other newspaper can claim. The newspaper was the first voice of the Muslims in the Khilafat Movement and a powerful instrument for infusing a vigorous political life in the Punjab. He died on 27 November 1956.⁶ He continued to supervise the editorial work of *Zaminadar* until his death.

He was one of the supporters of the resolution, which led to the foundation of All India Muslim League at Dhaka in 1906. Like other Muslim politicians of the time, he concerned about the Ottomans. This curiosity compelled him to collect funds for the Turks during Tripoli and Balkans Wars and visited Turkey as well. He played an active role during the Khilafat Movement and was elected first as secretary and later as President of Punjab Khilafat Committee. His poetic works include *Nigaristan*, *Chamanistan*, *Baharistan* and *Armagan-e-Qadian*. He translated the famous book *Al-Farooq* (Urdu) by Shibli into English and rendered Jinnah’s historic English speech of 22 March 1940 into Urdu. Other literary works include *Marka-e-Mazhab-o-Science*, *Ghalba-e-Rum* and *Shehr-e-zulmet*.

He established his organization titled “The Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat” as a result of the joint meeting of the Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Masjid and the Ahrars on 27-28 July 1935 to espouse the cause of the Shahidganj Mosque restoration in Lahore.⁷ The other purpose of this new organization was to unite the existing Muslim associations and organizations in the Punjab so that unity amongst the Muslims of the Punjab as well as the subcontinent is created. Under this organization, a number of meetings and public addresses were arranged for creating unity amongst the Muslims. One such function was arranged at the occasion of Friday prayers in the Badshahi Mosque on 13 December 1935 addressed by Pir Jamat Ali Shjah appealing the Muslims and Pirs to unite for the cause of protection of lives and property of Islam and its sacred places.⁸ Similarly, other functions were arranged. Thus, the Majlis was responsible for leading the Shahidganj civil disobedience movement at Lahore. Jinnah, as President of All India Muslim League, was also invited to Lahore for the cause of Shahidganj Mosque issue. Jinnah came to Lahore on 21 February 1936, but his mission to unite was wider than that of the Punjab.⁹ Since Maulana Zafar Ali Khan had been associating with the All India Muslim League since its birth in 1906 he was more

⁶ Ahmed Saeed, *Muslim India: A Biographical Dictionary 1857-1947*, Lahore, Institute of Pakistan Historical Research, 1997, pp. 343-345.

⁷ *Punjab Police Abstracts of Intelligence*, 1935, Vol. LVII, available at NIHCR Library, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 579.

⁹ *Punjab Police Abstracts of Intelligence*, 1936, vol. LVIII, Lahore, p. 105.

inclined towards the Muslim League. On Jinnah's call, the Shahidganj Mosque civil disobedience movement was called off so that the issue could be resolved peacefully. Jinnah remained in Lahore until the evening of 7 March 1936 when he left for Delhi after appointing a Conciliation Committee to resolve the Shahidganj Mosque consisting of 8 persons (3 Muslims+2 Hindus+3 Sikhs) headed by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal.¹⁰ Jinnah again came to Lahore on 29 April 1936. This time he came to Lahore for the purpose of amalgamating all the Muslim groups and associations into a single political party under the umbrella of the Muslim League. He had meetings with all the Muslim parties and groups including the Unionists, Majlis Ittad-i-Millat, Majlis Ahras and others.¹¹ The members of the Majlis and Unionists heard Jinnah's viewpoint with ostensive cooperation, but their attitude was "somewhat obscure". As far as the Ahrars were concerned, they were very much concerned seeing the Ahmadis amongst the members of the Muslim.¹² On 29 April the members of Conciliation Committee met Jinnah but expressed their inability to solve the issue of Shahidganj because of the refusal of Master Tara Singh to refuse to cooperate in the issue. Still, Jinnah called upon the Muslims to remain calm and solve the issue amicably.¹³ This time, Jinnah was more interested to unite the Muslims around the Punjab Muslim League. For this purpose, he reorganized the Punjab Provincial Muslim League under Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal as Patron and Mian Abdul Aziz as President on 30 May 1936. Jinnah also announced the formation of Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League from various provinces. He also announced the 11 members from the Punjab for this Muslim League Board. As under this scenario, Sir Muhammad Iqbal preferred to remain independent, he was made member in that capacity. Thus, Punjab Election Board included four members from Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat, four from Ahrars, and three from the Muslim League. Jinnah tried his best that two candidates of the Majlis headed by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan should contest coming elections as nominees from the Muslim League, but he failed because there was disunity amongst the Muslims. The two members later got elected on the Majlis ticket and they became members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and Central Indian Assembly. Jinnah failed in his efforts and he went to Kashmir. Even when Maulana Zafar Ali Khan got elected on the ticket of his Majlis, he continued to cooperate with the Muslim League meetings.¹⁴ He attended the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board meeting held in Lahore on 8-11 June 1936 which was held on Jinnah's return from Kashmir. He even attended the Lucknow session of All India Muslim League held on 15-17 October 1937 where he agreed with Jinnah to merge his Majlis with the Muslim League. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, head of the Unionist Party also attended this session. Although he agreed to co-operate with the Muslim League on the all-India Muslim causes but he preferred to maintain his party independently. Similarly other Chief Ministers of the Sindh, Bengal and Assam promised to cooperate with the Muslim League on the Muslim issues at the all India level.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.203.

¹⁴ *Punjab Police Abstracts of Intelligence*, 1937, vol. LIX, Lahore.

As compared to the Ahrars and the Jamiat ul Ulama-i-Hind, the attitude of the Majlis Ittehad-i-Millat was cooperative towards Jinnah and the Muslim League. Because of this positive attitude, Jinnah tried his best that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan should contest the elections on the Muslim League ticket, but he failed to convince the Maulana who was more concerned with the situation of the Muslim politics in the Punjab which were more divisive. A number of efforts in this regard were made by Jinnah. In Jinnah's visit to the Punjab during April-May 1936 a number of meetings were held between the Maulana and Jinnah but the Maulana preferred to maintaining his Majlis's ticket in the ensuing elections. In a press release by the Majlis in early May 1936 it was explained that while the Majlis appreciated the "good intentions" of Jinnah, it preferred to maintain their independent position.¹⁵ Zafar Ali Khan tried his best to urge the Punjab Muslim League to adopt the creed of "complete independence". In a meeting of the Punjab Muslim League held on 25 April 1937, Zafar Ali Khan urged in a very strong words for change in the objective of the Muslim League which was accepted.¹⁶ The Muslim League agreed for this to put the matter before the coming session of the All India Muslim League. Unlike members of Ahrars and Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, Zafar Ali Khan was very critical of the Congress and its policies which he termed against the interests of the Muslims. The members of the Ahrars and Jamiat avoided criticizing the Congress policies. At a meeting held at Badshahi Mosque Lahore, on 7 May 1937 under the auspices of Ittehad-i-Millat, Lahore, the meeting decided to oppose the present policy of the Congress, but at the same it expressed "complete confidence" in Jinnah as well the policy of the Muslim League.¹⁷ A Muslim League flag-hosting ceremony was performed by Jinnah at Shimla on 28 August 1938 attended by about 2000 persons. At this meeting, Zafar Ali Khan strongly expressed in favor of the Muslim League policies.¹⁸

In the Punjab Muslim League there were two groups after 1937- one was known as Radical group and the other was known as General Group. In the Radical group were Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Malik Barkat Ali, Mian Nurullah and others.¹⁹ But in the General group were mostly the feudal lords. After 1940, these groups started expressing themselves in somewhat secret styles, but overtly they were functioning jointly. A meeting of the City Muslim League held at Amritsar on 7 January 1942 under the presidency of Sheikh Saidq Hassan expressed them overtly.²⁰ At another meeting held at Amritsar on 16 May 1942 also, Zafar Ali Khan criticized the Congress policies and appealed to Ahrars to join the Muslim League.²¹ In a meeting of the Muslim League held at Jullundur on 23 August 1942, Zafar Ali Khan declared the "Quit India" Movement launched by the Congress as a movement aimed at the destruction of the Pakistan scheme.²² In a meeting of the Muslim League held in Lahore under the auspices of the Lahore City Muslim League on 25 December 1942 in commemoration of Jinnah's

¹⁵ Riaz Ahmad, *The Punjab Muslim League Secret Police Abstracts 1906-1947*, Islamabad, Quaid-i-Azam University (NIHCR), 2008, p. 38.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

birthday, Zafar Ali Khan criticized Lord Wavell's recent speech declaring British India to be indivisible.²³ A meeting of the Punjab Muslim League Workers Board was held in Lahore on 1 February 1943 at the house of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan in which it was decided to start a campaign for the enlistment of members.²⁴ For strengthening the cause of Radical Muslim League in the Punjab or that left wing of the province Rashid Ali Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan, participated. In this meeting, it was decided that the Muslim League will donate Rs. 125/- to the Management of Zamindar for carrying propaganda of the Muslim League in favour of Pakistan²⁵. Jinnah was kept well informed about what Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and the left wingers in the Punjab were doing. Jinnah was also informed that in January 1942 a meeting was held in Lahore at the office of Zamindar participated by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Mian Nurullah, MLA, and staff of the daily *Zamindar*. Other who was invited were Malik Barkat Ali, Mian Abdul Aziz, and Muhammad Ashraf, Member Working Committee, Punjab Muslim Students Federation, but they did not participate. At this, it was decided to revive Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat because, according to Maulana, the Punjab Muslim League was not performing as desired by the Muslims. When later Maulana got the opinions of those participants who did not participate in the aforesaid meeting and they opposed the ideal of revival of Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat, Maulana got disappointed. When Maulana learnt that Jinnah had been informed about this happening he got silent and vowed to come to the main stream of Muslim League politics.²⁶

Muslim League Conference was organized in Rawalpindi at the Islamia High School on 17-18 June 1944 which was attended by more than 2000 persons presided over by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League and attended by, amongst other, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Minister of the NWFP, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Chief Minister of the NWFP, Qazi Mohammad Isa from Baluchistan, G.M.Syed from Sindh, Raja Khair Mehdi from Jhelum, Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani, M.H.Zazdar, Minister of Sindh, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Abdul Sattar Niazi of Mianwali. Other prominent persons who were present were Dr. Ziaul Islam and the Nawab of Mamdot. Most of the speakers expressed their fear of the Hindu domination.²⁷ Zafar Ali Khan's oratory was very much praised by the Muslims. At a meeting held at Gurdaspur later in June when Zafar Ali Khan did not arrive, there was great disappointment amongst the people.²⁸ At a meeting held at Jullundur on 30 June 1944, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan criticized the Western civilization and said that Pakistan meant the establishment of a rule in Muslim majority provinces in accordance with the doctrines of the Quran. He also told the audience to pay no attention to the attempts of the Unionist Ministry, carried out through Deputy Commissioners and the CID to dissuade them from joining the Muslim League.²⁹ These

²³ Ibid., p. 124.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., pp.130-131.

²⁶ Muhammad Ashraf to Jinnah, 2 February 1942, *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* F. 769, in M. Akram Shaheedi, *Jinnah Papers*, Vol. XVII, Islamabad, Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing, Ministry of Culture, Islamabad, 2009, pp. 465-468.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 165-166.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 166.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 172.

ideas were further expressed by him at Khaniwal on 7-8 October 1944 when such a function was arranged under the auspices of the Multan District Muslim League.³⁰

At a meeting held on 10 October 1944 at Ludhiana by the City Muslim League Maulana Zafar Ali Khan stated that the Muslim demand for Pakistan was a result of the oppressions committed on Muslims in Muslim minority provinces under Hindu domination. He added that the Muslims wanted to establish their own Government in Pakistan and to have no connection with any Central Government. He criticized the Gandhi-Rajagopalachari formula which he described as ambiguous and took exception to Gandhi's statement that Muslims had originally been Hindus. He also condemned the suggestion that all communities should vote in the plebiscite. He asked the audience not to contribute any funds to the Zamindara League, and said that Muslim League leaders were trying to improve economic conditions amongst the Muslims and demanded the preparation of a constructive programme to provide an adequate livelihood to poor Muslims in both rural and urban areas.³¹

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan also contested elections for the Central Legislative Assembly in November 1945 in which he was elected on the Muslim League ticket. In this connection, he addressed a number of meetings in Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Gurdaspur, and other places³² The Muslim League contested all the 30 seats reserved for the Muslims in the Central Assembly, including the seats from the Punjab. All these seats from the Punjab reserved for the Muslims were also won over by the Muslim League candidates. And so was the case of Zafar Ali Khan who got elected as member of the Central Legislature from the Muslim League ticket.³³ Thus, he was now spokesman of Muslim League and that of the cause of Pakistan in the Central Assembly. When Jinnah decided to boycott the session of the Central Legislative Assembly, Zafar Ali Khan stood by his Quaid and helped in paving the way for Pakistan. But, at the same it should be remembered that even when he was member of the Assembly elected on the Majlis ticket, he was strong advocate of Pakistan in the legislature.

Jamnadas Mehta introduced The Delhi University (Amendment) Bill in the Indian Central Legislative Assembly. This bill was thoroughly debated in the Assembly. The Muslim members including Maulana Zafar Ali Khan proposed that some Muslims should also be included in the governing and academic bodies of the University. On this Jamnadas Mehta objected and blamed the Muslim members for making a "communal" demand. He also sarcastically mentioned about Pakistan, a reference which had no relevance to the debate. He could not escape the abrupt attention and spontaneous rebuttal from Maulana Zafar Ali Khan who thus spoke in the Central Assembly on 5th August 1943:

"Sir, as long as the Muslims remained silent without demanding their due share in the loaves and fishes, they were good boys, but the moment they ask for their proper share, the

³⁰ Ibid., p. 195.

³¹ Ibid., p. 197.

³² Ibid., pp. 249-252.

³³ *Indian Election Reforms 1945-1946*, No. L/P&J/8/470, British Library (OIOC), London.

demon of communalism lifts its head and jumps up like the proverbial Jack in the Box and we are being twitted with being rank communalists and all that. It did one's heart good to see the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs voting together when certain amendments were pressed to division, all going in one way. But, Sir, that beautiful spectacle was only of short duration. My Honourable friend Mr. Jamnadas Mehta set the poisonous ball rolling and he shouted communalism! Communalism! With the lungs of a Stentor. Then those who are his henchmen took up the cry with greater vigour. My Honourable friend Pandit Nilakantha Das from Cuttack charged us with hatching a conspiracy to kill the Bill. Well, Sir, so far as this Bill is concerned, our friends like Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and Dr. Banerjea have joined us in killing this Bill when they voted with us on the question of salary for the Vice-Chancellor. Did they do not kill it then. Then you remained silent. But now when we are asking for one seat in the Committee of Selection which was our due share, then you begin to shouts.

...

[After hearing some more speeches from other Hindu members of the Assembly, Zafar Ali Khan again expressed on this bill the next day, i.e. 6 August 1943:]

“Do you contend that the Muslims have no right to ask for their share on communal basis? This principle was enunciated and accepted when the communal award was given. Since then we have been telling the people in this country that there are two nations in this country, the Hindus and the Muslims. I assure you, Sir, that ten crores of Muslims cannot be silenced by any administration and by any shouts and by any slogans.³⁴

“I do not know what Pakistan had to do with it, but I will remind my Honorable friend that Pakistan is a term used thousands of years ago by the Hindus themselves. “Pak” means sacred and “istan” means land, and so the word means the land of the sacred just as we refer to the holy land of the Hedjaz. The whole of Northern India including the Punjab, Sind and North-West Frontier Province was looked upon by them as sacred. Sree Ramchandra was born in Pakistan, and therefore this land according to Hindus is Pakistan. Then, Sir, Kurukshetra, every particle of which is sacred, is included in Pakistan.

...

“The word “Pakistan” has been mentioned in the course of this discussion so often that I must point out that according to the Hindus themselves Pakistan is sacred, and only when Muslims come in it becomes impure and polluted. So the Muslim also is an untouchable like

³⁴ *Indian Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1943, pp. 453 – 550.

the depressed classes. This reminds me of a story about .myself. When I was a prisoner in the Montgomery Jail.

“I will relate it in a very few words. In that jail I called my sweeper one morning and told him I would give him equal status with myself. He did not understand my meaning and when I asked him to bring a pitcher of water and fill a tumbler. He thought that as I was in solitary confinement my brain must have gone wrong. But I threatened him with a cane and trembling with fear he filled the tumbler with water. I told him to drink it, and he was now convinced that I had gone mad. But I again threatened him with a cane and he drank half of it. Then I drank off the rest, and showed him that he was my equal. I did this as I was a Mussalman.³⁵

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was less active at the central politics of the Muslim League. This was because of his heavy responsibilities as Chief Editor, daily *Zamindar* (Urdu). The other reason was that he was member of the Central Indian Assembly which also required a lot of time which was difficult for him in addition to his responsibilities as the chief editor of the newspaper. Moreover, he was more interested in the popularizing the concept of Pakistan in the Pakistani areas of the North Western India. That is why, he mostly addressed meetings in Punjab, NWFP (now KPK), Sindh and Baluchistan, than going to Bengal and Assam. He was not a rich man like any feudal lord who could travel freely all over British India. He had to bear all his own expenses. Still he managed to attend the important meeting of the All India Muslim League and its Council. He attended the Lahore session of the AIML held on 22-24 March 1940 and supported the Pakistan Resolution.

³⁵ Ibid.

ہم کو دیتے تھے یہ دعوت کار فرمایاں لیگ
تاکہ آزادی کا پرچم ہند میں لہرائے تو
مرکزیت میں ہے مضر زندگی اقوام کی
اکی جھنڈے تلے جس روز ملت آئے گی
دل کے کانوں سے یہ نکتے بیرو بر تانے سنے
آج فرزندان اسلام ایک مرکز پر ہیں جمع
پھر یہ کیا ہے کوئی خاطر میں انہیں لاتا نہیں
قوم زنجیروں میں ہے بکڑی ہوئی پہلے کی طرح
رہروان گرم رو جائیں تو اب جائیں کہاں؟

گر مسلمان ہے تو ہو وابستہ دامان لیگ
اب رحمت بن کے سارے ہند پر چھا جائے تو
اور یہی تعلیم پہلے دن سے ہے اسلام کی
ساری دنیا اس کے آگے خود بخود جھک جائے گی
لیگ کے گلشن میں آکر بھول حکمت کے پختے
ایک اشارہ پر جو کٹ جائے وہ سر لے کر ہیں جمع
اور حریفوں کا سر آگے اُن کے جھک جاتا نہیں
گردن غیار ہے اکڑی ہوئی پہلے کی طرح
اپنی جمعیت کے جوہر جا کے دکھائیں کہاں؟

قوم کی تنظیم سے کیا کام لیں گے رہ نما؟
کیا تنظیم ہی کا نام لیں گے رہ نما؟

He also attended the Madras session of AIML held in April 1941. At this session, he was one of the supporters of Resolution No.II moved by Liaquat Ali Khan expressing the will of the Muslim nation to establish the Independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign. This resolution also required that the Constitution should also provide due safeguards to the minorities with reference to their religion, culture, economic, politics, administrative and other rights and interests.³⁶ Speaking on this resolution Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that Pakistan means freedom from two slaveries – one of the British and the other from Mr. Gandhi.³⁷

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan had a great respect for Jinnah. Even on humanitarian matters like those of caring the orphan children in hundreds and thousands as a result of Bengal holocaust of 1943, when Jinnah made call on the Muslim leaders and the people to help care the orphan children, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan donated a cheque of Rs. 1000/- for the famine stricken children of Bengal, a fund which was later sent by Jinnah to the Calcutta Muslim League.³⁸ Jinnah duly acknowledged the receipt of this cheque on 27 November 1943 which also stated that the cheque has been sent to Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce with the direction that they should directly acknowledge the receipt of this cheque to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.³⁹

³⁶ S.S.Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Islamabad, NIHCR, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2007, p. 342.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 346.

³⁸ Zafar Ali Khan to Jinnah, McLeod Road, Lahore, 23 November 1943 [letter], in *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, F. 584, National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad.

³⁹ Jinnah to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, 10 Aurgahjzeb Road, New Delhi, 27 November 1943, in *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, F. 584, National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad.

اگر جینا کا دل آجائے گاندھی جی کی ٹھہی میں
پڑے جمولا مرقت کا بڑھیں اخلاص کی چنگٹیں
رواداری کا مل کے ہر ایک مندر میں چہرے ہوں
جو دامن ہو اقلیت تو چولی اکثریت ہو
اُدھر ہو شیخ کا کس بل اُدھر قسقی برہمن کی
علم لہرائے جمہوری سیادت کا ہمالہ پر
کریں جو فیصلہ ہندو مسلمانوں کی مرضی سے
سیاست میں ہم انگریزوں کے شاگرد خصوصی ہیں

تو فیروں کی غلامی سے وطن آزاد ہو جائے
یہاں ایک تازہ ایام سلف کی یاد ہو جائے
ہر ایک مسجد جو اب ویران ہے آباد ہو جائے
تو انا مطمئن ہو تاواں دل شاد ہو جائے
یہ ڈیرا زور مرگ دیو استبداد ہو جائے
ملوکیت کے گھر کی منہدم بنیاد ہو جائے
وزیر ہند کا مجبوراً اس پر صاد ہو جائے
عجب کیا آج کا شاگرد کل استاد ہو جائے

عمل کا وقت ہے احباب جو کرنا ہے اب کر لیں
مبادا یہ قبالہ زائد المیعاد ہو جائے