# MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

(A BIOGRAPHY)

By

#### SYED MATLUBUL HASSAN

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the tall, slim and elegant personality with a monocle is the only dynamic force in this country who holds in his grip the solution of extremely complex problem of Indian politics.

This man is undoubtedly worth study. This book portrays before the reader the political anatomy of the 'greatest man of Asia'. It is a comprehensive and authentic biography of Mr. Jinnah. The book is the study of a man and political history of India for the last half century. It enlightens the reader about the growth of Pakistan creed.

This is the only authoritative work ever written on Jinnah. It is from the pen of a formerly Private Secretary of Mr. Jinnah who is not only intimately conversant with his life but who has been also the student of political struggle of various communities in the country.

The book is extremely rich in material of the highest order expanding to tains numerous photograp

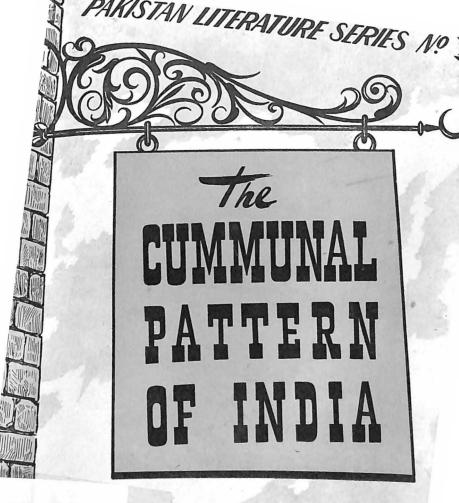
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THE COMMUNAL PATTERN OF INDIA



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#### PREFACE.

The Communal Pattern of India, the second pamphlet of our Pakistan Literature series, is a thoughtful and scientific study of the problem of the distribution of population in India and its relation to political adjustments by Dr. Kazi Saidud-din Ahmad, an eminent scholar of Geography. By his deep study of the subject, specially its human aspect, and his lucid exposition of the inter-play of geographical factors and human relationships he has already acquired the reputation of an authority and is entitled to be heard with attention.

In this article Dr. Kazi displays a penetrating insight, a detached and critical approach, and an ability to sift facts and reach conclusions in a most convincing manner. On the basis of scientific data he justifies the setting up of independent states to satisfy the urge for freedom of various national groups. This treatise is indispensable for all who wish to arrive at a correct appraisal of the problem of the nationalities in India.

Too long has the cause of Muslim India suffered due to absence of effective presentation of their case on the part of Muslims and the mend acious propaganda carried on by the Congress and other anti-Muslim bodies with the powerful **V**1

backing of Hindu financial magnates. It is hoped that the series of pamphlets we are starting will serve, to some extent, to dispel misconceptions and help all fair-minded people to make a dispassionate study of the peculiar conditions of India and appreciate the position and viewpoint of the Muslim nation in India.

### JAMILUD-DIN-AHMAD Convener, Committee of Writers of the All-India Muslim League.

# The Communal Pattern of India

BY

DR. KAZI SAID-UD-DIN AHMAD,

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The political problem is at once communal, social and economic. Political rights without communal, social and economic justice are meaningless. No scheme for the future consitution of India can be generally acceptable unless it provides a solution for the communal, social, and economic differences.

The population of India is composed of a variety of peoples possessing various religions. practising diverse rites, and speaking different languages. Indian society is clearly divided and is largely organized on a communal basis. India is the most religious country of the world. Religion permeates the entire life of this country. Social conduct is much influenced by practices which may in themselves be religious but which are subject to religious sanction. While in the Western countries culture is comparatively independent of religion and has more or less a regional basis, in India the two are so inseparably bound together that religion appears as a positive obstacle to cultural unity.

Unity of religion also denotes a certain amount of common sympathy and this is reflected in common political action. Where religion is such a great force and plays such a significant part in the life of the people, no constitution can be successfully framed which neglects its due position and importance.

Hindus and Muslims.—There are many religious castes and tribes constituting the population of India. Of these, Hindus and Muslims are the two most numerous and most widely distributed—the former (exclusive of scheduled castes) being 150.9 million in number and the latter, 79.4 million, out of 389 million in British India. While they are found living together over the whole of India, the Muslims constitute a majority of the population in the North-West and the North-East and the Hindus are in a majority in the rest of the country. Although they have lived side by side for centuries, yet their long association has failed to produce a sensible fusion of these two peoples. They possess absolutely different faiths. Their religious notions are not only divergent but ate fundamentally different. While idol-worship is prohibited in the one, it is the basis of prayer in the other; while the Musalmans worship only one God, the Hindus have many of them. With the division of divinity, the whole social and moral structure is clearly demarcated. The forms of prayer and rituals and the places of pilgrimage are different. Islam does not recognize caste and creed, and aims at the formation of a classless society, while the caste system is a prominent

#### feature of Hinduism.

There is a great difference between the two peoples in tradition, in history and in their attitude towards life—political, social, and economic. The Muslims derive their inspiration from the Holy Quran and Hadis, and the Hindus from the Vedas. The Muslims have got their traditions from the Holy Prophet, the Caliphs and Imams, while the Hindus have inherited them from the Ramayan, Mahabharat and Geeta. Their history has been that of two warring peoples, with numerous episodes of mutual destruction. The communal riots of to-day tell the same story.

The national heroes of the two are quite different. The Muslims look at the successful Mussalman invaders with pride, while the Hindus honour those who offered them the greatest resistance. So the history of each is not only different but distasteful to the other.

There is a great difference between the Muslim and the Hindu concept of state. Islam is essentially democratic in character, while Hinduism with its caste system and class domination implies minority rule. In the Islamic conception, the Commander of the Faithful rules in common brotherhood all the children of one God. Amongst the Hindus government is the legacy of the warrior class, the Kshattriyas.

There is also a marked difference in the economy of these two great communities. The

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distinct religion, culture and social institutions as a clear expression of their separate individuality, and therefore claim the right to be recognized as a separate nation in regions where they form predominant groups. This attitude has been gradually and slowly developing in them for a long time as a consequence of their social humiliation and economic serfdom, and has recently burst to the surface under the pressure of the domination exercised by some of the Congress Ministries during the short term of their office.

A nation, in the words of Keane,' comprises all the inhabitants of a given region subject long enough to one political system to have acquired a certain outward uniformity, a common standard of social usages, interest, aspiration, generally also language, literature and religion. It tends towards ethnic uniformity or unity by the gradual fusion of diverse elements in a uniform type. The Hindus and the Muslims, as they are to-day, taken as a whole, have no ethnic unity or uniformity. There is visible no tendency and there is not even a remote possibility of their fusion into a uniform And they have no desire to exist as one tvpe. independent political unit. So obviously they do not constitute one single nation. There is no such thing as an Indian nation just as there is no European nation. The basis of the two-nation theory is not merely religious but is also social, cultural, and to a certain extent, linguistic. The All-India Muslim League, speaking on behalf of the Muslims, claims that Muslims are a separate

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Keane, Ethnology, Cambridge, page 14.

nation. Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, admits this claim : "India cannot be assumed to-day to be a unitarian and homogeneous nation, but on the contrary there are two nations, in the main, the Hindu and Muslim."

There cannot be a nation without an independent political existence and а separate homeland. Unless the Hindus and Muslims ignore their religious and cultural differences and are prepared to merge themselves in one common state or, in other words, unless the Muslims can be induced to forego their claims for a separate nationhood, there is no alternative but to provide separate homelands. A people about a hundred million strong and mostly inhabiting large contiguous areas with independent outlets to the sea, cannot be coerced into the status of a minority of a people contained in a much larger geographical unit. If the countries of Holland and Belgium with 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> million population each or the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, all three of which together have a total population of about 51 million, can be recognised as separate nations the claim of the Muslims with a population of more than 20 million in the north-west and 36 million in the north-east is irresistible.

The growth of consciousness amongst the Muslims of their separate nationalism is a factor which cannot be passed over in any attempt to secure political peace in India. History teaches us

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See the proceedings of the All-India Mahasabha Session held at Ahmedabad, 1937.

the same lessons. Many wars, political dissensions in various countries and disruptions of several States can be traced to a similar consciousness in the peoples of their separate nationalism. The formation of the Baltic States in Europe, and the dismemberment of Turkey in S. W. Asia are two very good examples. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire various peoples lived together united for several centuries, but ultimately the Empire was split up into several States, each forming a separate political Any attempt to solve the nation. problem on the assumption that Hindus and Muslims are now one nation, or are likely to be hereafter, is to ignore the facts and evade the real issue, and so it must come to nought. For a solution to be successful, it must be based on amity rather than unity of the two peoples and religious take cognizance not only of must agglomerations but also of the communally interwoven texture of Indian society. Both the Hindus and the Muslims should be allowed to live their own lives peacefully together in mutual happiness. If our differences are so fundamental that we cannot make one people, we can join in friendly relationship as two good peoples. If there can be no integration there can certainly be co-ordination and collaboration. The object should be to divide India not into political units which should either be in complete isolation from one another or in subordination to each other or to a common centre, but into states which should function in harmony or neighbourly co-operation.

Scheduled Castes :-- Scheduled castes form

the most important group of the population next to caste Hindus and Muslims. They are about 40 millions or about 14 per cent of the population of Br. India, but are found scattered in all the provinces.<sup>1</sup> They are specially numerous in the United Provinces (20 per cent), C. P. and Berar (18 p. c.), Madras (16 p. c.) Orissa (14 p. c.), Bengal (12 p. c.) and Bihar (10 p. c.). These people present a problem unique in India. They are considered to be unholy, unclean and untouchable and suffer from serious social, religious and political handicaps on account of their degraded position. They have only a restricted right to use public conveniences like wells or They are excluded from Hindu Temples. schools. They generally live in reserves. Their quarters are extremely congested and have few municipal facilities. Both educationally and economically they are backward. Hardly any one of them can read or write, and except a few in large industrial towns, they are extremely poor. They obtain the worst lands and the worst wells. Both the Hindus and the Muslims are almost equally to be blamed for having kept them so long in their lowly condition. There can be no political peace in this country as long as such a large section the people is kept under subjugation of and disgraceful humiliation. Any political reform must ensure future economic and social equality.

An important question is whether the scheduled castes should be united with the Hindus or recognised as separate political entity. It is diffi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For detailed figures see the Appendix.

cult to define the term, Hindu. It is as much a social as a religious term. According to the Census Report,' it denotes membership of a system or organised society with great latitude of religious belief and practices, so that it is possible for a man to be a Hindu socially and to have a religious belief shared with others who do not regard themselves as members of the same society. This emerges from the history of Hindu society, which has been formed by the accretion of a number of races within a polity indirectly heirarchical. There have been attempts, though unsuccessful, to absorb and include not only scheduled castes but also Jains. Buddhists, and Sikhs within the fold of Whether the scheduled castes are Hinduism. Hindus or not and whether they want to share political rights with the Hindus or not, is for them to say. It is, however, obvious that they form a caste exterior to Hindu society and are denied its religious or social status. In the Punjab about 400.000 persons of the depressed class do not claim to be Hindus and have returned themselves as ad-Dharmis in the Census of 1931 and 1941. Τn improve their lot many of the scheduled castes are being converted in large numbers to Christianity. Islam and Sikhism. The granting of separate political rights is the only way of pulling these people up on to their feet. It is only by this means that we can create self-consciousness in them and make them equal partners in an amicable society. Present political union with the Hindus is based on the force of fast-unto-death of a person exterior to them.

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<sup>1931,</sup> page 381.

The distribution of scheduled castes shows a widely scattered pattern. They are found in every town and village in India, but nowhere do they form compact groups over large areas. Within a village, town or city, they are, however, segregated towards the outskirts, aloof from the main society. They do not constitute a majority anywhere either in urban or rural areas. Though almost equal in number to the population of France they cannot aspire to separate nationhood as they have no separate homeland. But they cannot be ignored. They form an important minority in all the provinces both as a whole and in parts. This fact should be recognised and their rights should be duly safe-guarded.

**Tribes**:— The tribes form about 7 per cent of the population of India, having a total population of about 17 million in British India. They are important elements in the population of the provinces of Andaman and Nicobar (36 p.c.), Orissa (21 p.c.), Bihar (18 p.c.), C. P. and Berar (18 p.c.) and Assam (24 p.c.). They have a special significance in Assam as is brought out by the following figures.

Total population in Br. Territory.	Scheduled castes.	Caste Hindus.	Muslims.	Tribes.
10,204,733	676,291 (6.7 p.c.)	3,536,932 (34.7 p.c.)	3,442,479 (33.81 p.c.)	2,484,996 (24 p.c.)
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In the Census of 1941, emphasis was rightly laid on community rather than religion, and figures have been collected accordingly. Community and religion may seem to many as one and the same and inseparable. They are in fact so in most cases. But where there are tribes, community and religion need not always be the same. Tribes form a social and cultural group which is homogeneous except for religion. As regards religion, about one-third adhere to their tribal religion, which is some form of animism, while the rest are mostly Hindus, Budhists, Muslims and Christians.

Contrary to the scheduled castes, tribes are found in compact groups in their own separate isolated territories, generally in the hilly or forested areas in various parts of India. They live a primitive life, with peculiar customs and festivals which give them homogenity and cohesion. They are quite happy with their lot and environment. We need not encroach upontheir isolation, but let them lead their own life. We may create selfgoverning tribal areas with free power of self-determination in regard to surrounding or adjacent units. Contact may be maintained with the tribal chiefs just in the same way as with the rulers of the Native states.

Sikhs:—Sikhs are 4.2 million (or about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  p.c.) in Br. India. Their main strength is in the Punjab, where they number 3.76 million, 90 p.c. of their total in Br. India. Within this province they form an important minority, being 13 p.c. of the total population.

Sikhism seeks a synthesis of the monotheism of Islam and the Philosophical thought of Hinduism. By religion Sikhs are fundamentally nearer to Islam than to Hinduism. By race they are one. Modern researches have established that the people of the Punjab have racial homogeneity. In the words of Eicksted, a famous German anthropoligist: "There is no Somatic difference between the Sik hs of the East and the Muslims of the West, and the illusion of racial difference between the two is due to the peculiar modes in which clothing and hair are worn by these people."

The Akali movement has considerably strengthened the position of the Sikhs. Large numbers of depressed classes, agriculturists, and artisans have been absorbed in Sikhism on account of their gain in status by leaving Hinduism. There has been plenty of conversion of Hindu Jats to Sikh Jats. Within a few decades, they have rapidly developed a marked individualism not only in religion but also in society. In any political settlement the right of self-determination cannot be denied to them, but unfortunately the pattern of their distribution does not entitle them to any regional claims. We find, however, they have a dense population in the Ghaggar plain (between the Jumna and the Sutlej). The respective strength of the chief communities in this section is given in the following table:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ambala Division plus the dist. of Ludhiana and Ferozepore of the Jullundur Division.

	Cast <b>e</b> Hindus,	Scheduled castes of Ad-Dharmis.	Muslims.	Sikhs.	Others.
Ghaggar Plain.	2,774,349	771,072	2,262,066	1,060,957	68,709

It will be seen from above that the pattern of this section of the Punjab is a triangular one, different from that of the rest of India. This justifies its separation from the Punjab, and its formation into a separate province. In the fitness of things, the province of Delhi, now an insignificant one. may be extended to include the whole of this area. What will happen to this new province, in the case of the partition of India into Pakistan and Hindustan? Let the plebiscite on the basis of adult franchise decide. There can be only one result of such a plebiscite and that is indicated by its community of interest with the rest of the Punjab.

**Christians**:—The Christians have a population of about 35 millions in Br. India, or more than 1 p.c. of the total. Of this over 2 million or about two-thirds are in Madras, which is thus the most Christian Province of India. Here they constitute a little over 4 p.c. of the total population. They are specially concentrated in the district of Guntur and Tinnevelly, where they are about 10 p.c. In the rest of India they are in an insignificant minority, living mostly in urban areas.

Others, or the rest:-The remaining com-

munities are too small in number to receive separate recognition in any province. All the rest of these peoples are only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million in the whole of Br. India or about  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.c. of the total population. There are Jains, Buddhists, and Parsis etc. Let them all be grouped together for separate treatment on their collective strength in each province.

**Conclusion**:-The multi-communal texture of Indian Society points only to one conclusionseparate rights for separate communities. Let it he laid down that a community with a population of 4 p.c. or more in any province shall have separate rights. This lower limit has been fixed to allow the important minority of Christians in Madras to benefit from it. The present system of grouping the peoples into Muslims and non-Muslims should be abolished and replaced by that of caste Hindus, Muslims, Scheduled castes. tribes and others. Punjab and Madras shall have additional sections of Sikhs and Christians, res-Combining an important minority nectively. with any other large group cannot properly be in its interest, and is not fair unless it be desired by the minority itself.

The Indian problem thus resolves itself into the simple question of giving political recognition to the communal pattern. Larger regional concentrations of the main communities in the west, east, north and south should be independent and free from any control, while smaller ones should be given as much autonomy and independence as may be economically consistent with the size of the groups and the resource of the Area, actual or potential. So long as the communal minorities do not choose to merge themselves in any political group in legislatures created on an economic basis,<sup>1</sup> the Government of any province should reflect the communal pattern, being an integration of the representatives of the main communities chosen by themselves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> i.e. If the majority of the elected representative of those minotities do not join such a group.

## APPENDIX (CENSUS 1941).

Province.	Total population Br. Territory.	Hindus Excluding Scheduled castes.	Scheduled castes.	Muslims.	Other Principal minority.		
1. United Provinces    2. Punjab     3. NW. F.P.     4. Bihar     5. Orissa     6. Bengal     7. Assam     8. Madras	28,418,819 3,084,334 36,340,151 8,728,544 60,306,525 10,204,733	34,094,511 6,301,737 1,97,631 22,173,890 5,594,535 17,680,054 3,535,932 34,731,330	11,717,158 1,592,320 4,340,379 1,238,171 7,378,970 676,291 8,068,492	$\begin{array}{r} 8,416,308\\ 16,217,742\\ 2,810,865\\ 4,716,314\\ 146,301\\ 33,005,434\\ 3,442,479\\ 3,896,452 \end{array}$	289,422 (Tribes). 3,757,401 (Sikhs). 62,411 (Sikhs). 5,055,647 (Tribes). 1,721,006 ,, 1,889,389 ,, 2,484,996 ,, 2,001,082 (Indian		
9. Bombay 10. Sind 11. C. P. & Berar. 12. Baluchistan 13. Delhi 14. Ajmere- Mer- wara 15. Coorg 16. Andamans and Nicobar	20,849,840 4,535,008 16,813,584 501,631 917,939 586,693 168,726	14,700,242 1,038,292 9,880,583 39,521 444,532 376,481 110TE 0F AU 8,427	1,855,148 191,634 3,051,413 5,102 122,693	1,920,368 3,208,325 783,697 438,930 304,971 89,899 14,730 8,005	Christians). 1,614,298 (Tribes). 31,011 (Sikhs). 2,937,364 (Tribes). 11,918 (Sikhs). 16,157 (Sikhs). 91,472 (Tribes). 19,723 ,, 11,076 ,,		
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