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Report

OF THE

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM CONFERENCE

HELD AT DELHI

ON

38792

31st December, 1928, and 1st January, 1929

UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF

Highness Sir Agha Sultan Mahomed Shah, Agha Khan,
K. C. I. E., G. C. I. E., G. C. S. I., G. C. V. O., LL. D.



BY AUTHORITY

Compiled and Published

BY

HAFIZUR RAHMAN, B. A., SOLE PROPRIETOR & EDITOR

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(a)

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL FOREWORD

The following is the copy of the original foreword to this Report by H. H. Sir Agha Khan of which the facsimile is printed on the opposite page :—

Telegr. Address :
Semiramis-Cairo

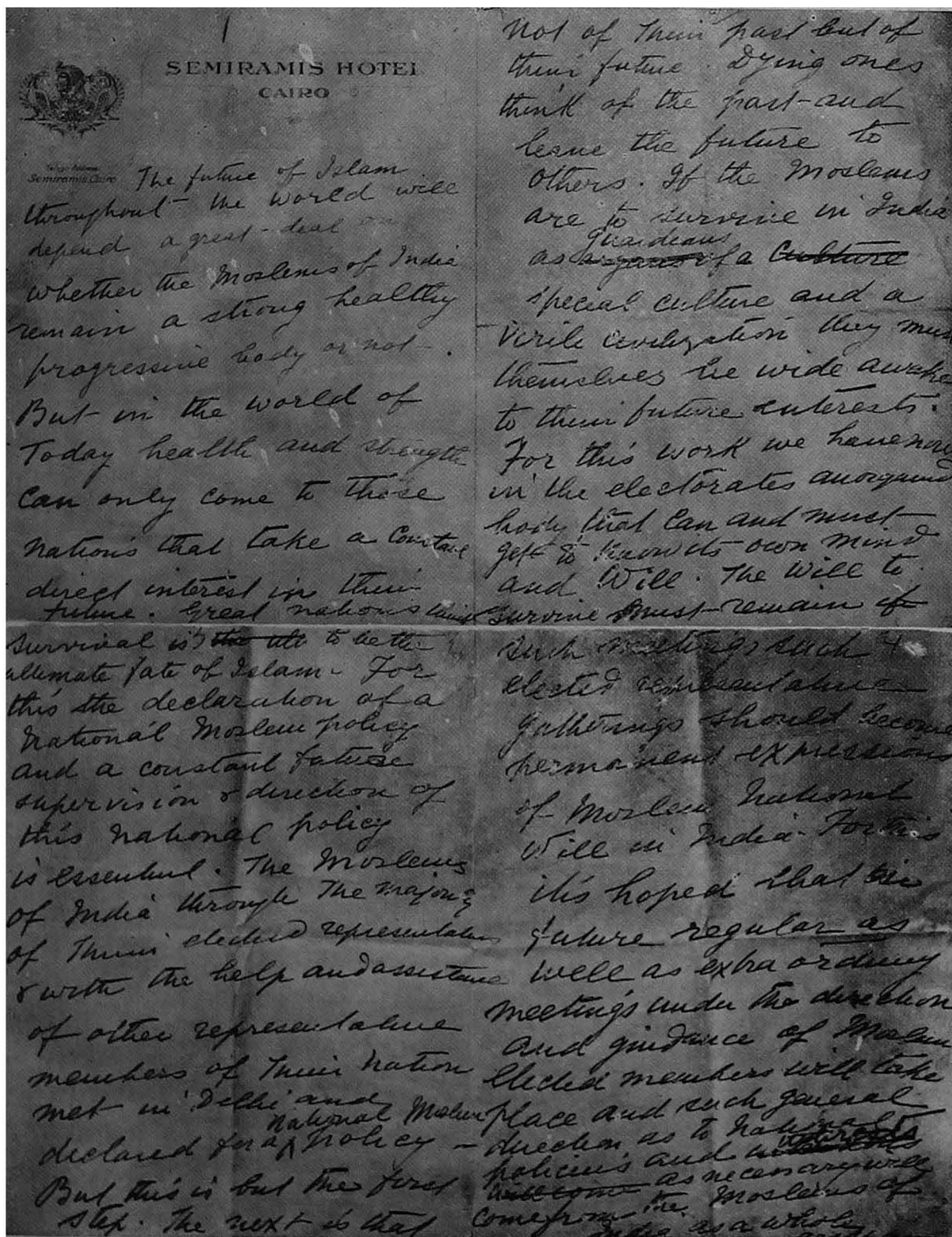
Semiramis Hotel,
Cairo.

“The future of Islam throughout the world will depend a great deal on whether the Moslems of India remain a strong, healthy, progressive body or not. But in the world of to-day, health and strength can only come to those nations that take a constant and direct interest in their future. Great nations think not of their past but of their future. Dying ones think of the past and leave the future to others. If the Moslems are to survive in India as guardians of a special culture and a virile civilization, they must themselves be wide awake to their future interests. For this work, we have now in the electorate an organised body that can and must get to know its own mind and will. The will to survive must remain, if survival is to be the ultimate fate of Islam. For this, the declaration of a National Moslem policy and a constant future supervision and direction of this national policy is essential. The Moslems of India, through the majority of their elected representatives and with the help and assistance of other representative members of their nation, met in Delhi and declared for a National Moslem policy. But this is but the first step. The next is that such meetings, such elected representative gatherings should become permanent expressions of Moslem National Will in India. For this, it is hoped that future regular as well as extraordinary meetings under the direction and guidance of Moslem elected members will take place and such general direction, as to national policies and interests as necessary, will come from the Moslems of India as a whole.

AHA KHAN.”

(b)

FACSIMILE OF FOREWORD BY H. H. SIR AGHA KHAN



The above is the facsimile of the instructive foreword to this Report written by H. H. Sir Agha Khan in his own hand in a letter sent from Cairo to Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A., who has forwarded the same to the author of this Report.

Members of the Council of State



Hon. Prince Afsarul Mulk Mirza Muhammad
Akram Husain Bahadur

Hon. Col. Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan,
K. C. I. E., C. B. E., M. V. O.



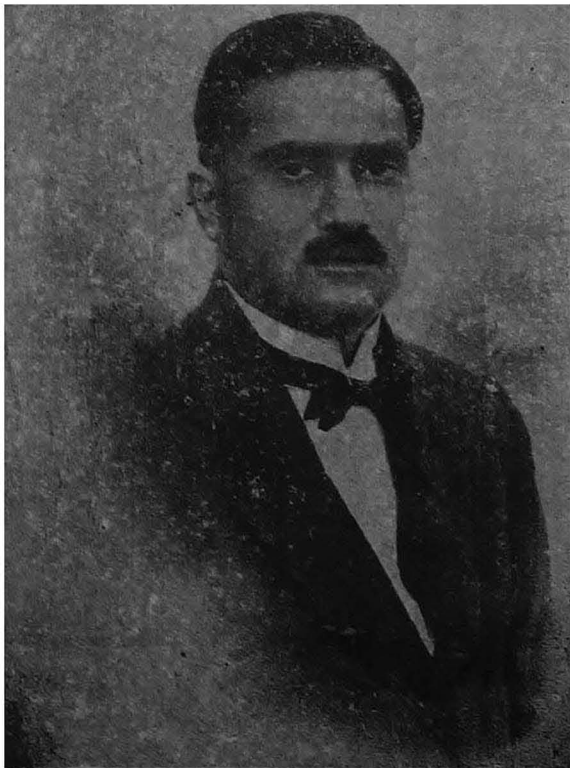
Hon'ble Mr. Ali Bakhsh
Mohammad Hussain



Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Kt. C. S. I.



**K. B. Mukhdum Syed Rajan
Bukhsh Shah.**



Mian Abdul Haye

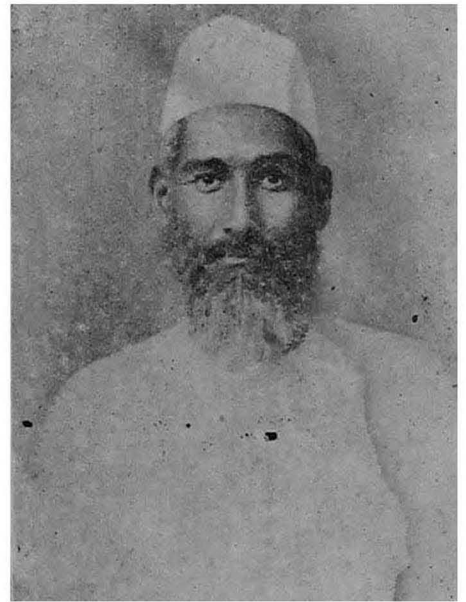


Haji Abdullah Haji Kasim

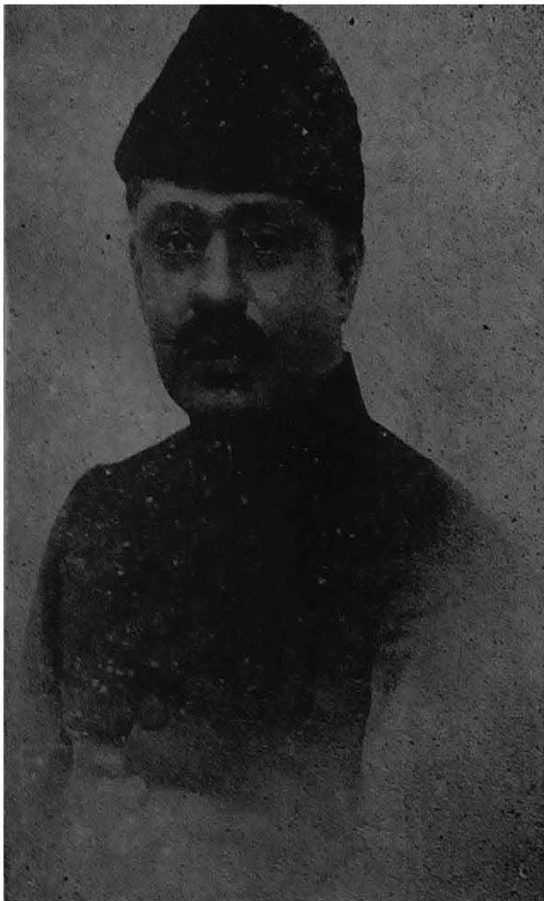
Members of the Legislative Assembly



Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon.



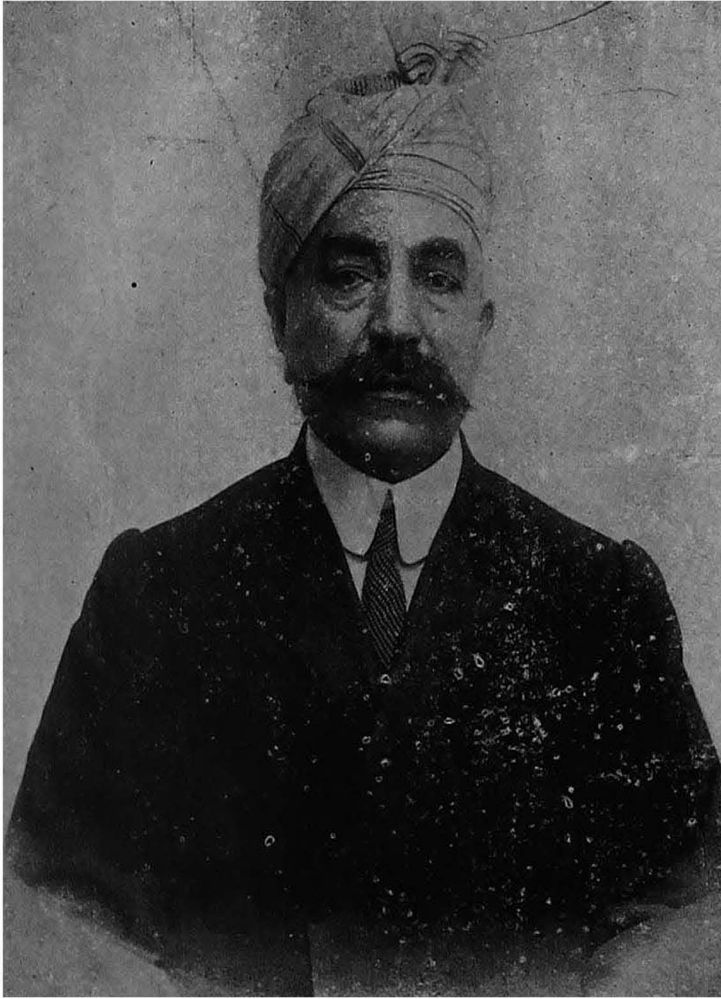
Maulana Mohammed Shafee Daoodi



Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan.



Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan



Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum



Mr. Anwarul Azim, B.A., Barrister at Law (Cantab) Chittagong



Chowdhry Mohamed Ismail Khan (Bengal)



Maulvi Mohamed Yakub, Deputy-President of the Legislative Assembly.

CHAPTER I.

The Seed which Sowed the Conference.

It would, at the very outset of this report, be instructive to know how the idea of an All-India Muslim Conference originated. The treatment which was meted out to those Muslims who attended the so-called All Parties Conference held at Lucknow in August, 1928, had intensified Muslim opposition to the Nehru Report. And when, on the eve of the last Simla session of the Legislative Assembly, Pandit Motilal Nehru was witnessed canvassing support for his Report, briskly and diplomatically, among its members with the object of having a resolution passed by the Assembly approving the principles embodied in the Nehru Report (See the Resolution in Appendix J), Muslim members of the Central Legislature scented in that manœuvre an imminent danger to the political existence of the Muslim community. And unquestionably accredited representatives of it as they were in a strictly constitutional sense, they only performed their duty in issuing from Simla on 10th September, 1928, the following manifesto :—

"We the undersigned Muslim members of the central and provincial legislatures, having given our best consideration to the decisions of the All Parties Conference on the Nehru Report, fully appreciate the labours of the authors of the Report in framing a constitution for India, but we are afraid, in their anxiety to meet the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, the authors of the Report as well as the Conference at Lucknow have failed to realize the problem of the minorities in India and have omitted to provide safeguards for the protection of their interests, a principle which has been already fully recognized throughout the civilised world. We want to make it quite clear that no constitu-

tion will be acceptable to the Musalmans unless it provides effective and adequate protection of their interests. The Conference at Lucknow has not only set at naught the demands embodied at the annual sessions of the All India Muslim League held at Aligarh in 1925, and in Delhi in 1926, but even the Proposals of some Muslim leaders formulated at Delhi on the 20th March, 1927, which were adopted by the Indian National Congress at Madras."

The above manifesto was signed by

Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir Abdul Kadir, Mian Shah Nawaz, Lieut. Sardar Mohammad Nawaz, Mian Abdul Haye and Sayed Rajan Bux (the Punjab);

Messrs. Abdullah Suhrwardy, A. H. Ghaznavi, Mohd. Rafiq, Haji Chowdhri Ismail Khan, Anwarul Azim, Abdul Matin Chaudhry and Mahmood Suhrwardy (Bengal);

Maulana Mohammed Shafee Daoodi, Nawabzada Ashrafuddin and Mr. Badiuz Zaman (Behar);

Sir Ibrahim Haroon Jafar and Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah (Bombay);

Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, Mr. Mohammed Panah Dakhan, and Mr. W. I. Bhutto (Sindh);

Maulvi Mohammed Yakub, Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan and Mr. Yamin Khan (the U.P.);

Syed Murtaza and Mr. Abdul Latif Faruki (Madras);

Sir Abdul Qayyum (N.-W. F. P.);

and Mr. Abdul Kadir Siddiqi (C. P.);

On 22nd September, 1928, it was reported in the press that a large number of Muslim members of the Central Legislature had "finally decided to hold an All-India Moslem Conference on 11th November in Delhi and an invitation had been telegraphed to His Highness the Agha Khan to guide

the deliberations of the Conference. Later on, it was reported in the press that Raja Ghazanfar Ali, M.L.A., Haji Abdullah Haji Qasim, M. L. A., Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed, M. L. A., Syed Husain Shah, M. L. A., and Prince Akram Husain, Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Hon. Major Mohd. Akbar Khan, Hon. Mr. Ali Baksh Mahmood Husain, Hon. Nawab Mehr Shah, Hon. Mr. Padshah and Hon. Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Choudhry, members of the Council of State, had also appended their signatures to the Muslim manifesto relating to the unacceptance of the Nehru Report.

A glance at the names of the signatories to the Manifesto will show that they were drawn from all political parties of the Muslim community and included among them staunch Khilafatists and Nationalists like Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi, then President of the Central Khilafat Committee, and Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, that merchant-prince and philanthropist who has liberally financed the Khilafat and the Nationalist movements. Among the signatories to the Manifesto, we also find Swarajists. Issued as it was by members of the different Muslim political parties, the Manifesto manifestly bore the stamp of thorough, true and faithful representation of the consensus of the stubborn Muslim opposition to the Nehru Report. The Manifesto was, in fact, a manifesto of general Muslim protest against the Report.

That the Manifesto was most certainly and most undoubtedly a remarkably wonderful manifestation of unity among the real, constitutional representatives of Indian Muslims on the issue of the Nehru Report can, further, be lucidly explained by a statement made by Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A., Bombay, in the course of an interview which he granted to a representative of the Free Press of India at Simla on 12th September, 1928, two days after the publication of the Manifesto. Mr. Fazal I. Rahmatullah's statement ran as follows:—

“Just as the Simon Commission brought about unity in the various political bodies in India, the Nehru Committee's Report has brought about unity in different Muslim camps. The statement (Manifesto) issued by the Muslim members of the Central Legislature should be an eye-opener to my Hindu brethren that if they choose to have Dominion Status, their methods should be radically changed. We have altogether 35 non-official Muslim members in the Legislative Assembly, out of whom three are nominated and 32 elected. Looking at the Manifesto, one finds that as many as 27 have signed and 3 will sign the Manifesto shortly. According to provinces, the number as regards elected members is as follows. As regards Madras, out of three two have signed and Haji Abdullah Haji Kassim has been telegraphed and is expected to sign. As regards Bombay, out of the two one has signed and the other is Mr. Jinnah who is out of India but who has not sent his approval to the Report which is a very significant thing. As regards Bengal, there are six, and all of them have signed. As regards Sindh, there are three and all of them have signed. As regards the Punjab, there are seven out of whom six have signed and the seventh is Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan who is not in Simla but might have signed if he was here. As regards Bihar and Orissa, there are three out of whom two have signed and the third is Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan who has been telegraphed and is expected to sign. There is one in the C. P., and he has signed. There is one in Assam, and he has also signed. There are six in the U. P., out of whom two have signed and the third is expected to sign shortly.

“Therefore, one finds that Bengal, Madras, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, Sindh, Assam and the Central Provinces are unanimous on this Manifesto. As regards the U. P., three members who have not signed are Messrs. Yousuf Imam, Kidwai and Sherwani. All of them were present at the discussion throughout but have so far refrained from signing. All these three belong to the Swarajist

H H. THE PRESIDENT S RECEPTION AT THE RAILWAY JUNCTION, DELHI



H H. Sir Agha Khan, holding a bouquet in his hand, coming down the staircase at the Railway Station, Delhi, to one of its platforms where his formal reception was arranged.

Party. They may issue a separate statement. All the three nominated Muslim members have also signed. The other four men of the Congress Party have signed, which is a very important thing and reveals the real dissatisfaction in the Muslim camp regarding the Report. In order to avoid any misunderstanding regarding the Manifesto of the Muslims, I may state that the Nehru Report has turned down the Delhi Proposals which were made as a compromise to Hindu brethren for securing Dominion Status.

"Therefore, if there is any delay in reaching the goal due to this Manifesto, the blame is on the shoulders of the Hindus mainly. It has been practically decided to hold an All-India Muslim Conference, in November in Delhi, of the Muslim representatives of different Muslim organisations to draft a report for Dominion Status with necessary safeguards to the Muslims. H. H. the Aga Khan will be asked to preside.

"As regards the Council of State members, their sittings begin to-day. Five of them have already signed, and the rest are expected to sign.

"I would request all the Muslim representatives of all the provinces to meet together and issue a similar statement so that a united front can be shown unequivocally.

"The Manifesto as published is signed by 28 members, including two Council of State members, one M. L. C. of the Punjab, who happened to be present at the meeting. The signatures of other members are pouring in, and they will be communicated to the press shortly."

The above statement of Mr. Fazal I. Rahmatullah conclusively proves that the Manifesto of Muslim legislators of 10th September last was a seed which sowed the All-India Muslim Conference and from which it miraculously sprouted up banyan-like within a couple of months to stunt and crush by its tentacular branches the poisonous growth of that plant of political greed and selfish-

ness—the Nehru Report.

In spite, however, of all propaganda of concocted lies and wilful misrepresentations, the All India Muslim Conference did come off at Delhi and unmistakably demonstrated to the whole world that all Islam in India was unanimously united in its grim determination to exist politically.

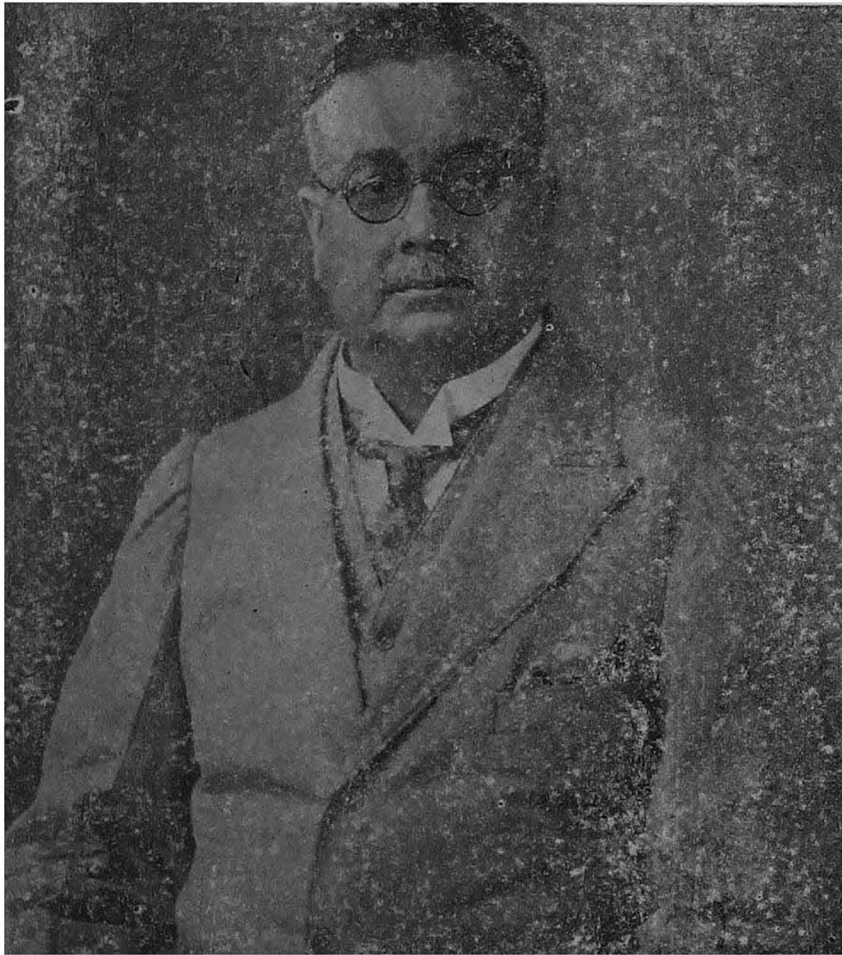
A word about the real object of the Conference. Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A., who was one of the primer movers of the Conference, paid a short visit to Delhi in the middle of December last to inspect the arrangements for the Conference. The statement which he then issued to the press on 25th December, 1928, contains a passage which leaves no doubt about the true object of the Conference. That passage formed the concluding portion of Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah's statement, and ran as follows:—

"The object of the Conference is to place before the world at large what the minimum Moslem demands are on which the Moslems would be prepared to work with their sister communities for the goal of Dominion Status. We cannot find a better guide than His Highness the Aga Khan. His Highness' long and intimate connection with Indian politics, his wide and varied experience of foreign countries and his great patriotism for the country of his birth make him eminently fit for the task which he is about to take up. I have no doubt when the Conference is over, when controversies have died down, it will leave a residue of good for all the communities in India, of which the founders of the Conference may well be proud."

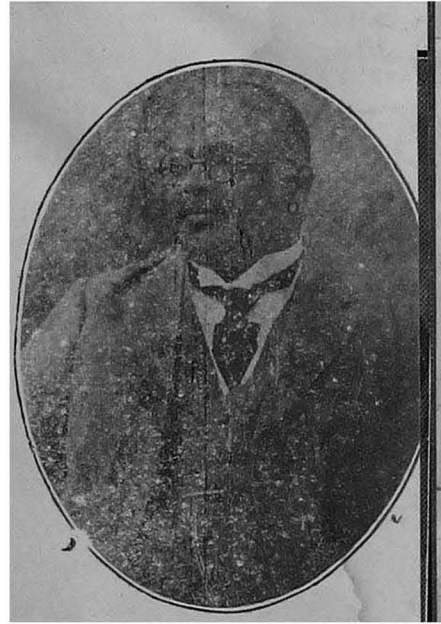
CHAPTER II.

H. H. Sir Agha Khan's Arrival at the Railway Junction, Delhi.

Despite the fact that the Reception Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference had very reluctantly abandoned the taking out of a procession of His Highness Sir



Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi



Mr K. Ahmad



Maulana Md Abdul Latif Saheb Babadur Farooki



Mr. Mahomed Rafique

Agha Khan, on his arrival at Delhi, at his special request owing to his being in too delicate a health to stand the strain of a processional reception, the zeal of Muslims to greet His Highness publicly could not be damped. By the kind permission of the Station Master, Railway Junction, Delhi, who greatly helped the arrangements of receiving H. H. Sir Agha Khan at the Railway Station, Delhi, a huge and enthusiastic crowd of Muslims was, therefore, lined orderly in two rows, leaving between enough space to pass through, on one of the platforms of the Delhi Railway Junction when on another platform steamed in on 30th December, 1928, at 8-45 p. m. the B. B. & C. I. Ry. Mail carrying His Highness. On alighting from the train, His Highness was received by Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A., of Bombay, Secretary of the Conference, and Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb, son of the late Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference. Mr. Fazal and Hakim Saheb were accompanied by many leading Muslims. The receivers took His Highness over a bridge down a staircase to the platform where the formal reception was arranged owing to the heavy rush of passengers on the platform where His Highness' train stopped. On both sides of the staircase stood the members of the Reception Committee of the Conference and other prominent Muslims. When heavily covered with garlands His Highness reached the middle of the staircase, he stopped a little and a group flash-light photo of him and the gentlemen following him and others who were about him was taken. As soon as His Highness stepped down, he was caught over by a torrential rain of flower-petals devoutly showered on him by his admirers amidst deafening and irrepressible shouts of Allah-o-Akbar which wonderfully demonstrated that Muslims were awake and had spontaneously raised that war-cry of Islam which puts heart even in cowards and which signalled that Muslims had taken to action in sheer defence of their birth-right to exist politically. Amidst this memorable scene of a most

hearty welcome, His Highness walked out of the railway station, and Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah took him in a special and beautifully-decorated car to the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar's residence called the Jamnagar House near the Maiden's Hotel, Delhi, where His Highness stayed.

CHAPTER III.

Before the Conference Began.

On 30th December, 1928, a meeting of Muslim leaders was held at Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb's residence in the Ballimaran Street, Delhi. Following were some of those present at the meeting:—

- (1) Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb
- (2) Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A.
- (3) Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah
- (4) Sir Mohamed Shafi
- (5) Nawab Mohamed Yusuf
- (6) Khan Bahadur Nawab Sheikh Wahiduddin
- (7) Nawab Sheikh Fariduddin
- (8) Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A.
- (9) Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, M.L.A.
- (10) Sir A. K. Ghaznavi
- (11) Sir Rahim Bukhsh
- (12) Syed Habib Saheb
- (13) Mr. Abdul Aziz, Barrister, Peshawar.
- (14) Maulvi Mazharuddin.

The above-mentioned meeting lasted from 3 p. m. to 6 p. m. After much discussion, the procedure for the Conference was laid down after which the meeting dispersed.

Before the actual proceedings of the Conference began, an informal conference of Muslim leaders took place on 31st December, 1928, at the Jamnagar House under H. H. Sir Agha Khan's presidency. This informal conference lasted from 10-30 a. m. to 1 p. m., and was attended by the following gentlemen:—

H

ACTUAL SITTING OF THE CONFERENCE



- (1) Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah.
- (2) Sir Mohamed Shafi.
- (3) Sir Abdul Karim Ghaznavi.
- (4) Haji Abdullah Haroon, M. L. A.
- (5) Moulvi Mohamed Yaqub, M. L. A.
- (6) Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan,
M. L. A.
- (7) Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Minister,
the Punjab Government.
- (8) Nawab Mohamed Yusuf, Minister,
the U. P. Government.
- (9) Maulana Md. Shafi Daoodi, M.L. A.
- (10) Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.
- (11) Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah,
M. L. A.
- (12) Mian Mohamed Shah Nawaz,
M. L. A.
- (13) Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, of
Peshawar
- (14) Maulana Kifayatullah and
- (15) Maulana Hasrat Mohani, etc. etc.,

The informal conference of the above-mentioned gentlemen was, in fact, in the nature of a consultation meeting and was meant for preparing the ground-work for the open Conference. Those who participated in the informal, consultation conference had a frank and heart-to-heart talk on the political problem facing the Muslim community for the tackling of which the Conference had been called.

CHAPTER IV.

The Conference Opens.

In a spacious, well-built Pandal, with a tin-roof, nicely-decorated with a brilliant display of ornamental crescents and well furnished with cushions and chairs, which was erected near the historical Jame Masjid, Delhi, that architectural monument of Emperor Shah-i-Jahan's piety, opened magnificently at 2-25 p. m. on 31st December, 1928, amidst unprecedented scenes of overflowing enthusiasm the All-India Muslim Conference.

On his arrival at the entrance of the Conference Pandal, His Highness Sir Agha Khan, the president-elect, was received by

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, on behalf of the conveners of the Conference, and Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb, on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Conference, and was introduced to the conveners by Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A., and to the members of the Reception Committee by Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb.

As soon as His Highness the President-elect entered the Pandal, the whole audience inside rent the Pandal with vociferous cries of Allah-o-Akbar and reverently rose to their feet and remained standing till His Highness was seated.

At the first opening of the Conference, its specially-made Pandal was packed to its fullest capacity with more than 5,000 people including 400 out of 600 accredited representatives of the Muslim community who were invited. The audience was composed of the best Muslim brains. An air of intelligence pervaded the whole atmosphere. The seating arrangement inside the Pandal was in an up-to-date fashion, and befitted well the dignity and position of the select audience. It had nothing of the rabble about it, and the conveners of the Conference had the decency of not inflicting on the highly educated and polished audience the pangs of barbarous squatting which best suits a mob gathering which the Conference did not in any sense represent. The delegates and visitors were seated on chairs and cushions in various blocks. Facing them was the raised dais on which prominent Muslim leaders sat. In front of the dais was a beautifully-made, wooden rostrum from which the speakers spoke. Behind the dais was a gallery for Muslim ladies who had come to attend the Conference. The ladies' gallery was properly screened. All the more gratifying was the fact that Begum Hasrat Mohani sat unveiled amidst gentlemen on the dais. And although Begum Mohamed Ali and presumably one of her daughters were thickly veiled, they did sit on the dais. Thus, the prominent presence of Muslim ladies at the Conference us

mistakably demonstrated that in our fight for our rights our women are our comrades-in-arm and that these Amazons of rejuvenated Islam will stone us like their Arabian sisters of the Khilafat-i-Rashida times, if we Indian Muslim men retreat in the least in our present struggle for political existence. The presence of our women at the Conference was, indeed, remarkably reminiscent of the bravery of our females in the pristine age of Islam.

Attending Delegates.

The following are the names of some of the prominent delegates who attended the Conference and whose names could be noted down in a haphazard way by volunteers while it was actually sitting. Many names must surely be missing in this list :—

Khilafatists.

1. Khwaja Abu Ahmed Iqbal Saheb Ansari.
2. Khwaja Mohamed Ayyub Saheb Ansari.
3. Abdul Wahab Usmani Esq.
4. Guisher Khan Saheb.
5. Maulana Mohamed Ali.
6. Maulana Shaukat Ali
7. Maulana Mohamed Irfan Saheb.
8. Hafiz Mohamed Usman Saheb.
9. Haji Mohamed Moosa Khan Saheb Sherwani.

Members of Jamiat-ul-Ulama.

1. Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah.
2. Maulana Abul Mohasin Mohamed Sajjad, Behar.
3. Maulana Abdul Haleem Siddiqi.
4. Maulana Ahmed Saeed Saheb.
5. Maulana Umar Daraz Baig.
6. Maulana Husain Ahmed Saheb Madani, Principal, Arabic College, Deoband.

Delhi.

1. Shamsul Ulama Maulana Syed Ahmed, Imam, Jame Masjid.
2. Maulana Mohamed Siddiq, Advocate.
3. Mohamed Aminuddin Esq., Wakil.
4. Mohamed Rashiduddin Esq., Wakil.
5. Nawab Abul Hason Saheb.
6. Nawab Sheikh Fariduddin Saheb.
7. Maulvi Mazharuddin.
8. Khwaja Ghulam Sibtain.
9. Khan Saheb Master Fazluddin.
10. Mirza E'jaz Husain, Wakil.

Almost all the members of the Reception Committee of the Conference most of whom belonged to Delhi proper were present at the Conference.

The United Provinces.

1. Khan Bahadur Syed Jafer Husain, M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, Moradabad.
2. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Fasih Uddin, M.L.C., Retired District Magistrate, Budaun.
3. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hosain, M. L. C., Bar-at-Law, Cawnpore.
4. Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, D. Litt., M.L.C., Professor, Allahabad University.
5. Khan Bahadur Masudul Hason, M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, Moradabad.
6. Khan Bahadur M. Ziaul Haq, M.L.C., Chairman, Municipal Board, Deoband.
7. Matinuddin Esqr. M. L. C., Advocate, Barabanki,
8. Syed Habib Ullah, M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, Banda.
9. M. Abdul Bari Esqr., M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, Meerut.
10. Sheikh Abdullah Esqr., M. L. C., Advocate, and Treasurer, Muslim University, Aligarh
11. Raja Syed Ahmed Ali Khan Alavi, Raja of Salempur, M.L.C., Lucknow.
12. Mushir Hosain Qidwai Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Gadia (Barabanki).
13. Zahoor Ahmed Esqr., M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.
14. Haji Abdul Qayyum Saheb, M. L. C., Cawnpur.
15. Khan Bahadur Sheikh Syed Mohamed, M.L.C., Budaun.
16. Lieutenant Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan of Baghpat, M.L.C., Meerut.
17. Nawabzada Lieutenant Abdus Sami Khan, M.L.C., of Talibnagar, Aligarh.
18. Honourable Nawab Mohamed Yusuf, Minister for Local Self-Government, the United Provinces, Allahabad.
19. Sheikh Khaliluddin, M. L. C., Bareilly.
20. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, M. A., Ph.D., D. Sc., C. I. E., Ex-Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh.
21. Mohamed Yamin Khan Esqr., M.L.A., Chairman, Municipal Board, Meerut.
22. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, M.L.A., Bar-at-Law, Meerut.
23. Dr. L. K. Hyder, M. L. A., Professor, Muslim University, Aligarh.
24. Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni.
25. Hakim Moazzam Ali Khan Saheb, Aonla, (Bareilly).
26. Khan Bahadur Nawab Sheikh Wahiduddin, Meerut.
27. Mohamed Bashir Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Cawnpore.

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SOME OF THE DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE



28. Mohamed Amin Saheb, Wood Merchant, Cawnpore.

29. Maulana Hasrat Mohani

30. Begum Hasrat Mohani.

31. Rao Abdul Hameed Khan, Chairman, District Board, Muzaffarnagar.

32. Kunwar Haji Ismail Ali Khan, ex-M. L. C., Bulandshehr.

33. Nawab Mohamed Mehdi Hasan Rizvi, Secretary, All-India Shia Conference, Lucknow.

34. Moulvi Mohamed Yaqub, Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly.

35. Dulay Bhai, President, Labour Association, Agra.

36. Moulvi Obedur Rahman Khan Sherwani, M. L. C., Aligarh.

37. Moulana Azad Sobhani.

38. Kazi Masood Hason, Meerut.

39. Khan Bahadur Nawab Mohamed Ibrahim Khan.

40. Ahsan Ali Khan Saheb.

41. Mahmood Ahmed Abbasi Esqr.

42. Sahibzada Sheikh Rashiduddin Saheb,

43. Hasan Mohiuddin Abbasi Esqr., Vakil, Allahabad

44. Kazi Maqbool Hosain Saheb.

45. Mr. Hafizur Rahman, Editor and Proprietor of the "Aligarh Mail"

46. Mohamed Aminullah Esqr.

47. Moulvi Haji Mohamed Muqtada Khan Saheb Sherwani, Manager, Muslim University Press, Aligarh,

48. Abdul Basit Khan Saheb, Bulandshehr.

49. Sheikh Abdul Hamid, member, District Board, Meerut

50. Mohamed Faruq Saheb, Allahabad.

51. Abdus Samad Muqtadari Esqr.

52. Chaudhri Mohamed Swaleh Esqr.

53. Haji Mohamed Swaleh Khan Sherwani, Rais, Aligarh.

54. Syed Zakir Ali Esqr.

55. Mohd. Mahmud Ahmed Esqr.

56. Kazi Ghiyasuddin Esqr.

57. Syed Mujtaba Ali Esqr.

58. Mohd. Hafizur Rahman Esqr.

59. Ali Maqsood Esqr.

60. 'Abdul Kadir Esqr.

61. Sheikh Zuber Hasan Saheb, Meerut.

The Punjab.

1. Mohamed Hasan Saheb Qureishy, M. L. C., Sargodha.

2. Sheikh Mohamed Sadiq, M. L. C., Bar-at-Law, Amritsar.

3. Moulvi Mahboob Alam Saheb, Editor, "Paisa Akhbar," Lahore.

4. Sheikh Niaz Mohamed, Advocate, Lahore.

5. Sheikh Mohamed Bakhsh, Advocate, Multan,

6. Maulana Ghulam Mohiuddin, Advocate, Lahore.

7. Syed Mohsin Shah, Advocate, Lahore.

8. Maulana Syed Habib, Editor, "Siasat," Lahore.

9. Qazi Nazir Ahmed Esqr., Advocate, Rawalpindi.

10. Khan Saheb Khwaja Gul Mohammed Khan, Advocate, Ferozepur.

11. Khan Bahadur Nawab Mohamed Ibrahim Ali Khan, Ex-M. L. A., Ex-M. L. C. Kunjpura (Karnal)

12. Nawabzada Mohamed Ihsan Ali Khan Saheb of Maler Kotla,

13. Dr. Khalifa Shujaiddin, LL. D., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

14. Mian Sir Mohamed Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

15. Honourable Malik Firoze Khan Noon, Minister, the Punjab Government.

16. Dr. Sir Mohammed Iqbal, M. L. C., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

17. Ghulam Rasul Mehr Esqr., Editor, "Inqilab," Lahore.

18. Abdul Majid Salik Esqr., Editor, "Inqilab" Lahore.

19. Mian Mohamed Shah Nawaz, M. L. A., Bar-at-Law, Lahore,

20. Mian Mohamed Rafi, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

21. Sir Rahim Bakhsh, K. C. I. E., M. L. C. Thaska Miranji, Karnal,

22. Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, M. L. A. Lahore.

23. Nawab Ahmed Jan Khan Daultana, M. L. C., Multan.

24. Zahur Ahmad Bugvi Saheb, Simla.

25. Rashid Ahmad Saheb.

26. Manzoor Ali Bin Taib Saheb.

27. Afzal Ali Hason Saheb.

28. Sheikh Sadiq Hason, Bar-at-Law, Amritsar.

Bombay

1. Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah, Bombay.

2. Maulvi Abdur Rauf, Secretary, Anjuman Ziaul Islam, Bombay.

3. Fateh Mohamed Munshi Esqr., Editor, "Insaf," Gujrat:

4. I. S. Haji Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Bombay.

5. Ali Mohamed Chunera, Esqr., Editor, "Ismaili."

6. Haji Ahmed Mohamed Bhindiwalla Esqr. Merchant, Bombay.

7. Moulvi Anis Ahmed Saheb.

8. Maulana Nazir Ahmed Saheb Khujandi.

9. Mohamed Zakaria Maniar Esqr.

10. Mohamed Ali Maniar Esqr.

11. Sabze Ali Esqr.

12. Abbas Bhai Abdul Ali Esqr.

13. Musaji Imamji Esqr.

14. Varas Daya Bhai Velji Esqr.

15. Khan Saheb Mansuri, M. L. C.

16. Daood Khan Saleh Bhai Tayebji Esqr., M. L. C.

17. Hosain Ali M. Rahmatullah Esqr., M. L. C.

18. Haji Ahmed Saheb (Karai)

19. Hashim Moldina Saheb, Poona.

20. Abdur Rauf Khan Esqr.

21. Mir Mohamed Balooch, M. L. C.

Sindh.

1. Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, M. L. A., Karachi.

2. Sheikh Abdul Majid, Karachi.

3. Abdul Hameed Khudadad Khan Saheb, ex-M. L. A., Sukkur.

4. Nawab Khaliqdad Khan, Zamindar, Jagan, Shikarpur.

5. Alijah Mukhi Husain Mukhi Allarakhi, Karachi.

Central Provinces.

1. Sharfuddin Esqr., M. L. C., Amraoti.

2. Khan Bahadur Mirza Rahman Beg, M. L. C. Akola.

3. Kazi Hifazat Ali, M. L. C., Khandwa.

4. Siraj Ahmed Esqr., Retired Collector, Jubbulpore.

Madras.

1. Hamid Hasan Schamnad Esqr., (Moplah) Kanara.

2. K. B. Haji Abdullah Haji Kasim, M. L. A. N.-W. F. Province.

1. Abdul Aziz Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Peshawar.

2. Azizullah Khan Esqr., of Toru, Bar-at-Law, Nowshera,

3. Fateh Mohamed Khan Khattak, Esqr.

4. Nawab Khalekdad Khan Bhaiya.

5. Abdul Hameed Khan Saheb.

Assam.

1. Abdul Hameed Esqr. M. L. C., President, Assam Legislative Council.

Behar and Orissa.

1. Maulana Mohd. Shafee Daoodi, M. L. A., Ex-President, Central Khilafat Committee of India.

2. M. Shah Masood Ahmed Esqr., Member, District Board, Patna.

3. Maulvi Manzoor Ahsan Ejazi, Muzaffarpur, Member, Central Khilafat Committee of India, Joint Secretary, Behar Provincial Khilafat Committee, Muzaffarpur.

4. Hakim Khalil Ahmed Saheb, Monghyr.

5. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Bar-at-Law, Patna, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, Member of the Hartog Committee.

6. Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mohamed Nur, Bar-at-Law, President, Legislative Council, Behar and Orissa, Patna.

7. M. Ismail Mohammed Khan Esqr, Municipal Commissioner, Rais and General Merchant, Patna.

8. Moulvi Mohd. Ishaq Saheb, M. L. C., Muzaffarpur.

9. Sirajuddin Esqr., Zamindar, Muzaffarpur.

10. Mohamed Siddiq Saheb, Kashtkar, Muzaffarpur.

11. Mohamed Ilahi Bakhsh Saheb, Muzaffarpur, Member, Behar Provincial Khilafat Committee

12. Maulana Mehdi Saheb, Patna.

Bengal.

1. Sir A. K. Ghaznavi, M. L. C.

2. Bedar Bakht Esq.

3. Hon. Mr. Mahmood Suhrwardy, Member, Council of State.

4. Mr. Abul Kasim, M. L. C.

Qadianees

1. Mufti Mohamed Sadiq, Qadian.

2. Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

3. Hakim Abu Tahir Mohamed Ahmed Sahib, Calcutta.

4. Babu Ijaz Hosain Sahib, Delhi.

Miscellaneous.

1. Inamullah Esqr.

2. Siraj Ahmed Esqr.

3. Ijaz Hosain Esqr.

4. Ibrahim Usuf Ali Esqr., Deolali.

(For more names of delegates present at the Conference, see Appendix L.)

In an atmosphere of religious fervour, the Conference began with a very appropriate recitation from the Holy Quran by Shamsul-Ulama Syed Ahmed Saheb, Imam of Jame Masjid, Delhi. His recitation elicited the appreciation of the audience. He recited the following verses from the Holy Quran:—

اللہ مافی السموات وما فی الارض وان تبدوا ما فی
انفسکم او تخفوا بکما ینکم بہ اللہ (ط) لیفتن لس پشام و بعذب
من پشام (ط) ولله علی کل شیء قدیر

امن الرسول بما انزل الیہ من ربہ والمؤمنون (ط)
کل امن باللہ وملائکته وکتابہ ورسالہ (وقف) لا نفرق بین
احد من رسالہ (وقف) و قالو سمعنا و اطعنا غفرانک ربنا و
الیک المصیر

لا یكلف الله نفسا الا وسعها (ط) لها ما نسبت و اياها
ما کتسبت (ط) و بنا لا تم اخذنا ان نسینا او اخطانا (ج)
و بنا ولا تحمل علينا امرأ کما حملته علی الذین من قبلنا (ج)
و بنا ولا تحمنا ما اطاعتنا به (ج) و غیبنا (وقف) و غدرنا
(وقف) و رحمتنا (وقف) انت مولانا فانصرنا علی القوم
الکفرین غ

[Whatever is in the heavens and whatever
is in the earth is Allah's; and whether you
manifest what is in your mind or hide it,
Allah will call you to account according to
it; then He will forgive whom He pleases
and chastise whom He pleases, and Allah
has power over all things.

[The apostle believes in what has been
revealed to him from his Lord, and (so do)
the believers; they all believe in Allah
and His angles and His books and His
apostles: We make no difference between
any of His apostles; and they say: We
hear and obey, our Lord! Thy forgiveness
(do we crave), and to Thee is the eventual
course.

[Allah does not impose upon any soul
a duty but to the extent of its ability; for
it is (the benefit of) what it has earned,
and upon it (the evil of) what it has wrought;
Our Lord! do not punish us if we forget
or make a mistake; our Lord! do not lay on
us a burden as Thou didst lay on those
before us; our Lord! do not impose upon
us that which we have not the strength
to bear; and pardon us and grant us protec-
tion and have mercy on us. Thou art our

Patron, so help us against the unbelieving
people.]

Munshi Abdul Khaliq Saheb "Khaliq,"
a popular Urdu poet of Delhi, then read his
beautifully-composed poems in Urdu and
Persian in eulogy of His Highness the Presi-
dent-elect. The poems were much applaud-
ed. We reproduce some of the lines in
those poems below:—

دے وطن سر آغا خان آید ہی
دردن روح رواں آید ہی

(Sir Agha Khan comes Home; the mov-
ing soul enters the body.)

* *
غلغلہ این ہر زمین گیتہ بلند
افتاب از آسماں آید ہی

(It is loudly proclaimed all over the world
that the sun has come down from the sky.)

* *
یو شہدہ دامن ز گلہائے مراد
اے بہار گلفشای آید ہی

(The skirt has been filled with the flowers
of longing; O! the flower-scattering spring
comes off.)

* *
تو مسلمان را بدہ مژدہ خلیق
راحت و آرام جاں آید ہی

(Khaleeq! You convey the glad tidings to
the Muslims that the comfort and relief of
soul is coming.)

* *
جوش شگفتگی سے سرور انجمن میں ہے
گلزار سبکدہ ہوا قومی چین میں ہے

(There is exhilaration in the assembly
owing to the zeal of delight; a field of flowers
has blossomed out in the national garden.

* *
سر آغا خان کی آج صدارت سے اے خلیق
یہ اتحاد قوم کا نقشہ وطن میں ہے

(O, Khaleeq! to-day, owing to Sir Ag

Khan's presidentship, there is again in evidence in the country the unity of our nation.)

Reception Address

Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference, then stood up to read his reception address in Urdu. Below is given Hakim Saheb's address in English which was distributed in a pamphlet form among the audience. Hakim Saheb said :—

"Your Highness and Elders of the Community.

"This is my first and pleasant duty that, on behalf of the Reception Committee, thank the august persons who have come to Delhi and have graced this Conference for doing a most important service to the community. His Highness Sir Agha Khan deserves our thanks most, because he has undertaken a long journey from Europe to India for the sole reason of guiding his community at this critical juncture. On the matters which are soon to come under discussion and in the true sentiments of the Muslims for the expression of which this momentous Conference has been held, it was my duty, in the capacity of the President of the Reception Committee, to at least briefly comment, but in view of my inexperience and worthlessness, I do not wish to take your precious time by reading out a long reception address.

"The present times were bristling with difficulties and were very critical for the Muslims of India. It was a life and death struggle for them and they still did not know what difficulties and hardships they would have to face before reaching their goal. The advent of the Nehru Report had intensified the struggle for Moslem existence, and they had gathered together to-day to define their position in the future constitution of India and that, though their plans might be defective, they had a very strong faith in their objective and in the justice and righteousness of their

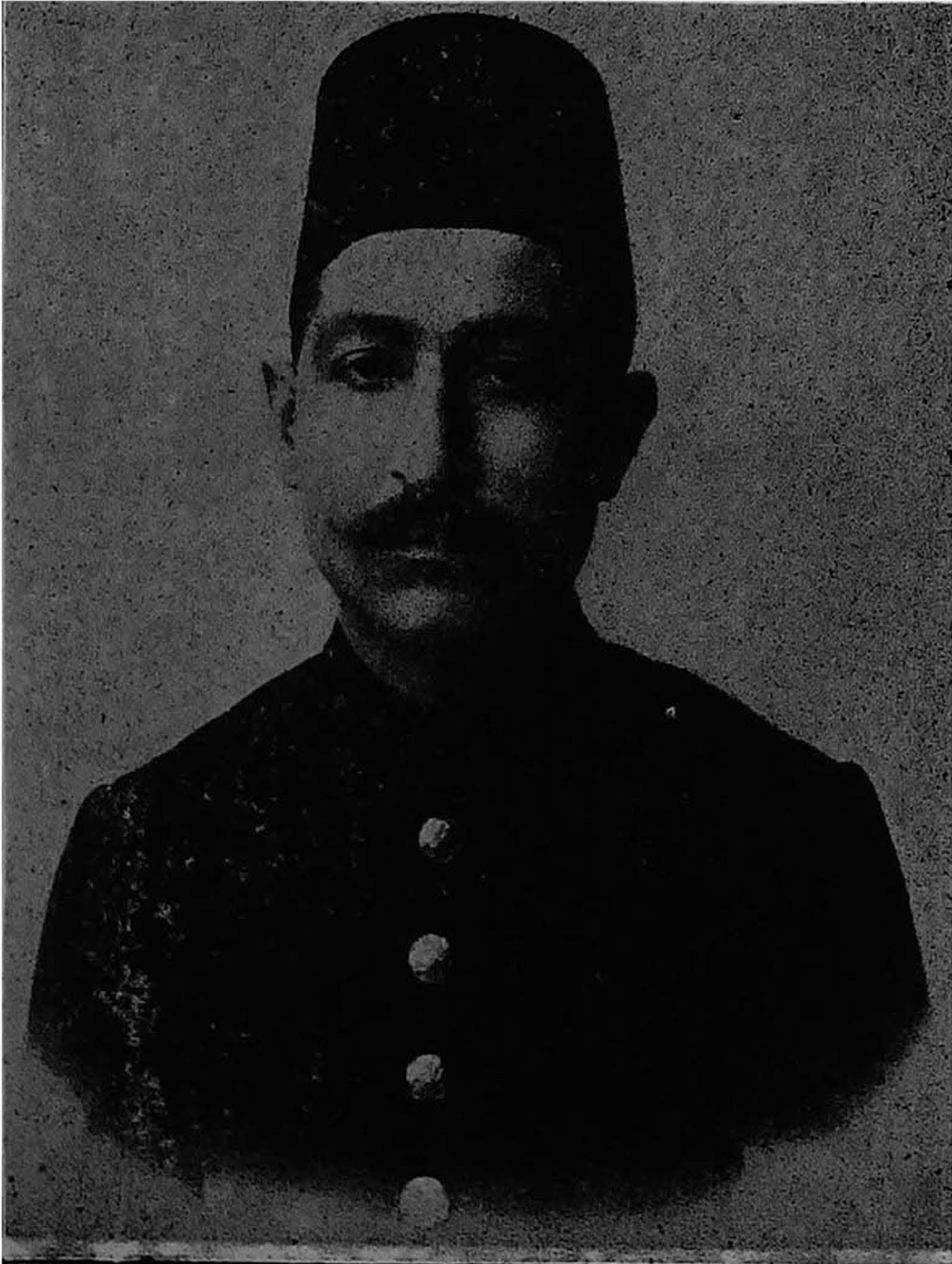
cause. Further, they had gathered together to consider the Nehru Report in all its implications. They were asked to decide how much of the Nehru Report adequately safeguarded Moslem interests and how much of it required amendments and alterations. After detailing the history of recent political developments in the country which culminated in the appointment of the Nehru Committee, he congratulated the members of the Nehru Committee on their laudable handiwork. But he said no human effort was perfect, and similarly there were shortcomings in the Report also. He regretted the Report did not bring about the expected unity and good will among different communities in India, and, with the exception of few, Muslims in the country regarded the Nehru scheme of communal representation as inadequate for safeguarding Moslem interests. They have, therefore, not accepted the Nehru Report in entirety.

"It is a matter of great regret that there is no single Moslem organisation in the country which can speak in the name of Indian Muslims and take the decision which could be acceptable to the whole of Moslem India, a matter which not only vitally concerned the present generation but also the Moslem race in the country.

"This is one reason for calling the present Conference. He further regretted to say that the Moslem League had been rent in twain and he appealed to His Highness to bring about unity between the two wings of the League during his stay in his country.

"Replying to the critics of the Conference, he said and asked who could be more competent to call a Conference than the members of the Central Legislature who were returned with Moslem votes. In his opinion, they enjoyed greater confidence than the National Congress which had called the All Parties Conference. And just as the Congress, in spite of its claim to represent India, had to call the All Parties Convention in order

WORTHY SON OF A WORTHY FATHER



**Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Sahab,
Chairman, Reception Committee of the Conference.**

to take decisions on the Nehru Report, so the present Conference was justified in spite of the Moslem League. The reasons for calling forth the Conference having been made clear, he proceeded to point out the shortcomings in the Nehru Report. He said that conditions in India radically differed from those prevailing in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Unlike those countries, India was a mixed bag of different races and nationalities which had irreconcilable differences of creed, language and culture and radically differed with each other in mentality and outlook on life. As these differences were of prominent nature, each community was busy in a struggle for self-preservation; and a religious, educational and political warfare was witnessed all round in the country to-day. Sangathan, Shuddhi, Tabligh, Tanzim, cow and music had permeated the political life of the country, and leaders of communities had devoted their lives to these different war-cries. Further, while only about eight per cent of the population was literate, while rest of Musalmans were in a very weak state, the other sister communities had put themselves as barriers in the way of their advancement in every walk of life. Their honour, wealth, economic, social, religious and political rights and privileges, their language and culture were constantly being preyed upon.

“Previously, this attitude was shown by few individuals, but now this had assumed a universal shape. Under these circumstances, no one with a grain of commonsense will be willing to regard joint electorates, which were the corner-stone of the Nehru Report, to be beneficial for Musalmans and that in matter of representation the recommendations of the Nehru Report were wholly unworkable and would lead to further disunity instead of bringing about unity. The first objectionable feature of the Report was the question of franchise under which every adult male and female was granted a vote. He was personally in favour of this recommendation as an ideal, but

under present conditions Musalman women were not prepared to take this step. He knew many families who would prefer pecuniary loss to letting their women go into a court-room. The main effect of this recommendation would be that cent per cent Hindu women would exercise their vote while about one per cent of Moslem women might be persuaded upon to go to the polling booth. This would mean that the present Hindu majority would be doubled. Their second objection was on the system of joint electorates. In reality, the recommendation was calculated to ruin Indian Musalmans. Leaving the case of Hindus in the provinces in which they had majority, they even in the provinces where they were in minority would be able to return such candidates only who would be Musalmans in name. This Hindus could easily accomplish with the aid of their wealth, unity and discipline they had in their ranks. Then again, Musalmans had been granted reservation of seats in provinces in which they were in minorities while no such proposal had been made to give a like treatment to Hindus in provinces in which the latter were in minority. This was because the framers of the Nehru Report were convinced that Hindus, in spite of their minority, would always be able to secure seats in excess of their population, and reservation of seats for them would be a hinderance in their way; and the main effect of the Nehru Report was to strengthen the Central Government at the cost of Provincial Governments to which only very few powers were allotted. This would mean that the benefits accruing to Musalmans, by being in majority in certain provinces, would be reduced to nothing; and the present situation in the country did not warrant any community trusting the other to safeguard its rights and interests. Further, Moslem representation in the Central Legislature, which according to the Madras Congress was fixed at thirty-three per cent, had been reduced to twenty-five by the Nehru Report. It was, therefore, difficult to see how the Moslem interests could be safeguarded

when the Central Government with real power in the country would have only twenty-five per cent Moslem representatives, and those too elected by the Hindus. They, therefore, must strive for full provincial autonomy on federal basis, Government of India having only all-India and Foreign subjects. And the Report does not secure for the Musalmans separate electorates, reservation of seats or a share in the services in the Universities, Educational Boards, Municipal and District Boards and other bodies. The effect of this omission would be that the Musalmans would lose even their present position in the country. Similarly, no proportion for the Moslems had been fixed in the Executive Councils of the country, nor the Nehru Report had recommended any protection for the Urdu language. This would drive away the Musalmans from the Executive Councils of the country on the one side, and would force the Muslim children to study Hindi to the eternal glorification of Hindu religion. Semitic culture would thereby be replaced by Aryan culture in Moslem homes. The Nehru Report further ignores the culture in Moslem homes. The Nehru Report further ignores the Congress-League agreement, regarding legislation affecting any religious rights. Lastly, the question of the separation of Sind had been subjected to so many conditions that they had made separation an impossibility. In conclusion, he suggested that the Musalmans should be given representation in excess of their population both for their political importance as also for protecting their rights, and the same principle should be followed in case of universities, local bodies and services. Besides this, he urged the protection of Urdu and suggested that thirty-three per cent of every aid, whether from Government or from any private, educational, religious or charitable fund, should be earmarked for Musalmans."

Secretary's Statement

Then Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M.L.A., Secretary of the Conference, read

the following statement on behalf of its conveners:—

"YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,

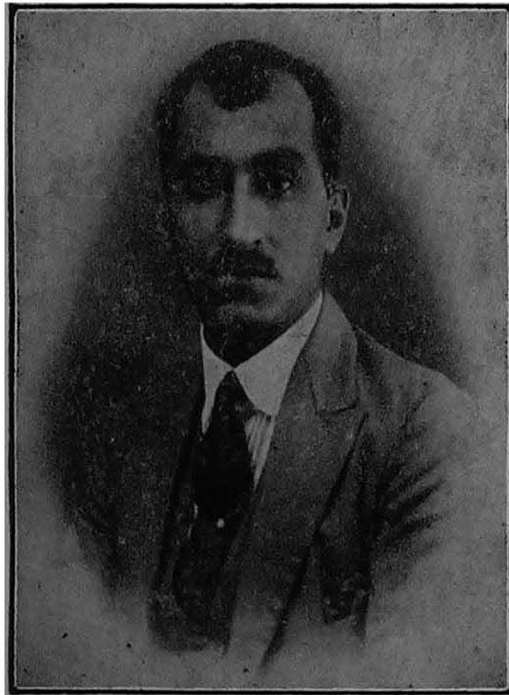
"On behalf of the conveners of the Conference, I desire to welcome you, the members of the Central and Provincial legislatures, the accredited representatives of the important political organisations and the elected delegates of various provinces in India and to express my deep gratitude for responding to our invitation.

"In view of the criticisms that have been levelled against the holding of the Conference, the conveners consider it desirable to explain briefly the reasons which led them to summon this representative Conference. It will be recollected that towards the end of last year (1927), soon after the appointment of the Statutory Commission under the Government of India Act had been announced, serious differences of opinion arose amongst the leading men of our community as to the attitude to be adopted by us towards the Commission. This controversy assumed serious proportions and threatened to destroy Muslim solidarity. It actually culminated in the disruption and disintegration of an important political organisation, I mean, the All India Muslim League, which resulted in the formation of two distinct bodies. They both claimed to speak on behalf of the Muslims of India and passed conflicting resolutions both as regards the Commission and the Muslim political requirements. It will then be clear that neither of the two was in a position to deliver the goods on behalf of the Muslim community, and their verdicts only amounted to the expression of the views of different schools of political thought in the Muslim community.

"The Congress convened an All Parties Conference with a view to frame a constitution for India perhaps to meet the challenge of Lord Birkenhead. This Conference was first held at Delhi, and the Calcutta League and the Central Khilafat Committee were represented in it. The

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MOVING SPIRIT OF THE CONFERENCE



**Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah M. L. A ,
Secretary of the Conference.**

League held in Calcutta in 1927 accepted the resolution passed by the Madras Session of the Congress in that year with certain modifications. An effort was made at the All Parties Conference held in Bombay. A committee was appointed to frame a constitution under the chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The committee drew up a constitution for India and placed it before a conference held at Lucknow.

"The only Muslim organization which was officially represented at the Lucknow Conference was the Central Khilafat Committee, and that body too did not approve of the recommendations of the Nehru Committee on the communal question. The endorsement of the Nehru Report by the Conference at Lucknow created a feeling of apprehension in the minds of Muslims, as they felt that their rights had been jeopardized, and unless they did something their claims would go by default. The Muslim members of the Central Legislature met in Simla in September last and, realising the situation, convened an informal conference of the Muslim members of the Central Legislature as to what steps should be taken to place their views before the Convention which was to be held in December.

"It was resolved that, in order to ascertain the real opinion on the important constitutional problem, a conference should be convened of people belonging to all shades of opinion. This step was decided upon because of the unfortunate division in the All India Muslim League. The conveners of the Conference decided to invite about six hundred representatives belonging to all schools of thought.

"The composition of the Conference was to be as follows:—

(1) All non-official Muslim members of all provincial councils and the central legislature;

(2) Twenty Muslim representatives from each of the following organizations:

The All-India Muslim League, Calcutta, the All-India Muslim League, Lahore, the All-India Khilafat Conference and the All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulama.

(3) Twenty representatives from each of the provinces in India.

"In addition to these, other leading Muslims such as Dr. Ansari, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Hason Iman, Mr. Yakub Hasan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad have also been invited.

"I am glad to inform you that all those whom we invited have very kindly responded to our invitation except the Jinnah League who have not only refused our invitation but have also questioned the representative character of the Conference and its utility to the community (cries of shame, shame.) I leave it to you to judge their claim in the light of their recent discussions at Calcutta.

"The conveners of the Conference deliberately decided not to frame any definite proposals, with regard to the Nehru Report, to be placed before the Conference for consideration. As you are aware, widely different views are held by important sections of the Moslem community in regard to the Report. The conveners do not desire to take any partisan view by committing themselves to any definite line of action. Their earnest desire is that all Moslem representatives should meet to examine the problem from all its aspects and, by free and frank exchange of views, to declare in clear terms the opinion held by the Moslem community as regards the future constitution of this country. Thirty-eight out of the total of 49 members of the central legislature joined in convening this Conference and decided to invite your Highness to grace it as its President (cheers). The conveners cannot but be deeply grateful to your Highness for having accepted their invitation and having agreed to give your experienced guidance to the community at a serious epoch in the history of the Moslems of India (cheers). The Nehru Report has received

wide publicity and many political organisations have discussed it at the many conferences which have been and are being held at Calcutta with the result well-known to you through elaborate reports in the press. The idea of holding this Conference has appealed to an overwhelming majority of Moslems in the country but it has not escaped criticism. It is difficult to understand why so much opposition has been raised against the holding of this Conference which has been based on an unassailable principle. As I have already stated, the conveners are thirty-eight members of the central legislature and their representative character is unquestioned (hear, hear). All the Moslem members of the provincial legislative councils in India have been invited as a matter of right, and many of them have responded by their presence at this gathering (hear, hear). Other representative Moslems have also been invited and many of them are here. I claim that this is a thoroughly representative gathering which can legitimately claim to speak authoritatively on behalf of the Moslems of India. Surely, it is far more representative than an individual association having a small number of members on its roll (hear, hear).

"I am unable to understand why there should be any opposition to a conference consisting of so many Moslem representatives. It is claimed that the Nehru Report has been prepared to meet the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India. The challenge was for an agreed constitution (hear, hear). In view of recent happenings at Calcutta, I should like to ask whether the Nehru Constitution can, by any stretch of imagination, be called an agreed constitution. If Lord Birkenhead's challenge is to be effectively met, the framers of the Nehru Constitution ought to welcome criticisms from all important sections of the Indian population and to receive it in the right spirit. The Moslem community in India is not an unimportant part of the population; and if representative Moslems call such a conference as this, it will result

in knowing the real mind of Moslems so that it may contribute towards securing what is required, that is, an agreed constitution.

"Let me assure my Hindu friends that the Moslems are not a whit less keen for self-government for their common Motherland than the former (hear, hear). The Moslems only desire and rightly desire that in the future government of India their legitimate interests shall be adequately and unequivocally safeguarded (hear, hear). That is the object of holding this Conference and it is for you, gentlemen, to come to a mature decision as regards the all-absorbing question of the political future of our Motherland (applause)."

Telegraphic Messages to the Conference.

After reading his statement, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah read out to the Conference the following telegrams of sympathy towards it addressed to its various functionaries:—

1

From Calcutta.

To Hakim Mohamed Jamil, Ballimaran, Delhi.

Train full, no seat was available, Mohamed Ali party self reaching Tuesday morning express

Shaukat Ali (Maulana).

2

From Calcutta.

To His Highness Agha Khan, President, Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Regret could not attend; wish all success under your enlightened guidance.

Sir Abdur Rahim.

3

From Jhawarian.

To Hakim Mohamed Jamil Khan, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

Severe malaria prevailing in my flooded area; 75 succumbed; five died within last 24 hours; my mother also ill dangerous; leaving home; under circumstances hope my absence in Conference will be excused.

(Sir) Umarhayat Tiwana.

From Calcutta.

To His Highness Agha Khan, Delhi.
Pressing professional engagements prevent joining Conference; please remember Bengal Muslims condemn Nehru Report and urge separate electorates with seats population basis.

Fazlul Haq, Ex-Minister.

5

From Calcutta.

To His Highness Agha Khan, Delhi.

Thanks for telegram; wish happy new year and success in arduous task; Muslim cause bound to triumph under your experienced leadership, regret unavoidable absence.

Abdullah Suhrawardy M. L. A., Abdul Hakim Ghuznavi, M. L. A.

6

From Shikarpur, Sind.

To Secretary, All India Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Regret can't attend owing illness; fully sympathise; strongly protest against Nehru Report; detrimental Muslim interests; special safeguards necessary for preservation Muslim community; separate electorates and separation of Sind essential.

Allah Buksh Mohamed Hussain, Member, Council of State.

7

From Calcutta.

To His Highness Agha Khan, President, All India Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Greatly regret inability attend conference; wish it success under your Highness's guidance at this critical time for Muslim India and its special interests.

Unsuddowlah (Deputy-Mayor, Calcutta)

8

From Calcutta.

To His Highness Agha Khan, President, All India Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Unable to attend, wish conference success under your guidance; Nehru Report detrimental to Muslim interests.

Abdool Razak Haji Abdul Sattar, M. L. C., Bengal.

9

From Calcutta.

To His Highness the Agha Khan, President, Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Regret inability to attend conference; wishing every success; we disapprove Nehru Report because of proposed Unitary Government and dissatisfactory communal solution.

K. G. M. Faraqui (M. L. C., Bengal)

Razaurrahman Khan (M. L. C., Bengal.)

10

The following letter addressed to Nawab Mohamed Yusuf, Minister, the United Provinces Government, was read at the Conference by its Secretary.

Shillong, 22nd December, 1928.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Your letter of 16th December. I am glad that you are attending in large numbers from the United Provinces the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi. I wish I could attend myself and take some people from Assam too. As I wrote to Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtulla, I cannot think of attending the Conference as the Simon Commission will be at Shillong from 2nd January next. And it is physically impossible for any one attending the Delhi Conference on the 31st December to be in time for the Commission at Shillong.

I have addressed letters to-day to some of the leading men of my province urging on them the supreme necessity of Assam's representation in that Conference.

You know my views as also Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan about the future constitution of India. I do not support the Nehru Report, and my views as regards separate electorates and representation of Muslims are pronounced. I give you my authority, if necessary, to say so in the Conference. Sometime ago, I had written to Hon. Malik Feroze Khan Noon to the same effect.

Yours sincerely,

Syed M. Sadullah,

Minister, Assam Government.

11

From Sylhet.

To Hakim Jamil Khan, Ballimaran, Delhi.

Regret inability sending any representative as Commission (Simon) arriving Wednesday. Assam Provincial Muslim League demands full provincial autonomy; universal adult suffrage; declaration of Muslim religious rights; their

separate electorates in Council, local self-governing institutions; representation public services according population by new census, otherwise forty per cent Muslim representation; central legislature, thirty-three per cent; all constituencies general; wishing Conference success.

M. D. Abdullah, Secretary (Assam
Provincial Muslim League, Shillong)

12

From Amritsar

To Maulana Mazharuddin, Muslim Conference, Delhi.

District Muslim League, Anjuman-i-Islamiya and all Muslim Municipal Commissioners, Amritsar, have unanimously rejected Nehru Report and demanded separate electorates besides other demands published in press; wish hearty success; true representatives Muslim India; sorry can't attend; ill-health.

Hisamuddin, Municipal Commissioner
and Secretary, District Muslim League.

13

From Bombay.

To Hakim Mohamed Jamil Khan, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

Unavoidable circumstances prohibited my attendance; wish Conference every success; Hindu-Muslim Unity and complete All India Muslim organisation and unity should be the goal.

Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ali Bakazza.

14

From Bombay,

To President, All-India Muslim Conference, Delhi.

While wishing success Conference I submit that interest of Islam and India lies not in begging favours from Government or Hindus but in Muslims' unity and progress alone.

Editor, Al-Muslim.

15

From Bombay.

To President, All Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Managing Committee Anjuman Khadiman-i-Islam, Bombay; wishes success Conference; requests Conference constructive programme which will enable Muslim community to stand on its own legs instead of relying on others' mercy.

Hon. Secretary,

(Anjuman Khadiman-i-Islam, Bombay.)

16

From Howrah.

To Hakim Jamil Khan, Ballimaran, Delhi.
Abul Kasem and party arrive Delhi by Calcutta special Wednesday morning.

Fazlul Karim.

17

From Godhra.

To Secretary, All India Muslim Conference Delhi.

Mohamedans of Hansoty show their heartiest sympathy towards federation (the All India Muslim Conference) and condemn attitude of Calcutta Muslim League; whole Muslim community will be brought to proper unity under guidance of enlightened patriot, His Highness Aga Khan.

Sheikh Mustafa.

18

From Madras,

To President, Muslim All Parties Conference, Delhi.

Circumstances unavoidable prevented my starting; wish Conference every success; South India Muslim opinion communicated to Aljamat Moulvi Ahmad Sayed,

Editor, Saiful Islam.

19

From Calcutta.

To H. H. Agha Khan, Delhi.

Regret unable to come to your Highness and Muslim Conference; every success in your momentous deliberations. I oppose Nehru Report as I favour separate electorates for Musalmans and more representation on Assembly.

Nizamuddin, Dacca.

20

From Habibgunj Court.

To Chairman, Reception Committee, All India Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Thanks for invitation; regret inability to attend; Nehru Report does not satisfy Muslim demands and deserves serious consideration. Joint electorates even with reservation of seats should not be supported. Wish Conference success.

Nurul Hossain, Habibganj,

Sylhet, (Assam.)

21

From Calcutta.

To Hakim Jamil Khan, Secretary, Muslim Conference, Delhi.

League regrets it cannot accept invitation of Secretary, Muslim Conference, to send representatives to it as League is strongly of opinion it would be disastrous to Muslim interests if rival and *ad hoc* organisations like Conference were set up at every crisis in the history of community. League feels it was duty of every patriotic Muslim to rally round League at this important juncture to decide what attitude Muslims should take about impending constitutional reforms. League is further of opinion that constitution and procedure of Conference not likely to enable the Conference to serve any useful purpose or assist Musalmans to come to any definite conclusion.

Mohamed Ali Mohamed, (Sir Maharajah of Mahmudabad), President All-India Muslim League, (Calcutta) session.

22

From Bombay.

To Secretary, All India Muslim Conference, Ballimaran Street, Delhi.

Regret unable to attend. Wish every success to your deliberations.

Abdur Rehman Taher Maniar.

23

From Salem.

To Chairman, Reception Committee, Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Salem Muslims mass meeting disapproves Nehru Report as there (is in it) no safeguard for Muslims. Requires separate electorates.

Ahmad Ali, Meeting Chairman.

24

From Sawabi.

To Mr. (Fazal) Ibrahim Rahmatullah, Secretary, Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Am sorry could not attend Conference. Trust your indefatigable exertions will make it a full success. My best wishes with you.

Sahibzada Abdul Qayum, Peshawar.

25

From Sawabi.

To His Highness Agha Khan, President, Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Am very sorry could not receive your Highness in person but in spirit I join my friends in offering you heartiest welcome. May your wise guidance lead community to full success.

Sahibzada Abdul Qayum, Peshawar.

26

From Calcutta.

To Hakim Jamil Khan, Secretary, Muslim Conference, Delhi.

League decision binding. As President particularly then (sic) I was party. Please inform Yacoob, Guzanfarali, Ismail, Fazul.

(Mr. M. A.) Jinnah.

27

From Jacobabad.

To Secretary, All India Muslim Conference, Delhi, Was ready. Suddenly stopped. Agent Quetta has come. Busy. Regret can't attend Conference. Praying for success.

Nur Mohd.

28

From Jalalpur Kikna.

To President, Reception Committee, All Muslim Conference, Delhi.

Regret can't attend owing to ill health; but while praying for success of Conference we strongly hope that Conference under able guidance of leaders will come to conclusion beneficial for Muslim community. Defects of Nehru Report will be specially pointed out threadbare.

Nawab Mehr Shah, Member, Council of State.

After the telegraphic messages were read by Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi, M.L.A., President of the Central Khilafat Committee for the year, 1928, came forward to the rostrum and formally proposed His Highness Sir Agha Khan to the chair in a speech which was brilliant in its exposition of the truly representative character of the Conference. Maulana Shafee Daoodi's speech was, in fact, a crushing retort to the baseless accusation against the Conference that it had been convened at the instance of Government.

Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi said that he had stood up to propose for the chair such a great personality who required no praise or introduction. The Maulana Saheb said that he would first answer the question why at that critical juncture the Conference was convened and why His Highness Sir Agha Khan was chosen as its President? It was shameful that their accusers, for attaining their own sinister purpose, brought to the knowledge of the public such things which were quite baseless. It was regretful that some leading Muslims, in their zeal to support the Nehru Report, were acting rather indecently. The so-called "nationalist" newspapers in the country were maliciously advertising that the Conference was called at the instigation of Government (cries of "shame, shame"). Those very Hindu papers had refused to publish the speaker's rejoinders to such an accusation. There could not be a more lying and grosser accusation against the Conference than that. When a constitution was being framed by Congressmen in February and March, 1928, the Muslim associations had asked Mr. Jinnah to advocate the cause of Muslims. He did argue their case, but his efforts in that direction were all unsuccessful. The fact was that Mr. Jinnah, having failed last February and March, had retired from the field, and it was for that reason that his All-India Muslim League also kept aloof from the proceedings of the All Parties Conference at Bombay. Before the All Parties Conference was held at Lucknow, he had requested every Musalman of any importance to muster strong at Lucknow on 25th August so that the Muslim standpoint might be crystallized. The Muslim League did not turn up. The Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-ul-Ulama held sittings after sittings to find out the true Muslim point-of-view. They formulated proposals acceptable at that time to the Muslim community. They did not rest there. They called meetings of all Musalmans of whatever shade of opinion,

assembled at Lucknow. At those meetings also the resolutions formulated by the Khilafat Committee were accepted by an overwhelming majority. But even after all this their amendments did not find favour with the Ansari Conference. When they went to Simla to attend the session of the Assembly they found that attempts were being made to thrust the Nehru Report down the throats of the Musalmans in spite of all the stubborn Muslim opposition put forward against the Nehru Report at Lucknow. A resolution was allowed to be balloted in the name of the Secretary of the Congress Party for adopting the principles underlying the Nehru Report by the Assembly. The attitude of the Congress and the Nationalist Parties in the Assembly gave him sufficient grounds to scent imminent danger to the interests of the Muslim community. It was for those reasons that he thought that at that critical juncture they should join in denouncing the Nehru Report. Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan, Haji Seth Abdullah Haroon, Syed Murtaza Saheb Bahadur and Mr. Abdul-Latif Faruqi, all concurred in that idea. All those gentlemen were of the opinion that when both the Muslim League and the Khilafat Committee could not compromise with the Hindus on the problem of a constitution, it was proper on the part of the accredited representatives of the Muslim community present at Simla to issue a statement which would undoubtedly carry great weight. It appeared difficult that the various Muslim parties in the Central Legislature would issue an unanimous statement. According to the Holy Quran, pointed out Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi, the Muslims were bound to unite when something affecting the Musalmans in general was placed before them. Muslims ought never to lose hope of unity when they meant to do good to the people in general. And the Muslim members of the Central Legislature did unite on the issue, except Messrs. Rafi Ahmed Qidwai, Tasadduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani, Hon. Shah Mohamed Zubair and Mr. Yusuf Imam. Consequently, the Muslim legislators issued their well-known Manifesto of

10th September, 1928. How could, then, the Conference be stated to have been called at the instigation of Government! There were people who were not ashamed of making that accusation. It was absolutely wrong to make that allegation, as it had been made before the speaker by one at Calcutta who had been accustomed to the comforts of the chair and had never known the miseries of a public worker's life. Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi then asked all to look at the composition of the Conference. The Congress All Parties Conference had invited all the legislators, Central and Provincial, and the Khilafat Committee and the Muslim League. The conveners of the All India Muslim Conference, Delhi, had done the same thing. But while it was at the discretion of Dr. Ansari to invite to the Lucknow Conference other gentlemen besides members of various Legislatures, the conveners of the Delhi Conference had given no such authority to anybody. The members of the legislatures were asked by the conveners of the Delhi Conference to send to it 20 elected representatives of the Muslim community from their respective provinces. What better method of representation could be conceived? The speaker himself convened small district conferences in all Tehsils and sub-divisions of his own province of Behar and got 20 delegates elected for this Conference. The fate which Mr. Jinnah's demands had met at the Calcutta Convention was well known. "Always remember the interests of the country and the Muslims," exhorted Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi. If they kept in view the interests of the country and the Muslims in general, they would certainly evolve an unanimous resolution which was the object of the Conference.

The proposal of Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi about the election of His Highness Sir Agha Khan to the chair was seconded by Maulvi Mohamed Yakub, M.L.A., Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly and the President of the Calcutta session of

1927 of Mr. Jinnah's All India Muslim League.

In seconding the proposal, Maulvi Mohamed Yakub said that he was amused to note the allegation that the toadies and Government agents had convened the Conference and that Sir Mohamed Shafi was one of its conveners. He would like to know what greater proof was needed of the genuinely representative character of the Conference than that Maulana Md. Shafi Daoodi, who had non-co-operated and had given up practice at the bar and had done national service for 5 years with Pandit Moti Lal Nehru as his trusted lieutenant, had joined the Conference and was one of its conveners. It was significant that such staunch Swarajists as Syed Murtaza, M.L.A., of Madras, had also joined their Conference. If these gentlemen flattered Government, it would be difficult to find people who did not. In fact, the Conference was attended by even the boycotters of the Simon Commission. To question the representative character of the Conference was, therefore, to throw dust at the sun.

Proceeding further, Maulvi Yakub pointed out that the political movement among Indian Muslims first began in 1906. It was His Highness Sir Agha Khan who sowed the seed of that movement. It was, again, His Highness who led the memorable Muslim Deputation to Lord Minto which demanded separate electorates. They had assembled in that Conference to renew their rights. And now that the question of separate electorates was being re-examined, it was fortunate that they had the services of the same gardener who first sowed the seed (applause). The existing political situation for Indian Muslims was hundred times more critical than what it was in 1906. In 1906, only initial reforms were granted to the country. Now they were faced with change in the system of government. Their anxiety was quite proper. They had to find out whether their communal rights also were to be extended or not. Nearly all the

Muslim leaders in India were stigmatised for belonging to one party or the other. It was, therefore, that His Highness Sir Agha Khan was being proposed to the chair. At that critical juncture, they could not secure a better leader.

Maulvi Yaqub related a story as to how an old woman, when presented with the gift of many a thing, caught hold of Khalifa Mamun Rashid who was their giver. Maulvi Yaqub said that of all things, they had caught hold of His Highness Sir Agha Khan. Concluding his speech and commending to the audience the election of His Highness to the chair, Maulvi Yaqub recited the following verses.

آفتابا گردیده ام مهر بهتان و زبده ام
بسیار خوبان دیده ام حقانو چو زبده دیگر

(I have roamed all over the world; I have tested the kindness of the beloved people. I have seen many a beautiful person; by God! thou art quite a different thing.)

Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan supported Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi's proposal and asked the audience to accept it unanimously.

The proposal was further supported by the Hon. Mr. Mahmud Suhrawardy and Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A., and was carried amidst loud applause.

H. H. Sir Agha Khan's Presidential Address.

His Highness Sir Agha Khan then took his seat in the presidential chair vacated by the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference. Soon after His Highness was garlanded; and then he majestically proceeded to the rostrum amidst thunderous cheering and delivered the following presidential address in a clear, oratorical tone and was heard with rapt attention. His Highness said:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"I thank you for the great honour you have done me in asking me to preside over your deliberations. Before proceeding with business, I am sure the Moslem community will join me unanimously in wishing His Majesty the King-Emperor complete restoration to health and strength. The deep anxiety which the world has shewn for His Majesty's health, which had been undermined by overwork in the zealous discharge of his multifarious and onerous duties, shews that they all appreciate his solicitude for the welfare of humanity at large. It has been an anxious time not only for His Majesty's subjects but for the whole world who have watched with keen anxiety one who has been regarded as a great pillar on which depends the progress of the world. Happily our anxiety is nearly, if not wholly, over. The illness drew sympathy for the Queen Empress, the Prince of Wales and the Royal family, and it must have been some comfort to them that their trouble was shared not only by every individual in the Empire but by the people of other countries. May His Majesty live long to continue to shower the blessings of his beneficent rule on his subjects.

"Now, I will at once come to the immediate business before us which is to consider the future of our co-religionists and their interests in the body-politic of India. The views and opinions I express are based on long experience of public affairs as well as the study of the past and present history of other nations. The lessons of the Great War have further strengthened those convictions and the conclusions which I have arrived at after mature consideration.

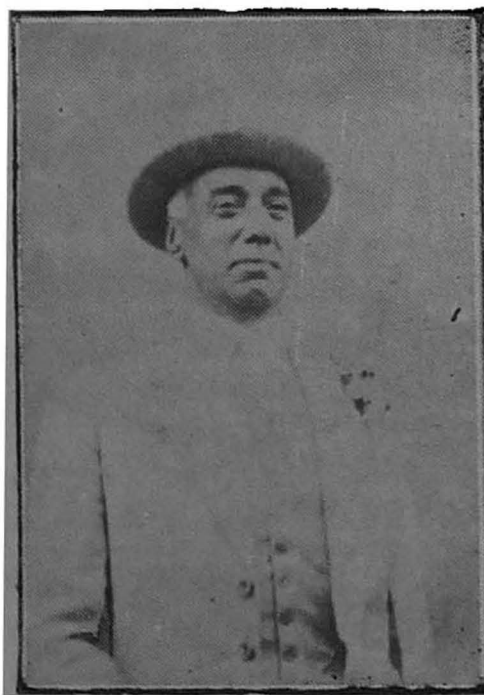
"The great lesson of modern history, to my mind, is that only those nations succeed and only those policies lead to national greatness, which are based not on ideas or ideals of a few leaders, however eminent, or of a few thinkers, but on the general consensus of views and opinions of the people. I will give one or two examples in support of this argument. The policy of Imperial Germany was

I.
THE ALI BROTHERS WHO WERE BROTHERLY
TOWARDS THE CONFERENCE



Maulana Mohamed Ali Maulana Shaukat Ali.

THE AUTHOR OF THE MAIN RESOLUTION
OF THE CONFERENCE WHICH IS A MASTERPIECE
OF CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFTING.



Sir Mohamed Shafi

shaped by the leaders of that nation as a class. The pre-war policy of Russia was not that of the Russian people, but inspired by the Pan Slavists, Kat Kof and his disciples. The policies of England and France were, indeed, based on the desires of the English and French people. Similar examples are to be found on every page of recent history. When in my manifesto last year, I appealed to the Moslems of India to replace the old self-constituted political bodies that had served their day and purpose by an organization of all Muslim members in touch with their electorates, I wished to place the guidance of our people in their own hands. The time has come when the leaders should keep their ears to the ground and ascertain the views and wishes of the masses. Gentlemen, make no mistake. The changes that must come over India profoundly affecting our future, will not come in a day. They will not come as in Russia like a thief in the night. Had the result of the War been different, we might have suddenly found ourselves in that position, but the attitude of the overwhelming mass of the Indian public during the War showed to the world that they were not in favour of such a hurried solution. Whatever our wishes may be, this Conference is but the first of many more that will have to evolve a truly representative body to look after and further the desires of Moslems of India. The greatest service you can render to your people would be to organise all the Moslem members of each and every Council into a body where exchange of views and ideas and communication of the same to the electors as well as the reception of the general desires of the masses, would remain the main purpose and object. In politically successful countries, from the Premier or the President to the humblest voter, it is but one succession of nerve lines of communication. If we had such a body, I for one should sleep in peace; for I would know that many political theories would most certainly be made by them and not by anybody else for them. From now onwards we must ever remember, even in this Conference, not what are our own

individual political preferences but what are the aspirations of the Moslem masses in this country.

"Then there are certain obvious truisms which are necessary forms of thought for political activity just as certain mental truisms are the basis of natural science and intellectual life. In this connection, I may give you several examples of those obvious facts that may be forgotten at times. Here is one. It is impossible for Moslems to live happily and peacefully in India if friction and suspicion are to prevail between them and the Hindus. Another vivid instance. India as a whole cannot be a prosperous or self-governing country if such a large and important section of the community as the Moslems remain in doubt as to whether their cultural entity is safe or not. Here is a third and most important one. As long as we are dependent for protection against external aggression and internal security and for peace upon Great Britain and the British garrison occupies the land and the air and naval forces survey us from above and watch the coasts, Great Britain will naturally claim a dominant share and voice in the governance of India. It is essential that these and similar other truisms should not be lost sight of. The Moslem masses are, I am sure, sufficient realists to know and appreciate them. Gentlemen, you come from them; you are in touch with them; you know their views.

"Another point to be kept before us is that our desires must not be mere ideas and ideals. You are part of them. It is your duty to interpret as far as you can their wishes, their aspirations and their ideals, till such time as our political organization is sufficiently advanced to let the people carry out their own wishes. Another point to be kept in view is that our wishes, or ideals are not necessarily realities.

"You must avoid forcing your own preferences when they clash with what we believe to be the real wishes of the mass of the people. The policy to be pursued during the

immediate years, I would once more emphasise, must not be based on our personal views and predilections, but on what you know to be the general desires of the people to whom you belong. What are the desires of the Indian Moslems? I can safely say that the overwhelming majority of Moslems are determined to maintain their cultural unity (hear, hear) and remain culturally interrelated with the Moslems of the world. How that can best be accomplished, it is for you to think out.

"But that does not mean that the general welfare of the whole commonwealth is to be ignored by us. It does not mean that the Moslem representatives' activities are to be confined to their own sectional interests. That would be wrong. The Moslem members should consider it their duty to look after the interests of India as a whole or of a Province as a whole and advocate the promotion of general interests at every opportunity. I will illustrate what I mean by giving a concrete example. Now, take the question of education, primary, secondary and higher. For more than a generation, I have urged that a national educational policy for India is impossible unless financed by large educational grants raised by the State as loans and not from current revenue. Such loans should be as much a legitimate object as any public work as they will, through improvement in intelligence, add to the economic welfare of the country. In regard to Moslem education, especially, one striking fact is that there exists a sort of gauge between primary and higher education in the universities and technological and other institutions. It is incumbent on us all to find a solution of this most important Moslem problem. Our secondary educational institutions specially need further support from the State.

"Another great difficulty which has been ineffectually tackled in the past is the question of language as medium for instruction. We must bear in mind that the acquisition of knowledge is quite a different thing from the medium of acquiring it. Our linguistic traditions are mainly based on Persian and Urdu. Urdu is one of the most important and wide-

spread languages in the world. It serves as a medium of communication between Moslems of different parts of India as well as between Moslems and other communities of a district. The foundation of the Oosmania University, which owes its existence to the magnificent generosity of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, is bound to give a great impetus to the educational activities of our people. It is adapted to higher culture. But both Urdu and Persian scripts present serious difficulties in the primary stages of education, and it is a matter for deliberation how we can improve and simplify the change of script.

"Now, whether in education or politics, I would beg of you to consider the realities and not to throw away the substance for the shadow. Whether in education or in politics, build on a solid foundation. Do not be carried away by catchwords; nor hanker after ideals that may not be within your grasp but concentrate your minds on what is practicable and useful under pressing economic and political needs of the country and strive after actualities to promote the higher happiness of mankind.

"In recent times, no question seems to have aroused so much controversy as the question of separate electorates for the protection of the right of minorities.

"The merits and demerits of separate or so-called communal electorates have been discussed so often that it is unnecessary to re-examine them in detail. In regard to the implications of the term "communal," I may remark in passing that the Muslims of India are not a community, but in a restricted, special sense a nation composed of many communities and population totally outnumbering the total even of the pre-war German Empire.

"The vital and dominant consideration which underlies this question is the real representation of Moslems in all legislatures and self-governing bodies. How that can be secured is a problem for the Moslem population of this country to consider and solve without any prejudices.

"Gentlemen, I have specially at your request come to this Conference and felt it more than ever my duty to draw attention to the urgent problems that can be dealt with rather to discuss doubtful questions of an uncertain future. If through your elected representatives you can further the practical solution of these problems, a great step forward will have been taken.

"I cannot allow my speech to close without making a passing reference to a subject of constant friction between the two sister communities and making a fervent appeal, with all the earnestness that I command, to remove that friction as far as possible so that Moslems may live in amity with their Hindu brethren. While referring to the cause of friction, I take this opportunity of expressing profound admiration and gratitude of Indians to His Excellency the Viceroy for his earnest endeavour to bring about harmonious relations between the Hindus and Mohamedans.

"Cow-killing has unfortunately been a perpetual source of bitter feelings between Muslims and Hindus. It is incumbent on us all to find a remedy. It may help us to do this, if we trace the origin of sacrificial rites. We are all agreed that we celebrate the historical sacrifice by Ibrahim. But it must be remembered that Ibrahim, one of our great Prophets, did not sacrifice a cow, nor is the sacrifice of a bovine especially enjoined anywhere. On the contrary, the camel or the sheep is more frequently mentioned in connection with sacrificial rites. How many of our Hajis have sacrificed cows in Arabia, the home of Islam ?

"The Emperor Baber, who was as Mr. Edwards has pointed out, the greatest monarch of his age, enjoined his son Humayun to respect the religious sentiments and even the prejudices of the Hindus and he specifically mentioned

the cow as an animal venerated in India. The late Ameer Habibullah Khan, who was a good Muslim, discountenanced the practice. If other Muslim leaders share their views, they will certainly not be acting against any Islamic injunction.

"You no doubt know our religious dictum that 'the flesh and blood of animals do not reach God.' This is a humanitarian view entirely in accord with our conception of the Deity and His creation.

"I am open to be enlightened on this point by our Ulama, but am certain that not one of them will countenance the parade of sacrificial rites in public places. There are many other communities who eat beef, but they do not hurt the susceptibilities of their neighbours by parading the sacred and adored animals for slaughter.

"In the light of these facts, which I have mentioned, it is a matter for your serious consideration whether we should re-examine our views on this particular sacrifice and test its true significance. If by doing so, we can readjust our relations with our Hindu friends, we shall indirectly render a service of incalculable value and importance to the cause of peace and prosperity and even perhaps satisfactory political readjustment."

After the reading of the presidential address was over, it was announced that all the delegates to the Conference would form themselves into the Subjects Committee which would meet next morning at 10 o'clock on 1st January, 1929, and that the open session of the Conference would begin the following afternoon at 4 p. m.

CHAPTER V

Leaders' Consultation Meetings

At 6-30 p. m. on 31st December, 1928, took place under H. H. Sir Agha Khan's presidency a consultation meeting of Muslim leaders who had come to Delhi to

attend the Conference, at the Jamnagar House. This consultation meeting was attended by:—

1. Sir Mohamed Shafi.
2. Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah.
3. Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi, M.L.A.
4. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, M. L. A.
5. Dr. L. K. Hyder of the Muslim University, Aligarh.
6. Sheikh Abdullah, M.L.C., Advocate, Aligarh.
7. Nawab Mohamed Yusuf, Minister, the U. P. Government.
8. Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A.
9. Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan.
10. Dr. Shafa'at Ahmed Khan.
11. Mr. Zahur Ahmed, M. L. C., of Allahabad. etc., etc.

At this meeting, Sir Mohamed Shafi read out a resolution which was drafted by him and which he wanted to move in the open session of the Conference. Sir Mohamed Shafi's draft resolution was discussed by the meeting clause by clause. There was a frank discussion between the gentlemen attending the meeting. It dispersed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill.

Next morning on 1st January, 1929, at 10 o'clock another informal conference of Muslim leaders met near the Conference Pandal in a separate *shamiana* (tent) to discuss the whole situation facing the Conference with the Ali Brothers and other Muslim leaders who had arrived from Calcutta. Sir Mohamed Shafi explained the situation and the views which he and people of his way of thinking wanted to put forward in the resolutions of the Conference. Maulana Mohamed Ali then gave out his point of view. Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah also explained his standpoint. There was general agreement, after long and hot discussion, on the principles on which the resolutions were to be drafted.

CHAPTER VI

Subjects Committee Meeting.

Then at 11 A. M. on 1st January, 1929, the meeting of the Subjects Committee

took place in the Conference Pandal under His Highness Sir Agha Khan's presidentship. Almost all the delegates who were present at the opening of the Conference attended the meeting of the Subjects Committee. (For names of delegates, see pages 6, 7 and 8 of this report.)

The tussel in the Subjects Committee was between the school which demanded separate electorates unconditionally and that which demanded them with the proviso that if certain conditions like those embodied in some Muslim leaders' Proposals of March, 1927, were fulfilled the Muslim community would give up separate electorates and accept joint electorates. The former school was represented by Sir Mohamed Shafi and his followers, while the latter school was led by Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi and Maulana Mohamed Ali.

H. H. the President then called upon the various delegates to discuss Sir Md. Shafi's draft-resolution which was before the meeting.

The author of this report regrets his inability to publish here the proceedings of the Subjects Committee meeting, because it was not open to the press or the public.

CHAPTER VII.

Open Session of the Conference.

After the Subjects Committee meeting was over, a group-photo of the delegates to the Conference was taken outside the Conference Pandal.

Then the open session of the Conference began at 5 o'clock. The Pandal was packed with audience to its utmost capacity. Many other delegates to the Conference came from Calcutta after having attended there the All India Khilafat Conference and Mr. Jinnah's All India Muslim League. Before the proceedings of the open session of the Conference began, there was again a suitable recitation from the

Holy Quran. Then it was announced by Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A., Secretary of the Conference, that His Highness the President had donated Rs. two thousand in aid of the poor Muslims of Delhi. The sum was to be distributed amongst them in such manner as the Chairman and members of the Reception Committee of the Conference thought fit.

Then a resolution condoling the death of the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali and Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb was moved from the chair and passed unanimously, all standing and reading the Fatiha.

SPEECHES.

Sir Mohamed Shafi.

The House was in a mood of tense expectation when Sir Mohamed Shafi came forward, amidst thunderous cheers, to the rostrum and said that in view of the present political atmosphere in the country and the prevailing disunity among Muslims and its dangerous consequences, leading Muslims had convened that All Muslim Parties Conference at Delhi. Sir Mohamed Shafi pointed out that it was well known that some time ago he was in England. When he was returning home, he was given a file of Indian newspapers by a Punjabi Muslim at Port Said. It was by reading them that Sir Mohamed Shafi for the first time came to know that that Conference was being convened. He was much pleased to know about it, and then he resolved to try his best to bring about the consummation of those resolutions that would be passed by that Conference. Sir Mohamed Shafi said that the Conference was a momentous and important one, and there was no doubt that theirs was a representative gathering. In that Conference were present recognised leaders of the Muslim community like Maulanas Shaukat Ali, Mohamed Ali, Shafi Daqodi and other famous persons of their political school of thought. Then there

were present in the Conference representatives of all important Muslim organisations like the All-India Khilafat Committee, Nadwatul Ulama, Jamiatul Ulama and Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore, etc., and of all Muslim political parties in the Punjab, Bengal, Bombay, and the U P. The speaker was quite right in maintaining that the Conference was in the true sense of the word an All India Muslim Conference. A more important and splendid gathering of Muslims had never been held. It was also to be noted that the Conference was being presided over by a great and towering personality like His Highness Sir Agha Khan whose services to the Muslim community were well known and to whose efforts the All India Muslim League and the Muslim University owed their existence. In those circumstances, Sir Mohamed Shafi ventured to say, the voice of the Conference was not an ordinary voice but was a very weighty voice and, in fact, represented the united voice of all Muslim parties. If their brother countrymen did not listen to that voice, the result would not be good and on them would be the responsibility of what would consequently occur (cries of Allah-o-Akbar). Sir Mohamed Shafi reminded the Conference that considering its importance he had postponed the meeting of the All India Muslim League, Lahore. He was a sincere and staunch advocate of unity and wanted to remove disunity from the country. He drew Mr. Jinnah's attention to the fact that the time for joint action had come and he (Mr. Jinnah) ought to unite with him (Sir Md. Shafi). He sent many letters and telegrams to Mr. Jinnah, but he did not pay any attention to them. He wrote to Mr. Jinnah requesting him not to convene the session of his League at Calcutta but to join him (Sir Mohamed Shafi) in convening a united session of the All India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah did not consider even that request. Then

he sent to Mr. Jinnah a private telegram. Even to that he paid no heed. Mr. Jinnah was, however, responsible for his actions. He invited them to Calcutta. Had we gone to Calcutta, we would have met the same fate which Mr. Jinnah had met. At the Calcutta Convention, it was the whole Muslim community which was dishonoured and not a few persons (cries of "shame, shame"). At the Calcutta Convention, Muslim speakers were badly heckled and even not allowed to speak ("shame, shame"). The demands of Mr. Jinnah's party were summarily rejected ("shame, shame"). Would they, therefore, feel any doubt to understand how bad was the mentality of their brother countrymen and how badly the Muslims needed unity at that juncture. Thank God, in that gathering all Muslims were united. They of Sir Mohamed Shafi's way of thinking might not be Non-Co-operators, but they were certainly true slaves of Islam and well-wishers of the Islamic community, and that so far as the defence and backing up of Islam and the service of Muslims was concerned they were with their non-co-operating brethren (applause). It was a matter of joy, declared Sir Mohamed Shafi, that those of their brethren who were Non-Co-operators were not so in regard to their relations with those who belonged to Sir Mohamed Shafi's school of thought (laughter). Concluding his speech, Sir Mohamed Shafi again reiterated that the voice of that Conference was very important and that they were plainly telling all concerned that if their rights were not duly considered the consequences would be serious. Then Sir Mohamed Shafi read the following resolution which he said he moved before the Conference and, after clearly reading the same, retired to his seat.

Resolution No. 1

"Whereas, in view of India's vast extent and its ethnological, linguistic, administrative and geographical or territorial

divisions, the only form of government suitable to Indian conditions is a federal system with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent states, the Central Government having control only of such matters of common interest as may be specifically entrusted to it by the constitution ;

"And whereas it is essential that no bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters be moved, discussed or passed by any legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourth majority of the members of either the Hindu or the Muslim community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, resolution, motion or amendment ;

"And whereas the right of Muslims to elect their representatives on the various Indian Legislatures through separate electorates is now the law of the land and Muslims cannot be deprived of that right without their consent ;

"And whereas in the conditions existing at present in India and so long as those conditions continue to exist, representation in various Legislatures and other statutory self-governing bodies of Muslims through their own separate electorates is essential in order to bring into existence a really representative democratic government ;

"And whereas as long as Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are adequately safeguarded in the constitution, they will in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates, whether with or without conditions ;

"And whereas, for the purposes aforesaid, it is essential that Musalmans should have their due share in the central and provincial cabinets ;

"And whereas it is essential that representation of Musalmans in the various legislatures and other statutory self-governing

THE PRESIDING GENIUS OF THE CONFERENCE.



H. H. Sir Agha Khan who presided over the Conference.

bodies should be based on a plan whereby the Muslim majority in those provinces where Musalmans constitute a majority of population shall in no way be affected and in the provinces in which Musalmans constitute a minority they shall have a representation in no case less than that enjoyed by them under the existing law ;

“And whereas representative Muslim gatherings in all provinces in India have unanimously resolved that with a view to provide adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim interests in India as a whole, Musalmans should have the right of 33 per cent representation in the Central Legislature and this Conference entirely endorses that demand ;

“And whereas on ethnological, linguistic, geographical and administrative grounds the province of Sindh has no affinity whatever with the rest of the Bombay Presidency and its unconditional constitution into a separate province, possessing its own separate legislative and administrative machinery on the same lines as in other provinces of India, is essential in the interests of its people, the Hindu minority in Sind being given adequate and effective representation in excess of their proportion in the population, as may be given to Musalmans in the provinces in which they constitute a minority of population ;

“And whereas the introduction of constitutional reforms in the N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan along such lines as may be adopted in other provinces of India is essential not only in the interests of those provinces but also of the constitutional advance of India as a whole, the Hindu minorities in those provinces being given adequate and effective representation in excess of their proportion in population, as is given to the Muslim community in provinces in which it constitutes a minority of the population ;

“And whereas it is essential in the interests of Indian administration that provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims their adequate share along with other Indians in all services of the State and on all statutory self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency ;

“And whereas, having regard to the political conditions obtaining in India, it is essential that the Indian constitution should embody adequate safeguards for protection and promotion of Muslim education, languages, religion, personal law and Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid ;

“And whereas it is essential that the constitution should provide that no change in the Indian constitution shall, after its inauguration, be made by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of all the states constituting the Indian federation ;

“This Conference emphatically declares that no constitution, by whomsoever proposed or devised, will be acceptable to Indian Musalmans unless it conforms with the principles embodied in this resolution.”

Maulana Mohamed Ali formally seconded Sir Md. Shafi's resolution and reserved his comments thereon for a later speech.

Sir A. K. Ghaznavi.

Sir A. K. Ghaznavi, in supporting Sir Md. Shafi's resolution in a short speech in English, reminded that it was the Agha Khan who in 1906 had led the Moslem Deputation to Lord Minto which resulted in their obtaining separate electorates. He was sure that the labours of the present Conference would be beneficial for Indian Muslims.

Maulana Md. Shafee Daoodi, M. L. A.

In strongly supporting Sir Mohamed

Shafi's resolution. Maulana Shafee Daoodi said that the resolution which was just put forward before them was not advanced by a person, body or an Anjuman but by all the Muslims of India. The resolution was thus a demand made by the entire community of Indian Muslims. They knew that after the Lucknow Conference, many meetings and conferences had been held and various ideas had been expressed regarding a constitution, but in those meetings and conferences such resolutions were passed as those assembled there thought fit. But the voice of the All India Muslim Conference, Delhi, was a united voice. The speaker had heard it alleged that His Highness Sir Agha Khan had come all the way from England to preside over their Conference at the instigation of Government. That allegation, emphatically affirmed Maulana Shafee Daoodi, was quite wrong and constituted a base and lying accusation. They had themselves noticed how for the last two days His Highness had been working with splendid impartiality. His treatment to all was very commendable. His Highness' personality was not an ordinary one. His Highness, eulogistically pointed out Maulana Shafee Daoodi, was a very towering personality; and yet he was most sincerely absorbed with his poor co-religionists in the work of the Conference. His Highness had not endeavoured to force his opinion on others. He did not desire to have his opinions accepted by Muslims. His Highness wanted the Muslims to be united in defending their rights. Maulana Shafee Daoodi most emphatically declared that those who thought that H. H. Sir Agha Khan had come to preside over the Conference at the instigation of Government were in the wrong and made a wrong accusation against His Highness which Maulana Shafee Daoodi strongly contradicted. Further, he said that the existing unity among Muslim organisations and Muslim leaders

over the Conference was very auspicious. Maulana Shafee Daoodi prayed that that atmosphere of unity which was witnessed in the Conference might endure. That day all the Muslims of India were assembled on one platform, because they had felt with certainty that their rights were not recognised by others and, therefore, they the Muslims had determined to safeguard their rights and had stood assembled on one platform with full determination and perseverance in defence of their very honour and life (loud cheers and applause).

Dr. Sir Mohamed Iqbal.

In supporting the resolution, Dr. Sir Mohamed Iqbal said that the experience which Muslims had been gaining for the last three or four years was very useful and full of consequence. What they only surmised formerly about their brother countrymen had all come to their knowledge with perfect certainty. He averred the reality that the line of action which the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had chalked out for Indian Muslims half a century back was quite right and, after bitter experiences, they were realising the importance of that policy. He declared in clear terms that if Indian Muslims wanted to live in India as Muslims, they ought forthwith to endeavour for their betterment and progress and prepare their own separate political programme. They knew that in some parts of India the Muslims were in a majority, while in other parts they were in a minority. In those circumstances, there was a dire necessity for their preparing a separate political programme. Every community in the country was then endeavouring to safeguard its rights. He wondered why Indian Muslims should not try to safeguard their particular rights. The resolution which that day had been unanimously put forward in that Conference was very proper. For its propriety,

Dr. Sir Md. Iqbal said, he possessed a religious argument. It was their Holy Prophet (be peace and God's benedictions on him) who had said that never would the consensus of his followers' opinion concentrate on a misleading issue (loud shouts of Allah-o-Akbar and continued applause).

After Dr. Sir Md. Iqbal's speech, the Conference was adjourned for Mughrib prayers and met again at 6-15 p.m.

At this stage, before His Highness the President called upon other speakers to support the resolution, he announced that he had received a written message from the Muslim ladies attending the Conference. This message was written and signed by Begum Razaullah, wife of Mr. Razaullah, Retired Engineer, Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi, son of the late well-known Muslim litterateur, the late Munshi Zakaullah. Begum Razaullah sent the message on behalf of the Muslim lady delegates to the Conference. Their message read as follows:—

Muslim Ladies' Message to the Conference.

عالمی جذاب صدر
 ہم خواتین سختی سے نہرو رپورٹ کی مخالفت
 کرتی ہیں — نیز مخلوط انتخاب کو بھی مسلمان
 قوم کی تباہی کا باعث خیال کرتی ہیں۔ کسی
 بڑی سے بڑی امید کے لئے بھی مخلوط انتخاب نے
 ہم حامی نہیں ہوں — سات کروڑ مسلمانان
 ہندوستان کی وقعت کو قائم کر کے ہر ایک قانون
 اساسی میں اپنا حق لینا چاہتی ہوں۔ جداگانہ
 انتخاب کے ہم دل سے حامی ہوں۔
 بیگم رزا اللہ

[Mr. President, we ladies are stubbornly opposed to the Nehru Report. We also think joint electorates to be the cause of the ruin of the Muslim community. Not even the greatest hope can make us support joint electorates. We also, with due regard to the honour of the seven crores of Indian Muslims, demand our legitimate rights in every constitution. We heartily support separate electorates.

(Sd.) BEGUM RAZAULLAH.]

His Highness the President read out to the Conference the above message of our ladies and said that he respected their noble sentiments and demands.

Mr. Sharfuddin, M.L.C.

After the ladies' message to the Conference was read over, the speeches on Sir Mohamed Shafi's resolution again commenced.

In supporting the resolution, Mr. Sharfuddin, M.L.C., of the C. P., said that he represented the C. P. Muslims. After reading the Nehru Report, he had resolved to oppose it; for it did not protect their rights. That was, again, the reason why [seepee, an Urdu word which means an oyster-shell and which contains this pun that when pronounced it exactly sounds as C. P., (Central Provinces) the province in India from which the speaker came] had come forward to oppose موتی (moti, an Urdu word which means pearl and which is also a main part of the name of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Chairman of the Nehru Committee which drafted the Nehru Report, (laughter). Mr. Sharfuddin said that he resided in a province in which his friend, Dr. Moonje, was born. In that province, the Muslims had suffered so many excesses from the side of the Hindus that they had created wounds in Muslim hearts. He had come to Delhi to obtain ointment for those wounds, because it was well known that in Delhi resided حافیق (hasiq or expert) doctors (Laughter). Thank God, he had obtained the ointment in that Conference. The wounds of the C. P. Muslims would then be healed. What the speaker wanted to convey was that the resolution which he was supporting was very important and very useful.

K.B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain, M.L.C.

Then in support of the resolution, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, M.L.C., said that he strongly supported the

resolution on behalf of the U. P. Muslims. The voice of that Conference was a voice which was directed both to Englishmen and Hindus. Their resolution formed the last demand of Muslims made to both. If it was not heeded, there would be no peace in the country. If the Hindus did not heed their demands, they (the Hindus) would have to repent later on and it would be then clear how extremely bigoted and unjust the Hindus were.

Maulvi Mohamed Yaqub, M.L.A.

The next speaker was Maulvi Mohamed Yaqub, M.L.A., Deputy-President of the Legislative Assembly. He said that since they had declared their intention of holding that Conference the blame had been laid on them that they were doing so in order to destroy the Nehru Report. That blame was manifestly unreal. They had seen what had happened for the last two days and how they had not uttered a single word regarding the Nehru Report. That was enough refutation of that blame. The Conference was not called for the rejection of the Nehru Report but for safeguarding Muslim rights. They had assembled to declare that whatever constitution was adopted for the country their rights ought to be safeguarded in it. If the resolution under discussion was incorporated in the Nehru Report, they would accept that Report also ; but if in the future constitution of India, whether it be formulated by Hindus or the British, the principles underlying the resolution were not incorporated, they would oppose it as vehemently as they opposed the Nehru Report. He assured all concerned that the object of the Conference was not at all to raise a storm of opposition against the Hindus. The Indian Muslims do not like opposition. They support the cause of unity and goodwill. Their goal is to attain freedom. The speaker declared in clear terms that although among the Hindus

there was a section which was free from bigotry, yet the Hindu Mahasabha section was thoroughly bigoted and had established in the country an atmosphere of bigotry. That section of the Hindus ought to change its policy. The speaker said that the problem in India could not be solved by constitutions but by a change of heart. So long as the Mahasabha mentality prevailed amongst Hindus, there could never be any communal peace and India would never be free. The speaker had said that the Musalmans liked co-operation and goodwill. What he had said was perfectly true ; for Islam itself taught them the lesson of goodwill. Their Holy Prophet had himself behaved even with non-Muslims in a spirit of goodwill. If anybody behaved with a sense of love, justice and co-operation, the Musalmans could forego such things which were not necessary. They could diminish even cow-sacrifice. They had done that before. But if any community desired to force them to give up the performance of their Islamic functions, then it would be the most important duty of the Muslims never to give them up. Referring to the remarks of the President of the Conference about cow-sacrifice, the speaker said the Musalmans could make the concession any day in deference to the susceptibilities of Hindus, but they could not do so either by force or by legislation. Even though that year at the Calcutta Congress and Convention an improper treatment was meted out to their leaders, the Muslims were ready to back up the cause of unity and goodwill. The Musalmans, emphatically declared Maulvi Mohamed Yaqub, have a natural desire for freedom and in its field have always been ahead of others. Maulvi Mohamed Yakub said that India was the only country where Musalmans had been in subjection for 150 years and, therefore, they had a keener sense of freedom than Hindus who lost their freedom some 1,500 years ago. He appealed to the Hindus to do justice to the Musalmans of India. That community which would quarrel with them would suffer loss.

If the Hindus conceived the sinister object of destroying Muslims root and branch and expelling them from India, they should hear with open ears that

اپن خیال ست و مجال ست و دلون

it was only a false notion; it was impossible and it was madness. The Hindus could not destroy the Muslims and turn them out of India when they were small in number and merely handful. Now that the Muslims were, by the grace of God, 7 crores, any power which collided with them would be shattered to pieces (shouts of Allah-o-Akbar). The resolution under discussion was very fair as it gave Hindu minorities the same privileges which it claimed for Musalmans in the provinces where the latter were in a minority. Concluding his speech, Maulvi Mohamed Yaqub earnestly appealed to the Hindus from the platform of that Conference to reform their mentality and unite with the Muslims.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan,

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, M. L. C., Allahabad, developed two points in his short speech in English supporting the resolution. He said that the Musalmans did not want any privileges but wanted their legitimate rights which were given to minorities in other parts of the world. They, by the resolution, were declaring that with those safeguards they could come to terms with the Hindus or the Government. Secondly, the gathering showed that Islam was a living force and the Musalmans could neither be the slaves of the Hindus nor of the Government but were determined to live as a free people.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Barrister, and Mr. D. S.

Tayebji, M.L.C.

Then Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Peshawar, and Mr. Daoodbhoy Salebhoy Tayebji, M.L.C., Bombay, further supported the resolution.

Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A.

Next appeared on the platform Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A., of Karachi for supporting the resolution. He said that it was his belief that no nation or community could progress and could be successful unless its members unitedly endeavoured for their betterment and progress. He had unbounded pleasure in noticing all the Musalmans of India united in that Conference. He assured them that he was a staunch advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He had worked in co-operation with the Hindus for the last eight years; but he was very sorry to note that for the last four years the mentality of the Hindus had been undergoing a revolutionary change. No true and self-respecting Muslim could now co-operate with the Hindus. The sensible among the Hindu leaders ought to pay attention to their misled co-religionists and try to bring them on the right path; else the problem of freedom would be in danger. The Musalmans ought not only to be content with passing that resolution but should also make wonderful efforts for their organisation, betterment and progress. The Muslims should carry the voice of the Conference to every nook and corner of the country and should utilise their influence and prestige to bring the policy of the Conference to fruition. If they had to undergo some hardships in regard to safeguarding their rights and organising themselves, the Muslims should never care for them. The time for action had arrived. It was not the time for rest but for making efforts. He declared, amidst applause, that he was ready to serve the cause of the Conference in every way and at every time.

Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni.

In supporting the resolution, Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni said that his brother, Maulvi Mohamed Yaqub, had pointed out in his speech that they had not uttered a single word in regard to the Nehru Report

and did not desire to comment thereupon. To say that, in the Maulana's opinion, was an exhibition of meaningless frankness and courage. The Nehru Report certainly contained defects, and they had every right to comment on it. And it was also necessary on their part to oppose that part of the Nehru Report which was injurious to their interests. He thought that the Nehru Report was a blessing in disguise to the Muslims. The Nehru Report had created in them a true sense of the preservation of their rights. And it was due to the Nehru Report that that Conference was convened. According to the speaker, the Conference was a splendid gathering, and it was a matter of thankfulness to God that Muslims of every party and every political school of thought had assembled in that Conference for the purpose of working together. Throughout his political life, it was the first scene that he witnessed in the form of that Conference in which the Muslims of India had assembled in vast numbers in that representative manner. Had the Report of that inmate of Anand Bhavan, Allahabad, not been presented before them, they the Muslims would not have awakened from their stupor of carelessness; they would not have felt the necessity of safeguarding their rights and would never have thought of preparing some nice programme of joint action. Their unity at that moment was due to the blessings of the Nehru Report. He wanted to say one thing in plain words. It was that the Nehru Report was undoubtedly injurious to Muslims. In that Report, Muslim rights were heartlessly sacrificed. Those Muslims, therefore, that were supporting the Nehru Report for gaining material ends and winning cheap applause from the Hindus, were committing a sin from the Islamic standpoint. They should at once take note of it and repent.

Maulana Kifayatullah.

Coming forward, Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah, President of the Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Hind, Delhi, said that the resolution which he had stood to support was a very important resolution which was put forward by a gathering which was held in a truly representative character in order to safeguard

the rights of the Muslim community. In that Conference were present Muslims of every political party and of every political school of thought among them. Thereafter nobody had a right to say that the Muslims had accepted the Nehru Report. If anybody said so, he would be wrong and his behaviour would resemble that of a man who attempted to throw dust at the sun. The Maulana said that he was supporting the resolution on behalf of the Jamiat which represented the Ulama of India.

Nawab Mehdi Hason.

Supporting the resolution, Nawab Mehdi Hason, a Shia divine of Lucknow, who represented the Shia section amongst the Muslims, said that that splendid gathering of Indian Muslims had been convened in order that they might realise that their interests were in danger and that it was necessary to safeguard them. He was of opinion that those dangers were created by their own weaknesses and their own mutual differences. The time had arrived when Muslims should feel the delicacy of the juncture with which they were faced and should unite amongst themselves.

Maulana Azad Sobhani.

Maulana Azad Sobhani, Communist of Cawnpore, in expressing his views on the resolution, said that he had come forward to convey to them some glad tidings. He had not stood up to oppose the resolution (laughter and applause). He was the greatest opponent of the Nehru Report. His degree of opposition to the Report could not be equalled by that of anybody else except Maulana Hasrat Mohani. And none else could oppose the Report to the extent to which he did. He was an opponent to the Nehru Report to such an extent that he ventured to declare that it was a dirty, mean Report. It had placed before the Indians the creed of slavery (Dominion Status) instead of the creed of freedom.

Instead of pushing forward the people of this country in the field of freedom, the Report had dragged them down into the cave of slavery. For that very reason he thought the proceedings of the Calcutta Congress to be low, because that Congress had also placed before the country the goal of slavery instead of the goal of freedom. They knew that the Madras Congress had unanimously passed the resolution of Independence. But, it was regrettable, that the Nehru Report had destroyed all the hopes of the supporters and lovers of Independence in the country. That was the main reason why he was opposed to the Nehru Report.

Sheikh Mohamed Sadiq,

Then Sheikh Mohamed Sadiq, Bar-at-Law, M. L. C., of Amritsar, an important member of Mr. Jinnah's League, expressed his views on the resolution. It was he who at Calcutta had supported the motion for the Jinnah League participating in the All-India Muslim Conference, Delhi. He said that the resolution gave no latitude for further negotiations with the Hindus. His speech was punctuated with some interruptions and cries of "Explain yourself." He frequently sought protection of the chair and was allowed to proceed for five minutes quite calmly. He suggested that even at that late hour they should provide some provision, thereby keeping the door open for further negotiations. The resolution, as it was, would rank as one-sided, communal and reactionary. In conclusion, he told the audience that he was an equally vehement opponent of the Nehru Report.

Maulana Mohamed Ali,

Maulana Mohamed Ali was given an enthusiastic ovation when he appeared on the platform to support the resolution. He said that he had just returned from his recent tour in Europe and Islamic countries. Soon after coming back to

India he had to preside at the Behar and Orissa All Muslim Parties Provincial Conference held at Patna and the All India Khilafat Conference held at Calcutta. Even on those occasions, he had not reviewed the Nehru Report in detail. The question before them was not whether the Nehru Report was good or bad? The important question before them was what was the best remedy for the political disease of Indian Muslims. The Muslims should pay attention to that disease and think out its remedy. He had passed a remark about the Nehru Report which he would repeat before the Conference. When this country was ruled by the East India Company, it used to be proclaimed :—

"The creation is God's; the country is Parliament's; and the rule is John Company Bahadur's," Maulana Mohamed Ali pointed out that the Nehru Report proclaimed :—

"The creation is God's; the country is Viceroy's; and the rule is Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur's."

It was a plain fact and required explanation no more. The Hindus wanted to keep the Muslims in the position of a dirty fly which sat on the food and polluted it and, after having its wings besmeared with it, died. Maulana Mohamed Ali declared, on behalf of Indian Muslims, that they were not ready to accept the position of the dirty fly. They wanted to be bees in order that they might provide the Hindus with honey and at the same time possess enough stings to sting one who persecuted them (the Muslims) and disturbed their hive. All of them knew that he thought Hindu-Muslim unity essential for liberating the country. Their Islam too preached :—

كان الناس امة واحدة

(All human beings were at first one following.)

Was that not a lesson of unity and love, questioned Maulana Mohamed Ali? And, further, Islam preached —

لا اكره في الدين

(There is no compulsion in religion) Did this precept of Islam not preach goodwill among men, again questioned Maulana Mohamed Ali? The fact was, pointed out Maulana Saheb, that Islam is a great and staunch advocate of peace, unity and goodwill. He was in the wrong who said that Islam preached communalism. Islam has been revealed to unite the whole world and to efface war from the surface of the earth. Islam is, in reality, a message of peace. At the very outset of his speech, he said that he had just returned from his European tour. In no foreign country and nowhere in foreign lands, he had heard hawkers crying:—

“Jewish Tea; Christian Bread; and Muslim Water.”

But when he landed in the Paradise-like India, he heard at Karachi the cries of

“Hindu Tea” and “Muslim Water.”

Those cries revealed a regrettable mentality. Maulana Mohamed Ali ventured to say that a community of which one man could not touch the other two, of which members could not inter-dine and drink from the same vessel, had no right to accuse Muslims of communalism. The members of that community are the greatest communalists in the world and that community should reform its own mentality. Maulana Mohamed Ali reminded the audience how disgusted he was with the British rule. He did not compel others to subscribe to that way of his thinking; for he believed in the following verse of the Holy Quran:—

لكم دينكم ولي دين

(To you, your religion; to me, mine.)

Maulana Mohamed Ali declared that he was disgusted with the British rule to such an extent that he would accept the slavery of the Hindus if it could liberate him from

the slavery of the English and if there was no other alternative except the slavery of the Hindus for attaining that liberation. He thought that Muslim was a coward who feared that after the British had left India the very existence of the Muslims would be at the mercy of the Hindus. He did not attach any importance to that fear. According to him, one true Musalman could overpower ten persons. Was not the number of Muslims in the battles of Badr and Ohed small? But, who was victorious? The Muslims! Even now whenever the Muslims had religious debate with Christians, Unity overpowered Trinity. That is, the one God of Islam becomes victorious over the three Gods of Christianity (laughter) Anyhow, he wanted that Muslims and Hindus should arrive at a mutual understanding and be united. Those who had read his writings and heard his speeches fully knew that he never slammed the doors of compromise with Hindus but had always liked peace and had been a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity (Applause and cries of Allah-o-Akbar). In the end, Maulana Mohamed Ali pointed out that the door of negotiations with Hindus was ever opened, because the very resolution before them which he was so strongly supporting meant that the Muslims were not wedded to separate electorates for eternity but would consent even to the establishment of joint electorates if they were satisfied that their rights and interests were adequately safeguarded in any constitution. Till, however, that satisfaction was not forthcoming, the Musalmans were certainly out and out for separate electorates and would never relinquish them (continued applause).

Resolution Passed Unanimously.

After Maulana Mohamed Ali's speech was over, His Highness the President put the resolution to vote. It elicited such a surprising and wonderfully unanimous support from the audience that a great part of them sprang up on their feet in

M
SOME MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE
OF THE CONFERENCE.



Nawab Sheikh Wahiduddin,
Rais, Meerut



Nawab Abul Hason,
Rais, Delhi.



Nawab Sheikh Fariduddin,
Rais, Meerut & Delhi.

the heat of enthusiasm and acclaimed that they fully accepted the resolution. There was not one dissentient in an audience of over 5,000 people who said that he was opposed to the resolution. It was, therefore, passed unanimously amidst the most remarkable and vocal acclamation demonstrated through thunderous cheers which rent the very Conference Pandal.

President's Departure.

At this stage, Maulana Shaukat Ali announced that because His Highness the President wanted to leave the Conference earlier owing to an urgent appointment and his departure the same evening to Bombay, he (Maulana Shaukat Ali) desired to move the following resolution of thanks to him and other functionaries of the Conference :—

" This gathering heartily thanks His Highness Sir Agha Khan that by his presidentship he made this important, necessary and historic Conference a success and thereby laid Indian Muslims under a deep debt of gratitude to him.

" This Conference further thanks sincerely its conveners whose sustained efforts are responsible for holding this Conference at the time of need.

" The Conference also congratulates and thanks its Secretary, Chairman and members of its Reception Committee and the Volunteers for their excellent arrangements made within a short time for the successful holding of the Conference."

The above resolution was seconded by Mr. Zahur Ahmed, M. L. C., Allahabad, and was passed unanimously.

(How the Reception Committee was formed and what it did for the success of the Conference is related in appendix K of this report.)

Then His Highness the President spoke a few words in reply to the vote of thanks passed in his favour and left the Conference amidst cheers.

But before His Highness left he proposed and Sir Mohamed Shafi seconded that Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah should take the chair.

Resolution No. 2.

After His Highness had left, Maulana Shaukat Ali moved the following resolution :—

" This All India Muslim Conference earnestly requests the Indian Muslims that the time has arrived when Muslims of different schools of thought should unite together and, for the welfare of the generality of Muslims, should undertake :

(1) To arrange, for the primary education of Muslims, for proper teachers and a proper curriculum so that Muslim boys and girls may be decorated with the ornament of knowledge and adult Muslims may gain both secular and religious instruction in night schools ;

(2) To revive Islamic spirit among Muslims by making mosques the centres of Muslim activities and to adopt means whereby Muslims may be saved from following bad customs and bad morals ;

(3) To induce Muslims towards art, industry and trade and make every Muslim employed ;

and (4) To start in every province at least one newspaper which may propagate the above scheme of Muslim organisation."

This resolution was seconded by M. Syed Habib, Editor of Urdu daily " Siasat " of Lahore. The resolution was further supported by :—

1. Mir Md. Balooch, M. L. C., Sind ;
2. Maulvi Anees Ahmed, Secretary, All-India Muslim Federation, Bombay ;
3. Maulvi Mazharuddin, Editor, " Al-Aman," Delhi ;
4. Mufti Mohd. Sadiq of Qadian ;
5. Sahebzada Md. Rashiduddin, President, Jamiat-ul-Quresh, Delhi ;
6. M. Gulsher Khan, Khilafatist, Berar, and
7. Mr. Mohd. Siddiq, Municipal Commissioner, Delhi.

The resolution, being put to vote, was carried unanimously after which the Conference was dissolved.

The next day after the Conference was over, the following statement was issued by Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah defining the character of the Conference:—

“The Conference had two sittings and, it is a noteworthy feature that in spite of the adverse propaganda and condemnation by interested parties, was attended with much enthusiasm and was so representative that it has not only succeeded in breaking the opposition but has also proved to the world at large that this was a Conference which will go down to history as most representative conference ever held for the purpose of formulating united Muslim demands.

“In order to prove to the hilt that the above version is true to the core, it is necessary to give some of the names of the leading persons who attended the Conference in their representative character and who took an active part in its deliberations. I am glad to say that, after several informal conferences and in spite of the fact that the extreme points of view were pressed by the leaders of various organisations and parties inside and outside, under the wise presidentship of His Highness Sir Agha Khan it was found possible to put forward a resolution which satisfied the demands of all those schools of thought which were represented at the Conference. The chief feature of the Conference was goodwill and harmony throughout the discussions, and it naturally resulted in a unity among all sections of the Muslim community.

“The following are names of gentlemen who attended the Conference in their representative capacity:—

Sir Mahomed Shafi, President, All-India Muslim League, Lahore.

Maulana Mahomed Ali, President, Central Khilafat Committee.

Mufti Kifayatullah, President, Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind.

Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Leader of Central Muslim Party, Legislative Assembly.

Maulvi Mohd. Yakub, Deputy-President, Legislative Assembly.

Mufti Md. Sadiq, Leader of Ahmediyas of Qadian.

Sahebzada Md. Rashiduddin, President, Jamiat-ul-Quresh, Delhi.

Maulvi Mohd. Masud, Leader of Bazme Sufia.

Maulvi Abdur Raof, Secretary, Zea-ul-Islam, Bombay.

Maulvi Anis Ahmed, Secretary, All India Muslim Federation.

Nawab Syed Mehdi Hason, Secretary, All-India Shia Conference, Lucknow.

I. S. Haji, Bar-at-Law, President, Young Men's Muslim Association, Bombay.

Maulana Azad Sobhani, Head of the Ruhaneat movement.

Maulana Md. Sajjad, Nayab Amir-i-Shariat, Behar.

Maulvi Jan Mahomed, President, Frontier Khilafat Committee.

Mir Mohd. Balooch, President, Khilafat Committee, Sindh,

“Then there were elected delegates from all Provinces numbering about 150. It is interesting to observe that not less than 25 members of the Council of the Jinnah League participated in the Conference and were a party to its resolutions. All Muslim members of the Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly of which Mr. Jinnah is the leader were amongst the conveners, and apart from two or three who sent messages of sympathy and who could not attend in person all others took an active part in making the Conference a success.

“In conclusion, I must mention for the benefit of all those who refused to participate in the Conference that the Central Khilafat Committee, Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind and the Lahore All-India Muslim League sent their quota of representatives. Besides these, about 100 members of the legislatures out of the total of 210 invited attended the Conference.

“I desire to express my cordial thanks particularly to Maulvi Mahomed Shafee Daoodi who, on behalf of the conveners, toured all over the country for this purpose and Maulana Shaukat Ali for his energetic co-operation and propaganda in favour of this Conference. I also desire to express my thanks to Hakim Md. Jameel Khan, the Chairman and members of the Reception Committee for the splendid arrangements they had made for the Conference.”

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THE AUTHOR OF THIS REPORT



Mr. Hafizur Rahman, B.A., Sole Proprietor and Editor of the English "Aligarh Mail," Aligarh.

Appendices.

APPENDIX A.

The following members of the Central Legislature and Provincial Legislative Councils were invited to attend the Conference:—

Members of the Council of State.

1. The Honourable Nawab Malik Mohd. Hayat Khan, Off. Commissioner, Ambala Division, Ambala.

2. The Hon'ble Prince Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza Muhammad Akram Hussain Bahadur, 7, Elliot Road, Calcutta.

3. The Hon'ble Col. Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Kalra, Dist. Shahpur.

4. The Hon'ble Major Nawab Mohamed Akbar Khan, C.I.E., Khan of Hoti, Hoti Mardan, N.-W. F. P.

5. The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim H. Jaffer, Kt., Haroon Mansion, Poona Cantonment.

6. The Hon'ble Mr. Ali Baksh Mohammad Hussain, Vice-President, Municipality, Shikarpur, Sindh.

7. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Moulvi Abdul Karim, Comilla, P.O., Dist. Tippera (East Bengal).

8. The Hon'ble Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy, Midnapur (Bengal).

9. The Hon'ble Nawab Sahibzada Sayed Mohammad Mehr Shah, Jalalpur, Kiknan, P. O., Dist. Jhelum (Punjab).

10. Hon. Syed Muhammad Padsha Sahib Bahadur.

11. Hon. Nawab Sir Mohamed Muzzammil Ullah Khan, of Bhikampur (Aligarh Dist.)

12. Hon. Maharajah Sir Muhammed Ali Md. Khan of Mahmudabad.

13. Hon. Shah Muhammad Zubair.

14. Hon. Moulvi Ghulam Mustafa Choudhry.

15. Hon. Raja Nawab Ali Khan of Akbarpur.

Members of the Legislative Assembly.

16. Muhammad Yamin Khan Esqr., M.L.A., Junnūt Nishan, Meerut.

17. Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, K.C.I.E., M.L.A., Peshawar.

18. Moulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, M.L.A. Trichinopoly, Madras Presidency.

19. Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A., Napier Road, Karachi.

20. Wadero Wahidbakhsh Illahbakhsh Bhuto Esqr., M.L.A., P.O. Pirbuz-Bhuto Via Naodera, N.-W. R., Dist. Larkana (Sind).

21. A. H. Ghuznavi Esqr., M.L.A., 18, Canal Street, Entally, Calcutta.

22. Haji Chaudhry Md. Ismail Khan, M.L.A., Barisal (Bengal).

23. K. Ahmed Esqr., M.L.A., 7, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

24. Moulvi Mohammad Yakub, M.L.A., Pleader, Judge's Court, Muhalla Moghalpura, Moradabad.

25. M. Yusuf Iman Esqr., M.L.A., Mirzapur.

26. Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Kt., C. S. I., M. L. A., Zarafshan, Ferozepore Road, Lahore.

27. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, M.L.A., Pind Dadan Khan, Dist. Jhelum (Punjab).

28. Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Sayid Ashra-fuddin Ahmad, C. I. E., M. L. A., Nawab Kothi, P.O. Barh, Patna.

29. Moulana Md. Abdul Latif Sahib Bahadur Farookhi, M. L. A., Editor, The Azad Hind (Urdu Daily), Royapettah, Madras.

30. Khan Bahadur Haji Abdullah Haji Kasim, M.L.A., Udipi, South Kanara Dist., (Madras Presidency.)

31. Wadero Mahomed Panah Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan Esqr., M. L. A., Zamindar & Special Magistrate, P. O. Dakhan, Dist. Sukkur, Sind, N.-W. Ry.

32. Mahomad Rafique Esqr., M.L.A., 19, Zakariah Street, Calcutta.

33. Dr. A. Suhrawardy, M.L.A., 56, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

34. Md. Anwarul Azim Esqr., M.L.A., "Bacolia House," Chittagong.

35. Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, M. L. A., Mustafa Castle, Meerut.

36. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai Esqr., M.L.A., 14, South Molak, Allahabad.

37. Mian Abdul Haye, M.L.A., Azmat Munzil, Ludhiana (Punjab).

38. Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz, M. L. A., 3, Begum Road, Lahore.

39. Sayyed Hussain Shah, M. L. A., Rajoa, P. O., Tahsil Ghania, Dist. Jhang (Punjab.)

40. Khan Bahadur Makhdum Sayed Rajan Baksh Shah, M.L.A., Darbar Pir Sahib, inside Pak Gate, Multan City.

41. Lt. Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan, M.L.A., Kot Fateh Khan, Dist. Attock, (Punjab).

42. Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hosain Khan, M. L. A., Patna City.

43. Moulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi, M.L.A. c/o The Qaumi Press Ltd., P.O. Bankipore (Patna.)

44. Abdul Qadir Siddiqi Esqr., M. L. A., Pleader, Burhanpur, C.P.

45. Moulvi Abdul Matin Chaudhury, M. L. A., Bhadeswar, P. O., Dist. Sylhet, Assam.

46. Mr. Fozul Ibrahim Rahमतullah, M. L. A.

47. Mr. Mahomed Ali-Jinnah.

48. Mr. Tasadduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani, M. L. A.

49. Dr. L. K. Hyder, M.L.A.

50. Moulvi Badiuz Zaman, M.L.A.

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Board, Thar and Parkar, Mirpurkhas.

Khan Saheb Ghulam Mahomed Abdulla
Khan Isran, M. L. C., Vice-President, District
Board, Larkana (Sind)

Khan Bahadur Haji Imambaksh Ghulam
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Muhammad Khadir Mohidin Sahib Bahadur,
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Mubammad Sahanmad Sahib Bahadur, M.L.C.,
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President, Municipal Committee, Hinganghat, C P.

Muhammad Sharfuddin Esqr., M.L.C., Pleader,
Amraoti.

Members of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council

Maulvi Saiyyid Mubarak Ali Sahib, P. O.
Khujwa, Saran

Saiyyid Abdul Aziz Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Patna.
Khan Bahadur Saiyyid Muhammad Husain,
Dariapur, P. O. Pankipur, Patna.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Wahab Khan, Ratan
House, Monghyr.

Maulvi Saiyyid Muhammad Nurul Huda,
Alamchand Bazar, Cuttack.

Khan Bahadur Muhammad Jan, Government
Pleader, Loharpatti, Motihari, Champaran.

Maulvi Abdul Hamid Khan, Vakil, Village
Siso, P. O. Darbhanga.

Haji Muhammad Bux Chaudhri Esqr., Saifganj,
P. O. Katihar, Purnea.

Khan Bahadur Saiyyid M. Naim, Bar-at-Law,
Exhibition Road, Patna

Saiyyid Muhammad Athar Husain Esqr.
Bar-at-Law, Patna.

Khan Bahadur Shah M. Yahya, Dilawarpur,
Monghyr.

Chaudhri Muhammad Nazirul Hasan, Bakhtiar
pur, P. O. Makhanabazar, Monghyr.

Saiyyid Moin-ud-din Mirza Esqr., Khagra, P. O.
Kishanganj, Purnea.

Maulvi Muhammad Ishaque, Mukhtar,
Sitamarhi.

Maulvi Abdul Ghani, P.O. Siwan, Saran.

Qazi Ahmad Hussain, Village Makhdoompur-
Konibar, P. O. Nurhut, Gaya.

Members of the Assam Legislative Council.

Maulvi Arzan Ali Mazumdar, P. O. Malugram,
Silchar.

The Hon'ble Maulvi Abdul Hamid, Pathantola,
Sylhet.

Maulvi Abdul Hamid Chaudhuri, Rankeli P. O.
Golapgunj, Sylhet.

Maulvi Munawwar Ali, Sunamganj.

Khan Bahadur Haji Mohammad Bakht Musam-
dar, Sylhet, Mazumdari, P. O. Sylhet.

Moulvi Sayed Samiur Rahman, village and P. O. Ramsiri, Sylhet.

Moulvi Mahmud Ali, Karimganj.

Khan Saheb Moulvi Mohammad Abdul Latif, M. B. E., P. O. Mankachar, Goalpara.

Moulvi Mizanur Rahman, Goalpara.

The Hon'ble Sir Saiyid Muhammad Saadullah, Kt., Shillong.

Moulvi Karamat Ali, Jorhat.

Moulvi Ali Haidar Khan, Vill. and P. O. Prithimpassa, South Sylhet.

Members of the U. P. Legislative Council.

Zahur Ahmad Esqr., Bar-at-Law, 1, Canning Road, Allahabad.

Muhammad Abdul Bari Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Meerut.

Saiyid Tufail Ahmad Esqr., Saharanpur.

Lt. Nawab Mohammad Jamsheq Ali Khan, M. B. E., Baghpat, Meerut.

Hafiz Md. Ibrahim Esqr., B. A. LL. B., Vakil, Mohalla Kazian, Nagina Distt. Bijnor.

Shaikh Abdullah Esqr., Vakil, Aligarh.

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, B. A., Bar-at-Law, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.

Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ismail Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Gorakhpur.

Khan Bahadur Sh. Ghulam Husain, Ganeshpur, Basti.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Jafer Husain, Bar-at-Law, Moradabad.

Khan Bahadur Sh. Saiyid Muhammad *alias* Maiku Mian, Shaikhupur, Distt. Budaun.

Sh. Md. Habib Ullah Esqr., O. B. E. Mahmudabad, Distt. Sitapur.

Raja Saiyid Ahmad Ali Khan Alyi, O. B. E. 25, Kaisarbagh, Lucknow.

Mirza Muhammad Sajjad Ali Khan, Sheesh Mahal, Lucknow.

Khan Sahib Haji Abdul Qayyum, Hony. Assistant Collector, Patkapur, Cawnpore.

Moulvi Zahur-ud-din, B. A., LL. B., Khwaja Kutub, Bareilly.

K. B. Sh. Zia-ul-Haq, Chairman, Municipal Board, Deoband.

Nawabzada Md. Liaqat Ali Khan, Bar-at-Law, Karnal, the Punjab.

K. B. Lt. Nawabzada Abdus Sami Khan, Talibnagar, Aligarh.

K. B. Moulvi Muhammad Obaid-ur-Rahman Khan, Habibganj, Tahsil. Atrauli, Distt. Aligarh.

Moulvi Saiyid Habibullah, Bar-at-Law, Orai, Distt. Jalaun.

Hon. Nawab Muhammad Yusuf, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.

Khan Bahadur Shah Badre Alam, Asad Manzil, Ghazipur.

Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, M.A., Litt. D., F. B. H. S., Professor of History, Allahabad University, 25, Stanley Road, Allahabad.

Khan Bahadur Moulvi Muhammad Fazlur-Rahman Khan, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, Usman Bagh, Shahjahanpur.

Khan Bahadur Moulvi Fasih-ud-din, Farshol Tola, Budaun.

Khwaja Khalil Ahmad Shah, Bahraich.

Matin-ud-din Esqr., Advocate, Bara Banki

Muhammad Habib Esqr., Professor, Muslim University, Nili Chatri, Aligarh.

Khan Bahadur Masud-ul-Hasan, Bar-at-Law Moradabad.

APPENDIX B

The following Muslim leaders were invited to attend the Conference :—

1. Sir Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law, Patna.
2. Hasan Imam Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Patna.
3. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Calcutta.
4. Seth Yakub Hasan, Madras.
- * 5. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Patna.
- * 6. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Aligarh.
7. Dr. M. A. Ansari, Delhi.
8. S. A. Brelvi Esqr. Editor, the "Bombay Chronicle", Bombay.

* He attended the Conference.

APPENDIX C.

The following representatives of the Central Khilafat Committee of Bombay were invited to attend the Conference :—

1. Moulana Mohamed Ali.
2. Moulana Shaukat Ali.
3. Moulana Abdul Majid Badauni.
4. Moulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi.
5. Haji Musa Khan of Aligarh.

6. Begum Mohamed Ali.
7. Moulana Azad Sobhani,
8. Moulana Badr-ul-Hason Jalali.
9. Moulvi Mohamed Jaffri.
10. Syed Lal Badshah.
11. Moulvi Gulsher Khan.
12. Syed Rauf Pasha of Madras.
13. Hafiz Mohamed Usman
14. Sheikh Abdul Majeed.
15. Dr. Maghfoor Ahmed Biharee.
16. Seth Hashim Abdur Rahman of Calcutta.
17. Khwaja Ghiasuddin of Calcutta.
18. Sheikh Elahi Baksh, Muzaffarpur.
19. Mohammed Siddique, Muzaffarpur.
20. Moulana Abdul Mohasin Md. Sajjad.

APPENDIX D.

The following representatives of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, Delhi, were invited to attend the Conference :—

1. Moulana Mufti Mohamad Kifayat Ullah Sahib, President, Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, Delhi.
2. Moulana Ahmad Said Sahib, Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, Delhi.
3. Moulvi Umar Daraz Beg Sahib, Prince Road, Muradabad.
4. Moulana Abdul Halim Sahib Siddiqi, Adib, Nadwatul Ulama, Lucknow.
5. Moulana Husain Ahmad Sahib Madani, Darul Ulum, Deoband.
6. Moulana Abul Mohasin Mohammad Sajjad Sahib, Naib Amir-ul-Shariat, Subah Behar, Phulwari Shariff.
7. Moulvi Abdus Samad Sahib Rahmani, Jame Masjid, Monghyr, Behar.
8. Moulvi Munir Uzzaman Khan Sahib Islamabadi, No. 47-1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.
9. Moulvi Shaiq Ahmad Sahib Usmani, Editor Akhbar "Nai Dunya", Calcutta.
10. Moulvi Sakhawat-ul-Ambia Sahib, Sylhet, Assam.
11. Sahibzadah Fazal Ahmad Sahib Samdani, Peshawar.
12. Moulana Ahmad Ali Sahib, Nazim, Anjuman Khuddamuddin, Sheranwala Darwaza, Lahore.
13. Moulana Habibur Rahman, Sadr, Khilafat Committee, Ludhiana.
14. Moulvi Mohammad Shafi Sahib Ansari, Ferangi Mahal, Lucknow.
15. Moulvi Abul Zia Riazunnur Sahib, Post No. 3, Masjid Minarwali, Bombay.

16. Moulana Moiauddin Sahib, Dargah Bazar, Ajmer Shariff.
17. Moulana Mohammad Fazal Ullah Sahib, Waninbari, Madras.
18. Moulvi Hakim Mohammad Ibrahim Sahib, Randir District, Surat.
19. Moulvi Mohammad Yasin Sahib, Madresa Hanafiah, Raipur, C. P.
20. Moulvi Mubarak Husain Sahib, Nazim, Darul-Ulum, Jame Masjid, Meerut.

APPENDIX E.

The following representatives of the All-India Muslim League, Lahore, were invited to attend the Conference :—

1. Moulvi Mahbub Alam, Editor and Proprietor, "Paisa Akhbar", Lahore.
2. Moulvi Ghulam Muhyuddin, Advocate Lahore.
3. Sheikh Azimullah, Esq., Advocate and Municipal Commissioner, Lahore.
4. Syed Habib Esqr., Editor, "Siasat", Lahore.
5. Mian Amiruddin Esqr., Advocate and Municipal Commissioner, Lahore.
6. Syed Mohsin Shah Esqr., Advocate, Lahore.
7. Chaudhri Abdul Ghani, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
8. Mian Muhammad Rafi Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
9. K. S. Mian Haji Nawaz, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
10. Khan Saheb Khwaja Gul Muhammad, Advocate, Ferozpur City.
11. Sheikh Hafizullah Esqr., Advocate and Municipal Commissioner, Amritsar.
12. M. Abul Aziz Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Peshawar.
13. Mir Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Advocate, Ambala City.
14. Mian Abdul Aziz Esqr., Bar-at-law, Lahore.
15. Sheikh Muhammad Bakhsh Esqr., Advocate, Multan City.
16. Qazi Nazir Ahmad, Wakil, Rawalpindi.
17. Mian Hissamuddin Esqr., Hony. Magistrate & Municipal Commissioner, Amritsar.
18. Sir Mian Mohd. Shafi, Lahore.
19. Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
20. Ghulam Rasool Mahr Esqr., Editor, "Inqilab," Lahore.

APPENDIX F

The following gentlemen were invited from various provinces of the country to attend the Conference as delegates :—

Delhi

1. Hakim Md. Jamil Khan.
2. Khan Bahadur Nawab Sheikh Waheed-uddin.
3. Nawab Haji Mohamed Fariduddin
4. Moulana Abdul Majid Badauni.
5. Khwaja Ghulam Sibtain.
6. Haji Abdul Ghani Saheb.
7. Aminuddin Saheb, Vakil.
8. Moulana Mohamed Sahib Junagarhi, Editor "Mohamedi"
9. Syed Raza Mirza Saheb, Vakil.
10. Hafiz Mohd. Siddique Multani.
11. Shamsul Ulama Moulana Syed Ahmed Saheb, Imam, Jame Masjid.
12. Nawab Abul Hasan Khan.
13. Moulana Mazheruddin.
14. Khan Saheb Master Mohamed Fazluddin Saheb, B. A.
15. Mirza E'jaz Hosain, Vakil.
16. Rashiduddin Saheb, Vakil.
17. Sheikh Mohd. Siddiq Saheb, Vakil.
18. Babu E'jaz Hosain.
19. Khan Saheb Haji Mohd. Yusuf Paenwaley.
20. Hakim Amjad Ali.

Behar and Orissa

1. Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Mohd. Ismail, Patna.
2. Moulvi Najmul Huda, Bankipur.
3. Moulvi Noor Mohamed, Bankipur.
4. Moulvi Shah Mohd. Ameer, Gaya.
5. Moulvi Syed Abul Fareh, Muzafferpur.
6. Moulvi Ghulam Mohamed, Bankipur.
7. Moulvi Syed Manzar Ali, Bankipur.
8. Mohamed Sharif Esqr., Bar-at Law, Purnea.
9. Moulvi Manzur Ahsan E'jazi, Muzafferpur.
10. Moulvi Muzaffer Hosain, Patna.
11. Moulvi Md. Ismail Khan, Patna.
12. Moulvi Syed Swaleh Hosain, Saran.
13. Moulvi Syed Masood Ahmed, Patna.
14. Moulvi Latifur Rahman, Gaya.
15. Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohd. Saqi, Vakil, Patna.

16. Moulvi Hakim Khalil Ahmed.
17. Dr. Syed Mahmud, Bar-at-Law, Chhapra.
18. Moulvi Syed Shah Abdul Majeed, Patna.
19. Moulvi Mohd. Saib, Bankipur.
20. Mohd. Shafi Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Darbhanga.

The U. P.

1. Moulana Hasrat Mohani, Cawnpore.
2. M. Moshier Husain Qidwai, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.
3. Moulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Azamgarh
4. K. B. Nawab Mehdi Husan Rizvi, Lucknow.
5. Haji Musa Khan, Rais, Aligarh.
6. Moulana Qutbuddin Abdul Wali, Firangi Mahel, Lucknow.
7. Dr. Abdul Karim, Benares.
8. Begum Hasrat Mohani, Cawnpore.
9. Moulana Azad Subhani, Cawnpore.
10. Syed Bakir Ali Sahib, Akbrabad, Cawnpore.
11. Rao Abdul Hameed Khan, Chairman, District Board, Muzaffarnagar.
12. Bhaiya Haji Bashiduddin, Rais, Lalkurti, Meerut.
13. Moulana Wilayat Hussain Sahib, Bahadur-Ganj, Allahabad.
14. Amir Hasan Khan Sahib, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Fatehpur.
15. Mr. Sardar Ali Sabiri, Journalist, Cawnpore
16. Masud-ur-Rahman Nodvi, Philibhit.
17. Moulana Mufti Nisar Ahmad, Agra.
18. Mr. Md. Bashir, Bar-at-Law, Cawnpore.
19. Haji Abul Rashid Sahib, Allahabad.
20. Khwaja Abdus Salam, Editor, the "Sadaqat", Cawnpore.

Assam

1. Sir Syed Saadullah, Minister of Education, Shillong.
2. Moulvi Faiznur Ali, Vakil, Dibrugarh.
3. Moulvi Karamat Ali, M.L.C., Jorhat.
4. Khan Saheb Nuruddin, Nowgong.
5. Tayyabullah Esqr., Vakil, Gauhati.
6. Tafazzul Hosain Hazarika Esqr., Jorhat.
7. Dewan Amir, Ali Esqr., Merchant, Dhubri.
8. Khan Saheb Rashid Ali Laskar, Vakil, Silchar.
9. Moulvi Mazaraf Ali, Hailakandi, Dist. Cachar.

10. Md. Abdullah Esqr., Vakil, Sylhet.
11. Sirajuddin Chaudhury, Vakil, Sylhet.
12. Hon. Moulvi Abdul Hamid, President, Assam Legislative Council, Sylhet.
13. Mr. Mujammil Ali, Secretary, Provincial Khilafat Committee, Sylhet.
14. Mr. Sakhawatul Ambia, Secretary, Provincial Tabligh Committee, Sylhet.
15. Mr. S. A. T. Abdul Wasey, B.A., Secretary, Anjuman Islamia, Sylhet.
16. Moulvi Asaduddin Chaudhury, Vakil, Karimganj, Sylhet.
17. Mr. Mohd. Yusuf, Vakil, Moulvi Bazar, Sylhet.
18. Mr. Nurul Hosain, Pleader, Habibganj, Sylhet.
19. Mr. Munawwar Ali, M.L.C., Sonamganj, Sylhet.
20. Moulvi Abdul Musabbir Sahib, Sylhet.

The Punjab.

1. Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura, Karnal.
2. Nawab Liakat Ali Khan, Karnal.
3. Khan Bahadur Abdul Ghani, Pleader, Karnal.
4. Qazi Mahboob Alam, Jullunder.
5. Mufti Mohamed Sadiq, Foreign Secretary, Qadian.
6. Ghulam Rasul Mehr Esqr., Editor, 'Inqilab', Lahore.
7. Chaudri Mahomed Fateh Esqr., M. A., Mochi Gate, Lahore.
8. Khan Ihsan Ali Khan, Rais, Maler Kotla State.
9. Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana, Lahore.
10. Mian Mahomed Sharif Esqr., Merchant, Amritsar.
11. Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan, Karnal.
12. Nawab Umar-daraz Ali Khan, Karnal.
13. Mian Abdul Haye, M.L.A., Pleader, Ludhiana.
14. Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, Head of the Ahmediya Sect, Qadian.
15. Abdul Majid Salik Esqr., Editor, "Inqilab," Lahore.
16. Chaudhri Din Mahomed Esqr., Rais, Lahore.
17. Sahibzada Rashid Ali Khan, Lahore.
18. Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
19. Maulvi Syed Hamid Ali, Lahore.
20. Syed Muttalabi, Rais, Faridabad,

N-W F Province.

1. Khan Ghulam Rabban Khan, B. A., LL. B. Mansehra.
2. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, B. A., LL. B., Sufaida, Mansehra.
3. Khan Mohd. Sarwar Khan, B. A., LL. B., Haripur.
4. K. S. Qazi Mir Ahmad Khan, B. A., LL. B., Peshawar.
5. Qazi Mohd. Aslam Khan, B. A., LL. B., Peshawar.
6. Sardar Mohd. Aurangzeb Khan, B. A., LL. B., Peshawar.
7. Khan Mohd. Ibrahim Khan, B. A., LL. B., Peshawar.
8. Syed Qasim Shah, B. A., LL. B., Charsadda.
9. Khan Sultan Mohd. Khan, M. A., LL. B., Mardan.
10. Khan Fateh Mohd. Khan, M. A., LL. B., Nowshera.
11. Nawabzada Azizullah Khan, Bar-at-law, Nowshera.
12. Syed Mohd Ashraf, Pleader, Kohat.
13. Qazi Ghulam Mohyuddin, B. A., LL. B., Kohat.
14. Mr. Lutfullah Khan, B. A., LL. B., Bannu.
15. Mr. Mohd. Jan Khan, Bar-at-Law, Bannu.
16. Khan Mohd. Nawaz Khan, B. A., LL. B., Bannu.
17. Nawab Saifullah Khan Sahib, D.I. Khan.
18. Sardar Mohd. Gul Khan, Gandapur, Kulachi. (D. I. Khan).
19. K. B. Abdur Rahim Khan, Bar-at-Law, Gul Imam, Tank. (D. I. Khan).
20. Mr. Ahmad Ali Qureshi, M. A., LL. B., B. T., (D. I. Khan.)

Bombay.

1. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
2. Mirza Ali Md, Khan, Bombay.
3. Kazi Kabiruddin, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.
4. K. B. Md. Ismail Curtay.
5. Haji Ali Mohd. Jalaluddin, Islampura.
6. Fateh Md. Munshi, Editor, "Insaf" Islampur.
7. Moulvi Abdul Rauf.
8. K. Bahadur Sheikh Ali Bakza, Adenwala.
9. S. Meherbuksh, Bombay.
10. Haji Fateh Md. Haji Md, Maniar.
11. Husain Badruddin Tyabji, Bombay.

12. Haji Noor Md. Ahmed
13. Saïdar Suleman Cassim Metha,
14. I. S. Haji, Bar-at-Law, Chowpatty, Bombay.
15. Mr. Ahmed Abidin Peirbhoy.
16. Mr. Salehbohy Karimji Barodawalla.
17. Mr. Hassin Haji Allarakhir.
18. Mr. Azis Gafoor Kazi.
19. Mr. Gulam Husain Bundeali Sowji.
20. Mr. Mahomedali Allabux.

Bengal.

1. Alhaj Sir Abdul Karim Ghusnavi, Kt. M. L. C., Calcutta.
2. Sir Abdul Rahim, K. C. S. I., M. L. C., Calcutta.
3. The Hon'ble Nawab Musharruf Hussain, Khan Bahadur, Calcutta.
4. Moulvi Abul Kasem, M. L. C., Calcutta.
5. Moulvi A. K. Fuzl-ul-Huq, M. L. C. Calcutta.
6. Nawab Khwaja Habibullah, M. L. C., Dacca.
7. Khwaja Nasimuddin Esqr., O. I. E., Dacca.
8. Khan Bahadur Kazimuddin Ahmed Siddiqi, Dacca.
9. Dr. A. Suhrawardy, M. L. A., Bar-at-Law, Member, Central Committee, Statutory Commission.
10. Haji Chowdury Md. Ismail Khan, M. L. A., Barisal.
11. Khan Bahadur K. G. M., Faroqui, M. L. C., Calcutta.
12. Rasaur Rahman Khan Esqr., M. L. C., Calcutta.
13. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Emanuddin Ahmed, M. L. C., Rajshahi.
14. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Abdus Salam.
15. Khan Bahadur Hemayetuddin Ahmed, B. L., Barisal.
16. Khan Bahadur Alimuzzaman Chowdbury, Faridpur.
17. Mirza Mahomed Ali Nakey, Calcutta.
18. Amir of Ahmedia Community, Calcutta.
19. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Moulvi Abdul Karim, M. C. S., Tipperah.
20. The Hon'ble Prince Afsur-ul-Mulk Mirza Mohamed Akram Husain Bahadur, M. C. S., Calcutta.

Madras.

1. Moulana Haji Khan Bahadur Ziauddin Mohammed Saheb, Madras.

2. Sowcar A. Abdul Karim Saheb, G. T. Madras.
3. Sowcar Mohd. Ali Saheb Bahadur, Madras.
4. Khan Bahadur Maulana Nawab Tajummul Hosain Saheb, Madras.
5. Mohd. Maozsum Ali Esqr., Advocate, Madras.
6. Md. Mukarram Esqr. Advocate, Madras.
7. Khan Bahadur Md. Sadullah Badsha Sahib Bahadur, Madras.
8. Nawab Md. Abdus Salam Saheb Bahadur, Madras.
9. Nawab Md. Abdul Haq Saheb Bahadur.
10. Khan Bahadur Mir Mugharuddin Sahib Bahadur, Madras.
11. Dr. Anwaruddin Sahib Bahadur, Advocate, Madras.
12. Khan Bahadur H. M. A. Khudus Bahadur Saheb, Madras.
13. Moulvi Hakim Haji Syed Makhdoom Ashraf Sahib, Madras.
14. Khan Sahib Dr. Mohamed Abdullah, G. T. Madras.
15. Moulvi Mohamed Saeed Saheb
16. Moulvi Hakim Mohd. Saeed Chowdhar, Madras.
17. Moulvi Syed Abdul Kadir Saheb Fakhri
18. Syed Murtaza Saheb Bahadur, M. L. A.

The Central Provinces.

1. Syed Abdur Raoofshah, B. A., LL. B.
2. Syed Muzaffur Husain, Pleader, Amraoti, Berar.
3. Mr. Abus Sattar, Pleader, Akola.
4. Nawab Khalilullah, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Buldana.
5. Mr. Samiulla Khan, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Nagpur.
6. Nawab Niyazuddin Khan, Nagpur.
7. Mr. Abdur Rahim Khan, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Balaghat.
8. Mr. Abdul Jubbar Khan, Seoni.
9. Azam Khan Saheb, Chindwada.
10. Seth Abdulla Isz Esqr., General Merchant, Itarsi.
11. Moulvi Chiraguddin Hakeem, Saugar.
12. Syed Abdul Hadi, Jubbulpore.
13. Mohammed Akbar Khan Sahib, Bilaspur.
14. Masud Ali Khan Sahib, Sargaon.
15. Moulvi Hamed Ali Saheb, Raipur.
16. Mr. Abdus Salam, Bar-at-Lw, Raipura.

17. Mr. Mohammed Ahmed, B. A., LL. B.,
Leader, Narsinghpur.
18. Abdus Samad Saheb, Burhanpur.
19. Tajuddin Saheb, Jubbulpore.
20. Mir Ghulam Yasin Khan Saheb, Kam-
gaon.

Sindh.

1. Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon, M. L. A.,
Karachi.
2. Haji Aminuddin Najmuddin, Member,
Hyderabad Municipality, Hyderabad.
3. Kazi Abdul Kayyum Saheb, Member and
Ex-President, Hyderabad Municipality, Hyderabad.
4. Abdul Hamid Khudadad Khan Sahib,
Ex-M.L.A., Member, Sukkur Municipality and
District Local Board, Sukkur.
5. Khan Sahib Noor Mahomed Khan, Presi-
dent, Jacobabad Municipality, Jacobabad.
6. Rais Dur Mahomed Sahib, P. O. Dodapur.
7. Mian Alimahomed Sahib Khero, Big
Zamindar.

APPENDIX G

The following leaders of the various Muslim political parties were invited to the Conference and it is noteworthy that all of them were present in it :—

1. Sir Mahomed Shafi, President, Muslim League, Lahore.
2. Moulana Mahomed Ali, Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay.
3. Mufti Khifayatullah, Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind.
4. Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan, Leader, Central Muslim Party.
5. Maulvi Mahomed Yakub, Dy. President, Legislative Assembly.
6. Mufti Mahomed Sadiq, Leader, Ahmadiyya Association.
7. Sahibzada Rashiduddin, President, Jamiatul Quresh.
8. Maulana Mahomed Masud, Leader, Buzme Shufia.
9. Maulvi Abdur Raof, Secretary, Zeaul Islam, Bombay.
10. Maulvi Anis Ahmed, All India Muslim Federation.
11. Nawab Sayed Mehdi Hason, Secretary, B. S. Conference.

12. Mr. I. S. Haji, President, Young Men's Muslim Association, Bombay.
13. Maulana Azad Sobhani, Head of the Roohaniat Movement.
14. Naib Amir-i-Shariat, Behar.
15. Maulvi Janmahomed, President, Frontier Khilafat Committee.
16. Mir Mahomed Baluch, President, Sind Khilafat Committee.

APPENDIX H

SECRETARY'S INVITATION TO
MR. JINNAH.

The following is the text of a letter of Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, Secretary, All India Muslim Conference, dated November 16, to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League (Jinnah section) :—

“As per resolution of the conveners of the All India Muslim Conference, I beg to request you to send to me the names and addresses of 20 members to represent your League at the Conference which is to be held on December 31 at Delhi to enable me to issue the necessary invitations to them. Please include the names of those who will represent your provincial organisations. I may add for your information that all members of the Council of State, Legislative Assembly and all Provincial Legislative Councils are being sent direct invitations as such members. Kindly send your reply at an early date.”

The following printed letter was sent to Mr. Jinnah by Mr. F. I. Rahmatullah, Secretary, All India Muslim Conference.

“On behalf of the conveners, I hereby invite you to attend the All India Muslim Conference which will be held in Delhi under the presidentship of His Highness the Aga Khan on Monday 31st December, 1928, at 11 A. M. in the Fatehpuri Hall, Chandni Chowk, to consider the Nehru Report. Kindly send your reply to Hakim

Mohamed Jamil Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who is in charge of all arrangements. I need not add that this is a critical juncture in the history of the Musalmans and it is the duty of every Muslim to contribute towards reaching decisions so vitally affecting the interests of his community. I sincerely trust that you will make every endeavour to attend even at a little personal inconvenience. I enclose herewith a card of admission which may be sent back in case you are unable to attend. Please note that it is not transferable."

Mr. Jinnah's Reply.

Replying to the above two letters, Mr. Jinnah wrote as follows to Mr. F. I. Rahmatullah :—

"I am in receipt of your printed letter without any date and also your similar letter to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League which is forwarded to me to deal with it as the President of the All India Muslim League. In the first place, the representatives of the Muslim League can only be appointed by the All India Muslim League, which cannot be done until the session of the League which is fixed for the 26th, 27th and 28th December takes place, but before you expect the All India Muslim League or me to participate in the proposed Conference, you will admit that we should have some definite idea as to what procedure the conveners propose to adopt and how will a decision be taken in the event of there being a difference and particularly the method of voting in case of difference. Unless these matters are placed before me in detail, it is not possible to consider the exact usefulness of the proposed Conference.

"Further, your letter says vaguely that the Conference will consider the Nehru Report. I should like to know whether the conveners of the proposed Conference have formulated any definite proposals with

regard to the Nehru Report which will be placed before the Conference for consideration. I would like to draw the attention of the conveners that in any case the date fixed *viz.*, 31st December, is not likely to secure the attendance of a large body of men who will be in Calcutta during the Christmas week. My experience is that after the 30th and 31st of December, it is not possible for people to continue as they have to return to their respective provinces to attend to their respective business, as holidays then terminate and, therefore, the date is most inconvenient.

"In conclusion, I want to make it clear that I do not accept that there is any reason or occasion, at any rate at present, for a move such as was thought of by the conveners in August last, and I think that every body should rally round the All India Muslim League.

"Please let me have an early reply as regards these matters which I have brought to your notice so as to enable me to place your letter with full details before the next session of the All India Muslim League for their decision."

**Mr. Fazal I. Rahmatullah's Letter
to Mr. Jinnah.**

The following letter dated Bombay, November 29, was addressed by Mr. Fazal I. Rahmatullah, Secretary, All-India Muslim Conference, to Mr. M. A. Jinnah :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th instant in reply to my two letters—one inviting you to the All India Muslim Conference as a member of the Legislative Assembly and the other addressed to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League to send to me the names of 20 representatives of the League for this Conference. You have asked for information on certain points in connection with the Conference which I have much pleasure in supplying to you,

"The conveners of the Conference have decided to invite about 600 representatives belonging to all schools of thought. The composition of the Conference will be as follows :—

"All non-official Muslim members of all Provincial Councils and the Central Legislature.

"Twenty Muslim representatives from each of the following organisations :—

- a. The All-India Muslim League, Calcutta.
- b. The All-India Muslim League, Lahore.
- c. The All-India Khilafat Conference.
- d. The All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulama Conference.

"Twenty Muslim representatives from each of the provinces of India.

"In addition to these, other leading Muslims such as Dr. Ansari, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Hasan Imam, Mr. Yakub Hasan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad have also been invited.

"As regards the procedure to be adopted at the Conference, I am quoting for your information an extract from a telegram which I have received from H. H. Sir Aga Khan, the President-elect of the Conference, which reads :—

'My object that general consensus of opinion amongst Moslems should lead to national policy which can only come by give and take of all sections of community; please make it as catholic a body as possible.'

"This will give you an idea as to the object with which the Conference has been convened. Every effort will be made to reconcile differences of opinion on the principles of give and take, and it is hoped that the question of voting will not arise. It is universally recognised that in the interests of the political progress of India, it is essentially necessary that Hindu-Muslim unity

should materialise in reality. This is only possible if representatives of the Muslim community as a whole should meet together and formulate their proposals. This Conference has been convened with the object of reaching decisions for promoting real interests of India as a whole of which the Muslim community does not form an unimportant section. The platform thus provided will, it is believed, enable all shades of opinion to meet on a common basis and reach decisions in a spirit of give and take.

"In answer to your question whether the conveners of the proposed Conference have formed definite proposals with regard to the Nehru Report to be placed before the Conference for consideration, I have to inform you that this has not been done and it is not proposed to do so. You are aware that widely different views are held by important sections of the Muslim community in regard to this Report. The conveners do not propose to act in any partisan spirit by committing themselves to any definite line of action.

"Their earnest desire is that all Muslim representatives should meet to examine the problem from all its aspects and by free and frank exchange of views to declare in clear terms the opinion held by the Muslim community as a whole on the subject.

"As regards the date of the proposed Conference, the conveners fixed the 31st December in deference to the wishes of H. H. Sir Aga Khan who, as you know, will preside. This is a critical juncture in the history of the Musalmans and I have in my circular letter already appealed to them to attend even at a little sacrifice.

"I cannot agree with your view that there is at present no need of this Conference. The All-India Muslim League, however important, is only one of the political organisations which will consider the proposals. There are two groups of leading

Muslims each of whom claims to speak in the name of the All-India Muslim League. This Conference is organised with the intention of bringing together on one platform all political organisations in the country and representative Muslims in order to formulate, after mature deliberations, the considered Muslim views on the problem now facing the country.

"In conclusion, I may say that in my opinion a Conference organised on the lines explained is more likely to be able to deliver the goods than any individual organisation, however important.

(Sd.) FAZAL I. RAHIMTOOLA,
Secretary,
All-India Muslim Conference."

APPENDIX I.

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M. L. A. and Secretary, All-India Muslim Conference, issued the following statement in regard to a misleading statement about the Conference which was made by Sir Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad at Lucknow on 2nd October, 1928, in the course of his interview given to a representative of the "Bombay Chronicle."

"As the Secretary of the All-India Muslim Conference, I think it is necessary to reply to the manifesto which the Maharaja of Mahmudabad has issued to the Press. The Maharaja is working under a misapprehension when he says that the Conference is convened by the members of the Central Muslim Party of the Legislative Assembly. Those who have cared to read will notice that the Conference is convened by no less than 38 out of 49 members of the Central Legislature. Amongst the members of the Legislative Assembly convening the Conference are included all the Muslim members of the Independent Party of which

Mr. M. A. Jinnah is President. It also includes no less than four Swarajists. I think it must be clear to all unbiassed persons that the Conference has been convened by representative Muslims who can well claim the right to speak in the name of Muslim India. In further support of this view, I will quote no less an authority than H.H. Sir Aga Khan who has stated in his telegram as follows:-- 'Glad members who alone have, as I explained in my manifesto, right to speak in name of Muslim India taking responsible leadership.'

"I may venture to point out there has been wide political awakening amongst the Muslims since the Lucknow Pact of 1916, and it is not possible for a few men, however eminent, to commit the community to any agreement or pact.

"As regards the charge of being in a hurry, I will point out why it was considered necessary to announce immediately the decision of holding this Conference. The Nehru Report has received wide publicity and strenuous propaganda is being carried on by its supporters. It was, therefore, the obvious duty of the Muslims who did not agree with it to come forward to express their views, as otherwise their case was likely to go by default. It was to provide a common platform to all representative men that the announcement had to be promptly made to hold the Conference.

"The Maharaja cannot be unaware of the fact that the Delhi Proposals did not command wide support amongst the Muslim community. There is a very large body of opinion which holds that the Delhi Scheme has been, for all practical purposes, knocked on the head by the Nehru Report, except that part which deals with mixed electorates. It may interest the Maharaja to know that all the Punjab and Bengal members of the Legislative Assembly are amongst the conveners of the Conference.

"Surely, the Maharaja cannot object to a careful consideration of the Nehru proposals by a representative Muslim gathering such as the one proposed to be organised in December. I hope the Maharaja is in favour of democracy and not autocracy. The days of a few leaders or an organisation dictating to the community are past, I hope, not to return again. The many protests against the Nehru Scheme from the different parts of India ought to serve as an eye-opener to the Maharaja.

"I do not believe there is any occasion for excitement or heat in this controversy. I understand that the only Muslim organisation which was officially represented at the All Parties Conference at Lucknow was the Central Khilafat Committee and its President is one of the conveners of the Conference. If this is a fact, it is a puzzle to me how the Lucknow Conference decisions can be regarded as the decisions of the All Parties Conference.

"I should like, in conclusion, to repeat that this Conference does not meet with pre-conceived views. The Nehru Report will be considered in all its aspects as affecting the political future of Indian Muslims and the Maharaja is welcome to attend it and convince representative Muslims who will meet there of the soundness of the views he holds. Patriotism cannot be a monopoly of any individual."

APPENDIX J.

The story of the Resolution is simply this. According to a Circular No. XLX. dated Simla, the 3rd September, 1928, as a result of the Ballot held on the same date the following resolution was set down for discussion in the Assembly on 18th September, 1928, against the name of Kumar Ganganand Sinha, M. L. A. :—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he may

be pleased to communicate to His Majesty's Government:—

- (a) that the united demand of the people of India is for the constitution outlined in the report of the Nehru Committee approved by the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow ;
- (b) that the Simon Commission be recalled, and
- (c) that immediate steps be taken to establish Commonwealth of India as outlined in the report after its recommendations have been put into final shape by the All-India Convention."

According to notice No. 48-A of the Legislative Assembly dated Simla, the 17th September, 1928, the above resolution was admitted and received by the Hon'ble the President of the Legislative Assembly from Kumar Ganganand Sinha, M. L. A., and Pandit Nilakantha Das, M. L. A. When, however, 18th September, 1928, dawned, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru had realised that the above resolution could not elicit the support of the Muslim members of the Assembly. It was, in fact, owing to that rude realisation on the part of the clever Pandit that when on 18th September, 1928, the Hon'ble the President of the Assembly called upon Kumar Ganganand Sinha to move the above resolution, the latter was conspicuous by his absence in the Assembly chamber. Naturally and inevitably, his resolution lapsed and could not be moved. Nevertheless, it is a fact that his resolution favouring the acceptance of the Nehru Report by the Assembly was tabled for discussion in it. And this fact conclusively proves how Pandit Moti Lal Nehru manoeuvred to have the Nehru Report accepted by the Legislative Assembly during its last Simla session.

APPENDIX K.

In this appendix, the author of this report intends to describe very briefly how the Reception Committee of the Conference was formed and what it did for its success. The members of the Reception Committee deserve such a description, if their services to the Conference are to be at all appreciated.

Maulvi Mohamed Yaqub, Deputy-President of the Legislative Assembly, was deputed by the conveners of the Conference to call upon Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb in order to acquaint him with their aim of convening it and to solicit his assistance in the reception arrangements of the Conference. Patriotism being the heritage handed down to him by his illustrious father, the late Hakim Md. Ajmal Khan Saheb, Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb readily offered the required assistance. He at once called a meeting of prominent Muslims of Delhi and had a Reception Committee formed. Soon after its formation, the arrangements for holding the Conference began in right earnest.

An informal conference was held on 16th December, 1928, in the house of Hakim Md. Jameel Khan Saheb attended by about 20 Muslims to consider the dates and programme of the Conference.

After some discussion, it was decided, if it could conveniently be done, to extend the Conference to 1st January, 1929, to enable those coming from Calcutta Congress, Convention and League meetings to attend the Conference. In fact, 31st December, 1928, was fixed for the presidential address and 1st January, 1929, was allotted for the open session of the Conference. Among those present at the above-mentioned meeting were:—

1. Sir Sultan Ahmed.
2. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Barrister, Peshawar.
3. Maulana Mohamed Ali.

4. Moulana Mohd. Shafee Daoodi.
5. Moulana Hasrat Mohani.
6. Mirza E'jaz Husain, Vakil.
7. Khan Saheb Master Fazluddin, B. A.
8. Nawab Sheikh Md. Fariduddin.
9. Moulvi Ghulam Rasul Mehr, Editor, Inqilab, Lahore.
10. Moulana Syed Habib, Editor, "Siasat" Lahore.
11. Moulvi Mazharuddin, Editor, "Al-Aman"
12. Moulvi Abdul Majid Daryabadi
13. Moulana Abdul Majid Badauni.
14. Syed Zakir Ali Saheb (Agra).
15. Moulana Mufti Kifayatullah
16. Nawab Abul Hason,
17. Khwaja Ghulam Sibtain etc., etc.

The consultation meeting of the above gentlemen lasted from 1 p.m. to 8 p.m. The deliberations of the meeting were not open to the press but at the conclusion of the conference Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan in a statement to the press said:—

"To-day's consultation is described as a conspiracy hatched to wrench the Jinnah League which is to hold its session at Calcutta, but I assure the public that not a word in that connection was spoken throughout. Representatives of each province are expected to meet at the forthcoming Conference, each of whom will press the individual requirements of his province. It was, therefore, to avoid unnecessary discussion and save time that this consultation was called. Our idea is to frame a programme for the Conference beforehand, and this exactly we did by appointing a sub-committee of Maulanas Mohamed Ali, Syed Habib, Shafi Daoodi, Hasrat Mohani, Mufti Kifayatullah, Ghulam Rasul and Abdul Majid Daryabadi who were also empowered to frame Muslim demands in the future constitution of India and place the same before the forthcoming All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi.

"The next question discussed was to postpone the Conference by a day and hold it on January 1 and 2 instead of Dec. 31,

but, in case this was impossible, it was decided to reserve the opening day for the two presidential addresses. I am authorised to forward the suggestions to Mr. Fazal I. Rahmatullah at Bombay for necessary action.

“In conclusion, I take the opportunity to clear a misunderstanding prevailing in regard to representation at the Conference. The reception committee has issued invitations to all non-official Muslim members of the central and provincial legislatures and has also invited every all-India Muslim organisation to return 20 delegates each to the Conference. This method differs from that adopted by the All Parties Conference at Lucknow, inasmuch as in the latter case Dr. Ansari alone as president of the All-Parties Conference invited those who neither represented all-India organisations nor belonged to a legislature, while we have delegated the right to all conveners in every province.”

After the consultation meeting of 16th December, 1928, was over, Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb, Nawab Sheikh Fariduddin and Maulana Mohammed Shafee Doodi went to Meerut to see Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, M. L. A., who was ill and could not attend the meeting at Delhi. They acquainted him with the proceedings of the meeting, stayed with him till midnight and consulted him about the arrangements of the Conference. A list of the gentlemen to be invited to the Conference was made. Hakim Saheb and those accompanying him returned to Delhi from Meerut so late that he was much delayed in joining the anniversary of his father's death next morning.

The fact never to be ignored is that the Reception Committee represented the cream of the Delhi Muslim public. The President and certain members of the Committee rightly claim the credit of very successfully making nice arrangements for the holding of the Conference and receiving its delegates.

The whole-hearted and self-sacrificing devotion of Hakim Mohamed Jameel Khan Saheb, who had his chief supporters in Shamsul Ulama Syed Ahmed, Imam, Jame Masjid, Delhi, Nawab Abul Hason, Rais, Nawab Sheikh Fariduddin, Rais, Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah and Khwaja Ghulam-Sibtain, reaped the unstinted applause of the Muslim public. The zealous part which Hakim Saheb played in making the Conference a success is not surprising; for he is a worthy son of a worthy father (the late lamented well-known Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb) and is following into his footsteps.

Nawab Abul Hason Saheb, who was seen working like an ordinary man, worked wonders in having erected one of the biggest Pandals for the Conference in an incredibly short period of seven days. This he did, in spite of his other duties. His efforts were responsible for the fine decorations of the Conference Pandal.

Nawab Sheikh Fariduddin, Rais, Delhi and Meerut, creditably conducted the management of the volunteers whose corps included Agha Khani youths from Agra and who performed their onerous duties like true soldiers and were ably commanded by Mr. Zafar Husain, Army Contractor, who in his military uniform looked like a real commander of an army.

Khwaja Ghulam Sibtain, Maulvi Mazharuddin and Khan Saheb Fazluddin were at the helm of the activities of the clerical administration and propaganda work of the Reception Committee and performed their duties faithfully and creditably.

A word about the conveners of the Conference. They were its very authors. It was a monument of a great service to the cause of the political advancement of Indian Muslims which the conveners conceived, planned and executed. Every word of this report bears eloquent testimony to their historic achievement in which that emblem of activity, energy and enthusiasm, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahmatullah, M.L.A., took a leading part.

APPENDIX L.

The following gentlemen communicated their intention of attending the Conference to its authorities and were most probably—nay, almost certainly—present in it. Somehow their names escaped being noted down by volunteers.

1. Khan Bahadur Haji Moulvi Ziyauddin Mohammed, Vice-President, Madras Provincial Muslim League, Madras
2. Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Secretary, All-India Anjuman-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam, Ambala.
3. Hakim Habibur Rahman, Unani Hall, Dacca.
4. Syed Md. Ashraf, Vakil and Vice President, Municipal Committee, Kohat.
5. S. A. Hadi Esqr., Jubbulpore.
6. Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer.
7. Mir Noor Mahomed Khan, President, Jacobabad Municipality, Jacobabad.
8. Mr. Md. Rafique, M. L. A., Calcutta.
9. Syed Muttalabi, Faridabad.
10. M. I. Khuhro Esqr.; M. L. C., Sindh.
11. Chaudhri Din Mohamed of Lahore.
12. Pir Akbar Ali, Advocate, M. L. C. Ferozepore city (Punjab)
13. Azimullah Esqr., Hon. Sec. Anjuman-i-Bimayat-ul-Islam, Lahore.
14. Mian Muhamad Hayat Qureshi, C. I. E., K. B., M. L. C., (Punjab)
15. Moulvi Masudur Rahman Nadvi.
16. Hon'ble Mr. Ali Bukhsh Md. Hussain, Member, Council of State, Sindh.
17. Hakim Syed Ali Ahmed Zaidi, President, Anjman Islamia, Faridabad (near Delhi)
18. Kazi Md. Aslam, Advocate, Peshawar.
19. K. B. Makhdum Sayed Rajan Bakhsh Shah Jilani, M. L. A., Multan.
20. Sardar Naharsingji alias Nasrulla Khan Thaor of Amod.
21. G. A. D. Wazif, Esqr., M. L. C., Malegaon Bombay Presidency.
22. Abdul Hamid Khan, M. L. C., Darbhanga (Bihar and Orissa)
23. K. S. Bashir Ahmed Khan, President Anjuman Islamia, President, District Muslim League, Municipal Commissioner and Manager, Islamia School, Gurdaspur (Punjab)
24. Abdul Latif Haji Hajrat Khan, M. L. C., Sholapur (Bombay Presidency)
25. Mr. Abdullah Haji Isa Bhagat-Godhra.
26. Mian Abdul Haye, M. L. A., Ludhiana.
27. Kazi Sayad Ishaque Sayed Hason, Kazi of Wai and Mahableshwar (Bombay Presidency.)
28. H. Shaheed Suhrwardy Esqr, Calcutta.
29. Mohamed Sadique Esqr., Jalpaiguri.
30. Khan Saheb A. A. Doshmukh, District Hon. Organiser, Co., Societies, Pochora.

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