Chapter – V

Political Role from 1924-1937
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5.1 Hasrat and Communist Movement in India

The greatest revolution in the history of Russia took place in 17 October 1917, known as Bolshevik Revolution when Russia under the leadership of Lenin succeeded in de-throning the ruling family of Czars from the power. Lenin not only ousted the ruling family but also removed the feudal system and capitalism from his country and instead of these evils, introduced Socialism. Russian revolution effected the whole world. The echo of this revolution was heard in India also. The famous Urdu writer and novelist Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, who himself had deeply involved in spreading the Communist Movement in Indian Sub-Continent, writes in one of his articles: “When the news of Russian Revolution reached India, the greatest leader of India’s freedom struggle was Balgangadhar Tilak who was not only a politician but a journalist and a historian as well. He was aware of its political and historical importance. So it is very important that Lokmanya Tilak welcomed the Russian Revolution”.

The revolution also effected those young Indians who were taking active part in the freedom movement. Maulana Hasrat was the follower of Tilak and had a revolutionary thinking. So it was natural that he felt attracted to this

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1. Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924). Born Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov in Russia and commonly known by the names Lenin, was a Russian revolutionary, Bolshevik Communist politician, principle leader of the October Revolution and the first head of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.).

revolution. When communism came into picture, Hasrat also started thinking about it pathetically.

When Hasrat was in Sabarmati Jail in Ahmedabad, he was granted permission to read newspapers by Jail authorities. But when he was transferred to Yervada Jail in Poona that privilege of reading of newspapers was not provided to him. But he somehow arranged the newspapers. It was in those days that the Socialist Government was established in Russia. Hasrat composed several couplets related to socialist ideas.

केली होईं जानदर मन्दी तीनी होईं जानदर मन्दी
तो कोई नवल कृति हुई
तो कोई छँद नवल वँछि

Personal property has become national;
Personal interest is not legal.
O'Hasrat, in comparison to national;
Personal unity also had no value.4

न हमारे दरों की फूट पड़ी गई
न हमारा हाम का जुरू पड़ा रहे गए
जब वह जले अने दाले रहे घने में
की कहाँ मन्दिर पच दुगने रहे गए

The proud of Capitalist will perish soon;
Neither tyranny of rulers will continue.
The time is to come soon;
Every one will get the reward of his labour.\(^5\)

The Principles of the Constitution have become complete;
Monarchy also has been dominated by democracy.
Capitalist are trembling from fear, why they should not be so;
All have come to know the might of labourer.\(^6\)

Hasrat did not only understand the quality of communist ideas itself but frequently discussed it with Mahatma Gandhi. The latter seems to have accepted it. He says "Now after talking to it has all become very clear to me. In the jail, I read all the Communist literature (I could get). It contained nothing new for me. Whenever Maulana Hasrat Mohani visited the Ashram, we used to spend the day in such discussion".\(^7\)

Gandhiji also wrote in *Young India*

"No work, No Vote, dated 23 September 1924 Maulana Hasrat Mohani brought me the other day the constitution of the Russian Soviet, and told me that I should read it, if only to find a striking resemblance between the Soviet

\(^{5}\) Ibid., p. 344.
\(^{6}\) Ibid., p. 352.
constitution and that of the Congress. I have cursorily read that constitution, and whilst there is undoubtedly a striking resemblance in form between the two constitutions, showing that there is nothing new or original under the sun, there are also vital differences into which need not to go. But the one thing that captivated me was the formula of 'no work, no vote'. The qualification under the Soviet constitution is not money, not even four annas, not landed property, not even education, but honest labour. Thus the Soviet Congress is a workers Congress. The philosophers, the professors, and all others must do some labour. What form that labour takes, I do not know. As I gave it only a few minutes, even if the information is to be found in the booklet, it has escaped me. The important and relevant fact is that every voter has to show sound work. My proposal therefore that everyone henceforth who desires to belong to the Congress organization should have some labour for the nation to his credit is neither original nor ridiculous. Seeing that a great nation has accepted before us the formula, we need not be ashamed of copying it. Labour given for only a few minutes per day to be fruitful must be of the same kind for the millions. And there is nothing but hand-spinning which can be made universal in a big country like ours.

"But it has been urged that my proposal is not a mere labour proposal; it surreptitiously raises the pecuniary qualification. No matter how fine the yarn may be, the quantity for the year can never be brought down so low as to cost four annas. But the critics forget, that I have said in the article in which I sketched the proposal, that those who cannot afford cotton should have it given to them by the Provincial Congress Committees, so that the free gift of cotton the proposal, that those who cannot afford cotton should have it given to them
by the Provincial Congress committees, so that the free gift of cotton would be under my plan a donation, not a subscription".8

Gandhi had not become Communist but he realized the importance of work done by communists. According to Ahmar Lari: "After 1920 in every industrial units Communist circles were established in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur and Lahore. Even in Germany and Russia, the Indians established Communist circles".9

In 1920, Communist Party of India established Tashkent10, this party was also known as emigre Communist Party of India because it was formed on foreign soil by a group of revolutionary terrorists and *muhajirs* who had left India in order to get rid of British domination. M.N. Roy11 played a crucial and important role in organization and formation of the Communist Party of India.12

Hence an alternative was provided by these Communists to get independence for India. As Communism in its principle was against colonialism, the process began and M.N. Roy started correspondence with important radical Indian freedom fighters to start communist activities in India.

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11. M.N. Roy (1887-1954). Manabendra Nath Roy whom Lenin once called 'the symbol of Revolution in the East' was the most colourful personality of all non-Russian Communist in the era of Lenin and Stalin. Roy rose very high in the International Communist hierarchy in the twenties, and rapidly too. He was elected a candidate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1922 and a full member in 1924. He was elected a member of the Presidium and of the Secretariat and was in charge of organizing the communist movement in Asia and training and education of Asiatic Communist. See Samaren Roy, *The Twice Born Heretic M.N. Roy and Comintern*, Calcutta, Firma KLM Private Limited, 1986.
Leaders like S.A. Dange\textsuperscript{13}, Muzaffar Ahmad\textsuperscript{14}, Sengaravelu Chettiar, Hasrat Mohani, Satya Bhakt etc. played important role in organization and formation of the Communist Party on Indian soil. Hasrat Mohani and others were taking initiative to organize a communist conference in December 1925. Its first session took place on 25 December 1925 in a special \textit{pandal} in Kanpur. Nearly 300 delegates attended the Conference.\textsuperscript{15} The fees of Reception Committee was rupees five. Two hundred or three hundreds were collected by this way but Hasrat played a key role in the collection of this amount also. Whenever there was shortage of funds, he anyhow arranged for the conference. To erect a  

\textsuperscript{13} S.A. Dange (1899 - ) Shripad Amrit Dange was born in October 1899 in Marathi Brahmin family in Nasik. He went to school in Nasik, and joined the Wilson College after passing matriculation examination in 1918. Meanwhile the non-cooperation movement had been launched by Gandhi after the Nagpur Congress, and Dange gave up his studies and plunged into the movement. Like many of his contemporaries Dange became disillusioned about Gandhi’s method after the collapse of the non-cooperation movement and wrote a remarkable book entitled ‘Gandhi Vs. Lenin’ in March 1921 which revealed his socialist leavings and attracted the attention of M.N. Roy. It proved to be the turning point in Dange’s life; he came to communism via Nationalism. In the following year he started. The Socialist the first communist journal in India, which continued to be edited by him until his arrest in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy case in February 1924. See details G.Adhikari (ed.) \textit{Document of the History of the Communist Party of India}, vol. I, II & III, New Delhi, People’s Publishing House, 1982. 

\textsuperscript{14} Ahmad Muzaffar (1889-1972). He was born in a poor lower middle class family in the Island of Sandwip in Noakhali district, now in Bangladesh, on 3 August 1899. Due to intense poverty, his early education was very much hampered. He studied at Sandwip Middle English school from 1905 to 1910 and at the Noakhali Zila School from 1910 to 1912, from where he passed the Matriculation Examination in 1913. He become attracted to politics in 1916 and from that year he began to participate in political meetings and demonstrations. He was drawn to Marxist literature in the early twenties. News of the Russian Revolution had trickled through in the country in spite of the British Governments is precautionary measures. Early in 1922 he was able to establish contact with the Third International at Moscow through M.N. Roy who was incharge of Indian Affairs of the Third International. The Government of India became alarmed at the rapid growth of the Bolshevik ideas and spread of communist literature and decided to institute several conspiracy case against the communist elements in India. Muzaffar Ahmad was first sought to be implicated in the Peshawar Communist Conspiracy case in 1922-24, but was ultimately absolved. He was, however, arrested in May 1923 on suspicion and detained under Regulation III of 1818. An April 1924 while still in prison he, along with three others, was sent up for trial in the Kanpur Bolshevik conspiracy case and sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment. During this imprisonment he became seriously ill and released on medical grounds in September 1925. Three months latter he attended the Kanpur Communist Conference, the first the Kanpur Communist Conference in India. He was largely instrumental in forming a Central Executive Committee of the different communist group in India. See Muzaffar Ahmad, \textit{Myself and the Communist Party of India (1920-1929)}, Calcutta, National Book Agency Private Ltd., 1970. 

Pandal was a difficult thing as it required more money. But Hasrat erected a small Pandal for the conference just outside the Pandal of the Congress.\textsuperscript{16} For that purpose he not only arranged the land just outside the Congress Pandal but any how made arrangements for erecting a pandal there. In those days this all may have cost Rs. three hundred.\textsuperscript{17}

The First Indian Communist Conference met at Kanpur on the 26\textsuperscript{th} December, 1925. Mr. Singaravelu, the President, delivered lengthy address in course of which he explained the aims and objects of the Indian Communist Party which he declared, stood for the emancipation of workers from their present state of economic bondage. The Party he continued aimed at securing the rights of the working classes and establishing a workers state in India under any system of Self-Government.\textsuperscript{18}

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Chairman of the Reception Committee, described the aims of the Party to be the establishment of a Soviet Constitution in India after the establishment of Swaraj. In the course of his address he said: "The Communist movement is the movement of peasants and workers. The people of India generally agree with the principles and aims and objects of the movement, but owing to certain misunderstandings, some weak and nervous people fear the very name of Communism, although these misunderstandings have been deliberately set on foot by capitalists and others who are opposed to it. Some, for instance, consider that Communism necessarily heads for bloodshed and terrorism. The only basic, for the wrong notion is that we

\textsuperscript{16} Satyabhakat, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 47.  
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 50.  
sanction non-violence only as expedient and necessary, and do not, like Mahatma Gandhi, accept it as a fixed principle for all time. Again, some people wrongly allege that Communism and ‘thine is mine’ doctrine are one and the same. The fact is that we have divided property into two classes, viz. personal (e.g. watch, umbrella, utensils, beds, clothing, etc.) and private (like land, factories, etc.). The Communist principle applies only to private property and not to personal one.

The detailed programme of our Party which resembles the Soviet Constitution will be discussed by them and passed by this Conference. Our aims and objects are as follows:

“To establish Swaraj or complete Independence by all fair means. After the establishment of Swaraj, to see that it takes the form of the Soviet Republic on which all principles of Communism will come into force. Before the establishment of Swaraj to work for the freedom and prosperity of peasants and workers by all possible means and in this respect to co-operate with every political Party of India so far as they help the promotion of the above mentioned objects. To arrange for the propagation of the principles of Communism and create popular opinion in their favour so that they may be acted upon the moment Swaraj is established.

“Our organization is purely Indian. It is necessary to mention here that at least for the present the work of our Party will be restricted to India alone. Our relation with similar Parties of other countries will be only that of sympathy and mental affinity to all these in general and to the Third International in particular. We are only fellow travellers in our paths and not their subordinates.
Neither we give them any practical help, nor do they extend any financial aid to us.

“Some evilly disposed persons blame Communism as necessarily an anti-religious movement. The fact, however, is that in matters of religion we allow the largest possible latitude and toleration. Whosoever accepts our principles will be accepted in our Party whether he is a Muslim, a Hindu, a Christian, a Buddhist or anybody with or without any religion. In other words, we recognize the existence of all religions and consider even no religion also as a religion. Some of our Muslim leaders baselessly represent Communism as against Islam. The fact is, however, quite different. The opposition of Islam to Capitalism, for instance, is stronger than even the Communist conception of it and the obligation of Zakat is imposed mainly for the consideration that so long as there is one single hungry creature left, the capitalist have no right to indulge in business.

“The emphasis laid on the Zakat in the Quran is next only to prayers and the pious Caliph had ordered jehad against those who refused to pay Zakat. Besides the only reason of the prohibition of interest can be that the usurer profits by his capital alone without doing any actual labour and this is against the principles of Islam just as it is against Communism”.

Hasrat said itself that ‘I am Muslim Communist’. This following couplet explains this very clearly:

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My way is the sainthood and revolution;
I am a sufi, momin (faithful) and Communist Muslim.²¹

According to Abdush Shakur: “Complete independence is my aim and
objective, I am Communist, before it I was nationalist till 1925 yet farewell of
nationalism and communism is our aim and objective”.²²

In Kanpur 24th December, 1925, All India Khilafat Conference was also
held. The all India Khilafat Conference opened its proceedings on the 24th
December; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the President and Maulana Hasrat
Mohani was the chairman of the Reception Committee. He said about the
Khilafat: “Turks had no power to end the Khilafat, which must endure so long
as Islam existed. It was only the responsibility for the office that the Turks had
refused to assume. He held they were prepared to help the Khilafat”.²³

The 40th Session of Indian National Congress commenced on the 28th
December, 1925²⁴ in Kanpur. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was the first lady President
of the Congress very interesting event related to Hasrat Mohani about which
Satya Bhakt wrote –

“Just opposite of Congress Pandal apart from 600 yard was the Pandal
of Conference. Maulana Hasrat Mohani alone with his wife and two or three
hundred labours tied to enter the Congress Pandal. He was stopped there by the

²¹ Hasrat Mohani, Ibid., p. 452.
volunteer of Congress under the leadership of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. Hasrat Mohani any how entered in it. Congress volunteers attacked him and told the people that Hasrat and his volunteers attacked on the Congress Pandal. During which former’s leader Baba Ram Chandra of Pratapgarh and Swami Kumar Anand who were in the first row were injured, though Hasrat was the member of Congress, so he has every right to participate”.  

The paragraph in which he defines the attitude towards the Communist International is cautiously worded yet with a slight positive approach. Further Hasrat Mohani, in his eagerness to win Muslims to communism, was uncritically placing Islam on a higher pedestal than communism. Muzaffar Ahmad also criticized the speech of Hasrat Mohani.

The Communist Party of India aims and objectives: “As a result of the session of the First Communist Conference at Kanpur the Provincial Indian Communist Party was dissolved and a formal party with its name as the Communist Party of India’ has been formed. The ultimate goal of the party will be the establishment of the workers and peasants republic in India. And the immediate object of the party shall be the securing of a living wage for the workers and peasants by means of nationalization and municipalisation of public services, namely land, mine, factories etc. such, other public utilities which require public ownership. The party shall for the attainment of the above object form labour and peasants union in urban and rural areas enter district and taluk boards, municipalities and assemblies and by such, other means and methods

carry out the ideal and programme of the party with or without the cooperation of the existing political parties in the country.

"The Party shall have a central executive of 30 members returned by provincial committees and a council of seven members to execute all emergency matters.

"The Party shall consist of communists only who will pledge themselves to carry out its objects and no one who is a member of any Communal organization can be admitted as a member of this party.

"Every member shall pay eight annas annually as subscription for his membership to the enrolling secretaries".27

Proceeding of the meeting of the central executive held on 28 December 1925. Hasrat Mohani’s name in member of Central Executive of Communist Party of India.28 The annual session of the Communist Party of India was held in Bombay on tuesday 31 May 1927. After the adoption of the executive’s annual report Hasrat Mohani’s name in Executive Committee.29 The Central Executive Committee of the Communist party of India held at Calcutta on 27, 28 and 29 December 1928, certainly in semi-illegal conditions. Only minutes based on Meerut records –

"It appears from these minutes that comrade Muzaffar Ahmad was in the chair. It was in this meeting that Comrades Adhikari and Mirajkar were admitted as members and S.V. Ghate was elected the general Secretary. Also Hasrat Mohani expelled".30

5.2 Response to Nehru Report

But the torch lit in the past decade was still burning bright. Despite the divisions and differences, there was unanimity on the basic issue India should attain full self-government, loosely called Dominion status and the leaders should put their heads together to solve the communal problem. The British had no misgiving about their own position and appointed in November 1927, a Statutory Commission known as the ‘Simon Commission’, to inquire into the working of the Government of India Act, 1919. The Commission was to consist of seven members including Sir John Simon as Chairman. There was no Indian member in it.\(^{31}\)

The English still believed in the incapability of Indians in the art of administration. The ‘Simon Commission’ was to decide the Indian question without the Indians being members of it. Both the Congress and the League\(^ {32}\) boycotted it. This meant that those invited to give evidence would refuse to come before it. The members of the Legislative Council and Assemblies would abstain from voting on the select committee proposed to be set up to assist the Commission of India.\(^ {33}\)

In December 1927, the Congress met for its annual session at Madras under the Presidentship of Dr. M.A. Ansari.\(^ {34}\) A resolution was adopted,
authorizing the Congress Executive to convene an All-India All-Parties conference to frame a constitution for India as a reply to the British challenge about the inability of the Indians to produce any alternative scheme to frame a constitution for India as a reply to the British challenge about the inability of the Indians to produce any alternative scheme of reform. In 10-22 February 1928 an All Parties Conference\textsuperscript{35} met at Delhi with Dr. Ansari as its President. Later in May at its Bombay meet, a sub-committee was appointed to consider the constitutional problem. The committee consisted of Sir Ali Imam\textsuperscript{36}, Shuaib Qureshi, Tej Bahadur Sapru, G.R. Pradhan, Mangal Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose, M.S. Aney with Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal as President and Secretary of the Committee.\textsuperscript{37} This Committee drafted a constitution named after its

\textsuperscript{35} In compliance with the direction in this resolution the Working Committee issued invitations to a large number of organizations like, National Muslim League, Central Khilafat Committee Central Sikh League, South India Liberal Federation, All India Trade Union congress, General Council of All Burmese Association, Home Rule League, Republican League, Independent Party in the Assembly, Nationalist Party in the Assembly, Indian States Subject Association, Indian States Subject Conference, Indian States People's Conference, Anglo-Indian Association, Indian Association of Calcutta, Parsi Central Association, Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, Zoroastrian Association, Parsi Panchayat, All India Conference of Indian Christians, Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Dravida Mahajan Sabha and the Landholder's Association of Awadh, Agra, Bihar, Bengal and Madras. Subsequently at Bombay invitations were also issued to the Bombay Non-Brahmin Party, the Communist Party of Bombay and the Bombay Workers and Peasants party. Many of these organizations sent representatives to the conference which held its first meeting on 12 February 1928 at Delhi. The Conference continued its meeting from day to day till 22 February 1928. See for its details, Shan Muhammad (ed.), \textit{The Indian Muslims: A documentary Records (1900-1947)}, vol. IX, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1988, pp. 27-90, Ram Gopal, \textit{Indian Muslims: A Political History (1858-1947)}, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1959, Rajendra Prasad, \textit{India Divided (Reprint)}, New Delhi, Anmol Publications, 1986.

\textsuperscript{36} Ali Imam (1869-1932), He was born in Neora district Patna. A Shia Muslim by faith, he belonged to a distinguished, educated and middle class family. He Bar-at-Law from London in 1890, he returned home the same year and started practice in Patna. Ali Imam was appointed Standing Council to the Government of India in the Calcutta High Court in 1910, and by the year's end he was appointed Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General, of which he was also the Vice President. The Political activities of Ali Imam commenced around 1908, when he presided over the first session of the Bihar Provincial Conference. He also preside over the annual session of the All India Muslim league at Amritsar 1908. In his Presidential Address at the Nationalist Muslims' Conference at Lucknow in 1931, he observed that the muslim's share in the 'Concession Loot' could not be 'fixed by statute'. In this connection see details Datta, K.K., \textit{History of Freedom Movement in Bihar I & II}, Patna, Government of Bihar 1957. \textit{The Search Light}, daily newspaper, Patna, 1 December 1918, 10 April 1931.

President as the ‘Nehru Report’. The crucial issue in Indian politics had been
the representation of different communities. The Nehru Committee’s
recommendations were –

(i) There shall be joint electorates throughout India.

(ii) There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for the Muslims in provinces where they were in a minority, and non-Muslims in the North-West Frontier Provinces. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population in every province where they are in a minority and in proportion to the non-Muslim population in North-West Frontier Province. The Muslims or non-Muslims, where reservation is allowed to them, shall have the right to contest additional seats.

(iii) In the Provinces –

(a) There shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal.

(b) In Provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats.

(c) In the North-West Frontier Province there shall be similar reservation for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

(iv) Reservation of seats shall be for a fixed period of ten years.

(v) Sindh should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province after such inquiry about the financial position as may be considered necessary.
(vi) The North-West Frontier Provinces (NWFP) and other newly formed provinces shall have the same type of Government as in other provinces in India.

The All Parties Convention was held on December 22, 1928 at Calcutta and continued its sitting till January 1, 1929. The convention represented political India in miniature. There were gathered together the most prominent leaders of the parties, most distinguished public men of India. Dr. M.A. Ansari presided. Motilal Nehru presented the Report of the committee which had been appointed by the All Parties Conference at Bombay. The Principal recommendations of the report —

“i. The political status of India shall be the same as that of the British Dominion like Canada, South Africa, Australia and the Irish Free State.

“ii. The fundamental rights shall be provided in the constitution, among them shall be the freedom of conscience of profession and practice of religion.

“iii. The Lower House in the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislature shall consist of members elected by joint and mixed electorates, but there shall be reservation of seats for the Muslims in the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislature where they are in a minority and similarly reservation for Hindus in the North-West Frontier Province.

“iv. There will be no reservation for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

“v. Reservation of seats shall be on the basis of population and for a fixed period. Communities whose seats are reserved shall have the right to contest for additional seats.

"vi. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21 and is not disqualified by law shall be entitled to vote, both for the central and Provincial Legislatures

"vii. The provinces of Sindh and Karnataka shall be separate. Any further reorganization of provinces shall be non-linguistic basis.

"viii. The list of subjects on which the Central and Provincial in Schedules".39

In Calcutta 25th December 1928, All-India Khilafat Conference was held. Hasrat Mohani also attended it. In that session long debate took place on 'Nehru Report'. Hasrat Mohani was against it and moved a resolution –

"In the opinion of this Conference the future Constitution of India should be so framed as to provide for a Federation of the Free and United States of India. This constitution of (a) fully autonomous provinces in India, (b) large Indian states and groups of smaller Indian states when join the Federation.

"Every Constituent member of the Federation should possess plenary power within its jurisdiction and should have its Legislature and Governor elected by the people of every constituent member of the Federation.

"The Central Federal Parliament should consist of representatives elected by the Constituent members of the Federation and should have jurisdiction only over such subjects as concern the whole of India and are entrusted to it by the Constituent members of the Federation which alone should be vested with residuary power

"Musalmans of India will not accept any constitution which would not be framed on the principles stated above".\textsuperscript{40}

In moving the resolution Maulana Hasrat Mohani said that it was time for the Musalmans to produce new constitution for India. He was the first man to raise his voice against the Nehru Report and was glad to find that gradually, he had been gaining more adherents to it. He thought the Nehru Report wrong from start to finish. The days of dynastic or constitutional monarchy had gone and the Republican Government had been liked by all. The Constitutional Government as embodied in the Nehru Report was very injurious to the Musalmans. Moreover the report as it was, could not be accepted by the Native States of India as the Central Government to be established by the constitution of the Report would have the same power over the Indian states as the present Government of India.\textsuperscript{41}

Jinnah addressed the convention at length giving the reasons in support of the Muslim claim. He remarked that there was no denying the fact that communalism existed in India, no matter who was to be blamed for it, and if the Muslim claim could not get due consideration, it would raise controversy and lead to bad blood. Nation struggling for freedom from foreign domination would get their support unless they could feel that they were secure. In his vigorous speech he said –

"We are engaged today in a very serious and solemn transaction. It is not merely for any organization to come and say 'yes, we agree to it'. We are here for the purpose of entering into a solemn contract and all parties, who

\textsuperscript{40} Shan Muhammad, op.cit., Vol. IX, p. 108.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p. 108.
enter it, will have to work for it and fight for it. Therefore it is essential that you must get not only the Muslim League but the Muslims of India and there I am not speaking on the question as a Musalman but as an Indian and it is my desire to see that I get seven crore of Musalmans to march along with me in this struggle. Hindu and Muslims, two communities have got to be reconciled, united and made to feel that their interests are common and they are marching along together.

"I do ask you once more to consider this question of the security of the minority before you can expect to carry in with you. Please don’t think that I am threatening you because I am liable to be misunderstood. If we don’t settle this question today, we will settle it tomorrow. We are the son of this land. We have to live together. We have work together and whatever our differences may be, let us not arouse bad blood. If we cannot agree let us agree to differ. But let us part as friends. Nothing will make me more happy than to see Hindus and Muslims united. I believe there is no progress for India, until Muslims and Hindus are united and for that purpose let no logic, philosophy and squabbles stand in the way of your bringing that about".42

The Muslim League withdrew its support from the National Convention. This was followed by a declaration by Jinnah of his fourteen points which marked the beginning of a new era in Indian politics.

An attempt was made by M.A. Jinnah to bring about a reconciliation between the two groups in the Muslim League and the Muslim All Parties Conference. Jinnah, after consulting leading men, prepared a draft resolution

42 . The Times of India, Bombay December 29, 1928.
on the basis of which a settlement could be made. It was in this draft resolution
that he formulated his fourteen points as necessary for safeguarding the rights
and interest of Musalmans. These fourteen points may be summarized as
follows:

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal, with the residuary
powers vested in Provinces.

2. A uniform measure of autonomy for provinces.

3. All Legislatures and other bodies should be constituted on the definite
principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every
province to a minority or even equality.

4. In the Central Legislature Muslim representation shall not be less than one
third.

5. Representation of communal groups to be by separate electorates provided
that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate
electorate in favour of joint electorate.

6. Any territorial redistribution not in any way to effect North Western
Frontier Province.

7. Full liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association
and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.

8. No bill or Resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any Legislature
or any other elected body if three fourth of the members of any
community in that body opposed it as being injurious to the interests of
that community.
9. Sindh to be separated from the Bombay presidency.

10. Reforms to be introduced in the Frontier Province and Baluchistan as in other Provinces.

11. Adequate share of Musalmans to be provided in the constitution in all services, subject to requirements of efficiency.

12. Adequate safeguards for the protection and promotion of Muslim culture, education, language religion, personal laws, and charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid.

13. No Cabinet either Central or Provincial to be formed without at least one-third of the minister being Muslims.

14. No change in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian Federation.⁴³

After the Nehru Report had been consigned to the waters of the Ravi because session of the Congress was held on the bank at Ravi in Lahore in December 1929. In 31 October, 1929, the Viceroy had issued a statement promising Dominion Status for India without fixing a deadline but indicating that a round table conference would be organized to work out the future constitution for India. The statement, since it did not fix a date by which the promise would be implemented, was considered as vague by Congress leaders.

The Congress was again completely under the influence of Gandhiji, and the leading Swarajists including Motilal Nehru, admitted the fulfilling of the council entry programme. One resolution from another, adopted by the

Congress, vindicated and affirmed the stand that Gandhi had taken, since he became leader of the freedom movement. In this session complete independence was demanded by the Congress.\textsuperscript{44} It sent round circular letters to provincial Congress Committees asking them to organize Independence Day meeting on January 26, 1930. The Working Committee's resolution, in the form of a pledge, was asked to be repeated by the audience. It said –

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom, but has based itself on the explanation of the masses and also ruined, India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe further that India must sever the British connection and attain "Purna Swaraj" or complete independence".\textsuperscript{45} Hasrat published articles in this connection in his newspaper \textit{Mustaqil} under the title, Nehru Report for \textit{Fatiha parahney kay Bad} (After reciting Fatiha for the Nehru Report).\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{5.3 Attitude towards Civil Disobedience Movement}

When in 1930, Congress started the Civil Disobedience Movement in the country, Maulana Hasrat Mohani also participated in it. Famous Urdu writer and journalist Furqat Kakorwi was a contemporary of Hasrat Mohani. He has

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\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., p.222.  
\textsuperscript{46} For details, see, \textit{Mustaqil}, Kanpur, 9, 11 & 13 January, 1930. 
\end{flushright}
written an eye-witnessed event of Hasrat’s participation in this movement. Furqat says: “When the Congress started in 1930 of individual satyagrah and the Government began to arrest people, it was impossible for Maulana Hasrat not to go to jail. A public meeting took place in the Aminabad Park in the evening. When Maulana was arrested, I (the writer of these lines) was present there. As soon as he finished his speech and came down the stage, he was arrested”.47

5.4 Formation of Azad Party

Maulana Hasrat Mohani announced the formation of an Independent Muslim Party known as the ‘Azad Party’ on October, 1931 in collaboration with Maulana Azad Subhani at a public meeting at Albert Hall, Calcutta. It was decided that the party would work for a federal, as against a unitary system of Government and for adult franchise. The aims and objects of the ‘Azad Party’ were as follows:

1. The Constitution of the government should be systematic, democratic and decentralized;
2. There should be two types of power – federal and provincial;
3. Every adult would have the right to franchise, etc.48

5.5 Publication of the Mustaqil

It was in 1928 that Hasrat started to publish a new paper entitled Mustaqil which was continued by 1929 as a daily and in 1930, 1931, 1932 as two-days’,

47. For detail, see, Nafees Ahmad Siddiqi, op.cit., p. 415.
three-days’ and weekly. From 1933 it became a monthly paper and after 1936 it was published as an appendix (zamimah) of the Urdu-i Mualla. Syed Hamid Ali, an intellectual and Urdu writer from Gorakhpur city of the eastern Uttar Pradesh has published the content of the two issues of this newspaper (Mustaqil) of 23rd and 26th December 1929. Hamid Ali is of the view: “Though the Mustaqil as a newspaper has not much significance yet its different issues surely help us to some extent in understanding Hasrat’s political thought and principles”.

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