

## QUAID-I-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH AND PALESTINE QUESTION

**Shahzad Qaisar**

*Ph.D. Scholar*

*Department of History*

*Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad*

### **Abstract:**

MA Jinnah played pivotal role in the awareness struggle on the Palestine issue in the Subcontinent. The Ottoman Empire took part in World War I from side of the Axis Power. This was brought formidable changes in Middle East which was former part of Ottoman Empire. Turkey was forced to surrender all of its Middle Eastern territories in aftermath of war. Palestine was taken from Turkey and subsequently handed over to the British as mandate of war. The British cabinet had already passed Balfour Declaration (1917) which promised Jewish settlement to their ancestral lands. The post war years witnessed massive Jewish settlement in Palestine with consent of the British government. This accelerated level of migration generated conflicts among the native Arab population and the settlers over land acquisition and possession.

**Keywords:** Palestine, Struggle, Muslims, Jews, World War, Ottoman Empire.

Jerusalem was *Qibla-i-Awal* for the Muslims and the most revered place after the *Kaaba*. The Indian Muslims had significant religious and emotional attachment with the institution of caliph and other holy places of Middle East. After conclusion of war, the Indian Muslims launched *Khilafat* Movement to protect institution of Caliph and holy places along with Palestine. But the post war treaties admitted Palestine as the British mandate which allowed Jewish migration and settlement. Waves of resentment against this

decision came from both the Arabs and the Muslims all over the world.

In post *Khilafat* Movement scenario, All India Muslim League kept staunch support to Palestine and rights of the Arabs. The leadership launched various types of protests in support of the Arab cause and even it celebrated 'Palestine Days' to show solidarity with their Arab brethren<sup>1</sup>. AIML openly rejected rapid migration and settlement of the Jews by tactical expulsion of the natives through force and subsequent violence against Arabs<sup>2</sup>. It supported Palestinian Arab Movement and leadership of Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Haji Mohammad Amin Al-Husseini. The decade of 1930's witnessed significant developments on Palestine under leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. League, under Jinnah, not only broadened its basis among the masses but also took up Palestine issue through various measures inside and outside India. Jinnah reassumed leadership of All India Muslim League in 1935 to reinvigorate the party and transform it from confined party to a mass party. His strategy was to reorganize the party at domestic front and public emotional attachment with overseas Muslims by taking up various issues of importance. Palestine was among Jinnah's priorities to invoke a campaign through offices of the League<sup>3</sup>.

Jinnah attended meeting of League Council in April 1934 which remarked that domestic and international level propaganda was necessary for League. Moreover, the meeting proposed a delegation to inform viceroy over Palestine problem, unjust Balfour Declaration and deprivations of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine<sup>4</sup>. Palestine witnessed another change in circumstances as Amin-el-Husseni formed Arab Higher Committee in April 1936 which embarked a general strike against oppression and Jewish settlement. But the strike turned into an armed revolt by end of year<sup>5</sup>. The reports of revolt and subsequent measures to suppress the revolt also jolted not only Indian Muslims but also aroused fears of reaction among the government circles<sup>6</sup>. The League reaction at local level was immense as Punjab Provincial Muslim League Council met on June 9, 1936 and passed a strong worded

resolution in support of Palestinian Muslims to show solidarity with the Arabs<sup>7</sup>.

In historic Lucknow Session (15-18 October 1937) of the League, Raja Sab of Mehmoodabad, chairman reception committee, took up Palestine issue in his welcome speech. He censured the British policy towards Palestine and emphasized that rapidly changing world view with speedy flow of information had been taking place so fast that each happening around the globe was getting public reaction<sup>8</sup>. He highlighted plight of the Palestinians who were 'fighting against money and machineguns'. The plight of Palestinians was not confined to the Middle East only rather it had become concern of the Muslims all over the globe regarding suppression of their brethren in Qibla-i-Awal, Palestine. Raja sab openly warned the British government that such policies could brought forth disastrous impact inside and outside India<sup>9</sup>.

Jinnah delivered a long speech which covered all issues of national and international importance. He mentioned that Palestine issue had moved all the Muslims in India and the British policy of deception was destroying trust over the proclamations and honor of the promise which were made to the Arabs<sup>10</sup>. Jinnah criticized stereotype policy of the British to grant independent Arab states after war while simultaneously adopting Jewish settlement as mandatory power under notorious Balfour Declaration. According to him the British deliberately created such situation to deny legitimate rights of the Arabs. He expanded his circle by proclaiming that "I am speaking not only of the Musalmans of India but of the world, when I say that Great Britain will be digging its grave if she fails to honor her original proclamations, promises and intentions pre-war and even post war - which were so unequivocally expressed to the Arabs and the world at large"<sup>11</sup>.

Jinnah further added "The Muslims of India will stand solid and will help the Arabs in every way they can in the brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odds. May I send them a message on behalf of the All-India Muslim League - of cheer, courage and determination in their just cause and

struggle, and that I am sure they will win through"<sup>12</sup>. The League passed initial two resolutions for India while the third one was for the Palestinians. This resolution stated that "The All-India Muslim League on the name of the Musalmans of India, that recommendations of the Royal Palestine Commission, and the subsequent statement of policy presented by Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament, conflict with their religious sentiments and in the interests of world peace demands its rescission without further delay"<sup>13</sup>.

The other clauses of this resolution emphasized the League of Nations to immediately terminate the mandate as its terms were violating civil and religious rights of the Arabs<sup>14</sup>. The influential rulers of the Muslim states were appealed to utilize their influence to safeguard the holy places of Palestine from enslavement<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, League showed its full trust in the Supreme Muslim Council and Arab Higher Committee to resolve Palestine dispute. It warned the existing administration to stop policy repression and working recommendations of Royal Commission which could further deteriorate the situation<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, the League also showed its confidence over leaders and delegates of the Palestine Conference. Mr. Abdur Rehman Siddiqi proposed resolution to condemn pro-Jewish policy of the British and warned the government to change policy otherwise it would be considered enemy of the Muslims<sup>17</sup>.

Like other issues of national importance, League Council passed a resolution to observe Palestine day on Friday 26 August 1938 to hold meetings around the subcontinent to 'condemn unjust, inhuman and repressive' policies of the British government<sup>18</sup>. The day was remarked to "offer prayers for complete success for the Arabs for their just cause and their struggle for freedom of their homeland"<sup>19</sup>. A 7 member committee was appointed to contemplate measures to pressurize the British government for the Arab cause<sup>20</sup>. The tasks before committee were to send a high-ranking delegation abroad particularly to Palestine and England to direct pressure measures and boycott of the British goods<sup>21</sup>.

Jinnah sent Ch. Khaliqzaman and Abdur Rehman Siddiqui to attend and assist Palestine in the international conference on Arab Question. He wanted to reserve a seat for India during the proceeding but his request was turned down. That's why Khaliqzaman was directed to just assist the Grand Mufti during the proceedings. The two member delegation also visited London, Cairo, and Near East to assess the situation to report back in India<sup>22</sup>.

In upcoming session of the League (Patna for 26th session from 26-29 December 1938) Jinnah took up Palestine issue as essential part of his objectives. He said "I know how deeply Muslims have been stirred over the issue of Palestine. I know Muslims will not shrink from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom"<sup>23</sup>. Furthermore, Jinnah deplored the treatment of the freedom fighters whose image was projected as 'gangsters'. But he admired their resistance and courage to stand up for their right for free land. He again condemned the British government for suppression of Arabs and showed his support "all of our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers"<sup>24</sup>.

Jinnah wanted to realize the Indian Muslims that League was true representative of the Muslims and concept of Ummah. It was sole representative of the Muslims in India with universal approach to the Muslim problems. For instance, like 1937 annual session of League This session also took up Muslim Heroes and passed resolutions for the deceased Muslim leaders. The first resolution was about demise of 'Ataturk Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha'. The League acknowledged him a great personality of Islamic world and appreciated his efforts to build modern Turkey. The resolution admitted him as a guide to "the true goal of political power and property, his memory will inspire Muslims all over the world with courage, perseverance and manliness"<sup>25</sup>. The resolutions expressing condolences Moulana Shoukat Ali appreciated his services as founder member of Kuddam-e-Kaaba organization and his role in Khilafat Movement<sup>26</sup>. Another resolution titled Sir Muhammad Iqbal as a 'sage philosopher of Islam' and great 'national poet'<sup>27</sup>.

Jinnah put Palestine issue on top of agenda list of the meetings and sessions. As president of the party he never missed any chance to support Arabs at domestic and international front. In Patna Session (1938) Palestine was given priority over other local issues due to worsening situation of Middle East. The League opined that 'Balfour Declaration was unjust' and censured the policy of suppression of the Arabs, confused idea of Arabs federation, and possible use of holy lands for military objectives by the British government<sup>28</sup>. Furthermore, the League applauded the Arabs who were fighting to liberate their motherland from foreign unjust rule and Jewish encroachment as 'heroes and martyrs'<sup>29</sup>. It expressed its confidence and trust in the Grand Mufti as true leaders of the Arabs and representative of the Indian Muslims for this cause<sup>30</sup>.

This session clearly remarked that Palestine was not only a problem for the Arabs but also of the Muslims around the world and same for the Indians. Moreover, a warning was issued to the British government to either fulfill demands of the Muslims otherwise the Indian Muslims would opt for a practical line of action decided by the Muslim International Conference. If this issue remained alive it will create a bundle of consistent political unrest<sup>31</sup>. Jinnah allowed a full day of deliberations over the Palestine issue on the third day of the Patna Session. The delegates strongly censured the British policy towards Palestine and Jewish settlement in the holy lands. Moulana Mazharuddin, Sir Reza Ali, Moulana Muhammad Irfan, Moulana Hussain Mian, Prof. Abdul Sattar Khairi, Mr. Abu Saeed Enver, Mr. Abdul Khaliq, Prof. Enayatullah, spoke at that occasion. League leaders showed their resentment over Jewish settlement, imperialist designs of the British and over all the plight of the Muslims in various regions<sup>32</sup>.

Jinnah issued a call to observe another "All-India Palestine Day" on February 8, 1939, along with presenting an adjournment motion in the Central Assembly. The League delegation met the secretary of state for India and presented him a representation from the Indian Muslims over the existing situation<sup>33</sup>. Khaliquzzaman, on his return to India, also attended Palestine

Muslim Conference at Cairo to represent Jinnah's views and his support for solution of the conflict<sup>34</sup>.

On 26th March 1939, the working committee of the League met under Jinnah and passed a resolution that "Palestine issue should stand over till the British proposals are known"<sup>35</sup>. The British White Paper of 1939 was another alarm bell for the Arabs rights as this paper envisioned single state solution of Palestine conflict. It showed prospects of future Jewish state in 10 years and introduced ceiling over migration of Jews to Palestine<sup>36</sup>. Jinnah chaired another meeting of working committee on 2-3 July 1939 which examined findings of the 'white paper' published over Palestine. It concluded after listening to the delegates that the findings were "most unsatisfactory and disappointing and totally unacceptable"<sup>37</sup>. The meeting reiterated the British government to fulfill the pledges made to the Indian Muslims and the Arabs during WW I and meet the Arab demands.

Furthermore, Jinnah wrote to the Supreme Arab Council of Palestine through Baghdad consulate in Bombay and assured them for his support for Palestine cause. He elaborated efforts of the League at domestic to pressurize the government of India in favor of the Arab demands<sup>38</sup>. He also wrote to Viceroy Lord Linlithgow over Muslim concerns about Palestine and its religious importance for the Muslims<sup>39</sup>. The Arab revolt was over but its repercussions are horrible for the Arabs as many had lost their lives or properties during the conflict. Jinnah realized the plight of the Arabs and opened 'Palestine Fund' to help the families of those who offered their lives in struggle for freedom of Palestine<sup>40</sup>. A committee was appointed under Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman as convener to devise mechanism for fund collection and dispatching money to the deserving people in Palestine through office the president of the League<sup>41</sup>.

Jinnah not only supported cause of Palestinians through offices of the League but also attached it with his national level demands. He demanded safeguards for the Muslims in India through special powers of the governors. He complained that the resolutions and demands of the Indian Muslims were totally

ignored and "the policy of the British Government towards the Arabs in Palestine has wounded deeply Muslim feelings and sentiments and all representations on that behalf have had no real effect so far"<sup>42</sup>.

The League invited many foreign delegates from various Muslim countries to its historic Lahore Session (1940). In response to Jinnah's dedicated and concerted efforts for the Arab rights a majority of available Muslim delegates attended the session<sup>43</sup>. The Lahore session 1940 was also a vivid example of this Jinnah's policy towards the Arabs and their rights. Jinnah in his presidential address to the gathering openly criticized stereotype approach of the government to Palestine issue. He said demanded concrete measures to resolve the issue instead of assuring 'endeavors'. Jinnah demanded "we want that the British government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine"<sup>44</sup>.

For Jinnah, Palestine issue was so important that it was placed second on the agenda of session. The League passed a resolution on Palestine just after passage of its historic resolution for 'autonomous states'. The resolution showed concerns over 'inordinate' delay in settlement of Palestine issue and demanded that "no arrangements of a piecemeal character will be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world, and particularly to the Muslims in India"<sup>45</sup>.

The 'White Paper' on Palestine and subsequent development over this raised new fears in minds of the Muslims. Jinnah expressed his reservations and concerns over the paper to Viceroy Lord Linlithgow. The Viceroy replied to Jinnah with assurance that the rights of Palestinians must be preserved and assured the government would implement Jewish Emigration laws and protect transfer of land and right of the Arab agriculturists. He pledged "you may rest assured that every consideration has been and will continue to be given by His Majesty's Government to legitimate Arabs claims"<sup>46</sup>.

Jinnah had fears that shadows of war would affect sovereignty of the Muslim states in Middle East. He was authorized by the



League Council to "fix a day for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating deep sympathy and concerns of Muslim India with the Muslim countries" which would possibly be under attack during the war<sup>47</sup>. Furthermore, Jinnah made standby arrangement by organizing Red Crescent Branch of Muslim League National Guards to remain ready for emergency situation<sup>48</sup>. The task was to send medical missions to Middle Eastern countries in case of possible attack.

Jinnah fixed 1st November 1940 as "Muslim Day of Observance" which remarked special prayers after Friday prayers for the Muslim countries around the globe. Jinnah "impressed upon all the Muslims to give all the assistance that they could give to the Muslim countries"<sup>49</sup>. He emphatically pronounced that "it is our duty to help our Muslim brethren wherever they are because Islam enjoins that it is our duty to go to the rescue of our Muslim brethren"<sup>50</sup>.

Jinnah again censured the British government was working under influence of 'Jewish Mechanism' and its indifference to its pledges made to the Palestinians during previous great war. The Council of League, under his chair, deplored that the British claimed to stand for freedom, justice and right of self-determination as their war objectives. But on other side they were suppressing Arab right for freedom under Jewish domination. The League again pledged to stand up rights of their Arab brothers and freedom for Palestine. Furthermore, it assured "its Arab brethren in Palestine that Muslim India will stand by them in their fight for their rights against the domination of international Jewry"<sup>51</sup>.

In middle of WW II, the Jewish organizations started propaganda against Palestinians and their struggle for freedom. Furthermore, the increasing Jewish immigration to Palestine also perturbed the natives. Jinnah was assured by the viceroy that under new regulations no immigrants would allowed violating rights of the Arab agriculturists. Jinnah chaired a meeting of League council which demanded protection of Arab rights as per assurance from Lord Linlithgow, the then viceroy<sup>52</sup>. League Council warned the British government of

dire repercussions in case of further injustice and "result in the frustration of their national aspirations for independence will be greatly resented by the Muslims of India"<sup>53</sup>.

War had resulted in capture and liberation of many territories from Italian occupation. These were mostly Muslim majority areas which had been occupied by the Fascist regime in recent decades. Libya, Tripoli, and Cereacea were among liberated lands during war. Jinnah was afraid that like previous war these territories might be made mandates and would again converted into foreign yoke. He resolved through League Council that liberated lands should not be given back to Italian government after war. Moreover, it emphasized that 'United Powers should urge France to liberate Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis' as per its declarations<sup>54</sup>. The Council also criticized the current occupations of France and the Britain. It resolved that "the vicious system of mandates should be abolished for once and for all and the countries of which the mandates were held by Great Britain and France, viz Palestine, Syria and Lebanon will be restored to the people of these countries to set up their own sovereign governments in these territories"<sup>55</sup>.

MAJinnah visited Aligarh in March 1944 and spoke about issues of national and international importance to the student gathering. He reiterated his demand for protection of the Arab right which the government had promised since start of the war. The official proclamations and announcements had assured the Muslims but with changing scenario things were also changing for Arabs who had been fighting for their survival since decades. Jinnah said "we are faced with another serious issue at the moment namely the Jewish problem in Palestine. If President Roosevelt, under the pressure of powerful jewry, commits the blunder of forcing the British government to do injustice to the Arabs in Palestine, it will set the whole Muslim world ablaze from one end to another"<sup>56</sup>.

Jinnah's efforts and service for cause of Palestine did not go unnoticed or without any response from the Arabs. Muhammad Amin-el-Husseni, Mufti of Palestine, wrote to Jinnah on 12 October 1945. He thanked Jinnah for his valuable services for

the Arabs and his devotion for cause of the Muslims. Mufti further commended Jinnah's efforts "that you are making continuously for the service of Islam and the Muslims not only in India but all the Muslim countries; and I would affirm to you that the whole of Islamic world values you and the Muslim League's stand and admires your continuous blessed efforts in the service of the Muslims"<sup>57</sup>. Jinnah was flamboyant over Palestine at that stage due to foreseeable Jewish domination and international consent for Jewish state in the region. His interview was published in the *New York Times* which showed his ultimate resentment over developments on Palestine question. He responded that "he will go to any length to help" the Palestinian brethren in their quest for their rights. He further clarified that they could do "whatever we can do, violence, if necessary"<sup>58</sup>.

On 25 April 1946, Englo-American report on Palestine was published in London which jolted the whole Muslim world. This report increased previous quota for Jewish settlement in Palestine 100,000 immigrant per year. The report had set aside all previous promises to the Muslims and Arabs. Jinnah considered this report as a whole "the grossest betrayal of the Arabs" without considering any human values<sup>59</sup>.

Jinnah presided over meeting of the League working committee which discussed report of the Arab-American Joint Committee of Inquiry on Palestine<sup>60</sup>. The report lashed out on the Arabs and sought to deprive them from their homelands by use of force or any other means. Jinnah clearly rejected that as it was "violation of the solemn and unequivocal pledges given by the British Government to the Arabs themselves and also the Muslim India"<sup>61</sup>. The League committee rejected the report and recommendations of the commission and emphasised upon the government to avoid its implementation. If that plan was implemented it "will create a grave situation not only in Middle East but also in India where the Muslims are pledged to help the Arabs of Palestine against aggression"<sup>62</sup>. Jinnah also announced 10 May as "Palestine Day" to remark solidarity with the Arab brethren<sup>63</sup>.

The British and the United States representatives analyzed "Anglo-American Report on Palestine" with focus on possibility of division of Palestine into four zones with reserved Jewish zone. Furthermore, it emphasized acceptance of 100,000 more Jews in the area on urgent basis<sup>64</sup>. Jinnah himself was entangled in the domestic politics where cabinet mission was making final recommendations for settlement of India. He censured the report and by demanding urgent stop to the Jewish settlement in Palestine and demanded immediate expulsion of already settled Jews to either Australia, Canada or anywhere else<sup>65</sup>. The clauses of white paper promised to stop all Jewish immigration to Palestine by 1st April, 1946. But the situation exacerbated due to the British submission to American supported Jewish and Zionist propaganda.

Jinnah's efforts for Arab rights and for cause of Palestine were noticed in whole Middle East. He sent delegations to Muslim states to get their support and to explain them Pakistan cause<sup>66</sup>. Mufti Muhammad Amin-el-Husseni again wrote to Jinnah on 16 October 1946. He once again thanked Jinnah for his support and services and said "Muslims of the world would remember how the League under leadership of Jinnah favored and cared for the affairs of the Muslim countries like Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Western Trablus, Indonesia and all other countries of North Africa"<sup>67</sup>.

Just months before partition of India, Jinnah was interviewed by some foreign reporters to get his opinion about the foreign policy direction of Pakistan. Jinnah kept Palestine as essential part of his vision for future foreign policy of the nation. He was interviewed by Duncan Hooper, Reuter's correspondent, who asked his opinion about partition of Palestine. Jinnah out rightly rejected any solution leading to partition and warned grave repercussions for the region. He said the partition plan was "bound to be the gravest disaster and unprecedented conflict not only between the Arabs and the authority that would undertake to enforce the partition plan but the entire Muslim world would revolt, and Pakistan will have no other option course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs"<sup>68</sup>. He repeated his concerns in his interview to BBC that the

"Muslims of the Sub-Continent had been compelled to condemn in strongest possible manner the unjust and cruel decision of the United Nations concerning the partition of Palestine" and also pledged support to the Arab brother in all possible means<sup>69</sup>.

After creation of Pakistan, Jinnah pursued multi pronged foreign policy with domestic and international considerations. First was security issues of the newly created state which had been in conflict with India over Junagarh, Haiderabad and Kashmir. Second his perception about international situation after World War II which had changed global maps forever and opened new avenues for many states in shape of de-colonization. And third was start of cold war in new international system where Pakistan had to exist.

But another aspect in way of pursuing such foreign policy was historical background of All-India Muslim League. League had supported cause of the Muslims emotionally without making diplomatic ties or influences with any foreign state. Its pre-partition deliberations condemned plight of the Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims suffering in other parts of Africa and Asia but it never tried to start serious diplomatic efforts to support them. Perhaps, League was a minority party with scarcity of resources and influences to establish tangible diplomatic contacts with outer world.

Jinnah looked after foreign affairs from August 1947 to December 1947 as the state had no foreign minister and prime minister was responsible for foreign affairs. But Liaqat Ali Khan had other engagements regarding partition and settlement therefore foreign secretary Ikram Ullah took advices from Jinnah for all papers and policy matters<sup>70</sup>. Jinnah's vision for Pakistan's foreign policy was obvious from as he clearly remarked that Pakistan "will be friendly to all the nations. We stand for the peace of the world. We will make our contribution whatever we can"<sup>71</sup>.

Jinnah remained supportive to the cause of Palestine as he was in pre-partitions days. Just a few days after partition, Jinnah announced to send a delegation to Cairo under Abdur Rehman

Siddiqui to participate in Inter-Parliamentary World Congress on Palestine to be held in last week of August 1947<sup>72</sup>. Furthermore, Zafrullah Khan was sent to represent Pakistan in the United Nations. He attended deliberations of UN Ad Hoc Committee over Palestine and vividly declared Balfour Declaration as illegitimate and clearly rejected partition of Palestine that Pakistan would not accept that unjust plan<sup>73</sup>. Zafrullah provided background of the conflict which was violation of rights of the Arabs. He illustrated that if other small nations had been given due rights then why not same rule should be applied to the Palestinians. On matters of partition of Palestine, he predicted constant conflict and atrocities in the area<sup>74</sup>. He opined that such hostilities would be unstoppable for the UN and others and emphasized the committee to find some other suitable solution of the issue in accordance with the aspirations of the concerned people<sup>75</sup>.

Zafrullah was selected as reporter for the subcommittee II which was established by the UN Ad Hoc committee to draw plan for independent Palestinian state under guidelines of Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The committee watched comprehensive role of Pakistan's delegates in the work and decided to selected Zafrullah as chairman of the committee. The other committee, subcommittee I, suggested economic union of Palestine to settle the dispute and implement the plan<sup>76</sup>. Zafrullah Khan, on behalf of Pakistan, ruled out whole plan and suggestion as it was fundamentally unworkable, illegitimate and impractical<sup>77</sup>. He was of the view that implementation of this plan would further complicate the issue and escalate difficulties of the masses<sup>78</sup>. Zafrullah, in his committee report suggested independent and unitary state of Palestine with arguments that under charter of the UN it cannot act against wishes of the people who are against partition<sup>79</sup>. But his recommendations were rejected by the Ad Hoc Committee.

Jinnah admired Zafrullah for his role and dedicated work and declared that he worked in accordance of policy guidelines from the government of Pakistan. Jinnah also censured the partition scheme as division of Palestine was against will of the people and it would bring disaster and persistent conflict in the

region<sup>80</sup>. He said that Pakistan had no other option except to support Arabs to avoid outrage as consequence of illegitimate partition. Such schemes for settlement of disputes could not be proved rightful either historically or morally in political history<sup>81</sup>.

Jinnah came to know the decision to divide Palestine against all efforts and aspirations of the Arabs. He endeavored to convince the American president Harry S. Truman via a cable message. Jinnah made appeal to think about rights of the Palestinians and tried to convey pitfalls of partition<sup>82</sup>. But the time had gone for such diplomatic efforts as the US got 33 votes in favor of the partition plan. Pakistan was one of those states which cast their vote against this scheme<sup>83</sup>. This was a shock for Jinnah and his trust over the United Nations which had been lacking impartial verdict. He termed the decision for partition as 'unjust and cruel' as it had overruled all aspects of humanity. Jinnah pledged to 'help cause of the Arabs in Palestine in every possible way<sup>84</sup>. In the coming days, Pakistan opposed Israel's creation in every possible way. On matter of Israel's inclusion into the United Nations, Pakistan put its vote against Israel due to its immoral and illegitimate origin. Even the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed unanimous resolution emphatically not to recognize the state of Israel.

Jinnah chaired Muslim League Council meeting at Karachi on 14-15 December 1947 and resolved again over Palestine issue. It deplored the arising situation over Palestine and expressed deep concerns over the report of the Special Committee on Palestine. It was lamentable that United Nations General Assembly not only considered partition of Palestine against will of the people of land but also voted on it<sup>85</sup>. It also mentioned the attitude of the stronger nations towards smaller nations whose representatives spoke openly against partition but they were pressurized to vote in favor of it at the time of voting<sup>86</sup>. Jinnah again assured Arabs for their support in future where they would be struggling against odds to liberate their homeland.

Jinnah's support for Palestine was not political stunt to get maximum support of the Indian Muslims for his political manifesto. Rather it was heart felt and sincere gesture for liberating the Palestinian Muslims and their natural right over their lands. Though League was a minority party with limited resources to influence international politics yet Jinnah did his utmost to support Palestine in potential ways. As president of the League, he kept this issue as part of agenda of almost every annual session of the League. He censured the Government of India and Great Britain for their apathy towards issues of their mandate. While as governor general of newly born state, Jinnah endeavored to support Palestine in the United Nations to prevent vote for creation of Israel. Neither Pakistan had such strong diplomatic lobby at that movement nor it had influence over great powers to do so. But Jinnah's efforts for Palestine will always be remembered.



## References

- <sup>1</sup> AIML took up the issue since the Khilafat movement and kept it on agenda for coming decades as potential proponent for cause of the Arabs. The Resolutions of AIML from 1920's to 1935 show presence and support of Palestine issue in one way or the other. For text of resolutions see; Syed Shariffudin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan: ALL-India Muslim League Documents*, Vol. III (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2007), 229 and for Palestine Day, Ibid., 244
- <sup>2</sup> Umbreen Javed and Malik Touqir Ahmad Awan, "Pakistan and Question of Recognizing Israel: Historical Issues and Future Prospects," *South Asian Studies Journal* 29, no.2 ( January 2014): 61-62
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> Freedom Movement Archives, National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, Vol. 219, 51-52
- <sup>5</sup> George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: Story of the Arab National Movement* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1939), 355-360
- <sup>6</sup> The officials in India were circulated various instructions and precautionary measures to maintain law and order. There were some letters and records which mentioned Palestine situation and possible outburst in India. See *NWFP CID Records* File no. 12/10/12, Vol. II, 69-71 another report by S.P. Kohat about developments regarding Palestine. Ibid., 97
- <sup>7</sup> Meeting of Muslim League Council, 9 June 1936, Archives of Freedom Movement, National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, Vol. 222, 47-48
- <sup>8</sup> *The Indian Annual Register*, 1937, Vol. II, 402-403, also Welcome Address by Chairman of the Reception Committee of All-India Muslim League annual session Lucknow, 1937 in Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, 238
- <sup>9</sup> Address by Raja Sab of Mehmoodabad at Lucknow session 1937, Ibid., 239
- <sup>10</sup> Jinnah's Presidential address at Lucknow Session 1937, see Jameel-ud-Din Aali, ed., *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah* (Lahore: SH. M. Ashraf, 1952), 29-34 Ibid., 239-242
- <sup>11</sup> Jinnah's Presidential address at Lucknow session 1937, Ibid., 34
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> Resolution III passed by All-India Muslim League in 25th annual session at Lucknow 1937 , *Resolutions of All-India Muslim League from October 1937 to December 1938*. Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, 1944, also *The Pioneer*, Lucknow, October 18, 1937, and Pirdaza, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, 250
- <sup>14</sup> Clause II of the resolution III presented in Lucknow session of AIML, Ibid.

- 15 Clause III of the resolution III presented in Lucknow session of AIML,  
Ibid.
- 16 Clause IV of the resolution III passed in Lucknow session of AIML  
1937, Ibid.
- 17 Resolution IV passed in Lucknow session of AIML 1937, Ibid.
- 18 Resolution V of the meeting of Council of All India Muslim League,  
Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. III, 244
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid., 244-245 (names were Moulana Shoukat Ali, Moulana Zafar Ali  
Khan, Abdur Rehman Siddiqui, Moulana Qatab-ud-din Abdul Wali,  
Moulana Hasrat Mohani, Moulana Mazharuddin, and Aziz Ahmad  
Khan was as convener of the committee)
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (London: Longmans,  
1961), 201-210
- 23 Presidential Address of Jinnah to 26th Annual Session of All India  
Muslim League at Patna 26-29 December 1938, Aali, *Some Recent  
Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, 72-73
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Resolution I passed at annual session of All India Muslim League 26-  
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India Muslim League* published Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan
- 26 Resolution II passed by All India Muslim League in Patna Session,  
1938, Ibid.
- 27 Resolution III passed by All India Muslim League in Patna Session,  
1938, Ibid.
- 28 Resolution V passed by All India Muslim League in 26th annual  
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Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan and *IAR*, Vol. II, 348
- 29 Discussion on Resolution V passed by All India Muslim League in  
Patna Session, 1938, Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid., 287
- 33 The details are available in, Ibid., F. 49, 81-88 and 117 also  
Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, 204-206
- 34 Ibid., 210
- 35 Resolutions of All India Muslim League working committee on March  
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- 37 Resolution VI, Resolutions of All India Muslim League Council  
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- 38 QAP, F. 479, 14
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- 40 Resolution VII of the working committee meeting of All India Muslim  
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- 41 Other members were Sir Abdulullah Haroon, Abdur Rehman Siddiqui,  
Haji Abdussatar Esa Saith, and Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim see; *Ibid.*,  
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- 42 Resolution VIII and IX of the Working Committee of All India  
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- 43 AIML Council held a meeting on 27-28 August 1939 to discuss  
coming annual session proceedings. Moulana Burhanul Haq and Sir  
Karimbhai Ibrahimhai proposed a resolution in this regard to touch  
other Muslim countries. Also see Abdullah Haroon to Jinnah, 17 July  
1939; Resolution X of AIML Council meeting, QAP, F. 479, 14 and  
AFM, Vol. 262, 78
- 44 Jinnah's presidential address at annual session of AIML March 1940,  
Aali, *Some Recent Speeches*, 148 also see IAR, 1940, Vol. I, 307-308
- 45 Resolution II passed in annual session of AIML 22-24 March 1940,  
*Resolutions of All India Muslim League* published by Nawabzada  
Liaqat Ali Khan also see IAR, 1940, Vol. I, 311
- 46 Linlithgow to Jinnah, 27 June, 1940, Atique Zafar Sheikh and  
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- 47 Meeting of AIML Council held on 29 September 1940 under Jinnah  
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- 48 Resolution VIII passed on 29 September 1940 in meeting Council of  
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- 54 Resolution VIII of meeting of All India Muslim League Council 14-  
15 November 1943, *Ibid.*, 336

- 55 Resolution VIII of meeting of All India Muslim League Council 14-15  
November 1943, Ibid., 336
- 56 Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Jinnah: The Nation's  
Voice*, Vol. III (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1999), 396-397
- 57 Muhammad Amin-el-Husseni to Jinnah, 12 October 1945, Sheikh and  
Malik, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam and The Muslim World*, 122
- 58 Ahmad, ed. *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. IV, 439-440
- 59 Jinnah's statement on report of the Anglo-American Committee on  
Palestine, Quaid-i-Azam Papers, File no. 810, 2-A
- 60 Resolution II of meeting of AIML working committee 27 April 1946,  
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- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Resolutions of meeting working committee of AIML 27 April 1946,  
Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Analysis of report was published in *Dawn*, Delhi, 31 July 1946 which  
stirred waves of resentment from all quarters of India.
- 65 Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Quaid's Correspondence* (Rawalpindi:  
Guild Publishing House, 1977), 155
- 66 Ghulam Ali Talpur and Malik Faeroz Khan Noon visited Middle East  
on Jinnah's orders. When the British requested to Iraq to appoint Trade  
Commissioner in Iraq they were refused on the grounds that All-India  
Muslim League was not given proper share in the government. The  
Prime Minister of Iraq appreciated Jinnah for his efforts for Palestine  
and the Muslim cause. Some details are available in QAP, F. 884, 381-  
382
- 67 Muhammad Amin-el-Husseni to Jinnah, 16 October 1946, Sheikh  
and Malik, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim World*, 156
- 68 Jinnah interview to Reuters correspondent Duncan Hooper, 25 October  
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- 69 Sheikh and Malik, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim World*, 166
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- 71 Syed Rifaat Hussain, Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan's Foreign Policy,  
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- 72 *Star of India*, Calcutta, 25 August 1947
- 73 UN Documents on Palestine, 7 October 1947, UNA, A/AC-14/SR-7/2  
and UN Documents on Palestine, 7 October 1947, UNA, A/AC-  
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- <sup>80</sup> Jinnah's Interview with Duncan Hooper, 25 October 1947 in *Jinnah: Speeches and Statements 1947-1948*, 58-60
- <sup>81</sup> Ibid., 60-65
- <sup>82</sup> Jinnah to Harry S. Truman, 8 December 1947, in Riaz Ahmad, (ed.), *Quaid-i-Azam- A Chronology*(Karachi, 1981), 135
- <sup>83</sup> Farooq Ahmad Dar, *Jinnah's Pakistan: Formation and Challenges of a State* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 314
- <sup>84</sup> Jinnah's Interview with Robert Simson, 19 December 1947, NAP, F. 188. GG/15-6
- <sup>85</sup> Resolution II of All India Muslim League Council Meeting 14 December 1947, Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. III, 546
- <sup>86</sup> Ibid.