

Doc # 1

Cover Docket Document -

docket position 01-02

Titled as

"

Pakistan's Relations with Moslem States of Middle East  
(Including Qadiriya Order)

Visits of Egyptian Journalists to Pakistan

"

(Rest is in cursive and hard to read)

I.O.  
947

GENERAL DEPT. DIV B.

COLL 52  
6 (1)

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PAKISTAN  
FOREIGN RELATIONS.

IOR: L/H/S/12/474L

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1392

PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH MOSLEM STATES OF MIDDLE EAST.

(INCLUDING  
QADIRIYA ORDER.)

DO 142/476

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16494

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16650

16849

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Doc # 2

Intro Document -

docket position 03-04

Dated 5 Dec 1947

Basically, this doc from someone from FO raised whether Pakistan can be used by UK to influence ME states being the largest Muslim state. Original note has optimism for this idea and of possibly continuing to use Qadiriya order for British interests.

Added hand-written note is pessimistic - notes various reasons this might not work - that Pakistan is disadvantaged and that it may not survive or stay in commonwealth.



The question which the Foreign Office raise in their letter below, is an interesting one, and Sir L. Grafftey-Smith with his experience of the Middle East should be in as good a position as anyone to give the answer.

I suppose that the Foreign Office are worried in particular about the recent deterioration of relations with Egypt (the leading Middle East State) owing to the trouble over the Treaty and by the fact that the Palestine business has put a severe strain on relations with even the best disposed states of the Arab League. It would, no doubt, be an excellent thing if Pakistan as a part of the Commonwealth could bring her influence to bear on the other Middle East States in a favourable sense from our point of view.

The Pakistan leaders must surely realise that her interests are closely bound up with the Middle East, and there has been no lack of interest on the part of India in this area in the past, e.g. the Palestine question. Middle East countries have, on their part, however, tended to look down in the past on Indians, partly no doubt because of their subjection to the British, and partly (as Muslims) because they regard Indian Muslims as a somewhat contaminate section of the faith. I should think that Pakistan probably has a long way to go before Middle East countries will be prepared to look to her as a leader, notwithstanding the fact that she is numerically the largest Muslim State in the world. *The principle underlying force in the M.E. is perhaps the desire for a common Muslim unity.*

As regards the Qadiriya Order, I have no idea as to the amount of importance to be attached to this suggestion. Presumably the most important factor in determining the line of Pakistan's future policy in regard to the Middle East is Mr. Jinnah.

*(In its present form it seems to me rather half-hearted)* *or amended*  
It may be thought desirable to expand the Foreign Office draft somewhat. A copy might go to Sir T. Shone, Political Secretary, for any observations.

*Fortham*  
4.12.47.

I doubt whether the leaders of Pakistan have thought

*will be prop. ... should be ...*

yet developed the ambitions which the F.O. attribute to them. They have been too busy defending their position against Indian pressure. In so far as they have looked to the N.E., it is rather by way of looking for help. The F.O. should not be misled by the impressive show put up by Zafarullah Khan at New York. From the point of view of the Pakistanis he is orthodox both politically & doctrinally - being a Qadiani & not a member of the old guard of the Muslim League. They will use him as a good administrator & diplomat, but his influence on policy is wholly to be feared.

I also doubt whether the assumptions  
(a) that Pakistan will survive  
(b) that Pakistan will remain in the Commonwealth

are well founded - unless the U.K. do much more than we seem likely to be ready to do, to see that these assumptions prove correct.

10077 Zueser  
5.12.47.

Doc # 3

Intro document -

docket position 05

Dated 8 Dec 1947

Letter to undersecretary of State to forward this to Grafftey-Smith (British High Commissioner in Karachi) for his opinions and forward to Terrence Shone (British High Commissioner to India)



110 sign? (Typed below)  
Sir A. Carter

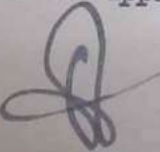
I think you should see this for  
proposed by 70. It seems to  
indicate some degree of wishful  
thinking, but perhaps it expresses

Under-Secretary of State,

The Foreign Office have asked us to write to Sir L. Grafftey-Smith on the interest which Pakistan is likely to take in the political affairs of the Muslim States of the Middle East.

As Mr. Rumbold points out, Pakistan has been pre-occupied with internal affairs though she has opened up negotiations with some of the Arab League States and with Turkey by sending Malik Firoz Khan Noon (not a very happy choice) as Mr. Jinnah's personal representative. She has also agreed to exchange diplomatic representatives with Egypt and Persia - not yet, I think, with Iraq. There seems to be no harm in consulting the U.K. High Commissioner in Karachi, although it seems that developments in this direction are not likely to be forthcoming shortly. I doubt whether Sir R. Hay can contribute much to this but there is no harm in sending him a copy of the letter to Sir L. Grafftey-Smith and asking for his views. We should of course also inform Sir T. Shone of this enquiry.

Draft letter submitted for approval.



8.12.47.

circles and Ring and  
way or way with the  
of the 6 are whole. In  
the 02-igning to a Cate Minister  
or I added I don't think we need  
object to it. But this indicates  
need to think we are about the future of  
Pakistan, rather Riddle Carter or S. E. Miles  
P. XII



Doc # 4

Intro document -

docket position 06

Dated 8 Dec 1947

Someone named PJP (Paul Patrick) sending a letter to Sir Carter just about communication in opening intro documents

Sir A. Carter

I think you should see this draft proposed by Foreign Office. It seems to indicate some degree of wishful thinking, but purports to express a view on policy which may or may not be that of H.M.G. as a whole. As the letter is going to a late Minister at Jeddah I don't think we need object to its tone. But this indicates need to think more about the future of Pakistan, whether Middle Eastern or S.E. Asian.

P.J.P.  
8.12.47

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Doc # 5

Intro document -

docket position 07

Dated 15 Dec 1947

Someone from state, possibly Rumbold, asking Sir Paul Patrick to agree to send letter to High Commissioner. Some concern because they don't want a signal to be sent to Pakistan that they can rely more on Middle East as opposed to India (and Britain). Suggests either meeting with FO or getting two secretaries of state to contact them.





Doc # 6

Intro document -

docket position 08

Dated 19 Dec 1947

Another letter to Sir Paul Patrick from someone within state - having spoken to Mr. Burrows, who is Foreign Secretary, and the idea is just to send the letter to British High Commissioner, Grafftey-Smith, for his opinion - but with the idea that he should not approach Pakistani leaders about this.

M. D. Kaldor.

RNM

22/12/47

Sir A. J. J. J.

I am not sure if F.O. would  
accept the draft as revised  
but you should try it  
or (if) the linked file is not  
15.12.47

Sir Paul Patrick,

I have spoken to Mr. Burrows about this. The Foreign Secretary is personally keen on pursuing this idea, but this particular action was not taken on his specific instructions and there is no need to bring Ministers into contact at this stage.

The Foreign Office readily agree that a colourless letter might be sent to Sir L. Grafftey-Smith and I attach a revised draft. There is no need to clear this with the Eastern Department before issue but they would like to have a copy in the form in which it is sent. You will notice that it is not intended that the U.K. High Commissioner should approach the Pakistan leaders before replying.

Will you sign?


19.12.47.

Revised draft sent  
to Burrows in box  
for concurrence  
J 22/12

Doc # 7

Intro document -

docket position 09

Dated 30 Dec 1947

Enclosure detailing who signed off on sending letter to British High Commissioner - different dates for sign-off, last date seems to be 30/12/47

Win Boyer

This is for  
enclosure in a  
letter to

19 December 1947

E 10401/44/65

UKH <sup>re</sup> 72

about Pakistan the motion  
awaiting U.S.S.  
afford signature

With the compliments of 22/12

Mr. H. T. L. Pyman

Sent to  
PP 10  
30 DEC 1947

E. P. Donaldson, Esq,  
C. R. O.



Doc # 8

Intro document -

docket position 10

Dated 31 Jan 1948

Someone writing to secretary, political dept and under-secretary of state - that Sir P Patrick's letters have been sent to HC in Karachi and to what seems to be Sir Rupert Hay (political resident in Persian Gulf/Bahrain at that time). Apparently notes sent back to the FO from the British HC and Hay.

118 sig  
M 5.11

Sir A.C. Carter  
RHM

6/2/48

1032 4/2  
Secretary, Political Dept.,  
Under-Secretary of State,

Future relations between Pakistan and the  
Moslem States of the Middle East

Please refer to Sir P. Patrick's letter of 31st December to Sir L. Grafftey-Smith and connected noting. Replies have now been received giving the views of Sir L. Grafftey-Smith and Sir R. Hay. These are interesting reading and it is submitted that we might associate ourselves with the views expressed in writing to the Foreign Office (to whom copies have already been sent in advance).

J.M.H.

31.1.48.

Doc # 9

Study and History on Qadiriya Order -

docket position 78-82

Dated Sometime before Nov 1947

This is the only document where the folder stash is combined with the document in question. One reason to do this was the study document does not have a date but the folder stash does. From all the rest of the documents, it is easily seen that the folder stash date is significantly after the date of the documents in it so this helps us place the document chronologically here. Content of the study seems to be just a history on Qadiriya order - conclusion is that they may be useful as instruments of power if they can get a strong leader as head. Seems some worries about communists using the order too.

Under-Secretary of State  
for Commonwealth Relations.

FILE COPY

E 10401/44/65.

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS

OF THE

8729

UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Ref: Letter of 22 Nov. 1947  
(E 10401/44/65)

to E. P. Donaldson, Esq.,  
C. M. G.

C. R. O.

INDEXED

Foreign Office,

28 November, 1947.

8



its connection with the Saiyids.



Ext 2750/47 1/65  
8838

THE QADIRIYA ORDER.

Abdul-Qadir al-Gailani, who claimed descent from Hasan, the son of Imam Ali, died in 1165 in Baghdad, where his shrine has been venerated and a centre of pilgrimage for members of the Order throughout the centuries until the present time. Throughout this time the custody of the shrine and the property attached to it have been in the hands of a member of the Gailani family, who has been known as the Naqib of Baghdad. Three functions are attached to the office of Naqib: firstly, that of the Naqibat al-Ashraf (the leadership of the nobles); secondly, the Qadiriya Mushaikhah (the office of Shaikh or head of the Qadiriya Order); and thirdly, the Mutawalliship of the Qadiriya Waqf (the trusteeship of the religious foundation, which included the property and funds connected with the shrine of Abdul-Qadir al Gailani). Owing to the widely-spread membership of the Qadiriya Order the Naqib must be regarded as an influential personality in the Islamic world. While the Qadiriya community acknowledges nominal allegiance to the Naqib in Baghdad, his actual authority is chiefly recognised in 'Iraq and India. The latter periodically sends gifts which form the main source of the revenues of the shrine at Baghdad. Members of the Gailani family find it advantageous to have a knowledge of Urdu.

The methods, practices and grades of the Qadiriya Order are described in several works which also clearly indicate the far-reaching influence which the head, or higher-grade members, must have in any community in which the Order is widely spread.

According to one authority<sup>(1)</sup> the Order only reached India three hundred years after its founder's death, when one of his descendants, Saiyid Bandagi Muhammad Ghaus, came to live at Uch in Sind in 1482. The founder of the Order received many titles in India, the chief of which was Pir Dastgir, but among others he was known as Pir-i-Piran and Hasan ul-Husaini, etc. This latter title is found in "A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier" mentioned in the note below, and is of especial interest because of its connection with the Saiyids. Shrines were erected to Abdul-Qadir in order to secure his beneficial assistance, and the festival in his memory called the 'urs is celebrated on the 11th day of Rabi' al-Thani every year. The sanctity of his memory and that of Muhammad Ghaus has been handed down through a long line of descendants, many of whom are considered saints and whose shrines are venerated<sup>(11)</sup> in the Punjab and North-West Frontier. Some have been canonized as patron saints of industrial castes and guilds.

Most of the Sunni divines of the North-West Frontier are Qadiriya, and the Akhund of Swat belong to the order.

The Saiyids, who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fatima and the Imam Ali, number (according to the Census tables of 1883 and 1892) approximately a quarter of a million in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces. A division of these Saiyids, who claim to be the descendants of Abdul-Qadir al-Gailani, are known as the Hasan-Husaini. But they also are designated according to the places whence their ancestors came. Thus the descendants of Abdul-

/Qadir

---

(1) Murray T. Titus, Indian Islam, 1930. Moreover, in "Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier" (based on Census Reports of 1853, 1892) - compiled by H.A. Rose, Vol. I, p. 542, a certain Shah Muh. Ghaus, who died in 1739, was venerated greatly and his shrine at Lahore was greatly esteemed from Delhi to Peshawar. According to Snell, the Religious Orders of Islam, p. 20, Ghaus was the highest rank attainable in the religious Orders. It is worthy of note that the name of Ghaus, such as Ghaus ad-Din, figures amongst prominent Afghans.

(11) A list of these saints is given in the Glossary, pp. 540-1, and details of Qadiriya and Saints on p. 542.



Qadir are often known as Gailani, and the Gardizi or Baghdadi Saiyids of Afghanistan are an important branch of the Hasan-Husainis<sup>(iii)</sup>. The immediate ancestor of the Baghdadi Saiyids in Multan was Shah Habib, who founded a village, Baghdad, at the commencement of the Sidhnaal reach in Kabirwala Fehsil. A large fair is held at his shrine every August. His family is known as Hasan-Husaini, or Gailani, as is that of the Saiyids of Musa Pah Shahid, son of Shaikh Jahan Baksh, or Muhammad Gahus<sup>(iv)</sup> who was tenth in descent from Abdul-Qadir Gailani and migrated from Baghdad to Uch in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>(v)</sup>

When in 1927 the Naqib of Baghdad, Saiyid Abdur-Rahman, died the obvious successor was his eldest son, Saiyid Mahmud. However, an effort was made by a group of the Gailani family to take the administration of the Awqaf out of his hands. Included in this group was Saiyid Daud, eldest son of the last Naqib but one, whose succession had been passed over by the Turks on his father's death, owing to his dissolute habits. But the leader of the movement was Rashid Ali al-Gailani, a distant relative of the Naqib, who was then Minister of the Interior and later was to become the notorious leader of the 'Iraq rebellion during the last war. Believed at the time to be in debt, he apparently aspired to gain control of the revenues of the Gailani Awqaf, which belonged to the class of Mustathna Awqaf, and were, therefore, exempt from the control of the 'Iraqi Ministry of Awqaf.

Owing to the intrigues of Rashid Ali, King Faisal, while agreeing to Saiyid Mahmud's becoming Naqib, wished to entrust the administration of the Awqaf to a Committee over which the Naqib was to preside, but on which Rashid Ali and Saiyid Daud should sit as members. The Naqib protested that such action was contrary to custom, the old firmans and Section 113 of the Organic Law of 'Iraq. The latter incorporated provisions of a Turkish law promulgated on the 5th August, 1913, which dealt with the succession of religious posts, in which was included that of the Naqib, and which apparently provided that it should pass from father to son.

The High Commissioner for 'Iraq, Sir Henry Dobbs, fully supported the Naqib's attitude. At the same time he pointed out the possible repercussions that the contemplated change with regard to the succession might have in India, Afghanistan, North Africa and Kurdistan, which might directly affect His Majesty's Government. The Secretary of State for the Colonies agreed that the question would excite the closest interest on the part of Moslems in the above-mentioned countries, and that it was, therefore, of considerable international importance. His proposal that this should be impressed upon King Faisal was strongly endorsed by the Government of India. The fact that, even before any action had been taken by the 'Iraqi Government, a number of protesting telegrams were received in Baghdad from India, proved that such fears were not unjustified.

Considerable difficulty was encountered, however, when attempting to make King Faisal realise the serious results which might ensue both for the Hashimite family and for His Majesty's Government if he persisted in following the course he contemplated, which might well be interpreted as contrary to custom and the Islamic law. He finally agreed that neither Rashid Ali nor a Waqf official should sit on the Committee, and that, if it should turn out a failure, he would dissolve the Committee.

/On

(iii) The text of the Glossary refers in this one place to the "Hasainis". This would seem to be an error or misprint.

(iv) See Note (i), p.1.

(v) Glossary, Vol. III, pp.392-3.



On the 22nd August a Royal Iradeh, signed by the Prince Regent Ali, the Prime Minister, etc., was issued appointing Saiyid Mahmud the Naqib, Shaikh of the Qadiriya Order, Mutawalli and Nazir of the Qadiriya Awqaf. At the same time Saiyid Mahmud agreed to accept the appointment of a Committee to supervise the Awqaf. Although Rashid Ali was not appointed an actual member of the Committee there seemed to be little doubt that Saiyid Daud and the other members of the family who were to sit on the Committee would be under his influence. The Naqib immediately lodged a protest that the agreement had been that he, and not the Government, should select the Committee and that it had been given too wide powers.

Saiyid Mahmud died in Baghdad in July, 1936. Within six days of his death Saiyid Asim, his eldest surviving brother, was appointed Naqib, but Rashid Ali, who was again occupying the post of Minister of the Interior, was appointed as trustee of the Qadiriya Awqaf. It was thought at the time that Rashid Ali's appointment might not be so unwelcome to the majority of the Gailani family, as the administration of the endowed properties had been neglected by the previous Naqib. In any case, since their Mandate had been concluded His Majesty's Government felt that they could no longer intervene in such matters. Rashid Ali's triumph was, however, shortlived, for the following January his appointment as trustee was cancelled and the Naqib was appointed in his stead. It was believed that the return to the precedent of uniting the two posts received the approval of public opinion.

Two months before Saiyid Mahmud's death his son, Saiyid Muhammad Jamal ad-Din, came to Baghdad, no doubt with the hope of succeeding his father as Naqib. The Saiyid had lived for the past twenty years in India, where he kept alive the influence of the Gailani family in Baluchistan and in the Chitral Valley. He was thought to have married a daughter of the Mehtar then ruling Chitral. He may, therefore, be not very friendly-disposed toward the present Naqib, although his present residence, whether India or 'Iraq, has not been ascertained.

As mentioned above the Baghdadi Saiyids of Afghanistan claimed descent from Abdul-Qadir al-Gailani. In this connection it is of interest to note that Saiyid Hasan<sup>(vi)</sup>, known as the Naqib Sahib of Chaharbagh, Eastern Province (Afghanistan) and Pir Naqib of Baghdad (near Jalalabad), was described in 1940 as having a greater reputation and more influence than any other local priest or saint in Afghanistan. He was born in 1867 and was, therefore, a very old man in 1940. He was apparently friendly-disposed towards the British. In 1935 "he was said to be conniving at, if not supporting, a plot in Eastern and Southern Provinces to overthrow the (Afghan) Government." Pir Ali Haider Shah is his nephew. The previous Naqib of Baghdad was Saiyid Abdur-Rahman, brother of Saiyid Hasan. They had a nephew called Saiyid Mahmud Sami, son of Saiyid Ahmad, who bore the names of Baghdadi Gailani zada.

It is very probable that the leading religious personalities in Afghanistan, who are mentioned above, are members of the Qadiriya Order - as well as the "majority of the divisions" mentioned by Ibbetson, and that the influence of the Order on the North-West Frontier is strong. To get actual facts for proving this, i.e. reliable figures, would no doubt be extremely difficult.

It is, indeed, by no means easy to form an estimate of the strength and cohesiveness of this or any other darwish order. They are underground movements until and unless a forceful leader appears and a situation exists in which their influence may be exerted. Since the death of Saiyid Abdur-Rahman (1927), and even for some time before that date, the prestige of the Gailani family in 'Iraq has declined; apart from the fact that the immediate successor of Saiyid Abdur-Rahman was

/a

(vi) Leading Personalities of Afghanistan (October, 1943) has a blank under his number (74). Possibly he died in the interim.

a less able man than his father, it was King Faisal's deliberate policy to destroy the eminent status of the family in 'Iraq, and in this he was abetted by Rashid Ali, a member of a collateral branch of it hardly recognised by the leading members. At the same time it does not necessarily follow that the reverence felt by outlying branches of the Order for their leader is impaired, especially so long as he is the keeper of the shrine of their founder; and it is difficult to see how the position which this shrine must occupy in the minds of members of the Qadiriya can be usurped by any minor, local place of pilgrimage.

In ordinary times, therefore, we must regard the Qadiriya Order as a dormant force awaiting the time and the dynamic leader to become active as a religious or a political influence. Though it is impossible that Communist doctrine would (if properly understood) be acceptable to members of the Order, the suitability of such an organisation for the propagation of Communism may not have escaped Soviet agents. There is, on the other hand, no evidence here that the Soviet authorities in Baghdad or elsewhere have attempted to make use of it yet.



Doc # 10

Letter from FO Burrows to Commonwealth Relations Office EP Donaldson

docket position 75-77

Dated 22 Nov 1947

Letter has a draft of attached letter that they want to send to British HC in Karachi, Grafftey-Smith on his views of Pakistan. Draft letter attached - this is working copy - only first page attached

FILE COPY

8729

1947

(E 10401/44/65)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

22nd November, 1947.

nto Qadhiya order  
This is submitted

INDEXED

Dear Donaldson

We are anxious to know Grafftey-Smith's views about future relations between Pakistan and the Moslem states of the Middle East. We should, therefore, be grateful if you would write to him on the lines of the attached draft.

2. Would you kindly let us have a copy of the letter as sent as we shall wish to consult our Middle East posts at the same time. Perhaps you would be good enough to ask Hay for his views in respect of the Persian Gulf.

Yours sincerely  
B.A.B. Burrows

(B.A.B. Burrows)

E.P. Donaldson Esq., C.M.G.,  
Commonwealth Relations Office.

Registry  
No.

Draft.

Sir L. Grafftey-

Smith *KBLcmg*

*Karachi*  
*Copy (with encl)*  
*to Sir P. Shone,*  
*Sir R. Haydon,*  
*2 (with encl)*  
*2 (to Mr. Burnard)*

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

SECRET

EX 1  
8729

1947

The Foreign Office have been giving some thought to future relations between Pakistan and the Moslem states of the Middle East. They think that in the course of time, if and when Pakistan got over her teething troubles, she might conceivably become the natural leader of the Moslem world. *How far do you yourself think* It seems to them probably that the Pakistan leaders have ambitions in this direction. *They have* If this is the case it might well be to our advantage to *foster* ~~encourage~~ Pakistan's *in the* interest ~~herself~~ in the affairs of the Middle East ~~since it~~ *is the* ~~seems reasonable to~~ hope that Pakistan, *if she* ~~may~~ *will* remain part of the Commonwealth, (whatever India may do) ~~and might~~ *may* influence the Moslem states of the Middle East in our favour.

2. *we* The Foreign Office ~~should~~ be grateful *but we do not suggest that you should trouble it with Pak.* for your views on this subject. *They are* at the same time consulting their Missions in the Middle East about it.

3./

... they also are designated according to the  
... whence their ancestors came. Thus the descendants of Abdul-

3. Should it be decided in due course that it is desirable to <sup>to be</sup> interest Pakistan's in the Middle East there is a suggestion that it might be possible to make use of the Qadiriya Order, on which a note is attached. The Foreign Office would be grateful for your views on this suggestion, on which they are also consulting their posts concerned.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to Hay, with <sup>the</sup> request that he may furnish his views on the question so far as the Persian Gulf is concerned, and also to Shone for information.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Doc # 11

Letter to Rupert Hay in Bahrain

docket position 72-74

Dated unclear but must be Nov-Dec 1947

Handwritten note enclosing draft of letter to Grafftey-Smith. Draft letter similar to final letter also attached.



DRAFT LETTER

Ext. 8729/47

Sir L. Grafftey-Smith, K.B.E., C.M.G.,  
U.K. High Commissioner in Pakistan,  
Chamber of Commerce Building,  
Wood Street,  
Karachi.

SECRET

Copy with enclosure to:-

Sir T. Shone, K.C.M.G.  
New Delhi.

Sir R. Hay, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,  
Bahrein (with draft letter  
below)

Copy without enclosure to:-

B.A.B. Burrows, Esq.,  
Foreign Office, S.W.1.

The Foreign Office have been giving some thought to future relations between Pakistan and the Moslem states of the Middle East. They <sup>conceive it to be possible</sup> think that in the course of time, if and when Pakistan got over her teething troubles, she might ~~conceivably~~ become the natural leader of the Moslem world. How far do you yourself think that the Pakistan leaders have ambitions in this direction? If they have, <sup>it</sup> might well be to our advantage to foster Pakistan's interest in the affairs of the Middle East in the hope that Pakistan, if she remains part of the Commonwealth <sup>might</sup> (whatever India may do) may influence the Moslem states of the Middle East in our favour.

2. We should be grateful for your views on this subject but we do not suggest that you should broach

*useful  
would be necessary to  
consider whether we  
should*

*other considerations  
have been pointed to encouraging  
Pakistan to fix up these  
arrangements with India  
by carrying her off with  
the Middle East position, since  
Pakistan's survival may well  
depend on her friendly relations  
with the Moslem states.*

broach it with Pakistan Ministers. The

Foreign Office are at the same time consulting their Missions in the Middle East about it.

3. Should it be decided in due course that it is desirable to foster Pakistan's interest in the Middle East, there is a suggestion that it might be possible to make use of the Qadiriya Order, on which a note is attached. The Foreign Office would be grateful for your views on this suggestion, on which they are also consulting their posts concerned.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to Hay, (with the request that he may furnish his views on the question so far as the Persian Gulf is concerned) and also to Shone for information.

Copy 9/8836  
to be supplied  
by 70;

Ext. 8729/47.

Lt. Col Sir Rupert Henry KC15. Col.

The Residency

Bahrain.

D.  
encl.

I enclose herewith a copy  
of a letter we have sent  
to Grafton-Smith on the  
question of the future relations  
between Pakistan and the  
Moslem states of the Middle  
East.

We should be glad to  
have your views on this  
question so far as the  
Persian Gulf is concerned.

Doc # 12

Letter to Burrows

docket position 71

Dated unclear but must be Nov-Dec 1947

Handwritten note saying this is revised draft to Grafftey-Smith. Request to send back to Harrison with comments





CRO  
INDIA OFFICE,  
WHITEHALL,  
S.W.I.

59

22/XII

Dear Banows,

Here is the revised draft  
to Graftley Smith which my  
higher authorities would  
like to send in place of the  
one enclosed with your 20.  
letter to me of 22 Nov.

E 10401/44/65

Could you very kindly return  
it to Harrison with  
your concurrence or comments?

Yours sincerely  
J. D. D.



Doc # 13

Letter to Grafftey-Smith UK HC in Pakistan from FO

docket position 69-70

Dated 31 Dec 1947

Printed note from Paul Patrick to UK HC. Copy with enclosure to T. Shone KCMC New Delhi, R. Hay KCIE CSI Bahrain, with copy to BAB Burrows Foreign Office.

Essentially this seems related to the introducing documents in the enclosure - Framing is that FO thinks that Pakistan could become the natural leader of the Muslim World after it gets over teething issues.

So, letter is to ask Grafftey-Smith whether he thinks they have any ambition in this direction. Additionally, whether it might make sense to foster Pakistan's interest in the Middle East so that if Pakistan remains in Commonwealth, that UK could use Pakistan to influence ME for UK. But that Pakistan's survival depends on securing good relations with India.

The letter also states to not talk to Pakistan ministers about this and if needed whether they could use the Qadiriya order to influence Pakistani policy.

DRAFT

To: Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith,  
KBE., CMG.,  
U.K. High Commissioner in  
Pakistan.

(Came)

SECRET

31 DEC 1947

383  
Ev. 8729/47  
Start - first file  
Keep  
J

My dear Grafftey-Smith

Copy with enclosure to:-

Sir T. Shone, KCMG.,  
New Delhi

Sir R. Hay, KCIE., CSI  
Bahrein (with draft  
letter below)

Copy without enclosure to:-

B.A.B. Burrows, Esq.,  
Foreign Office

Copy to Sir P. Patank's  
office.

For  
24/12

I agree

B.A.B. Burrows  
22.12

W.S.

The Foreign Office have been giving some thought to future relations between Pakistan and the Moslem states of the Middle East. They conceive it to be possible that in the course of time, if and when Pakistan got over her teething troubles, she might become the natural leader of the Moslem world. How far do you yourself think that the Pakistan leaders have ambitions in this direction? If they have it would be useful to consider whether we should foster Pakistan's interest in the affairs of the Middle East in the hope that Pakistan, if she remains part of the Commonwealth (whatever India may do) might influence the Moslem states of the Middle East in our favour. Other considerations, however, point to encouraging Pakistan to fix up reasonable arrangements with India before concerning herself with Middle East politics, since Pakistan's survival may well depend on neighbourly relations with the sister Dominion.

2. We should be grateful for your views on this subject but we do not suggest that you should broach it with Pakistan Ministers. The Foreign Office are at the same time consulting their Missions in the Middle East about it.

3. Should it be decided in due course that it is desirable to foster Pakistan's interest in the Middle East, there is a suggestion that it might be possible to make use of the Qadiriya Order, on which a note

/is

is attached. The Foreign Office would be grateful for your views on this suggestion, on which they are also consulting their posts concerned.

(copies of 8836  
to be supplied  
by Foreign Office)

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to Hay, (with the request that he may furnish his views on the question so far as the Persian Gulf is concerned), and also to Shone for information.

Sgd. P.J. Patrick.

Doc # 14

Letter to Rupert Hay from Donaldson

docket position 68

Dated 30 Dec 1947

Enclosing copy of letter sent to Grafftey-Smith - would be the same as document above

DRAFT

To: Lt.-Col. Sir Rupert Hay,  
KCIE., CSI.,  
The Residency,  
Bahrain.

(Ames)

4/57  
Ext-8729/47.  
30 DEC 1947

My dear Hay

I enclose herewith a copy of  
a letter we have sent to Grafftey-Smith  
on the question of the future relations  
between Pakistan and the Moslem states of  
the Middle East.

We should be glad to have your  
views on this question so far as the Persian  
Gulf is concerned.

(Sgd) E. F. DONALDSON

Copy to  
Mr. Donaldson's  
injection.

To  
24/12.

415 Check

Pakistan to fix up reasonable arrangements



Doc # 15

Letter from Hay to Donaldson (commonwealth Relations officer)

docket position 67

Dated 12 Feb 1948 - could be 2 Feb 1948

Hays is extremely pessimistic about the possibility of this happening and of Pakistan assuming leadership of the Muslim world. Instead, he says that we should hope for close commercial relations through Hindu merchants in Karachi who have left but might be useful if they return. Some talk about Karachi lifting imports ban on pearl trade that might lure Hindu traders there.

Hays also says that he has grave doubts about the Qadiriya order due to his personal experience with pirs of NWFP. They were previously bought and paid by the UK and did some good work for them including the Gailani family but also caused some trouble. Hays personally dislikes buying favors of other religionists.

FILE COPY

SECRET

D.O. No. 79-S

EXT

19

PERSIAN GULF RESIDENCY

BAHRAIN,

the 9th/19th January, 1948

EXC

5233

INDEXED

Re: Donaldson

Please refer to your demi-official letter No. Ext. 8729/47 dated the 30th December, 1947 on the question of the future relations between Pakistan and the Moslem States of the Middle East.

2. If there is any idea of inducing the Arab States in the Gulf to look to Pakistan rather than Egypt or some other Arab State for political inspiration I think it is fore-doomed to failure. The Arab considers himself superior to the Indian (including the Pakistani) and although his sympathies are undoubtedly with Pakistan as against India I should be very much surprised if he were to look to Pakistan for any kind of guidance.

3. What we can and should hope for is close commercial relations between the Gulf States and Pakistan. Most of the Hindu traders in the Gulf States come from Sind and formerly had their business connections in Karachi. With the exodus of Hindus from Sind these connections have been transferred elsewhere but it seems likely that the Hindus who have left Sind will return there in due course. The Pakistan authorities have already shown signs of being cooperative so far as the Gulf States are concerned and should Karachi revive as a business centre I think the Gulf trade could look for more favourable treatment there than in India. Malik Feroz Khan Noon for instance when he was here promised to get the embargo on the import of pearls lifted so far as Pakistan is concerned. This in itself is useless as all the Hindus who are expert in the processing of the pearls (I have been told that about 100,000 depend on this for their living) are resident in Bombay. It is possible however that if it becomes known that pearls can be freely imported to Karachi but not to Bombay the Hindus who depend upon this trade for their living will in due course transfer themselves to the former place.

4. So far as making use of the Qadiriya Order is concerned I have grave doubts regarding the wisdom of this policy. This may be due to my experience of the Pirs of this and other sects in the North-West Frontier Province. Some of them used to do good work for us and were paid for it but generally speaking they were unreliable and some of them were the cause of a good deal of trouble and in fact two members of the Gailani family caused us acute embarrassment by intrigues against the Afghan Government. Personally I much dislike the idea of exerting political influence through the religious teaching of another faith especially by any kind of financial inducement. Incidentally the Gulf States appear to be extraordinarily free from the influence of hereditary Pirs such as the members of the Gailani family.

Yes only  
Allan

E.F. Donaldson, Esquire, C.M.G.,  
Commonwealth Relations Office,  
Downing Street,  
LONDON, S.W.1

Doc # 16

Letter from Grafftey-Smith to Paul Patrick (KCIE CSI commonwealth relations office)

docket position 63-66

Dated 21 Jan 1948

Grafftey-Smith is optimistic regarding Pakistan's potential as the FO suggests - thinks that Pakistan can be used for UK's interest particularly to counter Egypt. Apparently, Grafftey-Smith notes that the goodwill mission to ME and invitation of Egyptian journalists were reached independently but he, himself, suggested the journalists be called to both Jinnah and Liaquat Ali in New Delhi before partition.

Unfortunately, he rues that Malik Feroz Khan Noon was sent who he thinks was not good and instead of first-rate journalist like Fikry Abaza Bey, second raters were called instead.

He notes that Pakistan's interests are genuine implicit in the formation of the Islamic World Association of Pakistan to nurture ties. And advocacy for Palestine. And recent report of good will from Transjordan.

But it would be premature to lay claim to leadership of Islamic bloc because of jealous resentment abroad. Rather it must first surmount challenges to relations with India, and any attempt to organize an Islamic bloc at this juncture would be construed by India as an unfriendly act and prejudice Pakistan's survival.

To get leadership will be difficult because Arabs don't respect Indians. Also, there is issue of heterogeneous mixtures of Shia which live in Pakistan as well as Jinnah's Parsi wife and son-in-law and Zafarullah's being Qadiani.

He also notes that Pakistan will have a victim mentality for some time. Psychologically unready. So, Pakistan should take its time and bonds between her and ME are already there. So not sure if Qadiri order will be required and he is unclear what the plan was here exactly.

He notes that despite there being an accent to Islamic state, many here, (presumably politicians and bureaucracy) are more inclined towards Turkey. He concludes that, eventually, Pakistan will play a role of influence and importance in the Middle East and Muslim Asia.



SECRET

EXT

204

19

546  
OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER  
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING  
WOOD STREET,  
KARACHI

INDEXED

5239

21st January, 1948.

1948

*Mr Paul Patrick,*

Your letter of December 31st, on the subject of future relations between Pakistan and the Moslem States of the Middle East, only came through to me a day or two ago, and I apologise for the delay in my reply.

I have myself always thought it expedient to encourage in the minds of the Pakistan leaders a sense of affinity with the Moslem Middle East, not only for their own good but for ours also. On the one hand, Pakistan needs the moral support of the Moslem East; on the other hand, the entry into the family of nations of a unit so massively Islamic, and at the same time so fundamentally well-disposed towards Great Britain, offers an encouraging prospect of useful influence on the hysterical nationalism and emotional xenophobia of present-day Egypt. The Pakistan Government's decisions to send a goodwill mission to Middle East countries and to invite Egyptian journalists to visit Pakistan may have been reached independently, but both courses were suggested by myself personally to Mr. Jinnah and to Liaquat Ali Khan, in New Delhi, before partition. Neither of these processes took the shape which I had recommended, but that is the way things happen here. I had envisaged a rather more numerous and less controversial representation of Pakistan on a goodwill tour of Moslem countries than that provided by the single and embittered personality of Malik Feroz Khan Noon, and I had urged that one first-class Egyptian journalist, such as Fikry Abaza Bey, should be invited to write up Pakistan for projection to the Arabic-speaking world - instead of which we had a visitation of unimpressive second-raters.

/I

Sir Paul Patrick, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,  
Commonwealth Relations Office,  
S.W.1.

through the religious ... Incidentally the Gulf States  
kind of financial inducement. ... free from the influence of heredit

*cf. Lawrence Kettle  
Asian Politics Conference*

*cf. ch. 1  
p. 12*

I have no doubt that Pakistan's interest in the Moslem Middle East is genuine. This is implicit in the formation of an Islamic World Association of Pakistan to promote closer cultural, economic and political relations between the various Moslem countries of the world, and Pakistan's readiness to champion common interests was demonstrated by her powerful advocacy of the Arab case against the partition of Palestine. I have also referred in a recent report to the cordial reception given here to a goodwill mission from Transjordan.

But it would be both premature and presumptuous for Pakistan, at this fledgling stage, to lay claim to leadership of an Islamic bloc. Any development of her foreign policy suggestive of such an aspiration would certainly be resented in Cairo and in Riyadh, and probably in Bagdad also. I have advised my friends here to be particularly careful to avoid attitudes likely to promote the jealous resentment of Egypt. The fact that Pakistan contains three or four times as many Moslems as Egypt is not an adequate argument to persuade King Farouk to yield precedence to Mr. Jinnah. It is, indeed, essential, as you have observed, that Pakistan should first surmount the many and grave difficulties now confronting her, in particular that of her relations with India. Any attempt to organise an Islamic bloc at this juncture would be construed by India as an unfriendly act and so prejudice the chances of a settlement on which Pakistan's survival may well depend.

*and  
affirmative  
too*

Indeed I think it likely that Pakistan will have to work quite hard to earn a position of undisputed authority in the Moslem world, and unlikely that this will accrue to her by the mere fact of her vast Moslem population. It is my experience that Indians are not really either popular or very much respected in the Middle East. Egypt and Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq are prone to judge their fellow-Moslems in this sub-continent by those whom they have seen and known, and these are more often than not either pilgrims-(of the most exacting and infuriating type) -, shop-keepers and penurious students of theology, or immensely wealthy potentates on holiday. Arabic speakers are remarkably  
/rare





OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER  
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING  
WOOD STREET,  
KARACHI.

5239

53  
rare here, and parts of the Middle East still have 1948  
a slight instinctive prejudice against English-speaking  
Orientals, preferring French. There is also, of course,  
a deep gulf between the orthodox Sunni of the Levant  
and the heterogeneous varieties of Shia and subsidiary  
sects which pullulate here. Mr. Jinnah, with his Parsee  
wife and son-in-law and his spats and cigarette-holder,  
and Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, a Qadiani, whose  
personal belief is in a Prophet who died in 1910 (I  
believe), inspire no deep sense of Moslem communion in  
the average Arab. When we get to Iran and to the Shia  
sections of Iraq, these departures from strict orthodoxy  
become less shocking; but it is important not to forget  
how genuinely obnoxious the Aga Khan and other local  
deities are, in the eyes of a good Moslem in the Middle  
East. There is some inclination in Cairo and in Mecca  
to think of Pakistan as largely inhabited by heretics.  
I am, of course, generalising wildly, but I am more than  
half right.

Another point of importance is that the Moslems  
of Pakistan are still, and will for some time remain,  
victims of their own recent past. They regard India  
much as the Jews of Frankfurt regarded the Nazis; and  
it will take some time for this persecution-complex -  
which in Moslems is as unusual as it is distressing - to  
be resolved. Until complete and natural self-confidence  
is established, Pakistan is psychologically ill-equipped  
for leadership.

What is certain, therefore, is that Pakistan  
should not make any effort to force the pace. While it  
is far too early for her to contemplate any hegemony  
of the Moslem world, the basic religious and cultural  
bonds between her and the States of the Middle East are,  
in spite of the differences noted above, strong enough  
to render superfluous any attempt on our part to foster  
an interest in those States. If this conclusion is  
correct, the question of our making use of the Qadiriya  
Order would not arise. I am indeed, not quite sure

/how

through the religious backing of another faith especially

— to go.  
— to write we!

how (you expected this instrumentality to work.

I may add that there are many elements here which, despite the official accent on an Islamic State, have a greater sympathy for the achievements of Turkey. Also, that I should expect Pakistan, once she stands firmly on her own feet, to play a role of influence and importance not only in relation to the countries of the Middle East but also to the countries of Moslem Asia, to which much in current ideology links her in friendly sympathy.

A copy of this letter goes to New Delhi.

Yours sincerely

L. B. after dinner



Doc # 17

Handwritten letter to Donaldson from Burrows

docket position 62

Dated between Jan to March 1948 (when stash is stamped)

Suggestion to send the letter to ME dept - rest of note is not easily readable.

Mr 14  
to see two papers  
27/11  
filed 1/53  
for

Mr Donaldson

Long letter. You might  
like to send a copy in  
advance to NE Dept or  
those promoted the  
exchange & submit with  
- after letter forwarding  
& supporting. Mf 26.1

Repy.

Mr 8 5233 & 5239  
to Mr. (Mr. Burrows)  
on time.

for  
27/1

Doc # 18

Letter from Donaldson (Commonwealth Relations Office) to Burrows (FO)

docket position 60-61

Dated 7 Feb 1948

Where Donaldson says we agree in general with views expressed by Hays and Grafftey-Smith except we think that Hindu merchants are not doing to come back. We also note that they don't want to use Qadiriya order.

dated Draft

9 FEB 1948

Copy with Sir L.S. Smith  
letter of 21 Jan to  
PRPG. SI

Mr. Ross to see  
sp. for 9/2.

Commonwealth Relations Office,  
Downing Street,  
London, S.W.1.

Ext. 5239/48

7th February, 1948.

My dear Burrows,

With reference to your letter No. 10401/44/65 of 22nd November on the subject of future relations between Pakistan and Moslem States of the Middle East you will now have seen copies of Grafftey-Smith's letter of 21st January and the Political Resident's No. 79-S of 9/19th January.

We agree generally with the views expressed in these two letters, and in particular note the doubts of the writers about the wisdom of using the Qadiriya Order to foster relations between Pakistan and Middle East States.

On a point of detail arising in paragraph 3 of May's letter, there is not much likelihood of Hindu pearl merchants moving from Bombay to Karachi. Hindus in Sind are rapidly leaving Pakistan and their departure has all the signs of being permanent.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) E.P. Donaldson.

B.A.B. Burrows, Esq.,  
Foreign Office,  
London, S.W.1.



DRAFT LETTER

Ext.5239/48

. Burrows, Esq.,  
Foreign Office,  
London, S.W.1.

With reference to your letter No.10401/44/65 of 22nd November on the subject of future relations between Pakistan and Moslem States of the Middle East you will now have seen copies of Grafftey-Smith's letter of 21st January and the Political Resident's No.79-S of 9/19th January.

We agree generally with the views expressed in these two letters, and in particular *note* ~~show~~ the doubts of the writer about the wisdom of using the Qadiriya order to foster relations between Pakistan & Middle East states.

On a point of detail arising on para 3 of Hays letter, there is ~~no~~ <sup>not much</sup> likelihood of Hindu pearl merchants moving from Bombay to Karachi. ~~At the~~ <sup>the</sup> Hindus in Sind are rapidly leaving Pakistan & their departure has all the signs of being permanent.

Doc # 19

Letter from MR Wright (FO) to a bunch of people in ME countries

docket position 59

Dated 26 Feb 1948

Encloses copies of communication so far and letters of Hays and Grafftey-Smith to a bunch of CMG in Arab capitals. Notes that they generally agree with the views expressed by Has and Grafftey-Smith except that they do think that Pakistan had potential in the long run and already showed a leadership of the ME at UN to some degree. They also note that Grafftey-Smith thinks that there are more elements that have sympathy for Turkey than Arab States

(E 1876/68/65)

26th February, 1948.

CONFIDENTIAL.

I enclose copies of correspondence which took place at our suggestion between the Commonwealth Relations Office and Grafftey-Smith at Karachi and Hay in the Persian Gulf, about relations between Pakistan and Middle East States. The Commonwealth Relations Office agree generally with the views expressed by Grafftey-Smith and Hay, except that on a point of detail in paragraph 3 of Hay's letter they feel there is not much likelihood of Hindu pearl merchants moving from Bombay to Karachi.

We shall be very grateful for your views on the questions discussed in this correspondence.

We fully recognise the difficulties pointed out by Grafftey-Smith and Hay, arising from Pakistan's own difficulties, the lack of traditional relationship between Pakistan and Middle East States and the generally low opinion which Arabs have of Indians, whatever their religion. Nevertheless, we cannot help feeling that the establishment of closer relations deserves serious consideration as a long-term development likely to be generally in our interest, and we were particularly impressed by the manner in which Pakistan co-operated closely with the Arab countries over Palestine at the United Nations and to some extent assumed leadership of the group.

We should be particularly interested to have a comparison of the probable influence of Pakistan and of Turkey over the Middle East States. You will notice that Grafftey-Smith mentions the many elements in Pakistan who have a greater sympathy for the achievements of Turkey than for the Arab States properly so called.

This letter is addressed to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Jedda, Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Bagdad, Tehran, Kabul and Angora and to the British Middle East Office, and it would no doubt be convenient if you could copy your reply to the others.

(M.R. Wright)

A.C. Trott, Esq., C.M.G., O.B.E.,  
Jedda.

W.E. Houston-Boswall, Esq., C.M.G., M.C.,  
Beirut.

P.M. Broadhead, Esq., C.M.G., M.C.  
Damascus.

Sir Alec Kirkbride, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.,  
Amman.

Sir Henry Mack, K.C.M.G.,  
Bagdad.

Sir John Le Rougetel, K.C.M.G., M.C.,  
Tehran.

Sir Giles Squire, K.B.E., C.I.E.,  
Kabul.

Sir David Kelly, K.C.M.G., M.C.,  
Angora.

J.M. Troutbeck, Esq., C.M.G.,  
British Middle  
East Office,  
Cairo.

Sir Ronald Campbell,  
G.C.M.G., C.B.E.,  
Cairo.

Doc # 20

Folder stash enclosing docs # 10-19

docket position 58

dated 1 March 1948

compliments of under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs



E 1876/68/65.

The Under Secretary of  
State for Commonwealth  
Relations,  
Commonwealth Relations  
Office

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS

OF THE

UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INDEXED

CONFIDENTIAL

8729  
8836/47  
5239



Foreign Office,

1<sup>st</sup> March 1948.

FILE COPY

Doc # 21

Letter from Grafftey-Smith British High Commissioner to Sir Archibald Carter permanent undersecretary of State

docket position 56-57

Dated 1 March 1948

This is the letter where Smith talks about how British spies intercepted a letter of Jinnah to Banna - letter is reproduced entirely. Grafftey-Smith seems to be less bothered by Islamic setup of govt and more so by Islamic league proposal. This letter seems to sound off alarm bells for the British HC. It answers an earlier question he raises in his own letter in doc # 16 as to why a bunch of "second raters" have been called as opposed to someone more reasonable. Jinnah's letter to Banna is in quotations, implying that it is transcribed entirely and precisely (the use of the word translate can be taken to be a synonym for transcribe here). The original letter of Jinnah is dated sometime in January 1948 apparently.

From the letter, it is also clear that this recent visit of Ashmawy is as a state guest. Presumably, it is unclear how much previous communication the British would have had between Banna and Jinnah but, indeed, it is unlikely that all of it would have survived to make it to the archives, yet we can still furnish some important context by looking at what has survived to make it into the Jinnah papers. The following letters are reproduced wholly from the Jinnah papers, Vol1 and Vol6 to set the context for this document here. From these letters, it is clear that Jinnah and Banna got in touch sometime in 1947, and that end of 1947, Banna sent Ashmawy on a goodwill tour of Pakistan (he was not a state guest at the time). But as we learn in the rest of the docket here, Ashmawy would come again as a state guest now and the letter intercepted, transcribed, classified and then locked away for 50 years perfectly explains the second visit as a state guest (which is tracked day-to-day in doc # 26).

In addition, it is patently clear that the tone and tenor of the communications change drastically after this intercepted letter in this docket. It is one thing for the FO to hope to keep influence in Pakistan and use it to further their interests in the ME. It is an entirely different thing if Pakistan were to become a focal point of anti-imperialist and pan-islamic ambition. Even with the possibility of using Pakistan to ward off communist threat, doc #22, the alarm bells seem to increase from this communication until September when Jinnah dies (doc # 41).

M. Karam Ali to M. A. Jinnah

*F. 216/1-3*

NEW HOTEL,  
21 SHAHR-I-ADALI PASHA,  
CAIRO, 4 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I have been here for several days. During my stay, I contacted and met most of the Muslims in Cairo. They are all set up in small parties and each party works against the other. After a hard struggle, I succeeded in bringing them together. The night before last, I had them in my Hotel, and discussed the question of the Muslim League.

You have met all these Muslims. Their bringing together is next to impossible, but I am doing the next best thing, that is I am trying to have a Muslim Society so that something could be worked out on the League principles. We are meeting again tomorrow night, at which time the Society will be set up. Its name will not be the Muslim League, but the work that this Society will do will be along the League lines. I will do my best and the result is in the Hand of God. I met Abdul Rahman. Azzam Pasha, Secretary [General], Arab League, and requested him not to send any delegates to India, as it will not be of any benefit to the League, but he consented that those delegates will not deliver any speeches in India, and if the Muslim League wishes to have them at tea or any such things, they will attend the meetings. Whatever you consider appropriate in this connection, please follow that.

I have been here for the last two weeks, and I expect to leave soon. If there is anything else that you wish me to do please let me know immediately, and I will do everything in my power to fulfil the same.

The Arab League delegates are prepared to state that the Egyptian Muslims are in favour of Pakistan. The Society that works for [the Indian National] Congress is known as the Indian Union, and the Society that we expect to start will be something like that. The name will be selected tomorrow night. The President of the Indian Union is a Hindu and its Secretary is a Muslim, who refuses to join the Society that we are organizing.

The most powerful organization in Egypt is known as the Akhwan al-Muslimeen whose President is Sheikh Hassan al-Banna. He has 50,000 volunteers and millions of followers. The organization has a daily and a weekly paper. I saw the place and met the President, who was extremely kind and sympathetic.

If you think it proper, please have the League Secretary write him a letter, thanking him for his kindness. It is not necessary that my name must be mentioned.

His address: Sheikh Hassan al-Banna, Akhwan al-Muslimeen, Hilmiah Qadimiah, Cairo.

Very sincerely yours,

M. KARAM ALI

*Member, Working Committee, U.P.,  
Member, All India Muslim League Council*

”

Jinnah Papers, Vol 1, pg 399, doc 219,

“

Mostafa Momin to M. A. Jinnah Telegram,

*F. 560/29*

NEW DELHI,  
24 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Bombay. Sending on behalf of the Muslim Brotherhood all over the Middle East hearty Pakistan Day greetings.

MOSTAFA MOMIN

”



“

Hasan al-Banna to M. A. Jinnah  
F. 478/11  
*Bismilla'ir Rahman'ir Rahim*  
*Allaahu Akbar wa lillaa'hil Hamd*

CAIRO, 28 May 1947

My dear Leader Mohammad Alli Jinnah, I have received your kind message through our brother Mr. Mostafa Momin, for which I thank you very much. As to the Asiatic Conference, I may say that we have not been ignorant of its aims and purposes.

We have taken the occasion of the meeting of the conference as an opportunity to enable our representative—who is one of the most loyal and true Muslim Egyptians—to enter India, to contact [sic for contact] the Islamic Movement [leaders,] to meet you personally, and to express—not only in writing but also verbally the sincere sentiments of Egypt towards the blessed Pakistan movement.

It was also our object to contrast [sic for counteract] the manoeuvres and steps which were expected to be taken against the interests of the Arabs and the Muslims as was the case when the Palestine question was brought up for our discussion.

I am glad to state that the whole Nile Valley supports you sincerely and is confident that your struggle towards the realisation of the unity of the Islamic Indian nation and its independence would be ultimately successful and that there is no force on the face of the earth which can break those ties which the brotherhood of Islam has welded, or could suppress the freedom and independence of the Mohammedan nations, or could prevent the attaining of their just national claims. So, [march] forward! God is with you. He will reward you for your good actions.

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu.*

Your devoted,

HASAN AL-BANNA  
*President,*  
*al-Akhwan al-Muslimeen*

”

Jinnah Papers, Vol 5, pg 160, doc 171,

“

Hasan Albanna to M. A. Jinnah  
*FOA, 0/346*

MUSLIM WORLD RELATION SECTION,  
2 HELMIAH GEDIDAH,  
CAIRO, 30 August 1947

In the name of Allah the Merciful and the Compassionate

My dear brother,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu*

May I assert that the establishment of our new akin State the [sic] “Pakistan” is a striking triumph for the Islamic creed in the twentieth century.

If ever we congratulate you for your esteemable efforts which you have exerted to materialise this old hope, we cannot but thank you in your own practical language—the only language that perpetuates your immortal achievement.

We are glad to inform you that a Pakistani organization, “Pakistan Association”, had been lately formed under the presidentship of Mohammad Aleem Ullah Siddiqui (Allahabad, UP), Dr. S. Moh[amma]d Yusuf, Alig. (Bhopal), Secretary, Dr. Mohammad Luqman (Bahawalpur), Propaganda Secretary and others.

This body has declared its aims as to keep in touch with Muslim bodies in our country, collaborate with them and cooperate in the cultural, Islamic and economical [sic for economic] domains.

We assure you that we shall not fail to do our utmost to collaborate with this body, hoping that this intercourse would result [in] most fruitful benefits for our mutual interests.

We further hope that the organization of “Pakistan Association” at Cairo will meet your approval enabling it to achieve its aims and objects.

*Wassalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu*

HASAN ALBANNA

Supreme Guide of Muslim Brotherhood Association

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Jinnah Papers, Vol 5, pg 203, doc 194,

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Hasan Albanna to M. A. Jinnah Telegram,  
*FOA, O/346*

CAIRO, 2 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Governor-General, Karachi

Akhwan al-Muslimeen are mourning for bloodshed of Muslim brothers in India. We pray Almighty to bestow high grade martyrdom upon wrongly killed [and] to grant you all patience. I wired Mountbatten, Gandhi, Nehru, holding them responsible for not adopting adequate measures to prevent these wrongs. We all sympathise with you morally and practically. We have approached all embassies here. We did all and shall do all we can and all you ask for. Patience and fortitude are preamble to victory.

HASAN ALBANNA

*[Supreme Guide of Muslim Brotherhood Association]*

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Sheikh Hassan El Banna to M. A. Jinnah  
*F. 156-GG/1*

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD ASSOCIATION,  
NO. 2 HELMIAN GUDIDAH,  
CAIRO, 14 November 1947

My dear Brother-in-Islam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu*

I feel happy when I recall those unforgettable few moments when I was with you (en route to India) and those still fewer you spent amongst Ikhwan. Thanks to the Almighty that our aspirations have been crowned with success and our Muslim brothers have got their independent State of Pakistan. May I congratulate Your Excellency again and again for this grand success. Please accept my and that of Ikhwan's hearty regards.

On the other hand we all are deeply touched by the regrettable bloody incidents' and the guilty aggression against the newly-born State of Pakistan—a gift from Allah. Should we assure Your Excellency that in Egypt and in all the Arab world and particularly amongst the Muslim Brotherhood, there is not a single individual who would hesitate to exert every possible effort for the success and victory of the righteous cause of liberty, independence and repulsion of the Hindu fanaticism.

We have great hope that Pakistan, under Your Excellency's prudent guidance, will lead Islamic way in all aspects of life and that you will avail [sic] its practicable and idealistic instructions. Thus the State will be based on the soundest grounds and will set a living example for the Muslims of the different parts of the world and others alike.

I am glad to introduce to Your Excellency our brother Sayid Saleh Ashmawi, sub-leader of the Ikhwan and the Chief Editor of our daily newspaper. He conveys the cordial compliments and best wishes of the Ikhwan in the Nile Valley, Eastern Arab countries and abroad.

I should like to mention with great appreciation the esteemable efforts of our brother and guest Syed Mohammed Aleem Ullah Siddiqui (Allahabad, U.P.), the envoy of the Indian Ikhwan, who proved to be an efficient, capable and popular representative. He did a great deal indeed in presenting the Pakistan case before the Egyptian public opinion, gaining their sympathy and support to a great extent. He is also the President of the Pakistan Association at Cairo, which was organised by Iqbal Shaidai. He and others of the Association are doing quite well but they require Your Excellency's approval and support, for which I have already requested Your Excellency by post about a month ago.

My dear brother Quaid-i-Azam, we can only give our moral support at present, yet we have chalked out a programme for our action which will be explained to Your Excellency by our brother Sayid Saleh Ashmawi verbally. We are all determined to express our [feelings of] eternal brotherhood in more effective, positive and practical ways if and when Your Excellency and our Muslim brothers of Pakistan will ask for.



With my kindest regards, best wishes and hearty prayers, I send the Islamic greetings for Your Excellency and Muslims of Pakistan and Hindustan.

*Assalaamo Alaikum wa Rahmatullah*

[Your] Brother-in-Islam,  
SHEIKH HASSAN EL BANNA  
*Supreme Guide,*  
*Muslim Brotherhood Association*

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M. A. Jinnah to Sheikh Hassan El Banna  
*F. 156-GG/5-6 29*

November 1947

My dear Sheikh Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th of November which was personally delivered to me by Mr. Saleh Ashmawi, sub-leader of the Ikhwan, and Mr. Abdul Qadar Hamza, Editor of Al-Balagh, with whom I had a long interview in Lahore.

I appreciate your moral support to Pakistan, and I am grateful to you for your cordial good wishes for Pakistan and kind personal references to me.

I am confident that Pakistan will go forward from strength to strength, and with such deep sympathy and universal support from our Muslim brethren all over the world, it is bound to become one of the most leading nations, and will exercise and play an effective part in the comity of nations.

You must remember that Pakistan was born only a few months ago. We have to be vigilant and patient, and we have to handle matters in a statesmanlike way as at present our enemies are bent upon not only obstructing us but, if possible, they are out to paralyze Pakistan before it becomes greater and stronger. But I am sure they will fail in their efforts miserably.

As regards your reference to Pakistan Association at Cairo, it is not possible for me to recognize it directly or indirectly. When our Ambassador has been fully installed in Cairo, we shall have to consider matters of this kind through his reports. At present I know nothing about the constitution, aims and objects of this Association in Cairo, but there is nothing to prevent them from doing any good work, which you say they are doing. I hope you do appreciate that it is not possible for me, as head of the Pakistan Government, to allow my name to be associated, directly or indirectly, with this Association, or any other political association that may be doing good work for Pakistan.

Thanking you again for the great services you have rendered to us already by sending two of your representatives as fact-finding mission, and I have no doubt that they will spread the real truth and make the people of Egypt understand how Pakistan stands. It stands like a rock and will continue to do so, but it needs all the sympathy and support and help of our friends, particularly at this critical moment.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

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SECRET

di P. Carter  
N. Lumbold.

(F.O. Mr. Grey should see)

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER  
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING  
WOOD STREET  
KARACHI

No. 474

INDEXED

1st March, 1948.

5580

My dear Carter,

An Egyptian friend of mine, who was a valuable member of an organisation which I had the task of setting up in Egypt during the war, has sent me the following translation of a letter addressed by Mr. Jinnah to Sheikh Hassan El-Banna, leader of the Ikhwan-al-Muslimin (or Moslem Brethren) Society in Egypt. My friend claims to have obtained a copy of this letter through a source in close contact with Sheikh El-Banna: this is entirely plausible because we were together interested in this person during the war.

The following is the text of the letter in question:

"After greetings Mr. Jinnah said: 'I am writing you, the great Moslem Leader, to inform you that I am determined, by God's will, to save Pakistan from the tyranny of imperialism and the various hostile currents. I have therefore decided to follow the advice you kindly gave me in your recent letter, that my Government should assume a purely Islamic character and work in close co-operation with the other strong international Islamic organisations which are headed by your Ikhwan Al-Muslimun Society.'"

"I therefore ask you, Brother, to send me as soon as possible Ustaz Saleh El-Ashmawy, whom you had previously delegated to us on a special mission.

/He

Sir Archibald Carter, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.,  
Permanent Under Secretary of State,  
Commonwealth Relations Office,  
S.W.1.

470

and to the British Middle East Office, and

He will be the guest of our Government, and I shall be able to discuss with him the foundations on which to build our Islamic Government and to study together the question of the Islamic League which was previously proposed by you. I should also like to tell him of many things which he would be able to convey to you personally, because I do not trust sending it by mail - whatever the precautions I take".

The messenger referred to, Saleh El-Ashmawy, who was one of the three Egyptian journalists to visit Pakistan some little time ago, returned to Karachi last week. He told the Press that he had brought a personal letter to Mr. Jinnah from the ex-Mufti. He is still here and recently delivered a lecture on Arab affairs of somewhat inflammatory tone.

I think we should wait for the drafting of the Pakistan Constitution before we take it for granted that the Islamic character of the administration here will be as definite as alleged. Our latest information is that Mr. Jinnah has vetoed the West Punjab Government's Bill to applying the Shariat Code for matters of "statut personnel". However, the indication that Mr. Jinnah may be considering some form of "Islamic League" is interesting, and I will do what I can to follow this up.

Yours sincerely  
L. B. A. [Signature]



Doc # 22

Letter from PF Grey (FO) to Rumbold Commonwealth Relations Office

docket position 54-55

Dated 13 April 1948

Basically, a rant about how evil the Muslim Brotherhood is. Nonetheless, still some hope to use Pakistan to influence the ME.

in P. Carter, M/S.iii

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1948

(F 4243/76/85)

SECRET

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Dear Rumbold

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

13th April, 1948.

9. 48 (10/11/30/48)

10. 2.

Mr Harrison 47

phased relation

of Palestine

to M.E.

Copy to UKHC  
Kargachi 13/4/48

(9) With reference to Grafftey Smith's letter No.474 of 1st March to Carter, it occurred to me that you might find it useful to have what we know about Hassan al Banna and his Ikhwan League.

Our information goes to show that their activities are for the most part irresponsibly anti-British and that they indulge in terrorism and incitement to violence. Their association with Nazi and Fascist agents in Egypt will be well known to Grafftey-Smith. Since 1945 the trend of the League has been towards expansion abroad not only in India but also in Palestine, the Levant States, and the Sudan and there have been some recent indications of designs on East Africa. This appears to be in accordance with the revised statutes of the organisation (1945) which include among the objects of the society - "strengthening the relations between Islamic countries and composing differences between them" and "defence of Islam against aggression".

References to the anti-communist policy of the Ikhwan have been not infrequent and we are bound to assume that it represents the real attitude of the leaders, although the rank and file are unlikely to have any reasoned opinion on the matter. The emphasis upon the religious revival brings a reaction against the allegedly corrosive influence of Western culture.

H.A.F. Rumbold, Esq., C.I.E.,  
Commonwealth Relations Office.

It/

It is not easy to see what the precise object may be behind this attempt to spread the influence of the Ikhwan to Pakistan. Hassan al Banna appears unlikely to attain real eminence even in his own country, and either as a political or religious leader is unlikely to carry much weight abroad. However, any additional link between Pakistan and the Middle East will strengthen the ties between Islam and the West and thus help to form a bar to the spread of communist influence. On balance, therefore, a rapprochement between Pakistan and the Middle East through the Ikhwan or any other channel may well be a good thing provided that means can be found to convert the destructive forces of hostility to the West into a consolidation of the strength of Islam against communism. But we must admit that this conversion has not yet taken place.

You may consider it useful to pass the above to Grafftey-Smith, and for that purpose I enclose an extra copy of this letter.

(P.F. Grey)

*Yours*  
*Paul Grey*

*Not  
enclosed  
will follow  
12*

Doc # 23

Letter from Le Rougetel (British Embassy Tehran) to Ernest Bevin (Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)

docket position 53

Dated 13 April 1948

Starting to track other journalists visiting Pakistan, from Iran. But also saying Iraqi journalists too. This seems to be in response to concern about the Egyptian journalist visit. Letter forwarded to HC in Karachi.



BT.

No. 125  
(124/13/48)

CONFIDENTIAL

British Embassy,  
Tehran.

13th April, 1948.



Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that a party of three Persian journalists representing the newspapers "Kaihan" (Moderate Left), "Setareh" (Centre) and "Ettela'at" (Centre) left Tehran for Karachi on the 6th April as the guests of the Pakistan Government.

2. The Pakistan Chargé d'Affaires informs me that similar visits, which he describes as visits of good will, had been arranged for parties of Egyptian and Iraqi journalists, and that he therefore suggested to the Pakistan Government that they should also take the opportunity of enlightening the Persians in regard to the situation in Pakistan.

3. The propaganda conducted both by the Pakistan Embassy and the Indian Embassy, particularly in regard to Kashmir, has unfortunately been on the crude side and the Persian authorities will, no doubt, be relieved that on this occasion at least, the Pakistan Government have chosen a form of publicity to which no exception can be taken.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant.

(Sgd.) J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,  
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State  
for Foreign Affairs,  
Foreign Office,  
London, S.W.1.