



RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

From October 1937 to December 1938.

PUBLISHED BY:

(*Nawabzada*) **Liaquat Ali Khan**, M. A., (OXON),

M. L. A., (U. P.) BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

HONORARY SECRETARY: *All India Muslim League.*

To advance compulsory primary education.
 To recognise secondary, university education specially scientific and technical.

To establish rifle clubs and a military College.

To enforce prohibition.

To abolish and remove un-Islamic customs and usages from Muslim Society.

To organise a volunteer corps for social service; and

To devise measures for attainment of full independence and invite the co-operation of all political bodies working to that end.

Proposed by—Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb, Mahmudabad.

Seconded by—Ali Bahadur Habibullah Saheb, U.P.

Supported by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, Punjab.

” Naqī Imam Saheb, Bihar.

” Maulana Qutubuddin Abdul Wali Saheb, U.P.

” Aziz Laljee Saheb, Bombay.

” Choudhari Khaliquzzaman Saheb, U.P.

Resolution No. 15.

Resolved (a) that this session of the All India Muslim League approves and adopts the Constitution amended by the Subject Committee on the report of the Special Committee appointed by the Council of the All India Muslim League by a resolution passed at a meeting held in Delhi on the 21st March 1937, (b) that the amended constitution shall come into effect on the 1st February 1938, (c) that the President be authorised to appoint from amongst the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League Committees in every Province to Organise Provincial District and Primary leagues according to the amended constitution by the 31st December 1937 and (d) that all elections of delegates and members of the Council of the All India Muslim League shall be held in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution and shall be intimated to the office of the All India Muslim League by the 20th January 1938. (Passed unanimously)

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., (U.P.)

Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

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Resolution No. 6.

The Council of the All India Muslim League requests the following gentlemen to go as soon as possible to the North West Frontier Province with a view to organise the Mussalmans in that province :—

(1) Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb, (2) Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, (3) Maulana Enayatullah Saheb (4) Prof. Enayatullah Saheb, (5) M. Ali Bahadur Habibullah Saheb, (6) Mulla Jan Mohammad Saheb, (7) Jamal Mian Saheb (8) Mohammad Ali Manayar, (9) Haji Anisuddin Saheb Sahrai.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., (U.P.)

Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Text of Resolutions Passed at the Twenty-fifth Annual Session of The All-India Muslim League on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th of October, 1937 at Lucknow with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that this meeting of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and sudden demise of Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sir Fazle Husain, Sir Ross Masood, Sheikh Mahmood Ali and K. B. Masoodul Hasan. The League conveys its heartfelt condolence to the members of their bereaved families. (Chair)

Resolution No 2.

Resolved that the Report of the Secretary be adopted. (Chair)

Resolution No. 3.

That the All India Muslim League declares in the name of the Mussalmans of India that recommendations of the Royal Palestine Commission and the subsequent statement of policy presented by the 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.

The All India Muslim League calls upon the Government of India to issue instructions to the representatives of India at the Assembly of the League of Nations that in view of the failure of the present mandatory to carry out the terms of the mandate which was never accepted by Arabs and the rest of the Islamic world and in order not to prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Arabs they shall demand the annulment of the mandate and disassociate themselves from any decision tending to perpetuate it and thus to violate the fundamental right of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine to choose the form of Government best suited to their needs and requirements as guaranteed to them under international treaties.

which, Council are glad, they are already applying themselves ; and that, while the final decision as to the policy and the line of action can only be decided by the All India Muslim League, the Council, in the meantime, are willing and ready to render all the assistance and help they can towards the solution of the matter.

Resolution No. 3.

This Council recommends to the Session of the League to be held at Calcutta on the 18th and 19th of April 1938 that the following new rule be added to the Constitution as Rule 40 A.

“Every Muslim Member of a Provincial Legislature shall be Ex-officio Delegate at the Annual or Special Session of the League provided he or she is already a member of some branch of the All India Muslim League and also is a Member of the Muslim League Party in the Provincial Legislature.

Resolution No 4.

Resolved that a committee of the following members be formed to consider and decide the applications for affiliation that have already been received or that may be received hereafter from various provinces:— 1. Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb (Chairman) 2. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, 3. K. B. S. M. Abdullah Saheb, 4. Hussain M. Malik Saheb, 5. Col. A. Rahman. (Quorum 3). The decision of the Committee will be subject to confirmation by the Council.

Resolution No 5.

Whereas numerous complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to the Muslims in various Congress Government Provinces and particularly to those who are workers and members of the Muslim League, the Council resolves that a special Committee be appointed consisting of the following members to collect all informations, make all necessary enquiries and take such steps as may be considered proper and to submit their report to the President and the Council from time to time. 1. Raja Syed Mohammad Mehdi Saheb (Chairman) 2. Mr. Ali B. Habibullah (Secretary) 3. K. B. Haji Rashid Ahmad Saheb, 4. Syed Ashraf Ahmad, 5. Moulvi

Resolution No. 4.

This Session of the All India Muslim League condemns the present policy of Government of India with regard to Waziristan and is of opinion that the forward policy is against the best economic and political interest of India and calls upon the Government and people of India to change and come back to the close border policy.

Proposed by—The Hon. Husain Imam, Gaya.

Seconded by—Syed Murtaza Babadur, M.L.A., Madras.

Supported by—Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb, M.L.A.

„ Sh. Sajjad Ahmad Saheb, Abbottabad.

„ Mulla Jan Mohammad Saheb, N.W.F.P.

„ K. B. Quli Khan Saheb, N.W.F.P.

„ Maulana Abdul Waheed Saheb.

„ Maqbool Mahmood Saheb, Punjab.

„ K. B. Rashiduddin Saheb, U.P.

Resolution No. 5.

This Session of the All India Muslim League condemns the wanton demolition of the Shahidganj Mosque at Lahore as a most intolerable interference with the Law of Islam and in view of the fact that this demolition was carried out in broad daylight under the protection of British troops and British guns calls upon the British Government to restore the mosque to its original condition and thus avoid an inevitable conflict between the Muslims of India and the British Government whose representative in the Province failed to perform his elementary duty of protecting an admittedly Muslims mosque.

Proposed by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Punjab.

Seconded by—Prof. Malik Enayatulla Saheb, Punjab.

Supported by—Begum Saheba Habibulla, U.P.

„ Malik Barkat Ali Saheb, Punjab.

„ Maulana Omar Daraz Beg Saheb, U.P.

Proposed by—Maulana Hasrat Mohani Saheb, U.P.

Seconded by—Maulanana Zafar Ali Khan, Punjab.

Supported by—Shamsul Hasan Saheb, Bengal.

” Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb, Delhi.

” Abdul Waheed Saheb, N.W.F.P.

” Maulana Syed Murtaza Bahadur, M.L.A.,
Madras.

” Syed Abdur Rauf Saheb, C.P.

” The Hon. Hosain Imam, Behar.

” M. Ghiasuddin Saheb, M.L.A., Punjab.

” Abdurrahman Saheb Siddiqi, Bengal.

” I. I. Chundrigar Saheb, Bombay.

” Munshi Azhar Ali Saheb, M.L.A.,

Choudhari Khaliquzzaman Saheb, U.P.

Resolution No. 9.

That this meeting of the All India Muslim League records its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of the All India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 and is opposed to its introduction and urges upon the British Government to refrain from its enforcement as it considers the scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally and to those of the Muslim in particular.

Proposed by—The Hon. Hosain Imam, Behar.

Seconded by—Maulana Hasrat Mohani Saheb, U.P.

Supported by—I. I. Chundrigar Saheb, Bombay.

Resolution No. 10.

That this meeting of the All India Muslim League is strongly of the opinion that in the absence of an agreed settlement between the communities the introduction of Joint Electorate in local bodies will be inconsistent with the spirit of the Communal Award and will be injurious to the cause of true representation of Muslims in these bodies, particularly in view of the present strained relations between the communities and calls upon the Muslim Members of the Assemblies to oppose the introduction of Joint Electorates in local bodies in provinces where separate electorate exists at present and to introduce them in provinces where they do not exist to-day.

be members and for the one vacancy Zamiruddin Saheb be elected.

Resolution No. 6.

Resolved that the election of the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League from Bengal, Orissa and Assam be postponed till the next meeting of the Council.

Resolution No. 7.

Resolved that in compliance with the request of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League the dates of the Special Session to be held in Calcutta on 18th and 19th of April be changed to 17th and 18th (and if necessary) 19th of April 1938.

Resolution No. 8.

Resolved that a Sub-Committee of the following members of the Council of the All India Muslim League be appointed to enquire into the question of the mosque in Asansol and submit their report to the Council of the League as soon as possible :—

1. Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb M.L.A. 2. The Hon. Husain Imam M.C.S. 3. Husain M. Malik Saheb, Bar-at-Law.

Resolution No. 9.

Resolved that a committee of the following members be appointed to draft an exhaustive Programme on the lines chalked out in Resolution No. 14 of the last Annual Session regarding economic, Social, and educational matters and submit their report in the next meeting of the Council :—

1. The Hon. Husain Imam. 2. Syed Ghulam Bhik Saheb Narang. 3. Syed Hasan Reyaz. 4. Nawabzada Khurshaid Ali Khan. 5. The Hon. Haji Mohammad Husain (Convenor).

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.

Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Proposed by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, Punjab.

Seconded by—Prof. Inayatullah Saheb, Punjab.

Resolution No. 13.

Whereas the system of land settlement in the Province of Assam known as the "Line System" interferes with inter-provincial migration of population, infringes the fundamental rights of citizenship, and inflicts great hardship on immigrants leading to the creation of a landless class, numbering thousands of population, the All India Muslim League resolves that the "Line System" be immediately abolished.

Proposed by—Abdul Matin Choudhri, Assam.

Seconded by—Maulana Akram Khan Saheb, Bengal

Resolution No. 14

This session of the All India Muslim League directs the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to take immediate steps to frame and put into effect an economic social and educational programme with a view.—

To fix working hours for factory workers and other labourers.

To fix minimum wages.

To improve housing and hygienic conditions of the labourers and make provision for slum clearance.

To reduce rural and urban debts and abolish usuary.

To grant a moratorium with regard to all debts whether decreed or otherwise till proper legislation has been enacted.

To secure legislation for exemption of houses from attachment or sale in execution of decrees.

To obtain security of tenure and fixation of fair rents and revenue.

To abolish forced labour.

To undertake rural uplift work.

To encourage cottage industries and small indigenous industries both in rural and urban areas.

To encourage use of Swdeshi articles specially hand-woven cloth.

To establish an industrial board for development of industries and prevention of exploitation by middlemen.

To devise means for the relief of unemployment.

Text of Resolutions passed at the Meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League held on the 30th and 31st of January 1938 at the Office of the League, Delhi with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and sudden demise of Nawab Sir Abdul Qayum and Musheer Husain Saheb Kidwai. The Council of the League conveys its heartfelt condolence to the members of their bereaved families.

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that the resignation of Moulvi Sir Mohammad Yaqub be accepted.

Resolution No. 3.

The Council of the All India Muslim League while recognising that the Mussalmans throughout India are pledged to the restoration of the Shahidganj Mosque having fully considered the grave situation which has arisen consequent upon the recent decision of the Punjab High Court is of opinion that a Special Session of the All India Muslim League be summoned for that purpose to decide upon the final line of action without delay.

Resolution No. 4.

The Council of the All India Muslim League resolves that Friday the 18th of February 1938 be observed as Shahidganj Day and Public Meetings be held all over the country to explain the resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League passed on the 31st of January 1938.

Resolution No. 5.

The Council of the All India Muslim League resolves that the time mentioned in section (c) and (d) of resolution No. 15 passed at the last Annual Session of the League at Lucknow be extended to the 31st March 1938.

Resolution No. 3.

That this Special Session of the All India Muslim League views with alarm the large number of communal riots which are taking place in U.P., Bihar; C.P., Bombay and other provinces resulting in loss of life and property of the Mussalmans. In the opinion of the League the Congress Governments have signally failed to discharge their primary duty of protecting the Muslim minorities in their provinces, and it declares that if immediate steps are not taken to protect the Mussalmans by the Congress Governments, the consequences to the country as a whole will be disastrous. The League congratulates the Muslims in the villages and towns on patience and forbearance that they have shown during these occurrences. This Session calls upon the Provincial Leagues to collect all necessary information about all these incidents and to submit their reports to the Council of the All India Muslim League at an early date.

Proposed by—Sh. Zahur Ahmad Saheb, M.L.A., U.P.

Secounded by—The Hon. Hosain Imam, Behar.

Supported by—Mr. M. Iftekhhar Ali C.P.

Resolution No 4.

This Session of the All India Muslim League calls upon the Mussalmans of India, to take special steps to combat the Congress Anti-Muslim activities in the Frontier province.

Proposed by—Mr. Ziauddin, Bar-at-Law, N.W.F.P.

Secounded by—Sardar Aurangzeb Khan M.L.A.
N.W.F.P.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.

Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Text of Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League held on the 20th of March 1938 at Delhi with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that the Special Session of the All India Muslim League be held at Calcutta on the 18th and 19th of April 1938.

Resolution No. 2.

In view of the decision of the Punjab Premier, expressing his readiness to resign even if the majority of the Muslim Members give their verdict disapproving of his action foreshadowed in his recent pronouncement with regard to the Shahidganj question, the Council realise that the main burden and responsibility rests with the Muslim representatives of the Punjab Legislature and the public generally. The Council appreciate that the gravity and the nature of the issues involved are present to the mind of Sir Sikandar Hayat and his Government; the assurance given by him in his pronouncement of his making an earnest attempt to bring about an honourable settlement of the question is the best course in the opinion of the Council, and in this direction lies the way of restoring and securing a permanent peace and goodwill between the two great sister communities Muslims and Sikhs, whose moral responsibility to each other, whose interests and the welfare, and the larger interest of the Province and the country, demand that, with their great history, religion and traditions behind them, they should rise above the verdicts of Judicial Tribunals and the decisions of legislatures and Government, and rise to the occasion and come to an honourable settlement of their own, that failing such a desideratum of mutual agreement of the parties concerned, which will be most unfortunate, Council note, with great satisfaction, the determination of the Punjab Government that it will not fail to explore and exhaust all constitutional avenues open to them to find a satisfactory and just solution of the problem to

Copy of the letter of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League addressed to Mr. S. Bose, the President of the All India Congress Committee.

Bombay, 5th June 1938.

Dear Mr. Bose,

I am enclosing herewith the unanimous opinion of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League as promised by me in my letter dated the 16th of May with reference to the note given to me by you on behalf of the Congress and your letter of the 15th of May 1938.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) M. A. JINNAH.

Resolution No. 1.

The Executive Council of the All India Muslim League has considered the note handed over by the President Mr. S. Bose on behalf of the Congress to Mr. Jinnah the President of the All India Muslim League on the 14th May and his letter of the 15th May 1938 and find that it is not possible for the All India Muslim League to treat or negotiate with the Congress the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement except on the basis that the Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India.

Resolution No 2.

The Council have also considered the letter of Mr. Gandhi dated the 22nd May 1938 and are of opinion that it is not desirable to include any Muslim in the personnel of the proposed Committee that may be appointed by the Congress.

Resolution No. 3.

The Executive Council wish to make it clear that it is the declared policy of the All India Muslim League that all other minorities should have their rights and interests safeguarded so as to create a sense of security amongst them and win their confidence and the All India Muslim League will consult the representatives of such minorities and any other interest as may be involved, when necessary.

Abdul Ghani Saheb, M.L.A., 6. Mian Ghiasuddin Saheb, M. L. A. 7. Syed Zakir Ali Saheb, 8. Syed Hasan Reyaz Saheb, 9. Syed Taqi Hadi Saheb.

Resolution No. 6

Resolved that the Muslim League Flag which was unfurled at the last Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Lucknow is to remain the Flag of the League i.e. Green Flag with Crescent and Star in white.

Resolution No. 7.

Resolved that the Volunteer Corp under League organisation all over the country be called "The Muslim National Guard of India" and the uniform shall be Green shirt or Coat with a badge consisting of Crescent and Star in white.

Resolution No. 8

Resolved that the President be authorised to take all necessary steps to form a Muslim League party in the Central Legislature at an early date with power to the party so formed to coalesce with any other party or group whose policy and programme is approximately the same as that of the All India Muslim League.

Resolution No. 9.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council be adjourned till the 3rd of April 1938 to elect members to the Council in the event of provincial League failing to do so by the 31st of March 1938, the time prescribed.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.

Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

The Congress can not possibly consider itself or function as if it represented one community only, even though that might be the majority community in India. Its doors must inevitably be open to all communities and it must welcome all Indians who agree with its general policy and methods. It cannot accept the position of representing one community and thus itself becoming a communal organisation. At the same time the Congress is perfectly willing to confer and cooperate with other organisations which represent minority interests.

It is obvious that the Mussalmans of India, though a minority in the whole country, form a very considerable part of the population and their wishes and desires must be considered in any scheme affecting India. It is also true that the All India Muslim League is an organisation representing a large body of Muslim opinion which must carry weight. It is for this reason that the Congress has endeavoured to understand the view-point of the League and to come to an understanding with it. The Congress, however, would be bound to consult other existing Muslim organisations which have cooperated with the Congress in the past. Further in the event of other group or minority interests being involved, it will be necessary to consult representatives of such interests.

Copy of letter from Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Bose.

Dated Bombay, 16th May 1938.

Dear Mr. Bose,

I acknowledge the receipt of a note you handed over to me on behalf of the Congress on the 14th, and also I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 15th of May, 1938. The matter will be placed before the Executive Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at a meeting to be called in the first week of June, and I will communicate to you the decision as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. JINNAH.

Text of Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held on the 3rd April 1938 at Delhi with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that the report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Council of the All India Muslim League for the purpose of affiliation of Provincial Muslim League be adopted.

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that except in the case of C.P. and Ajmere the existing members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League from provinces, whose applications for affiliation have not yet been received or accepted by the Council, be adopted and vacancies be filled in by the Council.

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that election of the additional members for the Council of the All India Muslim League from Bombay, Sind, Madras, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan be left to a Sub-Committee of the following members :—

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Husain M. Malik, K. B. S. M. Abdulla, Waheeduddin Ahmad and Maulana Mazharuddin. (Quorum 3).

Resolution No. 4.

Resolved that for the membership of the Council from Punjab, C.P. and Ajmere, the agreed names submitted by the members of the Council from these provinces be adopted.

Resolution No. 5.

Resolved that in the opinion of the Council the proposal of Mr. Hosain Imam and Mr. Mohammad Abdul Ghani that the complete list of the names sent by the Behar Provincial Muslim League for the membership of the Council from Bihar be adopted was not practicable. It was further resolved that the existing members of the Council from Bihar should continue to

Text of Resolutions passed at the Meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League held on Sunday the 17th of April, 1938 at the Muslim Institute, Calcutta. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the League presided.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that the following Provincial Muslim Leagues be affiliated to the All India Muslim League.—

1. Bihar Provincial Muslim League, 2. N. W. F. Provincial Muslim League and 3. Ajmere Provincial Muslim League.

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that the application of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League be considered by the Affiliation Committee.

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that a copy of the complaints against the Delhi Provincial Muslim League by some Members of the Council of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League and others be sent to the President of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League for such explanation as they may think proper and that the matter be placed before the next meeting of the Council.

Resolution No. 4.

Resolved that the following be elected as members of the Council of the All India Muslim League.—

(List omitted)

Resolution No. 5.

Resolved that the report regarding economic, social and educational matters submitted by the Committee that was appointed under resolution No. 9. of the Council passed at its meeting on the third of April, 1938 be considered at the next meeting of the Council.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Resolution No. 5.

Resolved that "Palestine Day" be observed throughout India on Friday the 26th of August and the Council requests all the Muslim League organisations and appeals to the Mussalmans to hold meetings condemning the unjust, repressive, and inhuman policy that is pursued by the British Government and offer prayers for the complete success of our Arab brethren in their honourable and just struggle for the freedom of their country.

The Council further appoints a committee consisting of the following members to consider the question of sending an influential deputation abroad specially to Palestine and England and directs the Committee to consider the ways and means by which an effective pressure can be brought to bear upon the British Government and also advise the Council with regard to the question of the Boycott of British goods. 1. Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb 2. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb 3. Abdurrahman Saheb Siddiqi 4. Maulana Kutubuddin Abdul Wali Saheb 5. Maulana Hasrat Mohani Saheb 6. Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb and 7. Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb Convener of the Committee.

Resolution No 6.

The Council of the All India Muslim League finds from the Press reports that efforts are being made in England between the British Government and some of the leaders of Indian opinion to bring about certain modifications in the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 in order that India may work the Federal Constitution. The Muslim League, therefore, wishes to make it clear that it will not be bound by any adjustment that may be arrived at without its approval and consent and further warns the British Government against such action being taken, without consulting and ascertaining the views of the Mussalmans of India and of the consequences that may follow.

Text of Resolutions Passed at the Special Session of the All-India Muslim League on the 17th & 18th of April 1938 at Calcutta with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1.

This Session of the All India Muslim League places on record its sense of appreciation of the efforts of Huq Ministry in Bengal and Saadulah Ministry in Assam particularly for resisting the machinations of the Congress to break through these fronts and appeals to every Mussalman to accord whole-hearted support to the Ministries in Bengal and Assam.

Proposed by—The Hon. Hosain Imam (Bihar)

Seconded by—Moulvi Badruddoja (Bengal)

Supported by—K. B. Haji Rashid Ahmad (Delhi)

„ Mr. Ashrafuddin Mohammad M. L. A.
(Assam)

„ Mr. Jafar Imam M. L. A. (Behar)

Resolution No. 2.

While endorsing the resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League passed at Delhi on the 20th of March 1938, this Special Session of the All India Muslim League in view of the fact that the Punjab Government has given an assurance to the effect that they are adopting every means for arriving at an honourable settlement of the Shahidganj problem, assures them of its cooperation and assistance in bringing about the settlement, and appeals to Mussalmans to create and maintain a peaceful atmosphere in order to facilitate that settlement.

Proposed by—Choudhari Khaliquzzaman M.L.A. U.P.

Seconded by—Mr. Ali Bahadur Habibullah U.P.

Supported by—Prof. Malik Enayatullah, Punjab.

„ Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi M.L.A.
Bengal.

„ Syed Sultan Mohammad Saheb,
N.W.F.P.

Proceedings of the meeting of the Executive Council (Working Committee) of the All India Muslim League held at Bombay on the 4th and 5th of June 1938 at Mr. Jinnah's residence, Little Gibbs Road.

The following all members of the Committee were present except Sir Syed Saadulla, Premier of Assam.—

1. M. A. Jinnah Esq., the President of the All India Muslim League.
2. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.
3. Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, Karachi.
4. Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb, U.P.
5. Shaikh Abdul Majid Saheb Sindhi, Karachi.
6. Syed Abdul Rauf Shah Saheb, C.P.
7. Malik Barkat Ali Saheb, Punjab.
8. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim Bart, Bombay.
9. Sirdar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, N. W. F. P.
10. K. B. Sadullah Khan Saheb, N.W.F.P.
11. The Hon. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab.
12. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan Saheb, U.P.
13. Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb U.P.
14. Choudhari Khaliquzzaman Saheb, U.P.
15. Haji Abdul Sather Haji Essak Sait, Madras.
16. The Hon. Abdul Matin Choudhri, Assam.
17. Sir A. M. K. Dehlvi, Bombay,
18. The Hon. Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Haque, Premier of Bengal.
19. Abdur Rahman Saheb Siddiqi, Bengal.
20. The Hon. Sir Nazamuddin, Bengal.
21. Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb, Bihar.
22. Mohammad Ashique Warsi Saheb, Bihar.

Resolution No. 1.

The Executive Council of the Muslim League resolves that the following note be sent to Mr. Subbas Bose, President of the Congress in reply to his letter dated the 15th of May 1938 with a covering letter by the President.

Jawahar Lal Nehru, the President of the Congress, in one of his statements wherein he asserted that there were only two parties in the country viz. the British Government and the Congress, it was considered necessary by the Executive Council to inform the Congress of the basis on which the negotiations between the two organisations could proceed.

Besides, the very fact that Congress approached the Muslim League to enter into negotiations for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question it presupposed the authoritative and representative character of the League and as such its right to come to an agreement on behalf of the Mussalmans of India.

The Council are aware of the fact that there is a Congress coalition government in N.W.F.P. and also that there are some Muslims in the Congress organisation in other provinces. But the Council is of opinion that these Muslims in the Congress do not and can not represent the Mussalmans of India, for the simple reason that their number is very insignificant and that as members of the Congress they have disabled themselves from representing or speaking on behalf of the Muslim community. Were it not so, the whole claim of the Congress alleged in your letter regarding its national character would fall to the ground.

As regards "the other Muslim organisations" to which reference has been made in your letter, but whom you have not even named, the Council considers that it would have been more proper if no reference had been made to them. If they collectively or individually had been in a position to speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India, the negotiations with the Muslim League for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question would not have been initiated by the Presidents of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. However, so far as the Muslim League is concerned it is not aware that any Muslim political organisation has ever made a claim that it can speak or negotiate on behalf of the Muslims of India. It is, therefore, very much to be regretted that you should have referred to "other Muslim organisations" in this connection.

Copy of letter from Mr. Bose to Mr. Jinnah dated Bombay May 15th 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night I gave you a note explaining our position. You asked me what constructive proposals we had to make. I think the note is self-explanatory. Having made known the Congress reaction to your suggestion, according to us, it remains now to proceed to the next stage namely appointment of respective committees which will jointly settle the terms of understanding.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) SUBHAS C. BOSE.

Copy of the note handed over by Mr. Bose to Mr. Jinnah.—

In the course of the talks between the Congress President and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah suggested that any agreement that might be arrived at should be based on a clear understanding of the position of the Congress and that of the Muslim League. He proposed that the conversations should proceed on the following basis:

“The All India Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Indian Muslims, and the Congress as the authoritative and representative organisation of the solid body of Hindu opinion, have hereby agreed to the following terms by way of a pact between the two major communities and as a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question”.

After further consideration a somewhat different wording was suggested by him as follows:

“The Congress and the All India Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisations of the Mussalmans of India have hereby agreed to the following terms of a Hindu-Muslim settlement by way of a pact.”

The second statement, though shorter, apparently embodies the same idea which is given in the first, that is, that the Congress should represent the Hindus and the Muslim League, the Mussalmans.

Muslim League you were good enough to enclose with your letter of the 6th June 1938. The first resolution of the League Council defines the status of the League. If it means that, before we proceed to set up a machinery for considering the terms of settlement of the communal question, the Congress should recognise the status as defined in that resolution, there is an obvious difficulty. Though the resolution does not use the adjective 'only', the language of the resolution means that the adjective is understood. Already the Working Committee has received warnings against recognising the exclusive status of the League. There are Muslim organisations which have been functioning independently of the Muslim League. Some of them are staunch supporters of the Congress. Moreover, there are individual Muslims who are Congressmen, some of whom exercise no inconsiderable influence in the country. Then there is the Frontier Province which is overwhelmingly Muslim and which is solidly with the Congress. You will see that in the face of these known facts it is not only impossible, but improper for the Congress to make the admission which the first resolution of the League Council apparently desires the Congress to make. It is suggested that the status of organisations does not accrue to them by any defining of it. It comes through the service to which a particular organisation has dedicated itself. The Working Committee therefore hopes that the League Council will not ask the Congress to do the impossible. Is it not enough that the Congress is not only willing but eager to establish the friendliest relations with the League and to come to an honourable understanding over the much vexed Hindu-Muslim question?

At this stage it may perhaps be as well to state the Congress claim. Though it is admitted that the largest number of persons to be found on the numerous Congress registers are Hindus, the Congress has a fairly large number of Muslims and members of other communities professing different faiths. It has been an unbroken tradition with the Congress to represent all communities, all races, and all classes to whom India

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that Sir A. M. K. Dehelvi be requested to go to Sind to study the situation there and to report to the President.

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb be requested to go to the N.W.F.P. within one week with such co-workers as he may select.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., (U.P.)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

for reaching settlement.

It is suggested that as the previous correspondence has already been published, it would be wise to take the public into confidence and publish the subsequent correspondence between us. If you are agreeable these documents will be immediately released for publication.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) SUBHAS BOSE.

Resolution No 2.

Resolved that in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 30th and 31st of July 1938, the following be appointed as members of the Propaganda and Publicity Committee.—

1. Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb, 2. Col. A. Rahman, M. L. A. (Central), 3. The Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League convener of the Committee.

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 30th and 31st of July 1938 the following be appointed as members of the Fund Committee.—

1. Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb, Convener of the Committee 2. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim Bart, 3. Nawab Shah Sawaz, Nawab of Mandot 4. Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb, 5. Raja Saheb Pirpur, 6. Khan Sadulla Khan Saheb, 7. Jamal Mohammad Saheb, 8. Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb, 9. Nawab of Dacca 10. Ahmad Ispahani Saheb, 11. Nawab Musharraf Hosain Saheb, 12. K. B. S. M. Abdullah Saheb, 13. Sardar Mohammad Nawaz Khan Saheb, 14. The Hon: H. Shaheed Soharwardy, 15 Sir Abdoola Haroon 16. S. A. Aziz Saheb, 17. Mr. Ashiq Warsi, 18. Raza Imam Saheb, 19. Lady Imam, 20 Syed Abdul Rauf Shah Saheb, 21. Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan Saheb, 22. Abu Baker Beg Mohammad Saheb, 23. Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, 24 Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, with power to coopt.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Text of Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held on the 30th and 31st of July 1938 at Delhi with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that the invitation of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League to hold the next Annual Session in Bihar be accepted and that the Session be held at Patna during Xmas holidays. The Bihar Provincial Muslim League be informed that as regards its request for a share in the Visitors' and Delegates' fees, the matter will be considered by the Council and an equitable adjustment made.

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that an Industrial Exhibition be held on the occasion of the Annual Session of the League at Patna and Raja Saheb Pirpur be appointed to organise the Exhibition.

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that (a) a Sub-Committee be appointed for propaganda and Publicity (b) a Fund Committee be appointed for the purpose of raising funds and the Council directs the Working Committee to select the personnel of these two committees.

Resolution No. 4.

Resolved that a Sub-Committee of the following persons be appointed to examine the scheme of the Muslim National Guard and to submit their report to the Working Committee within one month 1. Nawab of Chhatari 2. Capt. Sir Sher Mohammad Khan 3. Abdul Kadir Shaikh 4. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb 5. Capt. Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan 6. Syed Eizaz Rasul Saheb 7. Rashid Hosain Qidwai and 8. M. M. S. Isphani, convener of the Committee. (Quorum 3.)

to meet the Committee that may be appointed by the Congress on the footing indicated by us in our three resolutions of the 5th of June 1938 already communicated to you.

As all the Correspondence so far in this connection has been published I am issuing this to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd). M. A. JINNAH.

Copy of the Letter of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress addressed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League.

Calcutta, 2nd October 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 2nd August, 1938 has been placed before the Working Committee. After due deliberation it has resolved to reply as follows :—

“Though there are inaccuracies in your letter no purpose will be served by dwelling on them. The substance of your letter seems to be that the League does not expect the Congress, whether implicitly or explicitly, to acknowledge its status as the authoritative Muslim organisation of India. If this view is accepted by the League, I am authorised to state that the Working Committee will confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the League to draw up the terms of settlement.”

“The Working Committee will be represented by at least five of its members at the sittings of the Conference.”

“As the previous correspondence has already been released for publication, I am taking the liberty of issuing this to the Press.”

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) S. BOSE.

The Executive Council considered the situation in Assam and resolved the following.—

Resolution No. 4.

“Having considered the recent situation created in Assam, the Executive Council of the All India Muslim

Resolution No 7.

Resolved that the scheme as proposed by the Congress for the Constituent Assembly is not acceptable as the Council considers it most injurious and detrimental to the interests of Mussalmans.

Resolution No. 8.

The Council of the All India Muslim League condemns the action of the N.W.F.P. Government in imposing a fine of Rs. 2,500 on all the inhabitants of Mardan in consequence of the murders of a few persons and request the said Government to set aside its order at earliest opportune moment.

Resolution No. 9.

Resolved that the complaint against the Provincial Muslim League Delhi together with the explanation of the President of the said League be referred to the Working Committee for such action as it may deem proper.

Resolution No. 10.

Resolved that the question of disciplinary action against K. B. Haji Rashid Ahmad be referred to the Working Committee for such action as it may consider proper.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Resolution No. 7.

Resolved that the matter of Disciplinary Action against K. B. Haji Rashid Ahmad be put up at the next meeting of the Executive Council and in the meantime Haji Saheb be informed that if he has any explanation to offer he should do so without delay.

Resolution No. 8

Resolved that Prof. Mirza Mohammad Said be appointed as a member of the Propaganda Committee.

Resolution No. 9.

The Executive Council considered the situation in C. P. and resolved as follows.—

“The Executive Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the brave fight that the Muslim League Party in the C.P. and Berar Assembly; the Nagpur Jabalpure and other Muslim Leagues and several Muslim institutions in the province, having been putting up against the Vidya Mander Scheme and other measures of the Congress Government that are highly detrimental to the interests of the Muslims and calls upon all the Muslims in the province to unite under the banner of the Muslim League for the solution of their religious, linguistic cultural and political rights and is of opinion that they should not resort to any direct action or unlawful activity without the sanction of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League.”

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.

Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Text of the Resolutions of the meeting of the Executive Council (Working Committee) of the All India Muslim League held at Gul-i-Raana, New Delhi, on the 30th and 31st of July 1938 Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that the following letter on behalf of the Executive Council be sent to Mr. Bose President of the Congress in reply to his letter dated Warda 25th July 1938 addressed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League .

Copy of the letter of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League addressed to Mr. S. Bose, the President of the Congress.

2nd August 1938.

Dear Mr. Bose,

I placed your letter dated the 25th of July 1938 before the meeting of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League.

The Executive Council gave its earnest attention and careful consideration to the arguments which were urged in your letter for persuading it not to claim the status it has done in its resolution No. 1. already communicated to you. I am desired to state that in defining the status the Council was not actuated by any motive of securing an admission, but had merely stated an accepted fact.

The Council is fully convinced that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative political organisation of the Mussalmans of India. This position was accepted when the Congress-League Pact was arrived at in 1916 at Lucknow and ever since, till 1935 when Jinnah-Rajandra Prashad conversation took place, it has not been questioned. The All India Muslim League, therefore, does not require any admission or recognition from the Congress and nor did the resolution of the Executive Council passed at Bombay. But in view of the fact that the position—in fact the very existence—of the League had been questioned by Pandit

organisation of the Muslim League. All his activities invariably aimed at winning independence for India and at the establishment of a lasting concord among the various communities of India. He had the courage and capacity to suffer patiently, and like a true Muslim he was always ready to sacrifice himself for Islam. His name deserves a prominent place in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League is overwhelmed with sorrow at the sudden death of the great leader whose personality was an epitome of all the virtues—self-sacrifice, high resolution, amiableness and true friendship. His death is an irreparable national loss and the Council offers prayers for the deceased and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of late Sir Mohammad Iqbal as a sage philosopher of Islam and a great national poet. He urged the Muslims to build their future in consonance with their great past. Though he is not among us, he lives for ever in his imperishable verses which would continue to inspire the life and actions of the Muslims all over the world.

This meeting of the Council deeply mourns for him and offers fervent prayers to the Almighty that soul of the deceased may rest in peace.

Resolution No. 4.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League gives expression to its sincere sorrow at the death of Nawab Sir Mohammad Muzamilullah Khan and records its appreciation of the great services which he has rendered to the cause of Muslim education and of his generous help in various other spheres of national life.

Resolution No. 5

Resolved that the report of the Affiliation Sub-Committee regarding the affiliation of the Bombay Presidency Muslim League be confirmed.

The Council is equally anxious to bring about a settlement of "the much vexed Hindu-Muslim question" and thus hasten the realization of the common goal, but it is painful to find that subtle arguments are being introduced to cloud the issue and retard the progress of the negotiations.

In view of the facts stated above the Council still hopes that the representative character of the Muslim League will not be questioned and that the Congress will proceed to appoint a committee on that basis.

With reference to the second resolution the Council wishes to point out that it considered undesirable the inclusion of Mussalmans in the Committee that might be appointed by the Congress because it would meet to solve and settle the Hindu-Muslim question and so in the very nature of the issues involved they would not command the confidence of either Hindus or the Mussalmans and their position indeed would be most embarrassing. The Council, therefore, request you to consider the question in the light of the above observations.

With reference to the third resolution it was the memorandum of the Congress referred to in your letter dated the 15th of May 1938 in which mention of other minorities was made and the Muslim League expressed its willingness to consult them, if and when it was necessary in consonance with its declared policy.

As regards your desire for the release of the correspondence, including this letter, for publication the Council has no objection to your doing so.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. A. JINNAH.

Copy of the letter of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President All India Congress Committee addressed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League.

Wardha, 25th July 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Working Committee has given all the attention it was possible for it to give to the resolutions of the

It was further resolved that within three months the Committee shall submit to the All India Muslim League an educational scheme which should provide such education for Muslim boys and girls as would create in them an Islamic mentality, strengthen the Islamic characteristics, and at the same time, fully equip them to meet the exigencies of the present age.

1. Dr. Zafarul Hasan. 2. Dr. Kadri. 3. Syed Nawab Ali Saheb. 4. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. 5. Dr. Khalifa Shujaiddin. 6. Karimurraza Khan Saheb. 7. Maulana Burhanul Haq Saheb. 8. Raja Saheb Pirpur Con-
 vener of the Committee.

9. Mr. Z. H. Lari moved the following resolution which was seconded by Mr. Abdul Waheed Khan :—

“The All India Muslim League Council declares that the speech of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan at Simla assuring the British Government of unconditional support in men and money in case of war does in no way reflect the opinion of the Mussalmans of India and warns responsible members of the Muslim League against making pronouncements of such a nature without reference to the League.”

The Hon. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan opposed the resolution. Mr. M. A. Jinnah the President of the League intervened in the debate. The resolution was by leave of the Council withdrawn.

Resolution Nos. 2 and 3 standing in the name of Z. H. Lari were not moved.

Resolution No. 10.

Resolved that a committee of the following gentlemen Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon (Chairman) 2. Nawab Sahib Mamdot, 3. Raja Saheb Mahmudabad, 4. Mr. Aurangzeb Khan be appointed to give effect to the following resolutions: (with power to co-opt.)

1. That a deputation of Ulamas and well-known leaders of Muslim minority provinces: U.P., Bihar and, Orissa, C.P. and Madras etc. be organised to tour through the Punjab, N.W.F. Province and

is their home. From its inception it has often had distinguished Muslims as Presidents and as General Secretaries who enjoyed the confidence of the Congress and of the country. The Congress tradition is that though a Congressman does not cease to belong to the Faith in which he is born and bred up, no one comes to the Congress by virtue of his faith; he is in and of the Congress by virtue of his endorsement of the political principles and policy of the Congress. The Congress therefore is in no sense a communal organisation. In fact it has always fought the communal spirit because it is detrimental to the growth of pure and undefiled nationalism. But whilst the Congress makes this claim, and has sought, with more or less success, to live up to the claim, the Working Committee asks for no recognition from the League Council. The Committee would be glad if your Council would come to an understanding with the Congress in order that we might achieve national solidarity and wholeheartedly work for realising our common destiny.

As to the second resolution of the Council, I am afraid that it is not possible for the Working Committee to confirm to the desire expressed therein.

The third resolution, the Working Committee is unable to understand. So far as the Working Committee is aware, the Muslim League is purely a communal organisation, in the sense that it seeks to serve Muslim interests and its membership too is open only to Muslims. The Working Committee also has all along understood that so far as the League is concerned, it desires, and rightly, a settlement with the Congress on the Hindu-Muslim question and not on questions affecting all minorities. So far as the Congress is concerned, if the other minorities have a grievance against the Congress, it is always ready to deal with them as it is its bounden duty to do, being by its very constitution and organisation representative of all India without distinction of caste or creed.

In view of the foregoing I hope that it will be possible for us to take up the next stage in our negotiations

take such disciplinary action as it thinks proper. In the case of Central Legislature the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League may take such disciplinary action as it may deem proper.

Resolution No. 14.

Resolved that every endeavour should be made to secure in accordance with the new Constitution, the right of Separate Election for the Muslims in all Municipal Committees, District Boards, District Council and other local bodies.

Resolution No. 15.

Resolved that the following proposed resolutions be forwarded to the Propaganda and Publicity Committee for such action as it thinks proper :—

That in order to counteract the Muslim Mass Contact Movement launched by the Congress, the following measures be adopted :—

- (i) In every province and district where the spiritual influence of the Ulama could be utilized for the purpose, brief Fatwas and manifestoes should be issued on behalf of the Ulema in which the Muslims should be warned against joining the Congress and the disadvantages from the religious point of view of any association with the Congress should be clearly and emphatically explained to them. These Fatwas should be published under the authority of the All India Muslim League through the agency of the local League in the language of each province or district.
- (ii) In consultation with Ulema some suitably qualified Muslims should be appointed to address Friday Congregations and other Muslim gatherings and also meetings held in rural areas on the subject of the religious turpitude and secular harm which is likely to result for the Muslims, by their joining the Congress.

Text of Resolutions of the meeting of the Executive Council (Working Committee) of the All India Muslim League held at Sir Abdoolla Haroon's residence at Karachi, on the 8th, 9th and 10th of October 1938.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that Raja Saheb Mahmudabad and Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim be appointed as Treasurers of the Fund Committee and hold in Trust the Funds that may be collected by the Committee until further instructions.

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that Report of the Palestine Committee be placed before the Council of the All India Muslim League.

Resolution No. 3.

The Executive Council considered the letter of the Congress President and authorised the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah to send the following reply :—

Copy of the letter of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League addressed to Mr. Bose, the President of the Congress :—

Little Gibbs Road

Bombay.

10th October 1938.

Dear Mr. Bose,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 2nd of October which was placed before the Executive Council I am authorised to state in reply as follows.

The Executive Council of the All India Muslim League regret very much that the Working Committee of the Congress should have entirely misread my letter dated the 2nd of August 1938 which is quite clear and does not require any elucidation or further interpretation. The Muslim League are still ready to proceed with the negotiations for settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question on the basis defined by my letter referred to above and would appoint its representaives

League urges upon the Governor to exercise his powers and summon the Legislative Assembly immediately as the Assembly was adjourned Sine die by the Speaker at the instance of the Leader of the Congress Party, who now occupies the position of Chief Minister, with an ulterior motive, and as it is against all the canons and principles of constitutional Government that a minority Government should be kept in office in the manner in which it is sought to be done.

“The Executive Council is of opinion that the Speaker has failed in his duty in adopting the course he has done by adjourning the Assembly, as it seems to the Council it can only be intended to help the Congress Party to continue in office as long as possible, though in a minority, and condemns Mr. Bardoloi and the Congress Party for adopting such tactics on threshold of accepting office and shirking the no-confidence motion when 56 members, constituting the majority of the Assembly, have tabled a no-confidence motion.

“The Executive Council of the All India Muslim League appeals to the Mussalmans of Assam and every member of the Assembly to stand solid and united to defeat machinations of the Congress Party who have no right, constitutional or moral, to continue in office when they know that they have not the support and confidence of the majority in the Legislature. The Executive Council fervently hopes and expects every Muslim member in the Legislature to stand loyally by Sir Saadullah, the Leader of the Muslim League Party, and support the Coalition United Assam Party.”

Resolution No 5

Resolved that the report of the Committee regarding the National Guard be placed before the Council at its next meeting.

Resolution No. 6

The Executive Council considered the complaints against the Delhi Provincial Muslim League and the reply of the President of the Provincial League it authorises the Honorary Secretary to deal with the matter.

and it warns the British Government that, if the methods of coercion and intimidation resulted in the British Government yielding to the Congress, the Mussalmans will not hesitate to resort to the most extreme measures in their opposition to such a position where their most vital interests would stand to be sacrificed.

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that a committee of the following gentlemen Sir Abdoola Haroon, the Raja Saheb Mahmudabad and Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb be appointed to select and adopt a candidate on behalf of the Muslim League who they may think suitable for the vacancy created in the Central Legislative Assembly by the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali Saheb.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Text of Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League held at Delhi on Sunday the 4th of December 1938. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided.

Resolution No 1.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its deepest feelings of sorrow and grief at the sad demise of Ataturk Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha whom it acknowledges as a truly great personality in the Islamic world, a great general and a great statesman. He rebuilt and revived the Turkish Nation after its defeat and disintegration, and in spite of opposition from the European powers, succeeded in defeating the enemies of Turkey, and within a short time brought his country to the front rank of nations. By establishing a concord and alliance of the Eastern Nations he guided the East to the true goal of political power and prosperity. His memory will inspire Muslim all over the world with courage, perseverance and manliness. With this expression of its heartfelt grief, the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League wishes to convey its message of sympathy and condolence to the Turkish nation in its great bereavement.

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its sincere appreciation of the multifarious services rendered by the late Maulana Shaukat Ali to the nation. He exerted himself greatly for the establishment of the Muslim University, and he was one of the founders of Khudam-i-Kaba organization. The success of the Khilafat movement was to a great extent due to his organising ability and his untiring effort, and for this he cheerfully bore all the hardships of imprisonment. He gave his energies to saving the Muslims from the peril of the Nehru Report, while he worked unceasingly till the very last in order to ensure the success of the present

—

The consideration of the question of the National Guard on all India basis was deferred.

The Report of the Palestine Committee was placed before the Council and noted.

Resolution No. 6

Resolved that the Report of the Sub-Committee regarding Economic Programme be sent to various Provincial Muslim Leagues for their opinion.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah was unanimously elected President of the All India Muslim League for the next year.

Resolution No 7.

Resolved that the election of the members for the Council of the All India Muslim League from provinces which have failed to make elections within the prescribed time be left to the President and the Secretary of the All India Muslim League.

Resolution No. 8.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League appoints a committee consisting of the gentlemen noted below who shall report on the following points at the next meeting of the League at Patna :—

1. Whether the Wardha Scheme would have the effect of preventing or circumscribing the progress of the Urdu Language and Urdu script and whether it would tend to obliterate or weaken the religious traditions and culture of the Indian Muslims so that they might lose their separate national identity and be moulded according to the political ideals of the Congress.
2. Whether it is essential that the Muslims should have their own separate organisation for education which should be under their own control and how this could be effected.

Sind in order to acquaint the Muslims of these provinces of the repressive policy of the Congress Ministries towards the Muslim minorities.

2. A second deputation be organised to tour throughout the Islamic countries, to remove the misunderstanding created by the Congress leaders that the Muslims of India are not patriots and that they are betraying the interest of their mother-land.
3. A third deputation be organised to put the real conditions in India before the various nations and exposing the Congress attitude towards the minorities of India.

Resolutions Nos. 1 and 2 standing in the name of Maulana Sibghatullah Saheb were not moved.

Resolution No 11.

Resolved that a Committee consisting of Sir Syed Riza Ali, Mr. Barkat Ali Mr. Ghulam Imam, Maulana Jamal-uddin Abdul Wahab Saheb. Maulana Zafar Ahmad Saheb and Mr. Ashraf (convener) be appointed to examine the Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill now pending before the Central Legislative Assembly and send their opinion and recommendation to the President and the Secretary of Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly. (Quorum 4.)

Resolution No 12.

Resolved that any member of Muslim League who is associated with any party whose general policy is opposed to the Muslims should not be allowed to become or remain a member of the Muslim League. The decision in this regard will rest with the Executive Council of the Provincial Muslim League subject to appeal to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

Resolution No. 13.

In Central or Provincial Legislatures where parties have been formed all those members who are members of the Muslim League should be asked to join the League parties. If any member refuses to join the League party in a provincial Legislature the Provincial Muslim League may

energies to saving the Muslims from the peril of the Nehru Report, while he worked unceasingly till the very last in order to ensure the success of the present organisation of the Muslim League. All his activities invariably aimed at winning independence for India and at the establishment of a lasting concord among the various communities of India. He had the courage and capacity to suffer patiently, and like a true Muslim he was always ready to sacrifice himself for Islam. His name deserves a prominent place in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

This Session of the All India Muslim League is overwhelmed with sorrow at the sudden death of the great leader whose personality was an epitome of all the virtues—self-sacrifice, high resolution, amiableness and true friendship. His death is an irreparable national loss and the All India Muslim League offers prayers for the deceased and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that this Session of the All India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the late Sir Mohammad Iqbal as a sage philosopher of Islam and a great national poet. He urged the Muslims to build their future in consonance with their great past. Though he is not among us, he lives for ever in his imperishable verses which would continue to inspire the life and actions of the Muslims all over the world.

This Session deeply mourns for him and offers fervent prayers to the Almighty that the soul of the deceased may rest in peace.

Resolution No. 4.

That having regard to the atrocities that have been committed and that elementary rights of the Muslims have been trampled upon in a systematic manner in Bihar, U.P. and C.P. and that the Government of these provinces have failed to redress their grievances or protect even the elementary rights of the Mussalmans in these provinces in spite of all constitutional methods adopted so far by the Muslims, this session of the All

- (iii) Having regard to the fact that in certain public offices undue pressure is put on Muslim subordinates by their official superiors in order to make them join the Congress and similarly in certain Mills and Workshops with Congressite owners and managers Muslim workmen and labourers are compelled to join the Congress, the Council of the All India Muslim League should direct influential and leading members of the League to move Government officers responsible for the maintenance of law and order to check such unlawful abuse of power.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., (U.P.)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

and martyrs and congratulates them on their bravery, sacrifice and determination and warns the British Government that if it does not forthwith stop the influx of Jews into Palestine and does not include in the proposed conference the Grand Mufti, the genuine leaders of the Arabs as well as the representatives of the Indian Mussalmans the conference will be nothing but a farce.

This session declares that the problem of Palestine is the problem of the Muslims of the whole world, and if the British Government fails to do justice to the Arabs and fulfil the demands of the Muslims of the world, the Indian Muslims will adopt any programme and will be prepared to make any sacrifice that may be decided upon by a Muslim International Conference at which the Muslims of India, are duly represented in order to save the Arabs from British exploitation and Jewish usurpation.

The session of the League warns the British Government that, if they persist in trying to give a practical shape to the idea prevalent among certain sections of the British and the Americans that Palestine be made the national home of the Jews, it will lead to a state of perpetual unrest and conflict.

Proposed by—Maulana Mazharuddin Saheb, U.P.

Seconded by—Maulana Irfan Saheb, Bombay

Supported by—Shah Husain Mian Saheb, Behar

„ Prof. Abdus Sattar Saheb Khairi, U.P.

„ Abu Said Saheb, Punjab, U.P.

„ Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb, U.P.

„ Malik Abdul Khaliq Saheb, Sind

„ Prof. Enayatullah Saheb, Punjab

„ Sir Syed Raza Ali, M.L.A., Central

„ Maulana Karam Ali Saheb, U.P.

„ Maulana Akram Khan Saheb, Bengal

Resolution No 6.

Whereas it is necessary to afford adequate opportunities to women for their development and growth in order to participate in the struggle for social, economic and political emancipation of the Muslim nation in

Text of Resolutions of the meeting of the Executive Council (Working Committee) of the All India Muslim League held at Gul-i-Raana, 8B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi, on the 5th of December 1938.

Resolution No. 1.

The Executive Council considered the serious situation that has arisen in the Central Provinces and Berar with regard to the introduction of the Vidya Mandir Scheme and its repercussions all over India, and also considered the request of the C. P. Provincial Muslim League to launch Civil disobedience as the Mussalmans of the Province have exhausted all constitutional methods to secure redress of their grievances. The Executive Council resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan M. L. A. Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, be deputed to go to the Central Provinces and examine the situation and submit his report before the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Patna.

Resolution No 2.

While the All India Muslim League fully sympathises with the aspirations of State subjects for their constitutional advance it deprecates the changed attitude on the part of the Congress whose main objective in championing the cause of the States people is only to secure the establishment in the Indian States of an elective system enabling their representatives to be returned to the Federal Legislature, irrespective of any thing else, in the hope that it might get a majority in the Federal Legislature. The Council, therefore, views with grave apprehension the recent pronouncement of Mr. Gandhi which threatens the extinction of the ruling princes and the British Government with disastrous consequences if they did not meet the demand of the Congress.

The Muslim League is already opposed to the Federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 for reasons it has repeatedly made clear,

N.W.F.P. 1 Begum Haji Sadulla Khan. 2 Mrs. Khawaja-
Alla Bux.

Madras 1 Mrs. Ayisha Kulhamoro Haji. 2. Mrs.
Qureshi.

Proposed by—Begum Habibullah.

Seconded by—Begum Wasim.

Supported by—Mohammad Farooq Saheb, M.L.A.
(U.P.)

Resolution No. 7.

Resolved that the following office bearers be elected :—
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb—Honorary
Secretary.

Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb—Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. Husain M. Malik and K.B.S.M. Abdulla—Hono-
rary Joint Secretaries.

Proposed by—Sardar Aurrangzeb Khan, M.L.A.,
(N.W.F.P.) *(Passed Unanimously)*

Resolution No. 8

While fully sympathising with the legitimate aspira-
tions of the subjects of the Indian States for the con-
stitutional advancement and for obtaining redress of
their grievances, the Muslim League, though it is bound
by its present programme and policy to maintain an
attitude of non-interference in the affairs of the Indian
States, unequivocally declares that if the Congress or
other Hindu organisations do not desist forthwith from
their subversive activities in the States actuated by
ulterior motives, it will be forced to take such action
as may be necessary to safeguard the legitimate interests
of the Mussalmans.

Proposed by—The Hon. Husain Imam, M.C.S., Behar

Seconded by—K.B. Mushtaq Ahmad Saheb. Gurmany
M.L.A., Punjab.

Supported by—K.S. Abdurrahman Saheb, M.L.A., (C.P.)

„ Haji Abdul Qadir Saheb. Behar.

„ Mohammad Asghar Saheb (C.P.)

„ Mr. M.A. Kashmerwala, Delhi.

Resolution No 9

Resolved that the following amendments be made
in the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim
League.

Text of Resolutions passed at the Meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League held at Patna on Sunday the 25th of December 1938. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided.

Resolution No. 1.

Resolved that the resolutions of the Working Committee be confirmed.

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that the proceeding of the last meeting of the Council with the following amendment be confirmed.

Add the following in the proceeding regarding resolution No. 9:—

“The house enunciated the principle that in future any announcement or statement on a vital matter by any prominent member of the League, particularly by the members of the Working Committee should not be made without the authority of the Working Committee or in a case of emergency in consultation with the President.”

Resolution No. 3.

Resolved that the Report of the Affiliation Sub-Committee regarding the affiliation of the C. P. and Berar Provincial Muslim League and Sind Provincial Muslim League be confirmed.

Resolution No. 4.

Resolved that the Sub-Committee appointed to examine the Wardha Scheme of Education be given another three months for submission its report to the Council.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Supported by—Z.H.Lary Saheb, M.L.A. (U.P.)
 „ Nawab Mohammad Ismail Saheb,
 M.L.C. Behar.
 „ Malik Barkat Ali Saheb, M.L.A.,
 Punjab.
 „ Mazhar Imam Saheb, Bihar.

Resolution No. 11.

This Session of the All India Muslim League expresses its deep sympathy with the Indians in general and the Muslims in particular in Burma who have suffered great losses during riots, and asks the Government of India to press the Government of Burma for adequate compensation to the Muslims who have in any way suffered during the riots. Further this Session requests the All Burma Muslim League to keep the Muslims of India in touch with the general and political affairs of the Burma Muslims.

Proposed by—Zahur Ahmad Saheb, M.L.A., U.P,

Seconded by—Mohamood Hasan Saheb, Madras.

Resolution No. 12

This Session of the All India Muslim League once more demands that full reforms and a status equal to that of the other provinces in India should be given to British Baluchistan and requests the British Government to take immediate steps in that direction without any further delay.

Proposed by—K. B. Mushtaq Ahmad Saheb, Gurmani, M.L.A. Punjab.

Seconded by—Maulana Jamaluddin Abdul Wahab Saheb, U.P.

Resoution No. 13.

Whereas the forward policy of the British Government which in the name of Indian Defence aims at the forcible subjugation of the Independent tribal belt lying between Afghanistan and the North Western Border of India, has failed with all its Military resources to attain its objective and has resulted only in an incalculable yearly loss in men and money without any prospect of coming to a successful end in the near or distant future, and whereas the trans-frontier border tribes who prefer total extinction to

Text of Resolutions of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held at Patna on the 27th of December 1938. Mr. M. A. Jinnah Presided.

1. The Honorary Secretary explained the position regarding his visit to Nagpur in connection with the Viddia Mandir Scheme which was noted.

The Committee resolved that the Honorary Secretary be authorised to attend the proposed meeting between the Premier and the Muslim M. L. As of C. P. as desired by the C. P. Premier.

2. Mr. S. A. Aziz and Mr. Mohammad Ashique Warsi, the members from Behar, brought the matter of the Cow-sacrifice and slaughter of kine to the notice of the Committee and explained their grievances against the unsatisfactory manner in which the local Government was dealing with it. The Committee was of opinion that the Behar Provincial Muslim League should pursue all constitutional channels available to them and report the result to the Committee.

3. Malik Barkat Ali had given notice of the following resolution which he however did not move :—

“That the organising Committee appointed at Calcutta to set up and establish the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and its branches under the new constitution be dissolved and a new organising Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be set up for the same purpose.”

(Names to be communicated later)

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., (U.P.)
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Text of Resolutions passed at the Twenty-sixth Annual Session of the All India Muslim League held at Patna on the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th of December 1938. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided.

Report of the Honorary Secretary was read and adopted. A vote of thanks to the Honorary Secretary was moved by the Chair.

Resolution No 1.

Resolved that this Annual Session of the All India Muslim League expresses its deepest feelings of sorrow and grief at the sad demise of Ataturk Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha whom it acknowledges as a truly great personality in the Islamic world, a great general and a great statesman. He rebuilt and revived the Turkish Nation after its defeat and disintegration, and in spite of opposition from the European powers, succeeded in defeating the enemies of Turkey, and within a short time brought his country to the front rank of nations. By establishing a concord and alliance of the Eastern Nations he guided the East to the true goal of political power and prosperity. His memory will inspire Muslims all over the world with courage, perseverance and manliness. With this expression of its heartfelt grief, the Session of the All India Muslim League wishes to convey its message of sympathy and condolence to the Turkish nation in its great bereavement.

Resolution No. 2.

Resolved that this Session of the All India Muslim League expresses its sincere appreciation of the multifarious services rendered by the late Maulana Shaukat Ali to the nation. He exerted himself greatly for the establishment of the Muslim University, and he was one of the founders of Khuddam-i-Kaba organization. The success of the Khilafat movement was to a great extent due to his organising ability and his untiring effort, and for this he cheerfully bore all the hardships of imprisonment. He gave his

Whereas it has in open defiance of the democratic principles persistently endeavoured to render the power of the Muslim majorities in-effective and impotent in the North Western Provinces, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind by trying to bring into power or by supporting coalition ministries not enjoying the confidence of the majority of Muslim members and the Muslim masses of those provinces.

Whereas Congress has superimposed the authority of its High Command, a sort of fascist dictatorship, over the working of the Congress ministries to prevent the healthy growth of parliamentary conventions and establishment of constitutional traditions, to deprive the Muslims of their due share and have refused to reconstitute ministries in consonance with the constitution, having due regard to the rights and interests of Muslims.

Whereas the Congress have decided:—

- (a) to enforce Vidya Mandir Scheme in the teeth of Muslim opposition;
- (b) to foist the Bande-Matram on Muslims and others as a national anthem in callous disregard of the feelings of Muslims who consider the song as not only idolatrous but it is in origin and conception a hymn of hatred to Muslims;
- (c) to make Hindi with Devangiri script as the Lingua Franca of India in total defiance of the protests and wishes of the minorities with a view to inculcate Hindu religious ideas, philosophy and culture and establish dominance of Brahmanic culture in India;
- (d) to introduce and enforce joint electorates in local bodies with the strength of their majority and thus deprive Muslims of securing their true representation;

India Muslim League is therefore of opinion that the time has now come to authorise the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to decide and resort to "Direct Action" if and when necessary.

Proposed by—Aziz Ahmad Khan Saheb, M.L.A., (U.P.)

Seconded by—Ashiq Saheb Warsi, (Behar.)

Supported by—Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, M.L.A., (C.P.)

” The Hon’ble Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan,
Premier of the Punjab.

” The Hon’ble Moulvi Fazlul Haque,
Premier of the Bengal.

” Abdul Majid Saheb, M.L.A., (Sind.)

” Sir A.M.K. Dehalvi, M.L.A., (Bombay.)

” Latifurrahman Saheb, M.L.A., (Orissa.)

” Abdul Matin Saheb Choudhri, M.L.A.,
(Assam.)

” Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Seth,
M.L.A., (Central)

” Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M.L.A.,
(N.W.F.P.)

” Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A.,
(Central) Punjab.

Resolution No. 5

It is the considered opinion of the All India Muslim League that the unjust Balfour Declaration and the subsequent policy of repression adopted by the British Government in Palestine aim at making their sympathy for the Jews a pretext for incorporating that country into the British Empire with a view to strengthen British Imperialism, and to frustrate the idea of a federation of Arab States and its possible union with other Muslim States. They also want to use sacred places in Palestine as aerial and naval bases for their future Military activities. The atrocities that have been perpetrated on the Arabs for the attainment of this object have no parallel in history.

This Muslim League Session regards those Arabs who are being subjected to all kinds of persecutions and repressions and who are making all sacrifices for preserving their sacred land, protecting their national rights and emancipating their mother land as heroes

recommends to the All India Muslim League to devise a scheme of Constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.

Further this conference' records its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of the All India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 and is opposed to its introduction and urges upon the British Government to refrain from its enforcement as it considers the scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally and those of the Muslims in particular.

That this conference further declares that no constitution by whomsoever framed will be acceptable to the Muslims of India unless it conforms to the principle enunciated above and is prepared in consultation with and accepted by All India Muslim League."

Proposed by—Shaikh Abdul Majid, M.L.A., Sind.

Seconded by—K. B. Gurmani, M.L.A., (Punjab).

Supported by—Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A.,
(Central)

„ Sayed Abdul Rauf Shah, Advocate,
M.L.A., (C. P.)

„ Moulana Abdul Hamid Budauni, (U.P.)

India, this Session of the All India Muslim League resolves that an All India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee be formed of the following members with powers to co-opt with the following object in view :—

- (a) To organise provincial and district women's Sub-Committee under the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues.
- (b) To enlist larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League.
- (c) To carry on intensive propaganda amongst the Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness.
- (d) To advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of the Muslim society.

- Punjab 1 Begum Shah Nawaz Saheb 2 Mrs. Rashida Latif.
3 Lady Jamal Khan. 4 Lady Abdul Kadir.
- Bengal 1 Begum Shahabuddin. 2 Mrs. M.M. Ispahani.
- Bombay 1 Miss. F. Jinnah. 2 Mrs. Faiz Tyabji.
3 Begum Hafiz-ud-din,
- U.P. 1 Begum Habib-ul-lah. 2 Begum Aizaz Rasul.
3 Begum Wasim. 4 Begum Mohammad Ali.
5 Begum Nawab Ismail Khan. 6 Miss Rahilla Khatoon.
- C.P. 1 Miss Nadir Jehan of Seoni. 2 Begum Nawab Siddique Ali Khan.
- Behar 1 Lady Imam. 2 Begum Akhtar.
- Assam 1 Mrs. Aatur Rahman. 2 Miss J. Khan.
- Sind 1 Lady Haroon. 2 Lady Hidayatullah.
3 Begum Shaban. 4 Mrs. Hatim Tyabji.
- Delhi 1 Mrs. Hussain Malik. 2 Mrs. Najmul Hasan.
3 Begum Rahman.

In Section 6 delete the full stop at the end and add the words "within two months."

In Section 11 (i) after the words "their representatives," substitute "two" for one.

In Section 11 (ii) in the last sentence before the word "Secretaries" add the words "Presidents and"

In Section 12 omit the full stop at the end and add "and if he or she fails to pay his or her subscription within two months from the date of notice by the Central office he or she shall cease to be a member of the Council."

In Section 13 omit the full stop at the end and add "and they shall also be ex-officio members of all the Provincial Councils and Working Committees."

Add a new rule 40A. as follows :—

"All the members of the Muslim League Parties in the Provincial Legislatures shall be ex-officio Delegates at the Annual or Special Session of the All India Muslim League on payment of Delegate's fee."

Proposed by—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League (Passed Unanimously.)

Resolution No. 10.

The All India Muslim League reiterates its view that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is not acceptable, but in view of the further developments that have taken place or may take place from time to time, it hereby authorises the President of the All India Muslim League to adopt such course as may be necessary with a view to explore the possibility of a suitable alternative which will safe-guard the interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities in India.

Proposed by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (Central)

Seconded by—Abdul Majid Saheb, M.L.A. (Sind)

a life of servitude, have all along made it clear that they will resist to the bitter end all British attempts to dominate their homeland, this session of the All India Muslim League is firmly of the opinion that the time now has come for the British Government to reconsider its Frontier Policy in a more statesmen like manner based upon the universally recognised principle of self determination. It further condemns the policy and activities of the Congress in the N.W.F.P. by which they have given indications that the tribal areas should become parts of the administered territory.

Proposed by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb M.L.A.,
(Central) Punjab.

Seconded by—Mohammad Ziauddin M.L.A., (N.W.F.P.)
Resolution No. 14.

This Session of the All India Muslim League resolves that the present Provincial Parliamentary Boards shall cease to function as soon as Provincial League or Leagues set up a machinery of their own for the purpose of selecting and adopting candidates for their respective legislature and other elected bodies. Any machinery that may be so set up by the Provincial Leagues shall be subject to the control and supervision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or such Committee as they may appoint for the purpose and the decision of the Working Committee or the special committee, so appointed, in case of appeal to them shall be final: and further resolves that for the Central Legislature the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League should constitute such machinery for the purpose of elections to the Central Legislature as it thinks proper.

Resolution No. 15.

In view of the fact that the Shariat of Islam strictly prohibits extravagance and having regard to the present depressed economic condition of the Indian Muslims this Session of the All India Muslim League strongly urges the Indian Mussalmans to refrain from all wasteful practices, to observe Islamic simplicity on all social occasions and to abandon all un-Islamic ceremonies and customs.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (*Nawabzada*), M.L.A., U.P.
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

scheme has utterly failed to safeguard even the elementary rights of the Muslim minorities in various provinces, and whereas by a resolution passed at the Patna Session in December 1938 the President of the All India Muslim League was authorised to adopt such course as may be necessary with a view to explore the possibility of a suitable alternative which will safeguard the interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities, the President with the concurrence of the Working Committee hereby appoints a committee of the following gentlemen to examine various schemes already propounded by those who are fully versed in the Constitutional developments of India and other countries and those that may be submitted hereafter to the President and report to the Working Committee their conclusions at an early date.—

1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah (President)
2. The Hon. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan
3. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan Saheb
4. Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb
5. Sir Abdoola Haroon
6. The Hon. Sir Kh. Nazimuddin
7. Abdul Matin Choudhri Saheb
8. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb
9. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan-Saheb
(Convener)

Resolution No. 5.

Regarding the question of the Madras Presidency Muslim League it was decided to await the reply to the letter sent by the Honorary Secretary to K.T.M. Ahmed Ibrahim Saheb, on 11th of March 1939. In the meantime Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait was requested in collaboration with other leaders to do what he can for the establishment of the Presidency Muslim League in Madras.

With regard to the Provincial Muslim League in Orissa Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb was requested to get in touch with the leaders in Orissa and see what could be done.

ANNEXURE

Resolution No. 5. passed at the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Karachi on the 7th, 8th & 9th of October 1938.

Resolution No 5.

Whereas the refusal on the part of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to negotiate a communal settlement with the All India Muslim League, on the plea that the All India Muslim League is not the sole representative body of the Mussalmans of India, indicates the Congress resolve to perpetually divide and rule the Muslim Community, and thus once more mar the prospects of an amicable and peaceful solution of the Indian minorities problem, for which the League has tried in vain for more than 15 years.

Whereas the Congress has, by means of its powerful press and purse, launched a campaign of Muslim Mass Contact to cause disruption and division in the Muslim community with the object of deceiving the world into the belief that it is the sole representative organisation of entire India.

Whereas it has deliberately established purely Hindu rule in certain provinces by forming ministries either without Muslim ministers or with Muslim ministers having no following among Muslim Members, in direct and flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Government of India Act 1935 and the Instrument of Instructions.

Whereas the ministries so formed have established a sort of rule which has for its aim the intimidation and demoralisation of Muslims, the extermination of the healthy and nation-building influences of Muslim culture, the suppression of Muslim religious customs and their religious obligations and elimination of their political rights as a separate community.

- (e) to close Urdu Schools wherever possible and discourage the teaching of the Urdu language, and thus ultimately wipe it off;
- (f) to suppress freedom of press and freedom of speech and legitimate action under the pretext of preventing incitement to violence and maintainance of law and order;
- (g) to interfere with the age-long religious privileges and usages of the Muslim community by force of arm and resort to repressive measures.

Whereas the majority community of India has fostered and maintained since thousands of years a rigid caste system of theirs which is a negative of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that the modern world aspires to and stands for and which system has further superimposed social and economic inequalities upon a vast body of the people of this country and reduced millions of them to the position of irredeemable loss.

And whereas the evolution of a single united India and united Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and common ideals being impossible of realisation on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community, and also on account of acute differences of religion, language, script, culture, social laws and outlook on life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts.

This Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self-determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to All India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be the suitable constitution for India which will secure honourable and legitimate status due to them, and that this conference therefore

be sent to the Central office on or before the 15th of May 1939.

Further resolved that the Working Committee be requested to examine the report in the light of the opinions received and formulate their proposals.

Resolution No. 5.

Resolved that the resolutions of the Working Committee held on the 27th of December 1938 at Patna and on the 26th of March 1939 at Meerut be confirmed.

(The Honorary Secretary was requested to get a report from Organising Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League of its activities and the progress made by it so far.

Resolution No. 6.

Resolved that this meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League is of opinion that at present as a first step the Muslim National Guard should be formed and organised in each province under the direct supervision and authority of the Presidents of the Provincial Leagues. Further resolved that a committee of the following members be appointed to examine and formulate a uniform basis for forming and organising Muslim National Guards all over India and make their report to the Working Committee on or before the 15th of June 1939.—

1. Raja of Mahmudabad (Convener) 2. Mr. Ziauddin N. W. F. P. 3. Mr. Yousuf Haroon (Sindh) and 4 Syed Amjad Ali Saheb (Punjab).

Resolution No. 7.

Resolved that the Working Committee be authorised to decide the venue and dates of the next Annual Session.

Resolution No. 8.

The following resolution was moved by S. Naimul Haq and was discussed and ultimately withdrawn with the permission of the Council.—