



# ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

MADRAS SESSION

APRIL, 1941.

# PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

*by*

**MR. M. A JINNAH**

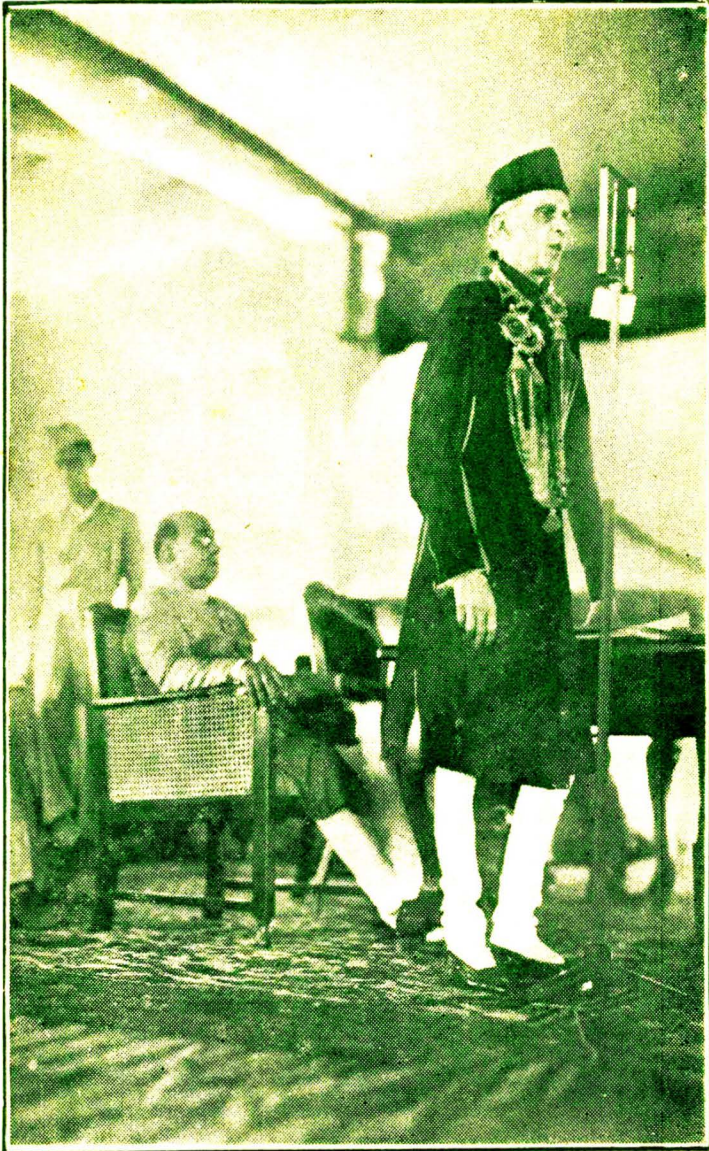
*Together with the text of resolutions passed.*

*Published by*

*(Nawabzada)* **LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, M. A. (Oxon)**

**M.L.A. (Central) Barrister-At-Law.**

*Honorary Secretary. All India Muslim League.*



Mr. M. A. Jinnah delivering Speech  
at Madras Sessions.



Ladies and gentlemen,

In the first place let me thank you and those who have made enquiries about my indisposition. I have received so many messages and calls that it is not possible for me to reply to them personally either by wire or letter. But I hope that you will accept my heartfelt thanks and appreciation of your enquiries about my health.

We have got to take stock of our internal progress and development of the organization of the All India Muslim League. I think you will remember that the first foundation of the revival of the All India Muslim League was laid down in April 1936 at Bombay and it is now almost exactly five years. During the five years passed, and if I may call it our five year plan, we have, I think it will be admitted on all hands, succeeded in organising the Muslim India from one end of India to the other in a remarkable manner. Since the fall of the Mogul Empire, I think I am right in saying that Muslim India was never so well organised and so alive and so politically conscious as it is today.

We have established a flag of our own, a national flag of Muslim India. We have established a remarkable platform which displays and demonstrates a complete unity of the entire solid body of Muslim India. We have defined in the clearest language our goal about which Muslim India was groping in the dark and the goal is Pakistan. In this effort of ours let me not

would enable them to march along to their goal. I want that there should be Lieutenants, Majors, Captains, Colonels, and Generals, and as just there are soldiers in the army we must have political soldiers. And these soldiers must be so well trained in the political science that they could be prepared to face any emergency that might arise at any time.

Our decision and our resolution are misrepresented and misinterpreted, not that there should be no room left or any doubt in the minds of any intelligent Indian—does not matter to which community he belongs—let me clarify our position with regard to our goal. What is the goal of the Muslim League. What is the ideology of the All India Muslim League. Let me tell you as clearly and as possible as I can say. The goal of the All India Muslim League is: we want the establishment of completely Independent States in the North Western and Eastern Zones of India with full control of the Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communication, Customs, Currency, Exchange etc., and we do not want under the circumstances a constitution of an All India character, with one Government at the Centre. We will never agree to that. If you once agree, let me tell you, the Muslims will be absolutely wiped off their existence. We shall never be a signatory of any power of Government at the Centre so far as with the North Western and Eastern Zones free national homes are concerned. The leadership of Hindu India, I regret to say, are being fooled and being bamboozled by the policy and diplomacy of the British Government, who are dangling in front of them United all India constitution and

gathered here from all parts of India—we must now think and devise the programme of five year plan and part of the five year plan should be how quickly and how best those departments of national life of Muslim India be built up. What are those departments? Those are the four main pillars. Let us devise a definite well-considered educational plan. It was knowledge, information and enlightenment that made a people great. Next, you know the Muslims are left behind both economically and in the social life of the people of this great land of ours the Muslims are in the bottom compared to other communities. There is this great province of Madras. May I know what state the Muslims have in economic life of this province? May be, my knowledge is very poor but I have been inquiring since my arrival here and I have enquired before also and I was told that only two industries in which the Muslims were anywhere were the hides and skins and Beedies—in other words beediwallahs and chamdewallahs. I ask you, are you going to be beediwallahs or chamdewallahs or are you going to play your part in the commerce and improvement of this presidency

The next important thing was political training. While the Mussalmans had made remarkable progress in the sense that they had brought millions of Mussalmans under the banner of the Muslim flag, while they had become politically conscious, while they had come to feel that they had acquired their self respect, self-reliance and dignity and honour of their nation, they required thorough harnessing, consolidating and political training in a manner that

democracy or is this farce? Therefore, I have my fullest sympathy and my fullest support to the Non Brahmins and I say to them: 'The only way for you to come to your own is to live your own life, according to your culture, according to your language,—thank God, that Hindi did not go far here—according to your own history—go ahead. I have every sympathy and I shall do all and you can establish Dravidistan where seven percent of the Muslims will stretch their hands of friendship and live with you on lines of security, justice and fairplay.

Safeguards must be provided for wherever there is a minority. I have always believed and believe, I think I am right, that no Government will ever succeed without instilling a sense of security and confidence in the minority. No Government will succeed if their policy and programme would be unjust and unfair to the minorities. In no Government minorities must feel that they will have no fairplay and justice. On that we shall not be wanting or lagging behind any civilised country in the world. And I am confident when the issue comes the minorities in our homeland will find that with our traditions and our heritage with our teachings of Islam they will find that not only we shall be fair and just to them but generous.

We will not higgie-haggle. We do not believe in bargaining. We believe in action, we believe in statesmanship and we believe in practical politics.

The next thing I want to tell you is that what is

democracy—two carrots before donkeys. The British Government know in fact, I say to the Hindu leadership, that you have lost the last shred of statesmanship if you had not realised yet. The British Government know that the Muslim India will never submit to an all India constitution with one Central Government and the British statesmen know that so far democracy, the parliamentary system of Government, is concerned it is nothing but a farce in this country.

It is not as some people, mix it up, question of Muslims objecting to the Government which should be really based on the brotherhood of man as it is very often said by people who really do not understand, what they are talking about when they talk about democracy or when they talk about Islam Democracy means to begin with majority rule, Majority rule in a single society is understandable although even there it has failed. Representative Government in a single nation harmonious homogenous in one society is understandable but you have got only to apply your mind a few minutes Can such a system ever work or succeed when you have two different nations, more than two different nations? In this sub-continent you have two different societies the Muslim society and the Hindu society and particularly in this land there is another nation that is the Dravidian.

This land is really Dravidistan and imagine three percent of the Brahmin high caste, by skilful menoeuvring and by skilful method of electioneering, three percent of them should secure a majority. Is this



Government. What's the British Government doing: placating and placating by following the policy of inaction, vacillation and weakness. To my amazement you find only two days ago what has happened to Yugoslavia—the announcement in the paper, following the German capture of Zegreb in Yugoslavia. The province of Croatia has been made an independant state says the official news agency. The statement was from Zegreb wireless. A Croat general who called a good lot of officials, non-officials, army officers, non-commissioned officers to take the oath of allegiance to a new state, province of Croatia. Croatia is declared an independant province. Remember there in Yugoslavia you have the Croats, Sloans, the Serbs. But the position was very much like our position in India—Dravidistan, Pakistan and Hindustan. The question realy is 'Are you going to act or allow somebody else to come here and do the job for you? What are you going to do now'?

Let us examine what the Congress wants. The Congress has taken up a position about which there is absolutely no doubt—I would like to ask any man with a grain of sense, do you think really that Gandhi, the supreme leader, commander and general of Congress has started this Satyagraha merely for the purpose of getting liberty of speech? Don't you really feel that this is nothing but a weapon of coercion and blackmailing the British, who are in a tight corner, to surrender and concede the Congress demands?

What are the demands of the Congress? The

the ideology of the League. I think that it had been made clear. But I think there are people in this world that they require repetition and especially a section of the Hindu press require to be reminded over and over again so that they may not go on misrepresenting us and now let me say that the ideology of this League is based on the fundamental principle that Muslims of India are an independent nationality and any attempt to get them to merge their national and political identity and unity will not only be resisted but in my opinion it will be futile, for any one to attempt it. We are determined that there shall be no mistake to establish the status of an independent nation and an independent state in this sub-continent.

Next thing I want to tell you what is our policy—internal, external and international. Our policy, the policy of the All India Muslim League, is to endeavour to promote goodwill and harmony among the other people on the basis of equality, fairplay and reciprocity. These can best be secured by agreements with other peoples, parties and states, with the objective of collective security and orderly development of the people living in different states as well as among other free states as members of a community pledged to respect each others' rights. Any action of domination by one over the other must be abandoned—the sooner this is abandoned the nearer will be the solution of India's problem. Now I have to tell you all I could and in as clear a language as possible what we stand for.

The next question that is troubling us today is

had finished, yards and yards of statements would have been issued.

They went from Poona to Delhi, Delhi to Bombay and Bombay to Wardha.

So when they found that the Muslim League was the power which was holding up their diabolical machinations. They tried the flanking movement at Poona, in the place of the frontal attack. The change in Poona was only a change in name. The flanking movement was a plan and a strategy which was designed at Poona under the great General, because Mr. Jinnah did not believe that Mr. Gandhi was not a party to it. The Congress was willing to throw over-board the General, Mr. Gandhi, provided the British Government will do this namely make a declaration of immediate independence and the freedom of India unconditionally and the future constitution, the final constitution to be framed after the war, but the provisional constitution should be a National Government at the Centre, responsible to the Legislature. That was the Poona proposal and Mr. Gandhi of course, was thrown overboard. And Mr. Kripalani, Secretary of the All India Congress Committee, said that they went to the length of selling their leader. They sold their leader and Ahimsa which was their creed, was also buried in the City of Poona, because the Congress was ready to assist the British in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India. What was *Haram* at Wardha, as we say, became *Halal* at Poona.

Federal Scheme, embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. Mind you it was only suspended, for we know how our British friends are capable in the science and game of diplomacy and we know that what was suspended may again be established at any time. Therefore, our first and foremost demand was this not only suspension but it must be abandoned. After a long drawn correspondence, interviews, ultimately the British Government through the Representative of the Crown, declared that the whole problem of India's Future Constitution will be considered de novo including the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act of 1935 was based. Now that was indeed a great relief. Because remember, it was that disruptive Federal Government embodied in the Act of 1935 and of which the Muslim India was fighting from the very commencement and when that was knocked out it was an enormous relief to us.

Well, the next thing that we were afraid of was that as we, the Muslims, weak as we are in the sense of our organization, the Muslim League in spite of all its efforts was not so strong as the Congress. The Congress, I may tell you, means nothing more nothing less than the solid body of Hindus behind it and other offshoots and the little bodies and little bachas, like the Hindu Mahasabha and the All India Hindu League, Liberal Federation and other small little bits. They are all one. I do not say they are one in the sense that necessarily they approve of the actions of the Congress but really if any body really represented the Hindu India it was the Congress.

Mr. Babu Rajendra Prasad was asked only a few days ago (April 10) about the Pakistan scheme. He said the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the Pakistan Scheme as that was never referred to it by Mr Jinnah. Do you believe that the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the scheme? This ghost (Pakistan) has been haunting them since March 1940. What standard of truth is this?

Every Congress leader heading with Mr. Gandhi has discussed, issued statements and written volumes about Pakistan. Babu Rajendra Prasad has actually issued a pamphlet with regard to the Pakistan scheme in which he came out with his view and he says it was never discussed by the Working Committee because Mr. Jinnah never referred it. I say to Babu Rajendra Prasad 'ask your Working Committee to discuss it if they have not already done so', I say not only discuss it but apply your mind to it honestly and without prejudice and without silly sentiment, if there is any political wisdom or statesmanship still left in the Congress leadership. This is so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the Hindu Mahasabha is concerned, I think it is an absolutely incorrigible and hopeless organisation. I will give you one specimen of their statesmanship. Mr. Savarkar, president of the Hindu Mahasabha has sent a message to the Sikh Conference in Karachi in which he urged them to take their due share in the arms and defence and added later that when the Muslims wake up from their daydreams of Pakistan they shall see established Sikhistan in the

mean? This means a veto to Muslim League and a charter of intransigence to Mr. Jinnah and the League. But may I know what will be the other alternative. I do not admit for a moment this is a veto. What is the other problem. Let us complete this. It merely means not that I have a veto in the ordinary constitutional sense of the word. But it means that in framing of a constitution Muslim League is a constituent factor and that the constituent factor must approve of the constitution that is to be made. How else are you going to frame a constitution without the approval and consent of a constituent factor, of 90 millions or 100 millions people of this country, that they are to be ignored neglected in the making of the constitution. Therefore it is not a question of veto or charter of intransigence but it is fair justice that we are recognized as a constituent factor and the British Government rightly say that you must come to your own agreement. Mr. Jinnah then asked how would the Hindus like the British Government in conspiracy with the Muslim League, make a constitution without approval and consent of the Congress or the Hindu. Therefore the second point was nothing but fair justice to Muslim India.

The next thing is war. It was really an overbearing and overriding factor to be considered. What was the position that the League should come to. It was this. In June last year, in Bombay we urged upon the Government it was after the Lahore resolution about Pakistan was passed and this is what we said. And the Working Committee adopted a resolution.

this morning that Mr. Savarkar and the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha had repudiated and disowned the Conference. It was mentioned in the memorandum of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that the conference included the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha but Mr. Savarkar has disowned that. I think Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, on his admission, has been a political orphan for a very long time. This political orphan has been caught in the trap.

He thinks that in the event of supreme danger to India, he alone as the supreme intellect in India can save India. His motives may be good, his intentions may be good, but I am afraid that the Sapru Conference was like the Dutch Army, all Generals and no privates. I think the correct answer and lead was given in that conference by the clearheaded experienced Hindu political leader Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and if only Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had followed his advice he would have saved himself. What shall I say to this pose which is now thrust upon him by the wire pullers from behind. The Bombay proposals are nothing less than another name, an other flanking movement and a second edition of the Poona proposals for a National Government. If you read the memorandum there can be no doubt left. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is entirely on the wrong line and I am sorry that he has been caught in this trap by the wirepullers of other organisations behind this movement.

I think I have taken much more of your time than I thought I would. I think I can wind up by a note, a

frame work of the present constitution and existing law? No, it should be settled by further discussion, but it being understood that the Muslim representation be equal to that of the Hindus, if the Congress comes in; otherwise they should have the majority of the additional numbers as it is obvious that the main burden and responsibility will be borne by the Muslims in that case. Then we said that in the provinces where section 93 operates non-official advisers should be appointed. The number should be fixed after discussion and the majority of the non-official advisers should be representatives of Muslims. Where provinces can be run by combination of parties, naturally it will be for the parties concerned to adjust the matter by agreements. Then we suggested a war council which was mainly intended to give a share and a place of status to the Indian Princes and states for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and prosecuting war successfully, because it would not come in Executive Council of the Governor General.

Let us compare what our Congressmen say. The Congress Press and some Congressmen are often saying that Muslims are friends of imperialism. It seems to me that when they do not find any argument to adduce against the claims of the Mussalmans, they abuse us. They say you are either friends of imperialism, or Mr. Jinnah is very ambitious. Though he is in his heart a nationalist, he has now become a communalist, because he wants leadership. So they attributed motives and began to abuse us. If you put before them any decent statement or argument, then the Hindu press comes





that the Muslim League would co-operate in the reconstituted Executive provided his scheme of partitioning British India is considered after the war may make it easier, for the two Chief Indian parties to reach some temporary understanding." Well, I can only say the doyen of British newspapers that this is only ingratitude stronger than traitor's arms. Why do we not make the demand for Pakistan here and now? Only one reason, because we do not want to embarrass the British Government, when they are engaged in a struggle of life and death of their own existence. That is why we said that so soon as circumstances permit or after the war, the whole problem of India's constitution should be examined de novo. Instead of the British Government acknowledging this as an honourable attitude on our part, worthy of our tradition, I find that even the British papers are playing into the hands of the Congress and the Hindu propaganda. I say to the British Government but do not know who is responsible, His Excellency the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India, or His Majesty's Government or whether the parliament or whether it is the King.

I may once again emphatically say from this platform that the policy of the British Government in India of inaction of weakness, and of vacillation is going to prove more disastrous than it has done even in Europe.

Let me say that events are moving fast and maps have been changed, at Europe. Look at the map. What has happened? What the Axis powers have done—is action, action against the policy of the British

religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them;

- [iii] That in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them;

*Proposed by*—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb,  
M.L.A. (Central)

*Seconded by*—Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait,  
M.L.A. (Central).

*Supported by*—Mr. B. Dawood Shah. (Madras.)

- ” Kazi Mohamed Isa Saheb. (Baluchistan)  
 ” Nawab Sir Mohd. Yousuf. M.L.A. (U. P.)  
 ” Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb. M.L.A.  
 (Central).  
 ” Begam Mohammad Ali Saheba. (Delhi.)  
 ” Maulana Ahmad Sait Saheb. (Madras.)  
 ” Sir Abdullah Haroon. M.L.A. (Central.)  
 ” Mr. Mohamed Usman. (Bengal.)  
 ” Maulana Abdul Wahab Saheb Bukhari.  
 (Madras.)

### Resolution No. 3.

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

- [i] In Section 6 substitute “three” for “two” in the last line.  
 [ii] In Section 11 (i) line five, for the words two months before the Annual Sessions of the League substitute “before the 15th of November every year”.

demand is, 'the declaration of immediate and unconditional independence and freedom of India with power to the people of India, by a Constituent Assembly to be elected by adult franchise to frame their own constitution'—of course, to the satisfaction of the minorities. How that will be brought about. Heaven alone knows. I don't know. This was the demand of the Congress and when they found it was not going to wash—the British Government ought to be grateful to the Muslim League for saving them the maximum amount of trouble the Congress was determined to give them, and I believe that in their heart of hearts the British people were grateful to the Muslim League—they thought of a flanking movement.

The Muslims know that if the Congress demand is conceded it will mean complete destruction of the Muslims. Therefore, naturally the Muslim League opposed it tooth and nail along with other minorities like the Scheduled Classes, Christians etc. Mr. Gandhi and his Congressmen did not know what to do.

The result was that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress found, to their unexpected astonishment a strong opposition to the Congress demand. So the Congress thought that if they could not get what they wanted by a frontal attack, they should try a flanking movement.

What was the flanking movement? I say, another resolution. As soon as the Congress passed a resolution, there would be commentators and interpreters. The explanation of the meaning of a resolution would go on for weeks and weeks and by the time the commentators

which are really and virtually for a transfer of sovereign powers to the Hindus and thus relegate the Muslim nation of 100 millions and the Indian minorities to the status of mere subjects of Hindu Raj throughout the country.

It, therefore, draws the attention of the British Government that if any constitutional change, either interim or final, is made without the approval of the Muslim League, it would constitute a flagrant breach of faith on the part of the British Government with the Mussalmans of India, and would be contrary to the solemn declarations and promises that have already been made to the Mussalmans of India by the recent pronouncements of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government ending with the declaration of 8th August 1940 and the amplification of it by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, on the 14th of August 1940; and warns the British Government that if any attempt is made to depart from or modify in any way the above mentioned declarations and pledges, the Mussalmans would be forced to resort to every measure and method to resist it with all the power they can command.

*Proposed by:*—Ismail Chundrigar Sahab. M. L. A.  
(Bombay.)

*Seconded by:*—Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Sahab. M.L.A.  
(N. W. F. P.)

*Supported by:*—Nawab Md. Ismial Sahib, M.C.S, Behar.  
,, Sheikh Abdul Majid Sahab. M.L.A. Sind.  
,, Syed Mohamed Sahab. (Madras.)

#### **Resolution No. 5.**

This sessions of the All India Muslim League emphatically urges upon the British Government not to postpone the coming elections of the Provincial

The Congress found that this was not going 'to wash' either, because nobody was going to be deceived by this sort of thing. They were only deceiving themselves.

This was followed by the 'Sporting offer' of Mr. Rajagopal Achari, that genius of your province, who does some wonderful things at times. He said that in this National Government that we are proposing we are willing that Mr. Jinnah be the Prime Minister of the new cabinet and let him form his own cabinet as he likes. This one more strategy on the part of the Congress failed to deceive the Muslims.

This was done with a view to deceiving the Muslim League which they considered was the only body that was holding up their (Congress) game. Nobody would be deceived by such things. Even a Muslim boy understood these things now. Ladies and gentlemen you see the point. I really do not know what has happened to their brains. They have been in the past successful by these methods. Why don't they realise that nothing of this sort is going to wash and you cannot go on fooling all people for all time. It is the Congress and the Congress alone which has adopted the attitude of, sometimes dictation, sometimes cajoling, sometimes fooling and bamboozling sometimes trying to deceive you.

I say to the Congress leaders and the Hindu leaders please drop these methods. To illustrate the way in which responsible Congressmen speak,

**Resolution No. 7.**

Resolved that the President be authorised till the next Annual Sessions to take every necessary action or steps in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League, as he may deem proper, provided that they are consistent with the goal and policy of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All India Muslim League.

*Proposed by:*—Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad.

*Seconded by:*—Hasan Ispahani Saheb, M.L.A, Bengal.

*Supported by:*—Maulana Jamal Mian Saheb, (U.P.)

„ Mahboob Ali Beg Saheb, (Madras.)

**Resolution No. 8.**

Resolved that the following names of ladies be substituted for those approved under Res. No. 6 passed at the Patna Sessions of the All India Muslim League in December, 1938.

- Funjab.* 1. Begam Shah Nawaz.  
2. Begam Bashir Ahmad.  
3. Lady Abdul Qadir.  
4. Fatma Begam (Munshi Fazil.)
- Bengal.* 1. Begam Shahabuddin.  
2. Begam M. M. Ispahani.  
3. Mrs. Hakam.
- Bombay.* 1. Miss F. Jinnah.  
2. Begam Hafizuddin.  
3. Mrs. Jairazbhoy.  
4. Mrs. Somjee.  
5. Mrs Simjee.
- U. P.* 1. Begam Habibullah.  
2. Begam Aizaz Rasul.  
3. Begam Mohamed Ali.  
4. Begam Wasim.

Punjab. Mr. Savarkar says:—"When the Sikhs were but a handful they ruled the majority in the Punjab and right upto Kabul. Now they have grown into millions they can never be and need not be overawed by the now reduced Muslim majority relatively to their former strength." Mr. Savarkar had urged the Sikhs to establish Sikhistan in the Punjab. He not only talks of Hindudom and Hindu Nation and Hindu Raj but he also urges upon the Sikhs to establish Sikhistan. Mr. Savarkar is not an ordinary man. He is the President of the Hindu Mahasabha.

I next refer to what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's paper has written on the 30th of March. The paper said:—"On two things there shall be no compromise. There shall be never any division of India to suit the ambitions of fanatics. It shall always be 'akhand bharat' and 'vishal bharat.' It should be democracy, meaning majority rule." These are only samples to show how the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha leaders think. When we talk about Pakistan we are called fanatics; but when they talk about Hindudom Hindu Raj for the whole of India they are liberals and they are nationalists. The only pity is that the Hindu public is being deceived by this kind of leadership and it would be too late for the Hindu public to say that they were helpless. So long as they followed that leadership they could not escape from their responsibilities and the consequences which would follow.

Now let me say a few words about the Sapru Conference which met at Bombay. I read in the papers



5. Mr. Aziz Lalji.

6. Mr. Mazhar Imam.

*Proposed by:*—Mr. Aziz Lalji. (Bombay.)

*Seconded by:*—Begam Habibullah Sahiba, M.L.A. U.P.

#### **Resolution No. 10.**

This sessions of the All India Muslim League expresses its indignation at the unfair treatment of various Government Departments to the Muslim employees particularly the Railway Department inspite of repeatedly drawing their attention to the grievances and warns the Government that if immediate attention is not paid to them, the League will be driven to devise effective means to get the wrongs redressed.

*Proposed by:*—The Hon'ble Husain Imam. M.C.S.

*Seconded by:*—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. M.L.A.  
(Central.)

#### **Resolution No. 11.**

This sessions of the All India Muslim League condemns the firing by Police on Mussalmans in the village Ujhyani District Budaun (U. P.) resulting in eight Muslims being killed and several being injured, and emphatically urges upon the Government of U. P. to hold an independent judicial inquiry into the matter.

This sessions expresses its sympathy with those who have suffered under these tragic circumstances.

*Proposed by:*—Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Badauni.  
U. P.

*Seconded by:*—Moulvi Karam Ali Saheb. U. P.

#### **Resolution No. 12.**

Resolved that whereas many Indian Merchants

note of real warning to the British Government because after all they are in possession of this land and the Government of this sub-continent. Please stop your policy of appeasement towards those, who are bent upon frustrating your war efforts and doing their best to oppose the prosecution of the war and the defence of India at this critical moment. Do you want at this moment to put them or place them in a superior and dominant position now and after the war. Change the corner stone of your (British) policy in this country. You are not loyal to those who are willing to stand by you and sincerely desire to support you but you desire to placate those who have the greatest nuisance value in the political and economic fields. Give up this dominant feature of your policy and the character of your policy of trying to get on with those who do not want to get on with you.

If the Government want the wholehearted co-operation of the Muslim India, they must place their cards on the table. The Government must resort to the policy of action and give up, once and for all its policy of inaction.

Ladies and gentlemen.—We cannot always succeed in settling vital or grave problems, problems affecting life and death by merely making speeches on this platform or by exposing our opponents and our enemies. The only weapon that you have to forge—and the sooner you forge the better—is to create your own strength, your own power and make your organisation so complete that you can face any danger, any power any opponent, any enemy singly or combined together.

*Seconded by:*—Masudurrahman Saheb. (U. P.)

**Resolution No. 15**

Resolved that Raja Mohamed Amir Ahmad Khan Sahib of Mahmoodabad be re-elected Honorary Treasurer of the All India Muslim League.

*Proposed by:*—Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb. M.L.A.  
(N. W. F. P.)

*Seconded by:*—Qazi Mohd. Isa Saheb. (Baluchistan.)

**Resolution No. 16.**

Resolved that the election of the two Joint Secretaries be entrusted to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

*Proposed by:*—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Kahn Saheb.  
M.L.A. (Central.)

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

**Text of Resolutions passed at the Twenty-Eighth Annual Sessions of the All India Muslim League held at Madras on the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th of April 1941 under the Presidentship of Mr. M.A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

This Sessions of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad demise of Dr. Sir Shah Mohamed Suleman, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Mussalmans in particular and conveys its heartfelt condolences and sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

(Chair.)

**Resolution No. 2.**

Resolved that the following amendment be made in the aims and objects of the All India Muslim League and for Section 2(a) of the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League the following be substituted:—

- [i] The establishment of completely Independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign;
- [ii] That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of their



- [iii] In Section 11(ii) Paragraph 2 between "above" and "all" in the first line the following be added. "The President shall have the power to nominate upto the extent of twenty members to the Council from such province or provinces and in such proportion as he may consider necessary and".
- [iv] In Section 11(ii) para 2 substitute the following for "Presidents and Secretaries of the various provincial Leagues" occurring in the last sentence. "President and the Secretary of every Provincial League".
- [v] In Section 20 line 4 for the word "four" substitute the word "two."
- [vi] Delete Section 22.
- [vii] In Section 28A. Sub Section(2)add the following at the end:—  
 (c) to take disciplinary action against any office bearer of a provincial League who fails in his duties or ignores the decision or directions of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

[viii] Renumber the Sections as necessary.

*Proposed by:*—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. M.L.A.  
 (Central)

Passed unanimously.

#### Resolution No. 4.

This sessions of the All India Muslim League is definitely of opinion that the present Civil Disobedience movement started by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, ostensibly for freedom of speech, is really meant to coerce the British Government to concede the Congress demands regarding the future Constitution of India,

of Bengal (hear, hear) and in this I give a very great share of the credit to the Muslim youth of Bengal who stood the racket. (Cries of 'hear, hear' and cheers). Well, we had a pointer some months ago in Natore election. The candidate that was put forward by our opponents against our candidate, I am happy to say, forfeited his security and in every bye-election we won and in the last one in the upper House, we won cent per cent. This tyranny, this persecution, this manoeuvring, these machinations in utter disregard of elementary principles of justice and fairplay were resorted to by an organised Government headed by Mr. Fazlul Huq. Thus we have gone through the crucible of fire in Bengal. And today Fazlul Huq is no more and I hope for the rest of his life he will be no more. (Cries of hear, hear and loud cheers). He often said that if he was a hindrance, he was willing to go. But he never went (laughter). I say with all due deliberation and with all responsibility that he was not only a hindrance but a curse to the politics of Bengal. He was a curse to the Mussalmans because he betrayed us; he was a curse to the Hindus because he served them as a puppet and their creature. He has met his Waterloo (Laughter). Let him now remain in St. Helena and repent for the rest of his life and pray to God so that He may forgive his sins.

Bengal has therefore shown that there is no room for duplicity. Bengal has set an example from which others may learn a lesson (Cries of hear, hear and loud cheers). It is now the voice of the League, the voice of the people, it is now the authority of the Millat that you have to bow to, though you may be the tallest poppy in the Muslim world. (Renewed cheers).

I am glad,—although, I do not think that we need indulge in great exultation,—that the Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. The Chairman of the reception Committee very rightly announc-

Legislatures at least in the Provinces where the Provincial autonomy is already working under the Government of India Act 1935. and also in the North-West Frontier Province where it can be confidently stated that a stable Government can be formed.

*Proposed by:*—Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb. M.L.A.  
(N.W.F.P.)

*Seconded by:*—Yousuf Haroon Saheb. (Sindh.)

*Supported by:*—Maulvi Sharfuddin Saheb. (Madras.)

#### Resolution No. 6.

Resolved that a committee with powers to co-opt consisting of the following members be appointed with a view to chalk out a Five year Plan for the educational, economic, social, and political advancement of the Muslims:—

1. Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad.
2. Ch. Kbaliquzzaman Saheb,
3. Hasan Ispahani Saheb.
4. Mr. Chundrigar.
5. Dr. S.M.A. Jaffery.
6. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.
7. Hon'ble Husain Imam.
8. Sir Abdullah Haroon.

Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad will be the convener of the Committee. The Committee is directed to submit its report to the Working Committee within six months.

*Proposed by:*—Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb. M.L.A. (C.P.)

*Seconded by:*—Mufti Fakhru'l Islam Saheb. (U. P.)

*Supported by:*—Noman Saheb Zuberi. (U. P.)

” Begam Hafizuddin Saheba. (Bombay.)  
” K.M. Seethi Saheb, (Madras.)



because, remember, the Punjab is the cornerstone of Pakistan; and I particularly appeal to the delegates from the Punjab—people are alright in the Punjab—when they go back, 'please'—I won't say anything more—'please substitute love for Islam and your Nation, in place of sectional interests, jealousies, tribal notions and selfishness.' (Cheers.) For, these evils have overpowered down for the last 200 years. But I see a light—a very bright light. Because, I say, when I went to the Punjab in November last throughout my tour, it really made me happy to see that the solid body of the people were all right and sound. My appeal is to the leaders—and we have got very able men, very capable men—if they were to make up their minds, I feel confident that within six months the face of the Punjab would be changed. Well I have told you roughly and in some way what the position of the League in these majority provinces is.

#### MINORITY PROVINCES

Do not forget the minority provinces. It is they who have spread the light when there was darkness in the majority Provinces. It is they who were the spearheads that the Congress wanted to crush with their overwhelming majority in the Muslim minority provinces. It is they, who had suffered for you in the majority provinces, for your sake, for your benefit and for your advantage. But never mind, it is all in the role of a minority to suffer. (Cheers). We of the minority have suffered and are ready to face any consequences if we can liberate the 75 million of our brethren in the North, Western and Eastern zones.

We have got a great deal to do. Of course it has now been made clear as to what we are struggling for. Anyone who now pretends that he does not understand, well, what shall I say? He is a fool or

5. Rahilah Khatoon.  
6. Begam Akhtar Mohamed Khan.
- C. P.* 1. Miss Nadir Jehan.  
2. Begam Siddiq Ali Khan.
- Behar.* 1. Begam Akhtar.
- Assam.* 1. Mrs. Ataur Rahman,
- Sind.* 1. Lady Haroon.
- Delhi.* 1. Mrs. Hussain Malik.  
2. Begam Rahman.  
3. Mrs. Razaullah Beg.  
4. Begam Mohamed Husain.
- N. W. F. P.* 1. Mrs. Aslam.  
2. Begam Haji Saadullah Khan.  
3. Mrs. Kamaluddin.
- Baluchistan.* 1. Mrs. Kazi Mohamed Isa.
- Madras.* 1. Mrs. Syed Abdul Wahab Bokhari.  
2. Mrs. Abdul Hameed Hasan.  
3. Mrs. Malang Ahmad Badsha.  
4. Mrs. Hameed Khan.
- Proposed by:*—Begam Aizaz Rasul M.L.C. (U. P.)  
*Seconded by:*—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb,  
M.L.A. (Central.)

### Resolution No. 9.

Resolved that a committee with power to co-opt consisting of the following persons be appointed to draft the constitution, rules and regulations for the organisation, management, control and composition of the Muslim National Guards and submit the report within a period of three months to the President of the All India Muslim League for approval and sanction:—

1. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim. (Convener.)
2. Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad.
3. Mr. Yusuf Abdoolah Haroon.
4. Mr. Qazi Mohamed Isa.

Muslims are naturally afraid that release from the British yoke might in their case mean enslavement to the Hindus. (This is not a fear to be ridiculed). Were the Hindus similarly situated as are the Muslims in regards to numbers and other things, would they not have entertained similar misgivings? We would undoubtedly have felt the same fears and adopted the identical policy which the Muslims are adopting today".

It is men of the character of that great Dadabhoi Naorji that inspired us with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment. But remember, even at this period signs were there that there was a section which was dreaming in terms of Hindu Raj. I give you one quotation from a prominent Hindu leader—Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. You will see that even as far back as 1913 that was the definite aim of a large section of the Hindus. This is what Mr. Pal says in May 1913 :

"National differentiations among us, therefore, have not been based upon territorial demarcations only, or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture. Under the Muslims we had, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, one common Government, but that did not destroy the integrity of Hindu culture. We took many things from our Mohamedan neighbours, and gave them also something of our own, but this interchange of ideas and institutions did not destroy our special character or our special culture. And that special character and culture is the very soul and essence of what we now understand as Nationalism. This is by no means a mere political idea or ideal. It is something that touches every department of our collective life and activity. It is organised in our domestic, our communal our social and our socio-economic institutions. In fact politics form, from some points of view, the least important factor of this nation-idea among us. The

have their main assets in French Indo-China and they have to maintain themselves only by means of remittances from French Indo-China and whereas as a result of the order of the Government of India freezing the assets belonging to Bank of Indo-China and held in Banks in India it is absolutely impossible for Indian Merchants to cash Bills of Exchange drawn in their favour by Banks in French Indo-China and consequently Indian Muslims suffer great hardship despite their being owners of heavy assets in Indo-China this Annual Sessions urges on the Government of India the necessity of relaxing the said order so far as Indians in French Indo-China are concerned.

*Proposed by:*—Syed Murtaza Bahadur Saheb, M.L.A.  
(Central.)

*Seconded by:*—K. T. Ahmad Ibrahim Sahib. (Madras.)

### Resolution No. 13.

Resolved that while appreciating the just attitude taken by H. E. the Governor of Ceylon, this Annual Sessions of the All India Muslim League views with deep concern the antagonistic attitude of the Ceylon Ministry towards Indians in Ceylon and the steps that are being taken by it to press forward discriminatory legislation against Indians in Ceylon and urges on the Government of India the necessity of taking prompt action in the matter.

*Proposed by:*—Abdul Hamid Saheb. (Madras.)

*Seconded by:*—K.T. Ahmad Ibrahim Saheb. (Madras.)

### Resolution No. 14.

Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb be re-elected Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League.

*Proposed by:*—Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb.  
M.L.A. (N. W. F. P.)

gress and the Muslim League—to meet at least in one city. That was in 1915. It was after laborious efforts that I got them together in the city of Bombay. At that time as it happened the war was on and it was expected that the Government would make some declaration of policy on Constitutional reform in this country. Our friends the British at that time—even today I don't think they have given up this game—did not want that these two organisations should meet in the same city,—leave alone under one roof. You know, Ladies and gentlemen, that that session of the All-India Muslim League at its first meeting was broken up under the very nose of the Police. We asked the Government to hold an enquiry as we felt that it was with the connivance of the police and with the support of the bureaucracy that the meeting of Muslim League had been broken up. I do not want to go into details. It is a matter of history. I want just to skip over those events and give you the background. They saw through that and we were not for wrong. At the end of the next year, that is, in December 1916 the Congress and the League again met at Lucknow and there we signed, sealed and delivered the Lucknow Pact, known as Hindu-Muslim Lucknow Pact. But that Pact was mutilated by the British Parliament in various ways. After that came the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms declaration.

#### ENTER MR. GANDHI

It was in 1916-17. While this was going on, came Mr. Gandhi on the horizon. Let us see what happened. Mr. Gandhi puts his declaration in 'Young India' on the 12th of May 1920—You will remember that in this same auspicious month of May Mr. B. C. Pal made his declaration seven years ago—and what does Mr. Gandhi say? :

"It will be seen that for me there are not politics but religion. They subserve religion".