

196



**RESOLUTIONS**  
OF THE  
**ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE**

FROM MARCH 1941 TO APRIL 1942.

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*Published by*

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Commonwealth of Nations, a new constitutional scheme, when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.

“ His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations, with Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her, and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of the responsibility.

“ Meanwhile they will welcome and promote, in any way possible, every sincere and practical step that may be taken, by representative Indians themselves, to reach a basis of friendly agreement firstly on the form which the post-war representative body should take, secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.”

(2) MR. AMERY'S STATEMENT DATED THE  
14TH OF AUGUST 1940.

“ Agreement, consent is indeed the foundation of all free Governments, of all true democracy. Decision by a majority is not so much of the essence of Democracy as a practical convenience which presupposes for its proper working an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has indeed in most federal constitutions been limited

## CONTENTS

	Page
1. Working Committee Resolutions dated the 24th, 25th and 26th of August 1941.	1.
2. Working Committee Resolutions dated the 26th and 27th of October 1941.	13.
3. Council Meeting Resolutions dated the 26th and 27th of October 1941.	17.
4. Working Committee Resolutions dated the 16th of November 1941.	21.
5. Working Committee Resolutions dated the 26th and 27th of December 1941.	27.
6. Working Committee Resolutions dated the 21st of February 1942.	35.
7. Council meeting Resolutions dated the 22nd of February 1942.	37.
8. Emergent meeting of the Working Committee dated the 22nd of February 1942.	39.
9. Council Meeting Resolutions dated the 3rd of April 1942.	41.
0. Allahabad Annual Sessions Resolutions dated the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th of April 1942.	43.

prepared to face that responsibility now, they will fail to face it hereafter. Any agreement imposed by us from without cannot survive the withdrawal of our power to enforce it. Only a real agreement, freely reached, can stand that test."

The Working Committee strongly condemn the adverse criticism and remarks of Mr. Amery in his recent speech in the House of Commons with regard to the Lahore resolution of the All India Muslim League, popularly known as the Pakistan resolution, without examining the scheme embodied therein and the circumstances which have driven the Moslems to demand the partition of India into zones predominantly Muslim.

The Working Committee calls upon His Majesty's Government to reassure the Muslims of India that His Majesty's Government will stand by their declarations and pledges solemnly given by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India on behalf of His Majesty's Government.

If this assurance reaffirming the declaration, which has been shaken by the recent ill-advised utterances of the Secretary of State for India, practically prejudging and condemning the Muslim League scheme of partitioning India, is not forthcoming within a reasonable time, the Muslim League will be compelled to revise, of necessity, their policy and adopt such measures as they may deem necessary to resist any departure from the solemn pledges and assurances, and the responsibility for the consequences that may ensue on account

**Text of resolutions of the meetings of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, held on the 24th, 25th and 26th of August, 1941, at Mr. M. A. Jinnah's residence, Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay, under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

Resolved that the Accounts from 1st of May 1940 upto the 31st of March 1941 be passed subject to their being audited by Sir Abdoola Haroon and Haji Abdussattar Haji Essak Saith. It is further resolved that the Budget as presented from the 1st of April 1941 upto the 31st of March 1942 be sanctioned.

**Resolution No 2.**

After full discussion and consideration the Working Committee are unanimously of opinion that the Hon'ble Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Haq and the Hon'ble Sir Mohamed Saadullah should resign from the National Defence Council. In view of all the facts placed before the Committee by the President, including the message of His Excellency the Viceroy sent to him through the Governor of Bombay on the 21st of July 1941, the Hon'ble Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Committee are glad to note, has decided to tender his resignation from the National Defence Council, and the Committee have been informed telephonically that the Hon'ble Sir Mohamed Saadullah has also decided to resign from the National Defence Council. The question, therefore, of disciplinary action

enquiry committee report and declining to appoint special tribunals in order to secure fair trial and justice for the Musalmans.

**Resolution No. 11.**

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League condemn the recent Indo-Burma agreement concluded without consulting the Indian Legislature or the Provincial Governments concerned and other responsible public opinion in the country, with the result that the vital economic interests of India in general and the trading interests and civic rights of the Muslim community in particular, enjoyed by them for over a century, have been sacrificed and irreparably damaged. The Working Committee urge upon the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India not to ratify the aforesaid agreement, and thus remove the serious discontent, which it has caused in all Indian trading circles and the offence it has given to the self-respect of the peoples of India.

**Resolution No. 12.**

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the request of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League for defying the orders of the Bihar Government imposed upon the Mussalmans in connection with Bihar Sharif disturbances. The Committee postponed their decision till further information was available.

(NAWABZADA) LIAQUAT ALI KHAN,

M. I. A. (CENTRAL),

*Honorary Secretary,*

All India Muslim League.

authority to take such action as he deems necessary and proper.

**Resolution No. 4.**

The Working Committee after considering the explanation of Begum Shah Nawaz, are of opinion that she, while still a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, by accepting the membership of the National Defence Council, has acted against the express decision of the Muslim League and its general policy, and call upon her to resign her membership of the National Defence Council.

If Begum Shah Nawaz resigns the membership of the National Defence Council within ten days and communicates this fact to the President no action will be necessary.

In case Begum Shah Nawaz fails to submit her resignation from the National Defence Council within the time prescribed the President is hereby given full authority to take such action as he deems necessary and proper.

**Resolution No. 5.**

The Working Committee have considered the explanation of Sir Sultan Ahmad. It seems that he has not realised the gravamen of the complaint *viz.*, that while he was a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League he has associated himself with the scheme of the expansion and reconstruction of the personnel of the Viceroy's Executive Council, as notified in the Communique dated the 21st of July 1941, and

to my letter addressed to you (Secretary of the All-India Muslim League) should be disposed of in my absence. My presence at the discussion may put some members of the League in an awkward position, but at any rate I would be put in an awkward position myself if I were to be present at the criticisms that will be made when the letter comes up for discussion. I shall be grateful if you kindly convey to the President my regret that I will not be able to attend the meeting."

The Working Committee consider that the following allegations contained in Mr. Fazul Haq's letter of the 8th of September addressed to the Secretary are untrue and offensive and have cast serious aspersions on the President and the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Muslim Leaders of the Provinces where the Musalmans are in a minority :—

1. "I maintain that this action of the President was unconstitutional in the highest degree."
2. "The Working Committee endorsed the action of the President, because they had no other alternative before them. If they had refused to ratify the President's action it would have amounted to a vote of no-confidence in the President and this contingency the Working Committee were not prepared to face. It is for this reason that the Working Committee passed the resolution a copy which you have forwarded to me calling upon me to resign unconditionally from the National Defence Council."



**Resolution No. 7.**

The Working Committee have learnt with dismay the news of the unprovoked aggression against Iran by Great Britain and Russia, contrary to all the declarations of the British Government to respect the neutrality and sovereignty of non-combatant states to uphold which the British Government and her allies are fighting Nazism, and in violation of the fundamental principles of International Law; and warn the Government that this action of the allies will still more complicate the Near East situation and alienate the sympathies of Muslim India and create bitterness in their hearts, which will result in the withdrawal of every help by them to the allied cause.

**Resolution No. 8.**

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League deplore that His Excellency the Viceroy should have gone out of his way to canvass the members of the Muslim League for securing their association with the scheme of expansion of the Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council within the terms of the offer of the 8th of August 1940, behind the back of the leader of the organisation, knowing full well the express decision of the Council of the League rejecting a scheme on similar lines by its resolution dated the 29th of September 1940, which was duly communicated to him by the President.

Further the Committee condemn the observations of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, made in

position in Indian Muslim Politics."

The Working Committee therefore call upon Mr. Fazlul Haq to withdraw these allegations and express his regret for having cast these aspersions within ten days from the date of the receipt of the intimation of this resolution.

On the expiry of the time specified above, the Working Committee will decide what action is called for after considering any explanation that Mr. Fazlul Haq may offer either in writing or in person and for this purpose, among other matters, instruct the Secretary to inform Mr. Fazlul Haq that the Working Committee will meet on the 16th of November, 1941, at the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League in Delhi at 11 A. M.

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

speeches and the announcement of the Viceroy dated the 8th of August 1940 clearly disclose :—

(1) VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT DATED THE  
8TH OF AUGUST 1940.

“ There are two main points which have emerged. On these two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

“ The first is as to the position of Minorities, in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude the examination of any part, either of the Act of 1935, or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

“ His Majesty's Government concern, that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision, has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities, for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

“ Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

“ The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British

the date and place for the next annual session of the All India Muslim League.

**Resolution No. 6.**

The Council of the All India Muslim League considers the entry of the British and Soviet Troops in the kingdom of Iran an act of open aggression and in view of the existing conditions, believes that the European Governments want to bring all the Islamic countries under their heel for their own selfish ends, and therefore, this Council warns the British and the other European Governments that the Musalmans of India will not tolerate any foreign power's interference in any of the Islamic countries. In case the European Governments do not change their policy in respect of these Islamic countries, the Muslims of India will be compelled to adopt such effective measures as would be necessary for protecting these countries.

**Resolution No. 7.**

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League while endorsing the decision of the Working Committee and the steps taken by the President of the All India Muslim League in connection with the expansion of the Executive Council of H. E. the Viceroy and the so-called National Defence Council, congratulates the Working Committee and the President on their decision and proper steps taken in the matter, and severely condemns the action of Hon'ble Dr. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz, in refusing to accept the mandate of the Working Committee and in insisting to remain on the said Councils in flagrant disregard of the wishes of the Musalmans.

This Council further declares that the Musalmans taken in the expanded Council of H. E. the Viceroy and, the so-called National Defence Council, are in no way the representatives of the Musalmans and cannot in any

in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements. To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto by any element but compromise, and willingness to compromise, in India as elsewhere, is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which free government must be based."

(3) MR. AMERY'S STATEMENT DATED THE  
22ND OF APRIL 1941.

"It was suggested that the framework of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House. That was a far-reaching and indeed revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think, even yet been fully appreciated either in this country or in India.

"Even more important in this connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself, and also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between the principal elements in India's national life. That is an essential prerequisite to the success of the future constitution. For if Indians cannot agree upon the kind of constitution they are prepared to work, how are they likely to agree upon the actual working of it?

"I have dwelt deliberately upon Indian responsibility in the matter; for unless Indians are

in other provinces, the Council urges upon the Government to devise forthwith strong measures to check the growing tendencies of lawlessness and terrorism of the Hindu majority and to afford effective protection to the Muslim minorities in the provinces.

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

of this gross breach of faith will entirely rest on the British Government.

**Resolution No. 10.**

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League are deeply concerned at the widespread riots in the country during the year and their recrudescence at several places soon after order was restored, which distinctly suggests an organised attempt on the part of the Hindus to crush the Muslim morale in places where they are in a minority, and urge upon the Government to take serious note of the situation, which has arisen on account of the speeches delivered from Hindu platforms, inciting people to violence in their endeavour to create organised opposition to the just demands of the Muslims of India and to demonstrate that communal riots were not only confined to the Congress Government regime.

Further the Working Committee have received with surprise and alarm the information from its Provincial bodies that the attitude of Government officials generally has been unsympathetic in meeting Muslim demands and removing their just grievances. The Working Committee urge upon the Government to redress their grievances in this respect and to adopt adequate and effective measures for the protection of their lives and property.

Further the Working Committee draw the attention of the Government of India to the high handed and arbitrary orders of the Government of Bihar in connection with the observance of the Bihar Sharif day and the banning of the publication of Bihar Sharif

tionally adopted by it, have never hesitated to obey it, even though that decision might not personally commend itself to me. If there were any doubts in regard to this point my resignation from the National Defence Council amply proves it.

It is an irony of fate that of all those who have given of their best to build up the only national organisation of the Muslim India, I should have been the object of so much misunderstanding and so much unformed criticism. It appears that portions of my letter have hurt the feelings of the President and some of my other friends. I convey to them through you my assurance that nothing was further from my intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on any one and I hope that my assurance in this respect will be accepted and the matter considered as closed.

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd.) A. K. Fazlul Huq."

The Working Committee excuse the delay on the part of Mr. Fazlul Haq in not sending the reply within ten days on the ground of his ill-health as the matter was of such serious import that it required his anxious consideration. The Working Committee note Mr. Fazlul Haq's earnest reaffirmation of his loyalty to the Muslim League and his statement that he has never hesitated to carry out the mandates of the League the latest instance in proof thereof is his resignation from the



**Text of Resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held on the 26th & 27th of October, 1941 at the Central Office of the All India Muslim League, under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

A committee consisting of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Mr. G. M. Syed and Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan be appointed to decide upon such action by the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature as may be considered proper, to show the resentment and disapproval of Muslim India against the manner in which the expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council was undertaken and carried out and the National Defence Council constituted, and the action and attitude of the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government in this connection, in consultation with the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature.

**Resolution No. 2.**

The Working Committee considered the letter dated the 8th of September, 1941, addressed to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazul Haq tendering his resignation from the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and also the letter of Mr. Fazlul Haq addressed to the Secretary dated the 27th of October, 1941, received today in which he says, "I feel that the matter relating

without the approval of the Muslim League will be deeply resented and the responsibility for the consequences that may ensue will be entirely that of the Government.

### **Resolution No. 3**

The Working Committee wish to draw the attention of the Government that the prolonged and in definite incarceration and detention without trial of Allama Mashriqui, is causing grave concern not only to the members of the Khaksars, organization but to the Musalmans generally. In view of the changed situation the Committee urge upon the Government of India to reconsider their policy and release Allama Mushriqui without delay.

### **Resolution No. 4**

Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of Nawab Mohammed Ismaïl Khan Sahib and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb be appointed to consider, hear and decide all appeals that may be made to the Working Committee by the various branches of the League Organization.

### **Resolution No. 5**

By virtue of the authority conferred upon the President by resolution No. 1 of the Working Committee passed at its meeting held on the 12th of April 1941 at Madras, the President nominated the following to be the members of the parliamentary committee:—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Hussain Imam
2. The Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin.

3. "But before I conclude I wish to record a most emphatic protest against the manner in which the interests of the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab are being imperilled by Muslim leaders of the Provinces where the Muslims are in a minority, popularly known among Muslims as the minority provinces of India,"
4. "As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League. Much as I deplore this course I feel that I cannot usefully continue to be a member of a body which shows scant courtesy to Provincial leaders and which arrogates to itself the functions which ought to be exercised by the provincial executive."
5. "The President of the All India Muslim League has signally failed to discharge the heavy responsibilities of his office in a constitutional and reasonable manner."
6. "In tendering my resignation I should also like to enter the caveat that recent events have forcibly brought home to me that the principles of democracy and autonomy are being subordinated to the arbitrary wishes of a single individual who seeks to rule as an omnipotent authority over the destiny of 33 millions of Muslims in the province of Bengal who occupy the key

some of the proposals contained in the joint report of the Indo-Ceylon exploratory conference are open to serious objections and adversely affect the rights of Indians in Ceylon. The Committee call upon the Government that such modifications as would guarantee and ensure those just rights of Indians should be made in those proposals before any action is taken in the matter.

(NAWABZADA) LIAQUAT ALI KHAN,  
M. A. (OXON.), M. L. A. (CENTRAL),  
*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 26th & 27th of October, 1941, at the Anlglo Arabic College Hall, Delhi, under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

This Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its profound sorrow at the sad and untimely death of Maulana Inayatullah Saheb of Frangi Mahal Lucknow, a member of the League Council. He rendered very valuable services in the cause of the Muslims, both educationally and politically and served the League faithfully and his death is a great loss to the Muslim community. The Council offers its deep sympathy and condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

**Resolution No. 2.**

Resolved that the members of the Council from various provinces who have ceased to be members under Section 12 of the Constitution be re-elected.

**Resolution No. 3.**

Resolved that the resolution of the Working Committee passed at the meetings held on August 24, 25 and 26, 1941 in Bombay and on October 26 and 27, 1941 passed at Delhi, be approved.

**Resolution No. 4.**

Resolved that Khan Bahadur M. A. Momin of Calcutta and Mr. Mahboob Ahmed of Lahore be elected as Honorary Joint Secretaries.

**Resolution No. 5.**

Resolved that the President be empowered to fix

peace and welfare of India, to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

His Excellency further made it clear in the declaration of the 8th of August 1940, that it was for the representatives of India themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly on the form which the post-war representative body should take and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.

This policy of the British Government was re-affirmed by the Secretary of States for India in his speech during the debate in the House of Commons on the 22nd of April 1941, in the following words:—

"What was the essence of that statement? It was that the frame-work of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House. That was a far-reaching and, indeed, revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think even yet been fully appreciated, either in this country or in India.

"Even more important in this connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself, and also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between the principal elements in India's National life. That is an essential pre-requisite to the success of the future constitution."

way represent their interests.

This Council further condemns the attitude of the Government in this connection which was meant to create a rift in the rank of the Musalmans.

#### Resolution No. 8.

Resolved that a committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to chalk out a detailed scheme for collecting systematically *zakat*, *fitra* and skins of *qurbani* and using them for the promotion of Muslim interest according to *shariat* and place the scheme before the Council of the League as early as possible for consideration :—

1. Maulana Hussian Mian Sahib of Phulwari Sharif (Convener)
2. Syed Ghulam Bhik Saheb Nairang.
3. Maulana Mohd. Akram Khan Saheb.
4. Mr. Husain Shahid Suhrawardy.
5. Maulana Qutbuddin Abdul Wali Sahib of Frangi Mahal.
6. Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Badayuni.
7. Maulana Hakim Abdur Rauf Saheb Danapuri.
8. Mirza Abul Hasan Ispahani Sahib of Calcutta.
9. Maulana Syed Ibne Hasan Saheb.
10. Maulvi Badruddin Ahmed Sahib of Bihar.
11. Haji Abdul Kadir Sahib of Arrah.
12. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb.

#### Resolution No. 9

This meeting of the Council deeply deplores the serious riots at Amraoti in C. P. and Nellore in Madras Presidency which clearly indicate that they were not merely the outcome of sudden communal outbursts but were the result of calculated design to undermine the morale of the Muslims in areas where they are in a microscopic minority. In view of these riots and several others

extent of the political, religious and cultural differences existing between the major communities in India, viz. Hindus and Muslims.

The Working Committee, therefore, consider it necessary to warn the British public and Government that any departure from the policy and the solemn declaration of the 8th of August 1940, and the pledges given therein to the Musalmans, would constitute a gross breach of faith with Muslim India, and that any revision of policy or any fresh declaration, which adversely affects the demand of Pakistan or proceeds on the basis of a central Government with India as one single unit and Musalmans as an All-India minority, shall be strongly resented by the Muslims who will be compelled to resist it with all the forces at their command, which would at this critical juncture, among other things, necessarily result in the serious impediment of the country's war efforts, which have so far been largely carried on with the help and support of the Musalmans because of the policy and attitude hitherto adopted by the Muslim League in order not to embarrass or impede war efforts as far as possible.

#### **Resolution No. 2.**

In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the war on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed their willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country as is evident from the stand taken by the



**Text of Resolutions of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, held on the 16th of November 1941, at the Central Office of the All India Muslim League, Daryaganj, under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1**

The Working Committee considered the following letter of explanation of the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Haq, dated November 14, received by the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League:—

“DEAR NAWABZADA,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 29 forwarding for my information a copy of resolution No. 2 adopted by the Working Committee of the Muslim League and confirmed by the Council of the Muslim League at meetings of both the bodies held on October 27 at Delhi.

I regret the delay in sending you my reply. It has been due entirely to the poor state of my health, and I did not feel justified in replying to a communication of such serious import without giving the matter most anxious consideration.

No one knows better than the President himself that I have always been a loyal member of the League, have never hesitated to carry out its mandates and once a decision was constitu-

and the Working Committee call upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee are constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India, indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some of the provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorise its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

The Committee are of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an All India basis, and not province-wise, between the government and the Muslim League, such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of the imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the centre and the provinces within the framework of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the

National Defence Council in obedience to the decision of the Working Committee. The Working Committee further note his assurance that nothing was further from his intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on the President or the Executive of the League and others concerned; and as Mr. Fazlul Haq requests the Working Committee that his assurance should be accepted, it is hereby resolved that no further action be taken in the matter.

### **Resolution No. 2**

The Working Committee regret that the British Government has not only failed to accept the offer of co-operation made by the Muslim League by its resolution, dated June 17, 1940, but in utter disregard of it, it has expanded the Governor-General's Executive Council by associating with it persons representing no body except themselves. This ill-advised and unfair action on the part of the Government in the opinion of the Committee, was due to the fact that the British Government was not prepared to concede the just demands of the Muslim League even when the Congress party was engaged in obstructionist tactics and civil disobedience and refused to even consider any agreement within the framework of the present constitution. The Working Committee, therefore, urge upon the Government that no further steps be taken or adjustments be made in the future, even within the framework of the present constitution and law without the approval and consent of the All India Muslim League, and once more warn the Government that any action in this connection

the recent action of the Government in releasing *Satyagaraha* and other political prisoners and having regard to the internal political situation, the prosecution against Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan should be withdrawn and be released.

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

3. Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Saheb.
4. Qazi Mohammed Isa Saheb.
5. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb.

Three members to form the quorum, the Committee will exercise all the powers and functions as defined in Resolution No. 14 passed at the 26th Annual Session of the All India Muslim League held at Patna in December 1938, which runs as follows:—

“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 resolved that for the Central Legislature the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League should constitute such machinery for the purpose of election to the Central Legislature as it thinks proper.”

#### **Resolution No. 6**

The Working Committee are of the opinion that

Indians in Malaya, Singapore, Burma and other places in the Far East and call upon the Musalmans all over India to do all they can to give relief to evacuees and those who are now stranded in the various parts of India and further request the British Government to help them in every possible way.

(NAWABZADA) LIAQUAT ALI KHAN,  
M. A. (OXON.) M. L. A. (CENTRAL),  
*Honorary Secretary,*  
All India Muslim League.

**Text of resolutions of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, held on the 26th and 27th of December 1941, at Nagpur, under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have read with satisfaction the statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 15th of December 1941, at Calcutta, re-affirming the policy enunciated in the declaration of the 8th of August 1940, which laid down *inter alia* the following principle for the future constitution of India:—

“There are two main points which have emerged. On those two points His Majesty’s Government now desire me to make their position clear.

The first is as to the position of minorities, in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude the examination of any part, either of the Act of 1935, or of the policy and plan on which it is based.

His Majesty’s Government’s concern, that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision, has also been brought out.

That remains the position of His Majesty’s Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities, for the

the Muslim students of Bengal who have undergone great suffering in the Muslim cause and expresses its sympathy with the Muslim League workers and the Muslim students of Bengal who have thus served the best interests of the Muslim India.

**Resolution No. 5.**

This Council of the All India Muslim League views with great concern and sympathy the question of the Muslim Kazaks who have come into India from Soviet Russia and the great hardships and privations they have suffered owing to lack of food, shelter and sympathy. This Council requests the Government of India to make proper arrangement and provision for the welfare of these Kazaks and find ways and means to allow them to settle peacefully in some part of North West India.

**Resolution No. 6.**

This Council of the All India Muslim League while appreciating the action of the Government of India in releasing Allama Enayat Ullah Mashrequi, resents the ban placed upon his moving outside Madras and urges upon the Government for its immediate removal.

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



The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in their meeting held on the 22nd of September 1940 expressed their satisfaction at the declaration, as the principles enunciated therein covered the consideration of the demand of the Musalmans for the division of India, which was made long before the declaration, at Lahore, on the 23rd of March 1940, and is popularly known as the Pakistan Scheme.

Since then, responsible Ministers of the Crown, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India and Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister, have, from time to time, amplified and confirmed the policy underlying the declaration, thereby assuring 100 million Musalmans of India, that the British Government was fully alive to the realities of the political situation in India and realised that any decision opposed to the natural aspirations of Musalmans as a separate entity would hasten a catastrophe and make peaceful administration impossible.

The Working Committee, however, are deeply concerned and alarmed that while the policy of the British Government still remains the same as laid down in the declaration of the 8th of August 1940, there is a growing tendency in a section of the British press and politicians, who under the stress of the war against the Axis powers and the entry of Japan in the arena, to a revision of the policy hitherto followed and to start the policy of appeasement of the Congress by making a fresh declaration in utter disregard of the previous statements and promises to the Musalmans of India and in ignorance of the nature and

"That we shall stand by our pledges both by our general pledge as to India's future freedom and also by our pledge to the different main elements in India's national life that they shall not be coerced under a system of Government which they are not prepared to accept".

The Working Committee deplore the method adopted by the Non-Party Conference and its President Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in levelling attack against Mr. Amery who as spokesman of His Majesty's Government has refused to resile from the solemn pledges given to the Musalmans.

The Working Committee trust that the British Government in spite of the present difficult war situation will not submit to coercive methods adopted by Hindu India and shall remain true to their pledges.

(NAWABZADA) LIAQUAT ALI KHAN,  
M. A. (OXON.) M. L. A. (CENTRAL),  
*Honorary Secretary,*  
All India Muslim League.

President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November 1939 when he accepted the offer of the Viceroy that the Congress and the League should come to an adjustment in the Provincial field to ensure harmonious working of the provincial government, consequent on which the representatives of the Congress and the League will be willing to participate in the Central Government as members of the Executive Council. This proposal of the Viceroy was summarily rejected by the Congress on the ground that their demand embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, dated the 10th of October 1939, for a declaration of India's independence and the right of Indians to frame their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, was not met by the British Government.

Further the Muslim League on the 17th of June 1940 passed the following resolution, which clearly indicates that the League has all along adhered to the policy declared by its President in November 1939.

The Working Committee view with alarm the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regard the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies, as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country,

**Resolution No. 4.**

Resolved that a Sub Committee consisting of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League and Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Saheb be appointed to fill up vacancies in the Council of the All India Muslim League.

(NAWABZADA) LIAQUAT ALI KHAN,  
M. A. (OXON.) M. L. A. (CENTRAL),  
*Honorary Secretary,*  
All India Muslim League.

framing of the future constitution.

**Resolution No. 3.**

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League has noted with great satisfaction the action taken by the President in expelling Mr. Fazlul Huq from the Muslim League for his treacherous betrayal of the Muslim League organisation and the Musalmans generally.

The Committee call upon every Muslim Leaguer in the Bengal Legislature to organise the Muslim League and Muslim opinion in the Province to the fullest extent and to join and support the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and not to rest content until the present ministry which is composed of the various elements antagonistic to the cause of Muslim Bengal and of which Mr. Fazlul Huq is a more titular Head; is over-thrown.

The Committee appeal to every Muslim, inside and outside the Legislature to help and support the Provincial Muslim League in organising the province of Bengal.

**Resolution No. 4.**

The Working Committee considered the case of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, M.L.A., (Central), which is pending in the court against him and as the matter is *sub-judice* the Committee do not wish to express any view regarding the merits of the case. But as a matter of policy and on general grounds the Committee strongly urge upon the Government that, having regard to

by the President to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of Mussalmans in consultation with the provincial Leagues and to submit a weekly report to the President of the steps taken to carry out the above-mentioned objects.

*Proposed by:*—Chaudhri Khaliqzaman Saheb, (U.P.)

*Seconded by:*—Maulana Akram Khan Saheb, (Bengal)

*Supported by:*—Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon (Sindh)

.. Haji Abdul Sattar Haji Essack Sait.  
(Malabar.)

.. Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, (Bombay.)

.. Mr. G. M. Syed, (Sindh.)

.. K. B. Nawab Mohamed Ismail, (Bihar.)

.. Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani (Punjab.)

.. K. B. M. A. Momin Saheb, (Bengal.)

.. Begum Aizaz Rasul Saheb, (U. P.)

.. Begum Maulana Mohamed Ali, (Delhi.)

.. Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, (C. P.)

.. Mr. Karimur Raza Khan, (U. P.)

#### Resolution. No. 4.

Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan be elected as Honorary Secretary and Raja Mohamed Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb of Mahmudabad as Honorary Treasurer of the All India Muslim League for the next term and the election of the two joint Secretaries be entrusted to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

**Text of Resolutions of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held on the 21st of February 1942, at Gul-i-Raana, New Delhi, under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League draw the attention of the Muslims of India in general and the Provincial and other League branches throughout the country in particular to the growing danger of the War to India and the sufferings, which people may have to go through under such circumstances and call upon them to be vigilant and ready to face any danger, if and when it comes, with equanimity, courage and fortitude.

The Working Committee have full confidence that in the event of grave developments or emergency the Muslims will stand united and extend all assistance to the suffering and helpless

The Committee further call upon the Provincial Muslim Leagues to strengthen the Muslim National Guards organisation so that it may be able to render effective assistance in maintaining peace, tranquillity and order in the country and help the suffering humanity.

**Resolution No. 2.**

The Working Committee express their deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Musalmans and other

the unfortunate evacuees in their great distress.

*Proposed by:*—Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, (Bengal.)

*Seconded by:*—The Hon'ble S.M. Padsha (Madras)

**Resolution No. 6.**

This session of the All India Muslim League places on record its sense of relief and gratitude for the timely action of the President in expelling from the membership of the Muslim League, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq who has completely forfeited the confidence of Mussalmans by his repeated betrayal of their cause generally in India and particularly in Bengal.

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

*Seconded by:*—K.B. M. A. Momin Saheb, (Bengal.)

**Resolution No. 7.**

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

In Section 11(2) VIII figure 5 be substituted by the figure 10.

*Proposed by:*—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb,

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

**Resolution No. 8.**

This session of the All India Muslim League demands



**Text of Resolutions of the Meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, held on the 22nd of February 1942 at the Anglo Arabic College Hall, Delhi, under the Presidentship of Mr. M.A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

Resolved that the resolutions of the Working Committee passed at the meetings held on the 16th of November 1941, at Delhi 26th and 27th of December 1941, at Nagpur and on the 21st of February 1942 at Delhi be approved.

**Resolution No. 2.**

Resolved that Mr. M.A. Jinnah be elected President of the All India Muslim League for the next term.

**Resolution No. 3.**

Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League and Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Saheb be appointed to fill up vacancies in the Council of the All India Muslim League.

**Resolution No. 4.**

This Council of the All India Muslim League strongly condemns Mr. Fazlul Haq for becoming a mere puppet in the hands of the Hindu Mahasabha and adopting a policy of ruthless repression against the workers of the Muslim League, which is the only popular representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India and also against

and one capable of terrorising and demoralising the  
general Muslim population of that Province.

(Chair.)

(NAWABZADA) LIAQUAT' ALI KHAN,  
M. A. (OXON,) M. L. A. (CENTRAL),  
*Honorary Secretary,*  
All India Muslim League.

**Text of Resolution of the Emergent Meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held on the 22nd of February 1942, at Gul-i-Raana, New Delhi, under the Presidentship of Mr. M.A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

The Working Committee have carefully considered the proposals formulated by the so-called Non-Party Conference presided over by Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru and are definitely of the opinion that if the British Government are misled into accepting them Muslim India will without doubt revolt against any such decision for these proposals clearly mean the virtual transfer of all power and authority to the Central Government to be set up as indicated in these proposals on the basis of India being a single national unit and enjoying Dominion Status in action, thereby establishing Congress or Hindu Raj for all purposes. Muslim India will never accept such a position which is sought to be secured by Hindu leaders who are virtually hand in glove with the Congress and other allied Hindu organisations in the country under the guise of interim changes during the period of the war but in reality the object behind is to coerce the British Government at this critical moment to surrender and compel them to prejudge and torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. This will be a clear breach of the pledges given by His Majesty's Government and recently reaffirmed by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in his speech at Leeds on the 4th of February 1942 in the following words:—



**Text of Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, held on the 3rd of April 1942 at the Subjects Committee Pandal, Allahabad, under the Chairman-ship of Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan Saheb.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

This Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise of Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Muslim nation in particular and conveys its heartfelt condolences and sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

**Resolution No. 2.**

This Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its profound sorrow at the sad death of K.S. Pir Rasul Bux Saheb of Sukkur, a member of the Council, and offers its sympathy and condolences to the bereaved family.

**Resolution No. 3.**

Resolved that the resolution of the Emergent Meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held on the 22nd of February 1942 at Delhi be approved.



**Text of Resolutions passed at the Twenty Ninth Annual Sessions of the All India Muslim League held at Allahabad on the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th of April 1942 under the Presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.**

**Resolution No. 1.**

This Session of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise of Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Muslim nation in particular and conveys its heartfelt condolences and sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

(Chair.)

**Resolution No. 2.**

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

*Proposed by:*—Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, (Bengal.)

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

**Resolution No. 3.**

This Session resolves that a committee be appointed

Draft Declaration embodied only the proposals of His Majesty's Government and not their decision, and that they are subject to agreement between the main elements in India, thus maintaining the validity of the declaration of the 8th of August 1940, which had promised to the Musalmans that neither the machinery for the framing of the constitution should be set up nor the constitution itself should be enforced without the approval and consent of Muslim India.

The Working Committee, while expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognised by implication by providing for the establishment of two or more independent Unions in India, regret that the proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodying the fundamentals, are not open to any modification and therefore no alternative proposals are invited. In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee have no alternative but to say that the proposals in their present form are unacceptable to them for reasons given below.

(1) The Mussalmans, after twenty-five years of genuine efforts for the reconciliation of the two major communities and the bitter experience of the failure of such efforts, are convinced that it is neither just nor possible, in the interest of peace and happiness of the two peoples, to compel them to constitute one Indian Union, composed of the two principal nations—Hindus and Muslims—which appears to be the main object of His Majesty's Government, as adumbrated in the preamble of the Draft Declaration, the creation of more than one Union being relegated only to the realm



*Proposed by:*—Choudhri Khaliquzzaman Saheb. (U.P.)

*Seconded by:*—Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, (C. P.)

**Resolution No. 5.**

This Session expresses its heartfelt sympathies with the Indian nationals who had settled down in Java, Burma, Malaya and Singapore and who have had to lose their all and sailed homewards in most tragic circumstances in overcrowded and under-provisioned ships or trailed backwards across forests and mountains foodless and without shelter for weeks on end.

This Session condemns the action of those responsible for the shameful discrimination against Indian nationals in the matter of accommodation, route facilities, food and water, and demands of the Government of India to take immediate and effective steps to save the lives of thousands of our helpless and hapless compatriots still in the inhospitable land of Burma by evacuating them at the earliest possible moment and placing at their disposal every available means of transportation and every possible facility.

This Session draws the attention of the Government of India to the inadequate and completely worthless arrangements so far made by it for giving relief and succour to the Indian evacuees who are reaching Chittagong, Imphal and Madras coastal parts, amongst other places, in several thousands daily, penniless and foodless.

This Session calls upon the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues to render every possible assistance to

instead of exercising their right and judgment as a constituent factor, be at the entire mercy of the constitution-making body, in which they will be a minority of about twenty-five per cent.

(3) The right of non-accession to the Union, as contemplated in the Draft Declaration, has been conceded, presumably, in response to the insistent demands by the Musalmans for the partition of India, but the method and procedure laid down are such as to negative the professed object, for, in the Draft proposals, the right of non-accession has been given to the existing provinces, which have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis.

The Musalmans cannot be satisfied by such a declaration on a vital question affecting their future destiny and demand a clear and precise pronouncement on the subject. Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issues is to court disaster.

In the Draft Proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the province is to be obtained in favour of or against accession to the one Union; but in the letter dated the 2nd of April from the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps, addressed to the President of the All India Muslim League, it is stated that "a province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in. If the majority for accession to the Union is less than sixty per cent, the minority will have the right to

that the Province of British Baluchistan be forthwith elevated to the same constitutional level as the other Indian Provinces.

*Proposed by:*—Qazi Mohammad Isa (Baluchistan.)

*Seconded by:*—Mir Jafar Jamali Saheb, (Baluchistan.)

**Resolution No. 9.**

This session draws the attention of the Government of India to the grave situation that has been created in the country due to grain shortage particularly of wheat, paddy and dal, and requests the Government to take immediate steps for the conservation of grain and other foodstuffs for the peoples of India.

(Chair.)

**Resolution No. 10.**

This session of the All India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to remove all restrictions imposed upon Allama Mashriqi and also lift the ban on the Khaksar movement and release unconditionally all the Khaksar prisoners.

(Chair.)

**Resolution No. 11.**

This session of the All India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to review and rescind the order of internment in a distant province passed against Nawabzada Abdul Rehman Khan Bugti of Baluchistan in view of the fact that there has been no judicial enquiry or finding establishing the justification of the said order and in the absence of such a position the step taken against him seems to be arbitrary, unjust

situation.

(6) With regard to the interim arrangement, there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majesty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. The Committee are, therefore, unable to express their opinion until a complete picture is available. Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion on the interim arrangements for participation in the counsels of the country, is that Sir Stafford Cripps has made it clear that the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole and that it would not be possible to retain only the part relating to the immediate arrangements at the centre and discard the rest of the Draft Scheme, and as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the immediate arrangements.

In conclusion the Committee wish to point out that the position of the Muslim League has been and is that unless the principle of Pakistan scheme, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution dated March 1940, which is now the creed of the All India Muslim League, namely,

“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 Musalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India,