

**ALL INDIA
MUSLIM LEAGUE**

DELHI SESSION

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BY

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know the Hindu mind. The Hindu mind is myself. Surely, I do not live amidst Hindu to know the Hindu mind when every fibre of my being is Hindu."

"My Hinduism must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse."

And yet, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will remember that when I expressed my desire to meet him as a Hindu leader he resented it and yet he says, "every fibre of his being is Hindu" which means that his Hindu mind is impregnable. This was in 1924. (Applause.)

1925 AND AFTER

Ladies & Gentlemen : from 1925 onwards, as you know, many efforts were made for the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim differences. Every time we were the petitioners, the supplicants standing at the doors of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, with our proposals formulated. For some reason or other the reply was "No". They never made any counter-proposals. You remember, we formulated in 1927 at Delhi some proposals. Somehow or other, fortunately or unfortunately, those proposals were substantially accepted by the Congress at Madras at the end of 1927. Therefore the communal settlement was brought about and two committees were appointed, by the Muslim League and the Congress, to make jointly a political demand. Let me tell you that when these two committees met, it was Mr. Gandhi who smashed it up (cries of shame, shame) and Nehru Report was started contrary to the resolutions of these two organisations and after the two committees had actually met but dissolved. So we were forced to withdraw our proposals. What happened next? Then came the Nehru report. You know the history of it. I shall only tell you what Maulana Mohamed Ali said about the Nehru Report. He was an independent man. Some of the Muslims in the Congress had suffered more than

Delegates of the All-India Muslim League, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I thank you heartily for having once more elected me as the President of the All-India Muslim League. It is an honour that today any man may envy and covet. I hope in the coming year I shall be able, with your co-operation and support, to guide the course, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. In the first instance I would like to give you a report and tell you what various developments have taken place so far as the internal affairs of the All-India Muslim League are concerned :

BENGAL AFFAIRS

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the course of this one year since we met last at Allahabad, there is not the slightest doubt, that the Muslim League is moving from strength to strength throughout India (Cheers). In Bengal you know that we have suffered for the last sixteen months. It was our misfortune that even amongst our own ranks, our own people were made the spearhead of treachery who betrayed the Muslim interests (Applause). I think, it is now settled beyond doubt that during the last 15 months Bengal Muslims have organised themselves in a manner which they had never before, at any time in the history of Bengal. (Cheers.) They were persecuted and the Chief Minister, who I am ashamed to say was a Mussalman (Cries of 'shame, shame'.) Ladies and gentleman, if I were to give you an account to what extent this ministry headed by Fazlul Huq stooped—no decent human being can ever stoop to the foul methods he adopted. (Shame, shame). But I congratulate the Mussalmans

Hindu-Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Quranic teaching, namely, "If you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers". (Applause)

Now we come to the Second Round Table Conference to which Mr. Gandhi went for the first time as the sole representative of the Congress. What happened there? All attempts for a settlement were again smashed up by him very clearly and with some excuse or other. You will find in Dr. Ambedkar's book that one of the conditions that he imposed upon the Muslim delegation in London was that he would be prepared to agree to our proposals on the express condition that we, the Muslims, should oppose the scheduled castes asking for any kind of separate electorates or special treatment. In other words Mr. Gandhi did not want special treatment to be given to the scheduled castes. Now I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, how is it possible that any man, who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, of fairplay, of justice, to agree to this, that these 60 millions, who are the biggest blot on the fair name of India, should be kept as untouchables, at the mercy of the Sanathanists, Mr. Gandhi being one. I assure you, in the name of humanity I care more for them than for Musalmans. (Cries of hear, hear and cheers.) After all, we, Musalmans, are capable of giving and taking (cheers.) Could there be any condition so offensive and absurd as this one laid down by Mr. Gandhi. Second condition was that you Muslims agree that you will fight for the freedom of the country. Am I so degraded as to accept such a condition? I want the freedom of the people of this country more than anybody else (Cheers). It looked as if Mr. Gandhi had the monopoly for the love and the freedom of the country. (A voice, 'He does not want free-

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ed that the Muslim League Ministry or the dominant Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. Similarly the League has now formed a Ministry in Bengal and so in Sind and the Punjab. But now while we approve of it, do not run away with the idea that we have won and that is all that we wanted. This is only the starting point (cheers) and it is not that we are ready and willing to make all sacrifices for the Ministries, we expect the ministries to make all the sacrifices for us (loud cheers). So long as the ministries remain within the orbit of the fundamental principles and the policy of the League they shall certainly have our support. But I want to make it once more clear that the time has now come when we shall not hesitate to withdraw our support from any ministry that does not follow the League principles. (Cheers). I have told you about Bengal.

SIND'S UNANIMOUS SUPPORT

Now let me tell you that you will find that in Sind, today,—believe me, I am not exaggerating—almost 99 per cent of the Mussalmans are with the League (Cheers) and the League is being organised there in a manner which really if you were to follow you would not believe how this progress has been made. In the North-Western Frontier Province—It is the only Muslim province which remains today under 93—my information is,—and it is based on very reliable sources,—that within the last 16 or 18 months Muslim public is entirely with the Muslim League. This information is based not on our agents or other people, but it is based further upon the testimony of foreign correspondents who have been there and examined the situation.

Similar is the position in the Punjab. But I regret to say that the Punjab has not yet played the part that it ought to play and is entitled to play;

1. "The Gandhi Ashram" (Monastery). At Sevagram, Wardha. (To serve as the Vatican of Gandhism and the Capital of the Congress).

2. "The Gandhi Seva Sangha" (A small body of nine Gandhian Cardinals or High Patriarchs who form the permanent Inner Cabinet of Gandhi and Gandhism).

3. "Gandhi Harijan Seva Sangha" (To consolidate the Depressed Classes as integral parts of Hinduism and to prevent their conversion to Islam or Christianity).

4. "Gandhi Hindi Prachar Sangha" (To propagate Sanskritized Hindi as the state and national language of India and to displace Urdu from its place of primacy and popularity).

5. "Gandhi Nagri Prachar Sabha" (To propagate the idea that all Indian Languages should be written in Hindi Devanagari Script and to displace Urdu Script).

6. "Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha" (Village Welfare League to preach and propagate Gandhian Principles in the Villages).

7. "Gandhi Khadi Pratisthan" (To preach the cult of the spinning wheel and Khadi or hand woven Cloth which is worshipped as a fetish).

8. "Gandhi Wardha Talimi Sangha" was also later organised to propagate Gandhian principles of religion, spiritualism, national economy and nationalism through a State controlled system of compulsory primary education. Under the Wardha Scheme the entire system of education of the country was sought to be made subservient to the propagation of Gandhism (which was only a new form of Hinduism to the exclusion of all other religions).

9. "Gandhi Gow Rakhsha Sabha" (Cow Cult Association).

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a dishonest man. Our goal is here; our demands are clear. What is that we want? We want to establish independent states in those zones which are our homelands and where we are in a majority. In other words we do not want to be in union with those zones where the Hindus are in a majority and the Mussalmans are in a minority. Now let me give you some idea of the background of the movement in India for the independence of India.

A RETROSPECT

Ladies and Gentlemen: In the first instance the Act of 1861 and the act of 1884 gave a very small kind of representation to the so-called Councils of the Governors and the Governor-General. If you will remember, a small beginning was made of elected representatives being sent either to the Imperial or local Councils as it were then called or the local councils, or to other municipal or local or district boards in the country. The result of the working of the Act was—I am not exaggerating—that it was not possible for any Mussalman to get elected. Then came Minto-Morley proposals in 1907, the first time when seriously this elective principle was going to be enlarged or increased. At that time the Mussalmans who had learnt by experience from 1884 downwards right up to 1907, made a demand for separate electorates. Mr. Gokhale who was a great Hindu,—and I was quite a young man at that time and who had learnt at the feet of that great man,—and Dada-bhoy Naoroji naturally came to imbibe certain principles, one of which was that we must try to bring an equitable adjustment between these two major communities in this land. Mr. Gokhale at that time championed the cause of the Mussalmans. With his liberal and broadminded statesmanship, and he was a tower of intellect, and this is what he said in 1907:

“Confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority,

bugbear of the dreamers of Hindu Raj. (Applause.) He is in charge of Gandhi Ashram in N. W. F. P. Sardar Patel is the Deputy Gandhi in Gujrat. and Bombay. Shankar Rao Deo is the Deputy Gandhi of Maharashtra. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, another theorist and exponent of Gandhism is the Deputy Gandhi of the Andhra Province and so on and so forth.

GANDHI, HITLER, MUSSO

It is not my testimony. I am going to give you the testimony of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All India National Congress that took place at Tripuri. At that time the organisation had developed to a very great extent. I want the people to understand the facts and then come to their own conclusions. This is what Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committee said :

"Our Congress organisation can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists; but they have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four-anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi."

Now we are repeatedly told by this organisation in India that the Muslim League is a communal organisation. It is the Hindu leaders who have deliberately and with a set purpose destroyed any possible chance of adjustment between these two communities by well-planned and systematic manoeuvres and by organising themselves. And then they call it nationalism, nationalism, democracy, democracy.

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so-called free political institutions of Europe might, indeed, hinder, instead of helping the growth of our real national life; while under conceivable conditions, mere political subjection might not be able to touch even the outermost fringe of that life".

Then he goes on :

"The Nationalist Movement in India, which so far, is essentially a Hindu movement, stands :

I. Ideally, for (1) Hindu Nationalism (2) Federal internationalism (3) Universal Federation.

II. Practically for (1) the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilisation. (2) The promotion of sympathetic and reverent study of other world-cultures, e. g. Christian and Islam, representing the composite of modern India, and the cultivation of the spirit of mutual understanding and the helpful co-operation with them. (3) the continuance of the British connection through the gradual building up of a Federal constitution for the present association called the British Empire, a Federation in which India and Egypt shall be equal co-partners of Great Britain with Ireland and the British colonies. (4) The advancement of Universal Federation."

He stands for what? Hindu Nationalism. But as I say, undaunted, hope sprang almost eternally in my heart and soul, derived from Dadaboy Naoroji. I was not going to give it up, but nourish it. After the Karachi session of the Congress in 1913, I redoubled my efforts. What happened? Those of you who remember it, know, it was our set purpose to remove this misunderstanding. There were many others who were a pillar of strength amongst the Mussalmans as well as the Hindus who made great efforts. I was the arch culprit in this mission. I therefore tried and succeeded to get these two organisations—the Con-

I give you these facts. I say, give up, give up this pose. You have made your bed. You may lie on it. Have your Hindu Nationalism: have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you God-speed. But I am not going, as long as there is life left in a single Musalman, to have this Hindu Raj. The Irish Nationalist Leader Redman met Carson, Ulster leader and told him "Look here, can't we come to some settlement. Why do you want to separate from Ireland." Mind you, there is not one millionth part of the differences between the peoples of Ulster and Ireland. What was Carson's reply? "I do not want to be ruled by you". My reply to Mr. Gandhi is "I do not want to be ruled by you". (Cheers).

That is the position. I only appeal. If only my humble voice can reach the Hindu India, I appeal to them, "Give up this pose." You want freedom for the people of this land. I say not only for myself but for Mussalmans to give up what seems a boyhood's dream of some of the Hindu leaders and what has been their manhood's aim. You have failed. Thank God, you have failed. Let us close that chapter. Even nations who have killed millions of each other—which we have not yet done—who may be the bitterest enemies today may become friends tomorrow. That is politics. If your leaders are on this path as I say they are, and if you do not approve of it, it is your responsibility, the responsibility of of the Hindu public; to come forward and say "stop this internicine war, declare a truce; let us sit as equals and come to a settlement". That is now the problem. I ask you—I may be wrong—how can you keep on saying that it is the British Government who has kept us apart? How can you go on singing this same song—I am not holding any brief for British Government, (applause) I shall have to say something about them when I come to it.

You will see later what Mr. Gandbi has done in pursuance of his declaration. He says further ;

"The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake, from which one cannot go out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with this snake, I have experimenting with myself and my friends in politics by introducing religion into politics".

Let me tell you, Ladies & Gentlemen, he has done that with a vengeance, as you will perceive when I go further. In 1921 after he captured the Congress at Nagpur he said in 'Young India' on 12th October, 1921 :

"I call myself a Sanatani (Orthodox) Hindu because, firstly I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishad the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in Avatars and reouth". Ultimately he himself became an Avatar, (laughter and applause).

"Secondly, I believe in the varnashrama Dharma (the law of the Caste system) in its yedic forms.

Thirdly, I believe in the protection of cow as an article of faith, and fourthly, I do not disbelieve in idol worship."

He says in a milder form "I do not 'disbelieve' in idol worship."

In spite of these declarations which are so clear and unequivocal the Hindu Nationalists got a little nervous about it. They did not know that here is a man, a far-sighted, shrewd man. So there was a little apprehension and nervousness and in order to reassure them, this is what he said in 1924 :

"It has been whispered that by being so much with the Mussalman friends, I make myself unfit to

take up your time and repeat them. Sir Cripps proposals were not acceptable, of course, to us and to the Congress for different reasons. So far as the Congress is concerned, even from his last speech that Mr. Gandhi made, it is clear that he was not only opposed to Pakistan Scheme but considered that it was a sin. He cannot use a stronger word if you know Mr. Gandhi. Mind you, it is not a crime, it is a sin, that is, you will be doomed in this world as well as in the next if you talk of Pakistan. While it was given out that the Cripps' proposals were not acceptable to the Congress—I know nothing of what actually happened between Cripps and Congress—so far as the public are concerned, it was said that the proposals were rejected on the ground, first of Veto and then of Defence portfolio. Well, about the same time when this controversy was going on between Mr. Cripps and the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an article sent by wireless to America and which was published in the New York 'Times' of July 19, 1942, says :

"Thirty years ago the British Government introduced the principle of separate religious electorates in India, a fatal thing which has come in the way of development of political parties. Now they have tried to introduce the idea of partitioning Indian not only into two but possible many separate parts. This was one of the reasons which led to bitter resentment of the Cripps' proposals. The All-India Congress could not agree to this."

Was it on the question of veto or was it on the ground of defence portfolio? or was it that the All-India Congress was not agreed to any idea of Pakistan. To this country is given one version and to America another! (Applause). American are propagandists themselves. But I think they must realise and fully realise that they are no better propagandists than the Indian National Congress.

anybody else. This is what Maulana Mohamed Ali says :

"In the days of the rule of the British India Company the Government street-criers used to announce the dual sovereignty of India before notifying any government notice, proclaiming the formula, namely, Khalq Khuda Ki—Mulk Mulk Ka Hukum Company Bahadur Ka (the people belong to God, the Country belongs to the Queen Victoria, and the Government belongs to the Company Bahadur). (Laughter). But Under the proposed regime of the Nehru Scheme of Mr. Gandhi, the Government street-criers will announce the new dual sovereignty of India by declaring the formula, namely, Khalq Khuda Ki—Mulk British Ka—Hukum Mahasabha Bahadur Ka—(The people belong to God, the country belongs to the British and the Government belong to the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur) (Tremendous applause).

Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in 1930, Maulana Mohamed Ali, who had worked, suffered and made sacrifices, along with the Congressmen, says :

"Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the submersion of Muslims. He has never consulted the Muslim community on the question of starting Civil Disobedience movement. He wants to triumphantly pass over the head of the Indian Muslim community. We have not broken any pledge, pact or treaty. We are not traitors to India. The Mussalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last ten years but Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against the Muslims. He never denounced the movements of Shuddi and Sanghatan which openly and clearly aimed at annihilation of Muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke the Madras

of this country have to say! I am going to bend this Government to surrender to my desire! The British said—and mind you, I don't take everything they say to be correct—they said: "In resisting the Congress we are really protecting you and safeguarding your interests, because if we were to surrender to the demands of the Congress it would be at your risk and sacrifice." But, the Mussalmans say: "We don't believe that you love us so much." We know it suits them and they are taking the fullest advantage of the situation, because if there is any agreement between Hindu and Muslims then they know the net result of that would be parting with power. They say they are too anxious to part with power but we do not agree in uniting. If we cannot secure power as a United India then let us take it as divided India. (Cheers.)

COCKPIT OF FEUD

Now let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, and here I tell you, if my humble voice reaches the Hindu public, to carefully consider whether I am right or wrong I can put it as frankly as possible. The British policy in this sub-continent has been for nearly 100 years based on their conviction that the Muslims and Hindus will never agree and if by some means or other they enter into an agreement by their influence or pressure then it will be nothing but a cockpit of feud beneath the umbrella of United India with the Englishman on the top. Therefore the Britisher, with his farsighted vision has followed a policy and taken us on this line of united democratic India—I don't think they have given it up yet—the line of United India and democratic supremacy system of Government. The Britishers know that if we are kept on that line it is to prolong their lease of supremacy, if are allowed to frame a constitution as a democratically united India we would never come to an agreement

dom.) The thing naturally broke down. When the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference met, this is what Mr. Gandhi said—and the real thing that was at the back of his mind always came out at the critical moment, in a roundabout way. He was addressing the minority community and Mr. Macdonald was presiding. He said :

“Further you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. The solution of the communal tangle can be the crown of Swaraj Constitution and not its foundation. Our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen, by reason of the foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom”.

What did Mr. Macdonald say? Even the Prime Minister was provoked to such an extent that he spoke out. Whatever may be said about Mr. Macdonald, he had really a very soft corner for the aspirations of India. This is what he said to Mr. Gandhi:

“Be honest and face the facts. The Communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not exist? I do not answer. I leave you honestly to answer it for yourselves and to yourselves.

Then if the communal problem does exist, how can it be discussed with a view to settlement, either in India or here?—At the foundation of any progress towards the setting up an Indian constitution lies the problem of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on”

GANDHITE INSTITUTIONS

That closed the chapter of the Round Table Conference. What happened then? I will tell you very briefly. Mr. Gandhi put up the following institutions:

this with no ill-will or offence. Some nations have killed millions of each other, and yet an enemy of today is a friend of tomorrow. That is life. That is history.

So I say this, with a clear conscience. My profound regret is that it is the Congress and its Hindu leadership that are holding up the achievement of freedom of both the Hindus and Mussalmans. I appeal to the Hindu public and Hindu leaders: Review, revise your policy. Lot of propaganda, false propaganda, is being carried on by the Congress and recently the appeals and statements they have published are fundamentally wrong.

The Congress position has been this from the start up to August 8 that the policy and demand for Pakistan is untruth. In his correspondence with the Viceroy Mr. Gandhi had forgotten to mention this point altogether, and hence he puts this in postscript. "The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware the Congress was wining and prepared for the Government inviting Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly.

AM I WRONG ?

This is Mr. Gandhi's language. The whole crux of this proposal is that he wants such a Government as will be responsible to a duly elected assembly. I ask you: what is left if this is carried out? Is there any doubt that Lord Linlithgow will be immediately turned into a constitutional Governor-General or he might get a kick. The India Office will be abolished;

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Gandhi is a great believer in the Hindu Cow Cult—the worship of the cow as a Goddess. He has therefore, made Gow Rakhsha Sabha and Cow Exhibition as an adjunct of the Congress.

Gandhi Seva Sangha is the Mother-Superior of all these associations. (Laughter.) Mr. Gandhi addressing the Gandhi Seva Sangha says:—

“Spheres of action of these associations is limited. But yours is unlimited. Yours is a mighty tree of which these various associations may be called branches”.

This is how he addressed his Mother-Superior. Not only that, but you will find that he appointed certain Deputies. Besides dividing the whole sub-continent of India into three definite Parliamentary zones and appointing three Parliamentary Zone-Dictators like their Nazi counterparts of District Fuehrers, has also gradually developed permanent Deputy Mahatmas in almost all provinces and zones. These deputy Mahatmas are the confirmed Cardinals of Gandhism, believers in the Gandhian principles and Gandhian Dictatorship and carriers of his message, and executors of his orders. For instance the permanent Secretary of the All India Congress Office is Acharya Kripalani a great exponent and theorist of Gandhism and author of the famous article “The Gandhian Way,” Kaka Kalekar is in charge of the Gandhian programme of Hindi and Nagri, Mr. Mashruwala is in charge of the Grand Council of Cardinals of Gandhism—The Gandhi Seva Sangha. Mr. Arya Nayakam and Mr. Kumarappa are in charge of the Wardha Education Schemes. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, the Deputy Gandhi of Bengal, is in charge of Khadi Pratisthan and Gandhi Ashram in Bengal. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Deputy Gandhi of Bihar is in charge of the Sadaqat Ashrams in Bihar. Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar is in charge of the Hinduisation influences and emasculation of the martial Pathans, the

pondence. Who is to prevent Mr. Gandhi today? I cannot believe for a single moment—strong as this Government may be in this country—you may say anything you like against this Government—I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me. (Loud cheers and applause.)

It will be a very serious thing, indeed, if such a thing is done by the Government. But I do not see evidence of any kind of change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Congress or the Hindu leadership.

I am told that we should do something. As far as my information goes, there is no change. What are we to do? When I was invited to the so-called no-party conference I said to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar that I did not want to attend the conference and I gave my reasons for it. I do not want to attack them in any way. I do not want to create any unnecessary bitterness. We know, of course, that they have no following—but they are men who occupy some position in life, men who have some experience—may be, they are our political opponents. But once they were in the forefront, in the vanguard of the political movement in the country—these gentlemen could have adopted a more effective method of tackling this question, than the resolution they passed and the procedure they adopted. But great men also make mistakes. Mr. Gandhi gets all the information, all the newspapers and knows and understands what is going on. If there is any change of heart on his part he has only to drop me a few lines, when, I assure you, the Muslim League will not fail, whatever may have been our controversies in the past. (Tremendous applause and cheer.)

"THE HARDEST NUT"

Now I come to the Britishers. They are the hardest nut to crack. What is their position? Their position is this. The Congress is a rebel organisation. It is guilty of high treason. They are the

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I ask you "is this nationalism, is this democracy? (Cries of No, No from all corners). When we say 'No', we have this experience for the last 25 years and unimpeachable evidence. But we have heard and felt hurt when in vain they say, 'We have destroyed it' and they talk of Nationalism and Democracy. Either they can't understand or they are dishonest, Don't they understand it when we say that the Parliamentary system of democracy is not suited to the genius of this country? Surely it is obvious. It is not a question of Democracy as a foundation of popular representative constitutional Government.

GIVE UP THIS POSE

We have made it clear that there cannot be any room for democracy when you have a nation working on these lines. Not only have we evidence; but we have suffered and experienced that. When you talk of democracy, you are thoroughly dishonest. When you talk of Democracy you mean Hindu Raj, to dominate over the Muslims, a totally different nation, different in culture, different in everything. You yourself are working for Hindu Nationalism and Hindu Raj.

Ladies and gentlemen, we learned democracy 1300 years ago. (Cheers). It is in our blood and it is as far away from the Hindu Society as are the Arctic regions. (Renewed cheers.) You tell us that we are not democratic. It is we, who have learned the lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty? We are for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception which will turn the whole of India into a Gandhi Ashram (Loud cheers) or one society and nation will by its permanent majority destroy another nation or society in permanent minority all that is dear to the minority.

From this attitude can anyone believe that there is real honest desire to transfer power? Times out of number we have made it clear. But we are ignored; our party is ignored because it suits them. We are, on the contrary accused of not helping the war effort and we are very often threatened by this very Government that "those who are not with us are against us." Now I say, ladies and gentlemen, so far as the Muslim India is concerned, so far as we, the Mussalmans are concerned, our cup of bitterness is reaching the brimful.

If they have got any honest and capable agents they ought to be kept informed in London. In once more draw the attention of the British Government to this fact. It is a very serious situation indeed and I inform them from this platform that the cup of bitterness, disappointment—not to use any stronger language—at the shabby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them. (Cheers.) You can not continue like this. Therefore reconsider your position. What is our demand? Make a declaration. The Muslim League calls upon the British Government to come forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they will abide by a verdict of plebiscite on the lines of the resolution passed at the Muslim League Sessions in Lahore in 1940.

ATTITUDE TO WAR

The Muslim League has been ready and is still ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provincial Government at the Centre in order to mobilise the resources of the Country for the purpose of defence of India and the

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I am trying to reason with my own people in this land. It serves no useful purpose to say that the British are not wanting an agreement between us. Of course, I grant that the British take advantage of our folly. But we have devices of our own, which are better than any which the British can fashion to keep us disunited. When we have had this notice million times that it was the policy of the British in India to divide and rule, why can't we unite and get the British out; Why can't we do it in spite of them? Therefore, I say, it is no use appealing to other nations of the world. (Applause.)

The different nations of the world can only show us sympathy in our demand to be free and self-governing. They will, of course, do whatever they can. But what is the use of appealing to other nations to settle our affairs? How can anybody do it? Are they going to run the Government here? Are they going to send representatives from America to your Parliament and see that your Parliament is carried on properly? Will any other country send members to your Legislature and see that the Legislature functions properly? If they do, then we are exactly where we are. It will be your Representatives, it will be your Cabinet that will be functioning. Therefore, I say, that our destiny is in our own hands. Specially when obstacles are put in our way, it is all the more reason why we should come to an agreement in spite of them.

NEHRU'S DOUBLE ROLE

Now we come to the recent events. I do not want to add anything more than our resolution with regard to the proposal that Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Although the final decision of the League was taken after the Allahabad session, you know the reasons and grounds, and I do not want to

HINDU CONCEPTION OF FREEDOM

This is what is required to be considered by the Hindu leaders. The freedom they are offering to us is the freedom of their conception, the freedom of their determination, the freedom of their rule which is a farce (Cheers). Well therefore there is no difficulty in understanding. First of all we have got to settle the basis. Do you want to really create some confusion and get some material for the purpose of propaganda? I have no doubt in my mind that a large body of us visualise Pakistan as People's Government. Either you seize it by force or get it by agreement. But until you get it whether it is from a foreign nation or whether it is our own Government, the question as to the constitution and the form and system of a Government does not arise. Let us take the revolution of France. The party that wanted to break the Government had to have a Constituent Assembly after they seized the country. Take the case of Australia that happened by agreement. Let us first agree that there shall be two Indias. Then the constitution-making body will be elected by some system from the people and it is the people who will choose their representative to go to the constitution-making body. Therefore, I visualise a constitution-making body will be set up and based on a very low franchise. It may be two annas, or it may be an adult franchise in Pakistan. You will elect your representatives to the constitution-making body. You may not know your power, you may not know how to use it. This would be your fault. But I am sure the democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrow. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and your arteries are not functioning. But thank God the blood is circulating again thanks to the Muslim League efforts. It will be a Peoples Government.

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CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Well, after that you come to Individual Civil Disobedience. Not for any political purpose but it was only for the freedom of speech. Now what liberty of speech do you want?—liberty of speech to preach and to advocate in every possible way to prevent war efforts? I think even if it was our own Government, if I had any say in the matter, and if an organisation, the most powerful organisation in the country, with all its resources wanted to be let loose to preach against war effort, I would not tolerate it. I would put them in jail. But if it was a conscientious objector I could understand that. How can you expect any Government much less a foreign Government to allow this to be carried on? Let us take a commonsense view of it. Was it really intended to vindicate freedom of speech or was it intended to prevent war effort but also to embarrass and coerce the British Government to concede their demand? In the meantime Mr. Gandhi was saying that he would never launch his Civil Disobedience movement because it would be suicidal. But mind you, Mr. Gandhi said, he was never going to launch C. D. movement because it would be against the wishes of the Muslim League. He was saying for the last 22 years that he lived for Hindu-Muslim unity and that it was the sole aim of his life, and without Hindu-Muslim unity they could never achieve freedom. In July last year when he struck upon a new technique, an entirely new technique, it was not then suicidal to ignore the Muslim League and whether the Muslim League comes in or not. He revised his declarations of 22 years that there could be no swaraj, no freedom without Hindu-Muslim unity. It is all thrown to the wind, suddenly, when Mr. Gandhi lays down the policy and programme in the famous resolution of 8th August. What is it? "Quit India". Look at the enormity! Don't care, don't care what these 100 million people

ested in defending India? It is thoroughly dishonest for the British to say that we are non-co-operating and it is more dishonest to say that we are not co-operating. The Muslim League says "We cannot co-operate because you want us to come in as mere camp-followers. What are the prospects for us? What will be the fruit of victory for us, when we have given our money, our blood and everything? If we are defeated Japan or Germany will come. If we win we are just camp-followers and may get a Baksheesh in the end. Is this an incentive to co-operation? Can any honourable, self-respecting or organised nation accept that position? (cries of No No). That is the picture. Therefore either they have blundered and are blundering or really they do not want to part with power. They are taking the chance as a gambler does, saying to themselves: "if we win, we will keep them where they are. If we lose then after us the deluge!" "*apres moi's L' deluge*".

I do not want to say anything more about Pakistan. There is no difficulty in understanding Pakistan. Even outsiders have understood it. Again it reminded me of Gokhale when Major Yeats Brown in his new book says: "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers". Here is the passage from his book.

"Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers. We, British, would consider ourselves aggrieved if some world-improving superman or super-Government were to decree that we should be ruled by an All-Europe Government (no doubt with safeguards) with Teutons as the dominant race—or Slaves if you prefer—because we were a minority in Europe."

Then he says further: "Even if this super-Government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom, we should submit to it only just so long as we had not the strength to throw

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without their arbitration. When you have quarrelled and broken each other's heads then the monkey will come in to do justice between two cats. (Laughter.) That is the reason why there being a strong diehard British school of thought and our friends who happen to be at the head of the Government of India today—the great man Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India—who are pucca diehard brand are still dangling the carrot before the donkey by saying that geographically India is one. The other great man in London has suddenly discovered that historically India was united under Akbar. (Laughter.)

My friends, I have no ill-will against the Hindus. I want you to know if by any miracle you can come to a constitutionally united democratic India. We can only do so, so far as the British India is concerned.

INDIAN STATES

Let me tell you that the Britishers know that we will have to get over another hurdle—the biggest hurdle—namely, the Indian States. You will find so many hurdles—1, 2, 3 and 4. You are asked to get over these hurdles and the last hurdle is the most difficult one to get over. You may think as much as you like. The policy that the British Government have pursued for nearly 100 years leads to this. Not only they have somehow or other made you miss the bus; but they have put you in the wrong bus. (Laughter.) Now do not allow yourselves to be bamboozled and fooled any longer. It is nearly a century. I say to the Hindus—and the Britishers know it better than anybody else—that the quickest way for the freedom of the peoples, both Hindus and Muslims, is Pakistan. (Cheers.) It may come in my life time or not (Cries; heard from all corners, 'It will, it will') you will remember these words of mine, I say

HINDU CONCEPTION OF FREEDOM

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the office of the Secretary of State will be abolished and the British Parliament will have no say in India. This central constitution can only be brought into effect by repealing the present Constitution completely and substituting another. If I am wrong I shall stand corrected. Once the present central foundation structure is gone the surrounding provincial structure cannot last. What about the provinces? Are they to remain under the Governors? Are they to remain under the present Constitution? Therefore you must overhaul, repeal the present Constitution and undertake framing of an entirely new Constitution for the whole of India including Indian States. We are asked: What is wrong in that? Pakistan is only to be postponed. The answer is that the moment you accept and undertake this position on the basis of Mr. Gandhi's proposal Pakistan demand is torpedoed by our consent and framing of a new constitution on the lines suggested by Mr. Gandhi would lead to the bitterest controversies if any such attempt were made—to say nothing about who was to be authorised to frame such a constitution. Therefore the position of the Congress is exactly the same as ever. Only it is put in different words and in different language but it means Hindu Raj-Akhand Hindusthan basis—the position which we can never accept.

Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans. If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? (Cheers.) He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is the use of going to the Viceroy and leading deputation and carry on corres-

you visualise.' That is an issue of giving a definite and clear assurance to the minorities. We have done it. We have passed a resolution that the minorities must be protected and safeguarded to the fullest extent and as I said before any civilized Government will do it and ought to do it. So far as we are concerned our own history, our prophet have given the clearest proof that the non-Muslims have been treated not only justly and fairly but generously. (Cheers and applause).

Now one more thing I wish to say about Pakistan, is this. There is a new propaganda. We had many wicked propagandas like the one cutting the mother Cow into two, vivisection of mother India and all the rest. The latest argument which I think is really very wicked, of all, the most wicked. The argument is this: that Mr. Jinnah is working for the territories in the North west and East zones as 'Pak' and the other 'Na-Pak'. I have heard this from several quarters—and I was thunderstruck. You know what false propaganda can do. I think you will beat me out that when we passed the Lahore resolution we had not used the word 'Pakistan'. Who gave us this word? (Cries of "Hindus"); Let us tell you it is their fault. They started damning the resolution on the ground that it was 'Pakistan'. They are really ignorant of the Muslim movement. They fathered this word upon us. Give the dog a bad name and then hang him. They shouted Pan-Islamism. When this was exploded then came "Pakistan" means alliance with other Muslim countries—Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey—and they will grind down Hindu India. That is the deep game they are playing. You know perfectly well that 'Pakistan' is a word which is really foisted upon us and fathered on us by some section of the Hindu Press and also by the British Press. Now our resolution was known for a long time as the Lahore resolution popularly

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enemies of the Government and the Crown. Therefore no truck with them. They are only one party. But the overwhelming majority of the people of India was not with the Congress; but are with the British Government. What do the recent statements of the Premier say? What do the press in London say? The 'Sunday Chronicle' in a leader says: "Prime Minister Churchill's message praising the gallantry of the Indian soldiers will find an echo in the heart of the British nation." Where is the echo? Mr. Churchill went into mathematical figures and he made out that the overwhelming majority of the people of the India were not with the Congress. So far as the Muslim League is concerned there is not the slightest doubt, we have kept aloof and, thank God, we have kept aloof because we are between the devil and the deep sea. As I said earlier, I am not satisfied with the British who say that they are fighting the Congress to protect us and the interests of the minorities. They say they are ready and willing and in fact are dying to part with power. The Viceroy made such references during the Christmas week at Calcutta. Having declared the Congress as an outlaw what do the British say to others. They say, "How can we ignore Congress?" In that case, don't you see that not only is anybody going to believe you; but by your own admission, you are proclaiming that your anxiety, your desire, your ardent desire to move in the direction of handing over power provisionally, has been successfully held up by a rebel organisation—the Congress. It is a confession of failure on their part. Either the people of India are at the back of the Congress or they are not. If the overwhelming majority are not—as the 100 million Mussalmans are certainly not—then what is the answer to the rest of India. They say, "We can't do anything because this rebel organization has paralysed us. We can only praise your services when you die on the battlefield and no more." Is this an honest attitude?

compelled to grant more and more powers to the Central Authority until in the end the strong Central Government will have been established by the units themselves and they will be driven to do so by absolute necessity, if the basis of a Federal Government is accepted. Taking for instance the United States and her history, the Dominion of Canada and Australia, the Union of South Africa and Germany and of other lands where federal or confederal systems have been in existence, necessity has driven the component members and obliged them to increase and delegate their power and authority to the connecting link, namely, the Central Government.

These ideas are based entirely on a wrong footing, due to want of correct understanding as to what really Federation means or implies. It is not of much importance whether the Units in theory have the residuary powers or the Centre. But once the units accept the basis of a Federal Central Government it follows that it will inevitably and out of sheer necessity resolve itself into an all-powerful Central Authority and the units will be compelled to grant and delegate more and more powers to the Centre, which also can hold these units as connecting links, more or less like a country council or glorified Municipalities or feudatories states under the central authority.

We are opposed to any scheme, nor can we agree to any proposal which has for its basis any conception or idea of a Central Government—Federal or Confederal—for it is bound to lead in the long run to the emasculation of the entire Muslim nation, socially, educationally, culturally, economically or politically and to the establishment of the Hindu Majority Raj in this sub-continent.

Therefore, remove from your mind any idea of some form of such loose federation. There is no such thing as loose federation. When there is

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successful prosecution of the war. This resolution was passed at Bombay on August 20, 1942. That has been so far completely ignored. Now we are, in this war, kept in the position of mere spectators. I have said it once and I say it again on this occasion that whatever may be our views and opinions, there is not the slightest doubt that—a fact is a fact—India is in the war. Being in the war, whose interest is greater now? Is it more in the interest of the Britisher or is it in the interest of the United Nations who are in it, like America or is it more in our interests that we should not be reduced to mere helpless spectators by one device or other, by one manoeuvre or the other, by one excuse or the other and keep the 100 millions as they are and to carry on without their co-operation? They are making a great mistake. They are not out of the wood yet. Let me tell you as I have said very often: Our American friends can go to New York or Chicago if they are beaten and the British can go to London. And further I can say that their country is not going to be ruled by Hitler or Mussolini or Mikado. That to my mind is inconceivable. It may happen that America may be reduced to a second rate power after the war. That is the danger. But their danger does not go to the length that their country would be ruled by any other foreign power. What is my position? It is this, if this war is lost there, is no other power. Either Japan or Hitler will come to this country and we will come under the jackboot of Hitler or Tojo. I have no Chicago or London to go to. What about us? Who is more interested to defend this country and prosecute this war,—it is not a sentimental thing—I say, nobody more than we, Cheers). It is we who will suffer the ravages of war and destruction and devastation of our homes and hearths in Muslim zones on the east, and the west which are the immediate targets of the enemy. Who is more likely to lose, who is more likely to suffer than we? Who is more inter-

suitably. It is not the way we will deal with the problem of India that wherever you happen to be in the majority you should wreak your vengeance or bitterness over the minority; you would be nearer the solution of the problem if you protect the minority. I hope that some satisfactory solution will be arrived at. I shall be equally grieved if the Muslim power or Muslim majorities will ill-treat the Hindu minorities.

There remains finally one thing. I say to the Mussalmans we have gone nearly 7 years through various vicissitudes and we have reached the stage where there is not the slightest doubt, that the 100 Million Mussalmans are with us. When I say 100 Million Mussalmans, I mean that 99 per cent of them are with us—leaving aside some who are traitors cranks, supermen or lunatics, an evil from which no society or nation is free. The way in which I see them now is that the phoenix-like rise and regeneration of Muslim India from the very ashes of its ruination after the terrible destructions in India in the 18th and the 19th Centuries is a miracle (cheers). The people who had lost everything and who were placed by providence between the two stones of a mill not only came to its own in a very short time but became, after the British, socially the most solid, militarily the most virile and politically the most decisive factor in modern India. (Loud cheers)

Now it is time to take up the constructive programme to build up this Nation so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan. It is for you all to put your heads together, your Council of the All India Muslim League and undertake proper and systematic planning, can only repeat once again for educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift of the nation. We as a nation have got to attempt this constructive

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Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. (tremendous applause). The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lesson of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power today. You go anywhere to the countryside. I visited some villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan? (Cries of No, No). Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. (Cheers). If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them; we shall not help them. (Hear, hear, renewed cheers and applause). Therefore let us have faith in ourselves. Let us not falter or hesitate, that is our goal. We are going to achieve it. (Cheers). The constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the Millat and the people. Prepare yourselves and see that you frame a constitution which is to your hearts' desire. There is a lot of misunderstanding. A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be a Islamic Government? Is it not begging the question? Is it not a question of passing a vote of censure on your self? The constitution and the Government will be what the people will decide. The only question is that of minorities.

MINORITIES' PLEA

The minorities are entitled to get a definite assurance or ask: 'Where do we stand in the Pakistan that

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off the shackle. And if the supermen showed sign of doubting their own decision, yet continued to asseverate before the world that they had offered freedom to all Europe, that it was now incumbent on us to find a solution to the difficulty, we should reply as the Muslim League has that such freedom was a farce."

May I add here that Mr. Gandhi the superman, precisely wants Akhand Hindustan, and Muslim India cannot and will not agree to this demand. What would the English man say? Will he then say "Smaller nations cannot exist. We are in a small island; only 35 million people. They are Teuton brothers. The Germans are 80 millions." If a proposal was made that they should have one Government would the Englishman agree. What is the difference between an Englishman and a German. To begin with they are the Anglo-Saxon race and all Christians. Their dress is not different. Their calendar is not different. Their language and jurisprudence and culture are not very much different. Their architecture, art and music and civilisation are not different. But what would an Englishman say? What would Canada say, if tomorrow a proposal was made that Canada and United States should become one federated Government and Canada to become one of the units? Then what about others—North America and South America? America, is geographically one. So is Europe. So is Asia. What would they say if such a proposition were made. Therefore Major Yeats Brown says very rightly "put yourselves into Muslim slippers". Even if the Government consisted of superman of infinite strength and wisdom we should not submit to it just as long as we do not have the strength to throw off the Shackles. The Muslim League would however consider such a freedom as a farce. (Cheers and applause).

(33)

Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. (tremendous applause). The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lesson of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power today. You go anywhere to the countryside. I visited some villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan? (Cries of No, No). Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. (Cheers). If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them; we shall not help them. (Hear, hear, renewed cheers and applause). Therefore let us have faith in ourselves. Let us not falter or hesitate, that is our goal. We are going to achieve it. (Cheers). The constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the Millat and the people. Prepare yourselves and see that you frame a constitution which is to your hearts' desire. There is a lot of misunderstanding. A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be a Islamic Government? Is it not begging the question? Is it not a question of passing a vote of censure on your self? The constitution and the Government will be what the people will decide. The only question is that of minorities.

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known as Pakistan. But how long are we to have this long phrase. I now say to my Hindu and British friends: We thank you for giving us one word. (Applause, and cries of hear, hear).

What is the origin of the word Pakistan. It was not Muslim League or Quaid-e-Azam who coined it. Some young fellows in London, who wanted a particular part of North West to be separated from the rest of India coined a name in 1929-30 started the idea and called a zone Pakistan. They picked up the letter, P. for Punjab, A for Afghan, as the N. W. F. P. is known even today as Afghan, K. for Kashmir, S for Sind, and Tan for Baluchistan. A name was coined. Thus whatever may have been the meaning of this word at the time it is obvious that language of every civilized country invents new words. The word Pakistan has come to mean Lahore Resolution. We wanted a word and it was foisted on us and we found it convenient to use it as a synonym for Lahore resolution.

LOOSE FEDERATION

We are told by some constitutional Pandits, Why can't there be some sort of loose federation or confederation. People talk like that. I shall read out to you what I have written on this point because it is important :—

There are people who talk of some sort of a loose Federation. There are people who talk of giving the widest freedom to the federating units and residuary powers resting with the units. But they forget the entire constitutional history of the various parts of the world. Federation, however described and in whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of the authority in all vital matters. The units, despite themselves would be

- (c) The basis of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall be population, except that very small minorities may be given representation in excess of their numerical proportion, in those cases in which they would remain entirely unrepresented in the absence of such exceptional treatment subject however to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality.
- (d) Full religious liberty *i.e.*, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association, and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.
- ✓(e) The idea of joint electorates with a specified number of seats being unacceptable to Indian Muslims, on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord and disunion and also of being wholly inadequate to achieve the object of effective representation of various communal groups, the representation of the latter shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its Separate Electorates in favour of Joint Electorates.
- ✓(f) No bill or resolution or any part thereof affecting any community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the elected body concerned, shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of that community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof.

The resolution was first put to the meeting in parts, and the preamble and clauses (a) (d) and (f) were adopted without further discussion.

Maulana Mohammed Ali adversely criticised the language and import of Clause (b), but it was put to the vote and carried.

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Central Government and Provincial Government they will go on tightening tightening, and tightening until you are pulverised with regard to your powers as units.

Well gentlemen, I think I have exhausted most of the points. There can be no doubt that the recent communal Indian Legislation in South Africa is the blackest of the black that it should have been undertaken at this critical moment when, on the one hand, every unit of the empire is asked to contribute to the War efforts and Indians were considered good enough to shed their blood and to stand side by side with white men or even to pick them up when they have fallen on battle field, save their lives. But on the other hand this badge of the horrible colour bar is the reward for one of the members of the commonwealth who are contributing its share, in blood which it is acknowledged and praised duly.

I am astonished that the Secretary of State for India when he was asked in the Parliament should say that he has no statement to make. While the whole of India was condemning this bill including even the Government of India, which is an agent of the British Government, can we not learn a lesson from this with regard to our internal political controversies?

There is one other point. Recently another unfortunate thing has come to my notice. Things were not at all well in Indian States. I shall name only some of the States. Kashmir, Gwallior and Kotah. It seems to me that it is most unfortunate and I appeal to those States, where the Hindus are in the majority and where there is real Hindu power to set a better example. Similarly I shall advise those Muslim Rulers where the Mussalmans are in the majority that they should treat the majority community fairly and deal with their legitimate grievances

Proposed by—Mr. Asaf Ali, Delhi.

Seconded by—Malik Barkat Ali, Lahore.

Supported by—Syed Habib Shah, Lahore.

Resolution No. 4

That the All India Muslim League do appoint a committee consisting of the following gentlemen to frame a scheme of a constitution for the government of India, in consultation with the committee or committees that may be appointed by other political organisations in the country for this purpose, and to place the same before a session of the League and if necessary a special session of the League may be summoned for that purpose at an early date, to consider and adopt the scheme *viz.*—Mr. M. A. Jinnah of Bombay, Hon. Mian Fazle Husain K. B. of Lahore, Mr. Maqbul Mahmud of Amritsar, Agha Mohammad Safdar of Sialkote, Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai of Gadia, Syed Zahur Ahmad of Lucknow, Hon. Syed Riza Ali of Allahabad, Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman of Lucknow; Hon. A. K. Fazlul Haq of Calcutta, Mr. Asaf Ali of Delhi, Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan of Patna, Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar, Mr. Shuaib Quraishi of Bombay, Moulvi Syed Murtaza of Trichnopoly, Chaudhari Shahabuddin of Lahore, and Syed Habib Shah of Lahore.

Proposed by—Mr Maqbul Mahmud, Amritsar.

Seconded by—Mr Mushir Husain Kidwai, Gadia.

Resolution No. 5

That a committee consisting of the following members of the All India Muslim League be appointed with power to confer with the working committee of the Central Khilafat Committee in order to frame a scheme in consultation with it for the purpose of organising the various public activities of the Muslim Community and the said scheme be placed as soon as possible before the Council of the All India Muslim League and if necessary before the next session of the League for adoption *viz.*, Mr. M. A. Jinnah of Bombay, Hon Mian Fazle Husain K. B of Lahore, Agha Mohammad Safdar of Sialkote, Syed Zahur Ahmad of Lucknow, Moulvi Syed Murtaza of Trichnopoly, Moulvi Abul Qasim of Burdwan, Moulvi Mohammad Yaqub of Moradabad. Hon A. K.

programme. I hope you will be able to do it. In the meantime I will only conclude by saying: The goal is near, stand united, preserve and march forward. (Loud and prolonged cheers, and cries of Qaid-Azam Zindabad, 'Pakistan Zindabad', Muslim League Zindabad, etc.)

END

on account of which a recrudescence of inter-communal differences takes place every now and then, and it is most desirable that means should be adopted to meet such cases, the League resolves that Conciliatory Boards, consisting of representatives of all communities, be constituted in different districts with a Central Board in the capital of each province, (1) to settle all matters likely to create communal differences, and (2) to deal with all cases of conflict and investigate, and enquire into acts of aggression on the part of any particular community. (Chair)

Resolution No. 9

The All India Muslim League deploras the present scandalous state of disorganization existing among the Muslims in all spheres of life, which not only prevents all healthy interchange of ideas and co-operation for the good of the community, but also seriously handicaps the Muslims in shouldering their proper share of responsibility in the national struggle for progress and self Government: the League, therefore, urges the extreme desirability of concerted action everywhere with a view to secure internal solidarity among the Mussalmans of India and resolves that a committee be formed to carry out a programme of political social and economic development with particular reference to the following items:—

- (1) To popularise the League and establish its Provincial, District, Tahsil, Pargana, and Village Branches throughout India;
- (2) To collect funds for the League.
- (3) To call upon and co-operate with the Muslim Educational Conference in India in establishing elementary schools in every village and utilising the village Mosques and Imams for this purpose wherever feasible;
- ✓(4) To pormote female education among the Mussalmans and to establish schools for the purpose in villages and towns;
- (5) To encourage adult education;
- ✓(6) To organize the Muslim boy Scout movement;