

APPENDICES



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1. Moslem All-India Confederacy: Nawab Salimullah of Dacca's Scheme, November 1906¹

In November 1906, Nawab Salimullah of Dacca circulated a scheme for the formation of a "Muslim All India Confederacy" which envisaged the establishment of a Central Muslim Association to safeguard Muslim interests. This scheme which was widely commented upon by Muslim leaders from various Provinces and discussed at length at the Dacca meeting on 30 December 1906 became the basis for the formation of the AIML.

Despite our efforts, we have not been able to locate a printed copy of the scheme, but we have come across two versions in the press, which we reproduce below. — Ed.

Nawab Salimullah of Dacca was the person who took the first concrete step towards establishing a Muslim organization. In November 1906, he circulated a scheme for the formation of the Muslim All-India Confederacy. The scheme was the embryo from which the Muslim League emerged. The relevant text of Nawab Salimullah Khan's letter is as follows:

1. This day being the birthday of His Majesty our most gracious King Emperor, I think it an auspicious for me today to place before my Mohammedan brethren my views on the project of our Muslim All-India Confederacy.

1. Sharif al Mujahid, ed., *Muslim League Documents*, (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1990), Vol. I, pp. 219-23

2. Owing to my inability to attend the All-India Mohammedan Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy at Simla, I penned a few notes for the information of my brother delegates on the advisability of forming a Central Mohammedan Association for all India, which could bring into touch the aims and aspiration of our community throughout the country.
3. These notes were, I learnt, discussed at an informal meeting of those present at Simla and it was proposed, without coming to any definite resolution, that the matter should be finally settled at the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference at Dacca during the Christmas week next December, and in the meantime the scheme, as drafted, may be submitted for discussions to all our various Mohammedan associations and societies, as well as to those pre-eminent amongst our co-religionists, for their collective and individual opinion and advice.
4. I have, therefore, in view of the discussion that took place at Simla, enlarged these notes, and now submit them to our Association, friends and co-religionists in the various parts of the country, as well as to the press for favour of bona fide, honest and fearless discussion, which may lead us to a *modus operandi* for the establishment of an institution of the character I propose should be formed. I shall, therefore, feel obliged to those associations which will be sending their delegates and those gentlemen representing their provinces who will be pleased to attend the Conference at Dacca, if these gentlemen come fully authorized to express the views of the associations and provinces, so that our deliberations, as much as possible, may voice of the whole Muslim community.

5. From the information I received, I find the majority of those present at the informal meeting, as well as others consulted at Simla, were in favour of a central All-India association of the kind sketched out by me in my notes; but I desire that every consideration should be paid to the views of the minority, so that after full deliberation, those whom we may not for the present succeed in fully getting into agreement with us, will nevertheless merge their individual difference and heartily co-operate with the majority for the common good of Islam and our community.
6. It was hinted by some that there was no necessity for any such Central Association, inasmuch as it would cripple and starve the local associations, and instead of a central association; local associations should be formed where none at present exist. But if anything, a central association of the kind I propose will be the very medium of starting, where none is in existence, and fostering a local association, or the necessity for the same being established. While a very few seem to have fear that a central association of the kind we want would interfere with such a centre of Mohammedan life as is now bound up with the Aligarh College and Institute, one of the chief principles of its noble founder, laid down for our guidance, being to avoid all politics. But while the central association will, I trust, be the means of not only enlarging the usefulness and scope of the Aligarh College, it will be able, I hope, to find time to establish institutions in each province on lines laid down by the Aligarh College. While as regards politics there can be no question that, unless we desire to be left back in the race for life, we must march with the times. The noble foundations of the Aligarh College were laid 25 years ago and the

institute has achieved its purpose but to keep up its ability and usefulness, we have to enter into the next stage of our political life of the country and nation; and I only desire that full and earnest consideration may be given by my co-religionists to the scheme which has claimed my attention for some time, and to such other schemes as may be submitted for our consideration, so that we may come, after full deliberation, to something that will advance the well-being of our community.

7. The necessity of a Central Association: To the majority of my countrymen, I believe, the necessity of a central association is fully established; the keynote of it was struck by our All India Deputation to additional interests of our own, which are not shared by other communities, and these have suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented.

And it is hardly possible that these additional interests, peculiarly our own, can be safeguarded and protected unless there is a central authority to which the Government can look for aid and advice, and it would not be out of place to quote here the remarks of the *Times of India*. In its article on the Mohammedan Deputation to the Viceroy it states, "it may be hoped that one result of the unity of feelings thus aroused amongst Muslims will be that they will be able to express, from time to time, as occasion requires, the views of the community which is in many respects distinct, with, as the Memorial said, additional interests of its own which are not shared by any other community." The *Times of India* foreshadows what is really being felt by thoughtful members of our community: that the authorities are getting bewildered owing to the multiplicity of Muslim associations now coming into existence, and our young men, in various parts of the country assuming to speak on behalf of the whole Muslim community of India, and on many

occasions, which I need not here mention, in direct opposition and conflict to each other. I am aware of several instances wherein untold mischief has occurred through irresponsible Mohammedan gentlemen, and associations sprung up and were created by some (who really at heart have no regard for our community) for the sole purpose of establishing their own political importance, addressing Government and the public, without anyone to question their right to do so... of course Government cannot refuse to receive any representation from any corporate body or individual, however distinguished or undistinguished they or he may be, yet such representation fails to carry weight owing to the authorities not knowing how far the views contained therein are consonant with the views of the Muslim community as a whole. And even when such views are adopted by the authorities, they fail in receiving respectful concurrence from the Muslim in general, as being the views of only some particular associations or individuals, and more or less misleading, thereby causing much harm to the Muslim community as a whole. Hence if there were an All India association of the kind I propose, Government will be able to refer to it all such representations as may be received by the authorities, to ascertain the views of the community in general before finally passing orders thereon; and there will then be no danger of any party or parties misrepresenting the facts to serve individual interests.

8. The Aims and objects of the Association: It is absolutely necessary that the aims and objects of the Association should be definitely stated; and although I am sure I shall not receive any hearty support from some of my co-religionists, yet I for one honestly believe that the time has come when, if the Association is to be a force and power for good, it must at the very outset lay down its policy and object and I would do so as follows:

That the sole object and purpose of the Association shall be, whenever possible, to support all measures emanating from the Government and to protect the cause and advancement of the interest of our co-religionists throughout the country.

9. How this is to be done I show below: Name: A suitable name is one of the greatest desiderata of an institution such as we contemplate, and after a careful consideration of several appellations, I think, The Mohammedan All-India Confederacy would suit us best, as the Association would be the mouth-piece of all the various Muslim institutions, social, religious and political, as well as of the leading men throughout the country, who will have allied themselves together for the one common object of protecting the interests and advancing the cause of their co-religionists.

The Object or *Raison D 'etre*: (a) To controvert the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress, which has a tendency to misinterpret and subvert the British Rule in India, or which may lead to that deplorable situation, and (b) to enable our young men of education, who for want of such an association, have joined the Congress Camp, to find scope to exercise their fitness and ability for public life.

10. From the trend of the discussion in Simla, there is, I believe, disinclination to state our object and reason in this bold and blunt manner, as it will, it is contended, arouse the ire and anger of our Hindu brethren. But I think that time has come when we must no longer mind matters—we must not stand upon a sentiment—it is mere sentiment that is causing such havoc and misery in the present partition of Bengal. And the question that we, the Mohammedans, must honestly discuss and decide is whether the policy now openly declared by those

who are termed 'extremists' is one conducive to the maintenance of the British Raj; and if, as we must hold, it is not, we must then consider whether those gentlemen forming the 'Extremist Party' do or do not form part and parcel of Indian National Congress, and unless and Congress is an open and public assembly, and by a resolution disassociates itself from the views of this party, we Mohammedans cannot countenance or be associated with the Congress. We are sorry, but cannot deny that the so-called Indian National Congress has become a potent voice in the counsels of the country. We must therefore, as true and loyal subjects of the British Raj, do our utmost to controvert and thwart that influence which it has attained, when we find it working for the destruction of all that we hold dear....

There is no doubt that many of our young educated Mohammedans find themselves shoved off the line of official preferment and promotion, unless they join, or at least show sympathy with the Congress Party. All our Mohammedan newspapers are full of the cry that there is now-a-days not the same dearth of Mohammedan graduates and under-graduates as before, but they are passed over (in fact this was pointedly alluded to in the All-India address to the Viceroy) on the ground that they do not come up 'to the Government standard of efficiency'. The Executive Committee of the Confederacy will be in constant communication with all the local associations, and will watch the career of our promising young men who will no longer look to the Congress for their advancement in life.

2. Inaugural Session, Dacca, 30 December 1906: Resolution¹

Resolution 1

Resolved that this meeting, composed of Musalmans from all parts of India, assembled at Dacca, decide that a Political Association be formed, styled All-India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objects:-

- (a) To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of Government with regard to any of its measures.
- (b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- (c) To prevent the rise, among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.

1. Mujahid (ed.), *Muslim League Documents*, Vol. I, p. 164.

3. AIML Rules and Regulations, 1907¹

Approved by the Representative Committee under Resolution No. 3, passed at the Karachi Session of the .AIML, 29-30, December 1907, and issued under the authority of Nawab Viqarul Mulk Moulvi Mushtaq Husain, Honorary Secretary, AIML, Aligarh, 1908. — Ed.

Introduction

While presenting a Memorial to the Viceroy by a Deputation of Muslims on 1 October 1906, the prominent Muslim leaders, after thorough discussions and mutual consultations, had come to the conclusion that a plan should be devised in order to safeguard the Muslim political rights on a permanent basis. Discussion on such a plan of action was, however, first initiated in Agra and Oudh in October 1901. It was, therefore, decided at this juncture that local organisations should be constituted in each province and a prestigious political organisation be set up on an all India basis, which should comprise prominent and capable persons dedicated to the task of safeguarding Muslim rights. Since the session of All India Mohammedan Educational Conference was to be held at Dacca shortly, it was decided that on conclusion of this session, the setting up of such an organisation be mooted and decided upon. A circular to this effect was therefore issued to all concerned. Thus, 30 December 1906 is that memorable day when the foundation of the All India Muslim League was laid at Dacca after a good deal of

1. Mujahid, *Muslim League Documents*, Vol.I, pp.181-190.

discussions and deliberations. The proceedings of its first annual session have already been notified.

In this session, a Provisional Committee comprising sixty members was formed under Resolution No. 2 to prepare the constitution of the League. A draft constitution was prepared and sent to all and sundry and published in the press with a view to eliciting opinion from various quarters. Opinions received were incorporated in the draft wherever feasible and found desirable.

The third resolution at the Dacca meeting envisaged that consequent on the preparation of the draft constitution, notable persons from various provinces should get together to consider and adopt it. Consequently, a meeting at Bankipur was fixed for the purpose. However, when the consent of the provinces was called for on the issue, it was finally decided that the meeting should be held at Karachi at the conclusion of the All India Mohammedan Educational Conference. This decision was notified to all concerned, and accordingly a meeting of the All India Muslim League was held on 29-30 December 1907. On the first day, Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy, who had taken the trouble of undertaking a rather strenuous journey from Bombay to Karachi in his old age as a gesture of his concern for the Muslim cause, presided over the session. After the presidential address and other deliberations including a vote of thanks to the chair, the session concluded and it was decided that members of the Provisional Committee present on the occasion including members of the Simla Deputation should consider and adopt the constitution.

According to this resolution, the said members considered the draft in all its aspects and after thorough discussions and mutual consultations passed it with certain amendments. — Mushtaq Husain, Secretary, AIML.

Rules and Regulations

Article 1. Name. The name of the League shall be All India Muslim League.

Aims and Objects

Article 2. The aims of the League shall be as under:

- a) To promote among the Musalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of Government with regard to any of its measures.
- b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to Government.
- c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.

Membership

- a) A person must be a subject of British India.
- b) He must be at least 25 years of age.
- c) He should be able to read and write any of the Indian languages fluently, and speak it.
- d) He must have at least an income of Rs.500 p.m. Parents' income will also qualify for membership.
- e) Under certain specific circumstances, exemption may be granted by the Central Committee of the All India Muslim League.

Article 4. The membership of the League shall comprise a maximum of 400 members, divided province wise as under:

- a) At least fifty and not exceeding 200 members shall be appointed by nomination in the meeting in which the Rules & Regulations are passed. The rest shall be appointed subsequently under Article 5.
- b) The first group of nominated members shall comprise the 33 members who participated in the Simla Deputation on 1 October 1906, who are still alive and have not joined government service.
- c) The second group of membership shall comprise those 35 members who were entrusted with the task of framing the Rules and Regulations under Resolution No. 2 of the Dacca session held on 30 December 1906.
- d) The third group shall comprise three additional members who were summoned to the Dacca Session on 30 December 1906. They are appointed along with the first two groups.

The members included in these three groups are as follows:

Group I

(Participants of Simla Deputation 1906)

1. H.H. Sir Sultan Mohammad Shah Aga Khan, G.C.I.E.
2. Shahzada Bakhtiar Shah C.I.E., Head of Mysore family, Calcutta
3. Hon'ble Malik Umer Hayat Khan, C.I.E., Lieutenant, 18th Prince of Wales Tiwana Lancers, Tiwana District, Shahpur
4. Hon'ble K.B. Mohammad Shah Din, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

5. Hon'ble K.B. Syed Nawab Ali Choudhry, Mymensingh, East Bengal
6. Nawab Bahadur Syed Amir Hasan Khan, C.I.E., Calcutta
7. Nawab Naseer Husain Khan Kheyal, Calcutta
8. S. K.B. Mirza Shujaat Ali Baig, Persian Counsel General, Murshidabad, Culcutta
9. Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law, Patna
10. Nawab Sarfaraz Husain Khan, Patna
11. Khan Bahadur Ahmad Mohiuddin, President, Khandan-i-Karnatak Association, Madras
12. Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, Barrister, Bombay
13. Ibrabim Bhoy Adamjee Peer Bhoy, Bombay.
14. Moulvi Abdul Rahim, Barrister, Calcutta
15. Syed Allahdad Shah, Special Magistrate, and Vice President, Zamindar Association, Khairpur (Sind)
16. Moulana H.M. Malak, Head Maidini Bagh Bora Nagpur
17. Hon'ble Khalifa Syed Mohammad Husain, Mushirud daula Mumtazul Mulk Patiala
18. K.B. Col. Abdul Majid Khan, Foreign Minister, Patiala
19. K.B. Khawaja Yousuf Shah, Hon. Magistrate, Amritsar
20. K.B. Mian Mohammad Shafi, Barrister, Lahore
21. K.B. Shaikh Gulam Sadiq, Amritsar
22. Moulvi Hafiz Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, Haziqul Mulk, Delhi
23. Mr. Mohammad Ehtisham, Rais Kakori (Oudh)
24. Syed Nabiullah, Barrister, Kara District Allahabad

25. Moulvi Syed Karamat Husain, Barrister, Allahabad (Name deleted due to his posting in Allahabad court as a judge on 2 January 1908)
26. Syed Abdul Rauf, Barrister, Allahabad
27. Abdussalam Khan, Retired Sub-Judge, Rampur
28. K.B. Mohammad Muzzamilullah, Rais Bheekampur, District Aligarh
29. Hon'ble Haji Mohammad Ismail Khan, Rais Aligarh
30. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Barrister, Aligarh
31. Nawab Viqarul Mulk Moulvi Mohammad Mushtaq Husain, Intisar Jung, Rais Amroha, District Moradabad
32. Moulvi Habibur Rahman, Habib Gunj, Aligarh
33. Nawab Syed Sardar Ali Khan, Bombay

Group II

Members appointed under Resolution No. 2 of Dacca session, dated 30 December 1906 who were not included in Group I and who did not join Government service.

East Bengal and Assam

1. Hon'ble Nawab Mohammad Salimullah Khan, C.I.E. Dacca
2. Moulvi Himayatuddin, Barrisal
3. Moulvi Abdul Majid, B.A LL.B. Sylhet

West Bengal and Bihar

4. Mr. Shmsul Huda, Vakil, Calcutta
5. Mr. Sirajul Islam, Vakil, Calcutta
6. Mr. Abdul Majeed, Editor, *Muslim Chronicle*, Calcutta
7. Mr. Mazahrul Haq, Barrister, Bankipur (Patna)

8. Mr. Noorul Haq, Secretary, Muhamedan Association, Cuttock

United Province of Agra and Oudh

9. Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Barrister, Lucknow
10. Mr. Zahur Ahmad, B.A. LL.B., Lucknow
11. Mr. Mohammad Naseem, Vakil, Lucknow
12. Moulvi Ghulam Saqlain, B.A. LL.B., Lucknow
13. Raja Naushad Ali Khan, Lucknow
14. Mr. Mohammad Ishaq, B.A. LL.B., Allahabad
15. Mr. Mohammad Rauf, Barrister, Allahabad
16. Mr. Mohammad Musa Khan, Datauli, Aligarh
17. Moulvi Abdullah Jan, Vakil, Saharanpur
18. Moulvi Abdul Majid, Barrister, Allahabad
19. Shaikh Abdullah, B.A. L.L.B., Aligarh

Punjab

21. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Editor, *Observer*, Lahore
22. Shaikh Ghulam Ali, Editor, *Vakil*; Amritsar

North West Frontier Province

23. Mufti Fida Mohammad Khan, Barrister, Peshawar
24. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Barrister, Peshawar

Bombay Including Sind

25. Mr. A.M.K. Dahlvi
26. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Munshi, Barrister, Rajkot
27. Mr. Mohammad Ali, BA Sidhpur, Gujrat
28. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Barrister, Chaupati, Bombay

Madras

29. K.B. Abdul Hadi Badshah, Madras

30. Mr. Yakoob Hasan, Proprietor, *Muslim Patriot*, Madras
31. Mr. Abdul Hameed Hasan, B.A. LL.B., Editor, *Muslim Patriot*, Madras
32. Nawab Ghulam Ahmad, G.C.F. Caromandal

Central Province

33. K.S. Mohammad Ameer Khan, Pleader, Nagpur

Burma

34. Mr. A S. Rafiqi

Group III

1. Dr. Maj. Syed Husain Bilgrami
2. Shaikh Mohammad Abdul Qadir, Barrister, Lahore
3. Mr. Hissamuddin, Barrister, Lahore

Article 5. The number of members from different provinces, as laid down in Article 4, shall be as under:

1.	Agra and Oudh	Agra	45	70
		Oudh	25	
2.	Punjab			70
3.	Bombay including Sind	Bombay	30	40
		Sind	10	
4.	NWFP including	NWFP	10	15
	Baluchistan	Baluchistan		5
5.	Madras			25
6.	West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa			70
7.	East Bengal and Assam			70
8.	Berar and Central Provinces including Ajmer			15
9.	Burma			10
10.	British subjects residing in Indian states and other parts including residents of any of the Indian state who			15

were exempted by All India Muslim League under Article 3

Article 6. After publication of the census report after ten years, the provincial quota and number of members shall be open for revision and the following principles shall be kept in view while reallocating the number of members in the provinces:

- i) Muslim population
- ii) Their educational status
- iii) Their financial position and social status

Article 7. (a) The number of members laid down under Article 5 in the provinces shall be elected by the Provincial League appointed by the All India Muslim League. In the provinces comprising several sub-provinces, every Sub-Provincial League shall come within the definition of Provincial League. For instance, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the West Bengal province.

(b) If no such Provincial League exists in any province, the Divisional, District or Town Organisations affiliated to the All India Muslim League shall elect members as per their allocation. The rest of the number of members will be completed by the Central Committee by way of inviting representatives from other parts of the province. In case of non-availability of such representatives, the Central Committee shall itself elect such representatives.

Article 8. The members shall be elected for five years, but on the expiry of this term they shall be eligible for re-election under Article 7.

Article 9. If for any reason, the vacant seats are not filled up the League shall continue with its present functions, provided the number of members including honorary office-bearers does not fall beyond a minimum of 50 members.

Article 10. Every member on being elected shall deposit a sum of Rs.50 in the League Fund for registration of his

enrolment as a member. Besides, a sum of Rs.25 shall be paid in advance as annual fee. These deposits shall not be refundable under any circumstances.

Article 11. No member after being elected shall be deemed to be a bonafide member unless he has deposited an admission fee as per Article 10 and got his membership duly registered. However, such members who were elected in the Karachi session on 30 December 1907 and have not paid the admission fee or the subscription during the session, shall be allowed a grace period upto 15 February 1908 to remit the admission fee or the subscription, as the case may be. Those elected or appointed in future will be given a period of six weeks to pay up their admission fee and their annual subscription. Those failing to remit the amount to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, within this period, shall cease to be members.

Article 12. No member shall be eligible to exercise his right as a member in any session of the League unless he has cleared all dues against him prior to the date of the session eight weeks before the annual session.

Article 13. The Secretary shall notify to all members the list of such registered members who have fulfilled the necessary formalities at least eight weeks before the annual session.

Article 14. The League's fiscal year shall be from 1 January to 31 December. Members appointed at annual sessions in December shall be liable to payment of fee from the next fiscal year.

Article 15. At the annual sessions of the League at least one-fifth of the registered members shall form the quorum. In other sessions the quorum shall be one-eighth of the total membership.

Article 16. In the event of exemptions granted for appointment of members under Articles 7 and 8, no proxy or written vote shall be acceptable in any session or meeting of the Central Committee of the All India Muslim League.

Article 17. For the furtherance of League's aims and objects and for the implementation of its programme, a Central Committee shall be elected out of League's members on the basis of majority votes. The Committee shall comprise at least 30 and not more than 40 members inclusive of office-bearers. The election of Committee members shall be based as far as practicable on representation from every profession.

Article 18. The election of the Central Committee members shall be through ballot and such members, who are not present in the meeting, shall be eligible to send in their votes in writing to the Secretary at least three days prior to the date of the session.

Article 19 (a) The Central Committee members shall be elected for a period of three years and shall be eligible for re-election.

(b) If the term of membership of any member of the Central Committee has not expired while his term of membership of the All India Muslim League has expired, he can continue to be a member of the League till the expiry of his membership of the Committee on payment of the annual fee as per Article 10.

Article 20. Besides members appointed under Article 17, the office-bearers of the All India Muslim League appointed under Article 20 shall be ex-officio members and office-bearers for purposes of carrying out the functions of the Central Committee.

Article 21. The Central Committee appointed under Article 17 read with Article 20 shall be fully competent to perform all functions laid down in these Articles. Till such time as this Committee is appointed, the All India Muslim League itself will perform these functions.

Article 22. Presence of five members of the Central Committee including office-bearers shall form the quorum.

Article 23. The Central Committee shall follow the following procedure to acquit itself of its responsibilities:

- (a) To elicit opinion of members on any issue by correspondence, take decision on the basis of majority vote and take such action in the matter as is warranted to implement the decisions.
- (b) The Central Committee shall be competent to defer any matter for further consideration for some time.
- (c) To summon the annual session of All India Muslim League at an appropriate venue for discussion and deliberation on any vital issue in connection with the League.
- (d) To hold meetings at appropriate places during the year for the furtherance of the above objectives provided such meetings are requisitioned by at least five members of the League or two members of the Central Committee.
- (e) To accord permission to any person for participation in meetings as a Visitor under sub (c) and (d) above.
- (f) The Central Committee shall be empowered to fix any fee, for Visitors, or limit their number or lay down certain conditions for their participation.
- (g) The Central Committee shall be empowered to exempt the press reporters from admission fee for attending such meetings to report their proceedings.

Duties of The Central Committee

Article 24. The duties of the Central Committee shall be as under:

- (a) To endeavour to establish the Provincial League in every province.
- (b) To implement the resolutions adopted at the meetings of All India Muslim League or the Central Committee.
- (c) To provide requisite information in respect of the furtherance of the League's objectives.

- (d) To decide issues as far as possible by correspondence as laid down under Article 23(a).
- (e) To prepare and send the Agenda of the annual sessions and other meetings of the All India Muslim League to members and to fix the time and venue of the sessions.
- (f) To elect the President of the Annual Session.

Office-Bearers of All India Muslim League

Article 25. The office-bearers of the All India Muslim League who shall be elected at a meeting of the All India Muslim League shall be as under:

President	One
Vice President	Six (from different provinces)
Secretary	One
Joint Secretaries	Two

Article 26. Candidates for various offices of the League shall be nominated and seconded by any two members of the League at least six weeks prior to the meeting at which their names are proposed for election. These nominations shall be sent to the Secretary who shall notify them to the members along with the names of proposers and seconders at least four weeks before the said meeting.

Article 27. Members present at the meeting shall vote by ballot while absentee members shall send in their votes in writing to the Secretary.

Article 28. Every office-bearers shall be elected for a period of three years and shall be eligible for re-election.

Article 29. The Honorary Secretary shall be responsible for the functioning of his office and for maintaining the accounts.

Article 30. The Honorary Secretary shall be empowered to appoint any provisional sub-committee.

Article 31. The Honorary Secretary shall be empowered to appoint one of the Joint Secretaries to act in his place in the event of his temporary absence, and shall notify such appointment to all members of the Central Committee through a circular letter.

Article 32. The Joint Secretaries shall work under the supervision of Honorary Secretary and will assist him in his work.

Resignations

Article 33. Members shall have the right to resign their membership, and office-bearers from their office.

Article 34. When three-fourths of the members of the Central Committee are of the opinion that the continuation in office of any member or office-bearer of the League is liable to mitigate against the aims and objects of the All India Muslim League, the Central Committee after affording the person concerned an opportunity to clarify his position, shall be empowered to sever all relations with him until the decision of the All India Muslim League. The Central Committee shall place this matter before the League for final decision at the earliest occasion.

Article 35. When three-fourths of the members of the All India Muslim League consider that continuation of any member or office-bearer may injure the cause of the League, it is empowered to terminate his membership or remove him from his office, as the case may be.

Funds

Article 36. The fees realised from visitors during annual sessions and other meeting, donations, subscriptions or any other contributions collected by the League from time to time for the furtherance of its objectives, or for any particular purpose shall be deemed as the League's Fund.

Article 37. The League's Fund shall be deposited in the name of the League in the Bengal Bank or any other Bank

where no such Bank exists to the discretion of the Central Committee and shall be drawn under the signature of the Secretary.

Article 38. (1) The members of the Central Committee shall appoint a Finance Committee every year which shall comprise President, Vice President, Secretary, Joint Secretary and three members, of the Committee.

(2) The Finance Committee shall prepare the annual budget of income and-expenditures, which shall be scrutinised and approved by the Central Committee after making such emendations as it deems fit and the Secretary shall be empowered to operate the account in accordance with the direction laid by the Central Committee.

(3) The Finance Committee shall submit the annual accounts to the Central Committee which shall get them audited by a qualified firm of Auditors, after which it shall be presented to the Central Committee for approval.

(4) The Finance Committee shall be empowered to incur expenditure over and above the budgetary provision in the event of emergencies which shall not exceed 10% of the budget grants; but such an expenditure shall be brought to the notice of the Central Committee at the earliest opportunity.

Rules and Bye Laws

Article 39 (a) Any modification, amendment or rescission in the Rules and Regulations of the All India Muslim League shall be made only by a two-thirds majority of members at the annual session.

(b) Such an amendment or modification shall be proposed in writing by a member and duly seconded by at least another member. The proposed amendment or modification shall, be sent to the Secretary at least eight weeks prior to the session. The Secretary shall notify the same to the members at least five weeks before the session.

Article 40. The Central Committee shall be empowered to make bye-laws for the efficient working of the League and in matters for which no specific provision has been made in these Rules, provided, however, that no such bye-law shall be valid which contravenes any of the basic principles of the League.



4. The Congress-League Scheme of Reform, 1916¹

I. *Provincial Legislative Councils*

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.
2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.
4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:

Punjab—One half of the elected Indian Members

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1. Popularly known as the Lucknow Pact. *Resolution passed by the ninth session of the All-India Moslem League held at Lucknow on the 31st December, 1916 adopting a scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League*, published under the authority of Syed Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, from Lucknow, dated 1 January 1917. Sharif al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981), Appendix 7, pp.462-65.

United Provinces—30% of the elected Indian Members

Bengal—40% of the elected Indian Members

Behar—25% of the elected Indian Members

Central Provinces—15% of the elected Indian Members

Madras—15% of the elected Indian Members

Bombay—One third of the elected Indian Members

Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof, or the resolution....

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal

administration of the province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget....

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to....

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor....

II. *Provincial Governments*

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.
2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council, which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.
3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.
4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council....

III. *Imperial Legislative Council*

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.
2. Fourth-fifths of the members shall be elected.
3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mahomedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.
4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates in the several provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mahomedan electorates....
16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. *The Government of India*

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.
2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.
3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council....

V. *The Secretary of State in Council*

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.
3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Government[s] of the self-governing Dominions.
4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. *India and the Empire*

1. In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.
2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII. *Military and other matters*

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians, and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India....

5. Delhi Muslim Proposals, 1927¹

Whether in the forthcoming revision of the Indian constitution elections to legislative bodies should be through joint or separate electorates, has been the subject of anxious discussion among Hindu and Musalman leaders, in Delhi. The Hindu members of the Congress Party and the Nationalist Party, having already decided in favour of only a joint electorate with the reservation of seats to Mohamedans, either on the basis of the Lucknow Pact or the existing population of each province, the Mohamedans met in informal conference today under the Presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, who had issued invitations to representative Mohamedans in all parts of India.

After a protracted discussion the Conference agreed to the institution of joint electorates under certain conditions. It was unanimously resolved that the Mohamedans should accept a settlement on the basis of the following proposals so far as representation in the various legislatures in any future scheme of constitution is concerned:

- 1) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.

1. Delhi Muslim Proposals formulated by the Muslim Conference which was called by Jinnah on 20 March 1927 and was presided over by him. M.A. Jinnah, *History of the Origin of "Fourteen Points"* (Bombay), n.d.) pp. 3-6. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix, pp.466-67.

- 2) Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India.

If this is agreed to Mohamedans are prepared to accept a joint electorate in all provinces so constituted and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Mohamedan minorities.

In the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be in accordance with population.

In the Central Legislature, Mohamedan representation not to be less than a third, and that also by a mixed electorate.

These proposals are subject to ratification by the Mohamedan organizations concerned, but it was hoped by those present at the conference that the Hindus would accept and the Mohamedans would ratify them.

The question of the Services and other questions with regard to safeguards concerning any bill or resolution which might affect the religion, or the customs or the usages of either community, or affecting inter-communal interests were also discussed by the meeting but postponed for further consideration and will be taken up, if on the main proposition there can be unanimity of opinion.

The following attended the Conference which came to the above conclusions: Mr. Jinnah, Maharaja of Mahmudabad. Sir Muhammed Shafi, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Mohamed Yakub, Nawab Mohamed Ismail, Syed Alay Nabi, Lieut. Sardar Mohamed Nawaz Khan, Mr. Suharawardi, Mr. Shah Nawaz, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Farooki, Mr. Abdul Rahman, Sir Abdul Qauyum, Shah Mohamed Zubair, Syed Ahmed Shah (Imam of Jama mosque, Delhi), Moulvi Syed Murtaza, Mr. Mohammed Shafee Daoodi, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Mr. Abdul Matin

Chaudhari, Mirza Abdul Qadir, Syed Abdul Jabbar (Ajmer), Mr. Ehtashamuddin, Syed Abdul Rahim, Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, Dr. Hyder, Mr. Ariff, Mr. Ijaz Hussain and Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan.



6. “Nehru Report” on Minority Representation, 1928¹

The following resolution was unanimously adopted, subject to a note by...Sardar Mangal Singh on the second part of the resolution:

We are unanimously opposed to the reservation of seats in the legislatures either for majorities or minorities and we recommend that no such reservation should be provided for in the constitution. But if this recommendation is not accepted and an agreement can be arrived at only on a reservation of seats on the population basis we recommend that such reservation be made for majorities or minorities without any weightage and with a clear provision that it shall automatically cease at the expiry of ten years or earlier by the consent of the parties concerned.

The note of Sardar Mangal Singh runs as follows:

I agree with the first part of the above proposition namely that there shall be no reservation of seats either for majorities or minorities in the legislatures of the country. But I am very strongly opposed to the creation of statutory communal majorities by reservation of seats for majorities on population basis under all circumstances and for any

1. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix 9, pp. 468-72. For League’s amendments to the Nehru Report, which were rejected by the All Parties Conference, see, Appendix 7, “Jinnah’s ‘Fourteen Points’ ”.

time howsoever short it may be. If the agreement can only be reached by reservation of seats I will recommend that the case of the Sikhs be considered as that of an important minority and adequate and effective representation, far in excess of their numerical strength, be given to them in the Punjab on the basis adopted for Muslim minorities under the Lucknow Pact in Behar and other provinces. And I further suggest that special weightage be given to Sikhs for representation in the central legislature.



The following are the recommendations on communal and other controversial matters:

Communal Representation

I. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and the provincial legislatures.

II. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority and non-Muslims in the N.W.F. Province. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population in every province where they are in a minority and in proportion to the non-Muslim population in N.W.F. Province. The Muslims or non-Muslims where reservation is allowed to them shall have the right to contest additional seats.

III. In the provinces

- a) there shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal:
- b) in provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservation of seats for Muslim minorities

on population basis with the right to contest additional seats;

- c) in the N.W.F. Province there shall be similar reservation of seats for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

IV. Reservation of seats where allowed shall be for a fixed period of ten years.

V. Sind should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province after such enquiry about the financial position as may be considered necessary.

VI. Parts of Karnataka, except the small islands on the other side of the Mysore territory, should similarly be separated from the provinces in which they are at present included and formed into a single separate province.

VII. The N.W.F. Province, and all newly formed provinces by separation from other provinces, shall have the same form of government as the other provinces in India.

MOTILAL NEHRU
S. ALI IMAM
TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
M.S. ANEY

MANGAL SINGH
SHUAIB QURESHI¹
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
G. R. PRADHAN



-
1. Mr. Shuaib Qureshi was unfortunately unable to be present at the last meeting of the Committee when the draft report was considered. The draft however was sent to him and he has informed us that in regard to the recommendations contained in chapter III he is of opinion that one third seats in the central legislature should be reserved for Muslims. Further, he says: 'I agree with the resolution adopted at the Informal Conference of July 7th but do not subscribe to all the figures and arguments produced in its support.'

Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. G. R. Pradhan were also unable to be present at the final meeting of the Committee but they signified their concurrence with the report after reading the draft.

Note on the Informal Conference and After

The resolution of the Informal Conference, given on page 50 of the report,¹ was passed on July 7th, 1928. It was signed by Dr. M.A. Ansari, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Messrs. Abulkalam Azad, Sachchidananda Sinha, C.Y. Chintamani, T.A. K. Sherwani, Mangal Singh, Mohammad Shafee Daudi, M. S. Aney, S. D. Kitchlew, Subhas Chandra Bose, Shuaib Qureshi, Khaliq-uz-Zaman, D. R. Ranjit Singh, Syed Mahmud, A. M. Khawaja and Jawaharlal Nehru. Some others, who were present, agreed with this resolution but had left when signatures were taken.

This resolution was later considered by the All Parties Committee together with some non-members who had been invited. Extracts from the proceedings of the Committee are given below.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Committee, dated 8th July

Morning Session

Present
 Pandit Motilal Nehru
 Mr. M. S. Aney
 Mr. Shuaib Qureshi
 Sardar Mangal Singh
 Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose

The following non-members were also present by invitation:

Dr. M. A. Ansari
 Maulana Abulkalam Azad
 Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani
 Mr. Mohammad Shafi Daudi
 Dr. S. D. Kitchlew
 Mr. Khaliq-uz-Zaman

1 To see above, pp.468-69.

Dr. Syed Mahmud and
Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru

The question of reservation of seats for the Muslim minority in the central legislature was considered. It was stated however that under yesterday's agreement (first part) there could be no such reservation even for minorities. On the other hand it was pointed out that without reservation it was probable that only about 30 or 40 Muslims may be returned to a central legislature of 500 members. This same result would be arrived at, it was shown in the provinces where Muslims were in a small minority. A suggestion was made that this difficulty could be got over by a reservation of seats for small minorities in both central and provincial legislatures but not for majorities. This would mean a revision of yesterday's agreement. No decision was arrived at and the matter was postponed to the evening session.

July 8th
Evening Session

Present as in morning session with the exception of Dr. S.D. Kitchlew and Dr. Syed Mahmud.

Also present Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

The question of minority representation left over at the morning session was then taken up. It was unanimously agreed to modify the first part of the resolution of the Informal Conference held on the 7th July so as to permit reservation of seats in the central legislature for minorities on population basis.

The question of reservation of seats for small minorities in the Provincial Council was then considered. The Committee with the exception of Mr. Shuaib Qureshi, was of opinion that the reasons favouring such reservation in the central legislature apply with equal force to the provincial legislature also. This opinion was supported by

non-members present. it was therefore agreed to report to the All Parties Conference that reservation of seats for small minorities in proportion to their population, with the right to contest additional seats, should be permitted in provincial legislatures.



7. Jinnah's "Fourteen Points", 1929¹

[The following, culled from Jinnah's pamphlet, seeks *History of the Origins of Fourteen Points*, to trace the origins of the "Fourteen Points":]

Recent History

The All India Muslim League defined in three successive sessions in the years 1924, 1925, and 1926, the position of Musalmans in respect of any forthcoming changes in the constitution of the country as follows:

The All India Muslim League is of opinion that the present constitution of India must be amended and urges that for this purpose the Government should undertake the revision of the Government of India Act 1919, and without any delay appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian constitution on a sound and permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress to establish full responsible Government in India and thereby secure stability in the Government, and the willing co-operation of the people, provided however that for any scheme of the future constitution of India the All India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declares that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed, viz:

1. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix 10, pp.473-81.

- 1) All Legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality.
- 2) The representation of communal groups 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 electorate in favour of joint electorate.
- 3) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F. Province.
- 4) Full religious liberty i.e. liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.
- 5) No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

These proposals were criticised by the Hindu leaders who insisted that we should postulate in our scheme joint electorates with adequate safeguards for rights and interests of Musalmans. Accordingly certain leading representative

Mahomedans met at Delhi on 20th March, 1927 and put forward what have come to be known as the Delhi Muslim Proposals....¹



Indian National Congress Response

These proposals were substantially accepted by the All India Congress Committee meeting in May, 1927 in Bombay and were later embodied in the resolution adopted by the open session of the Indian National Congress at Madras, in December, 1927.

The responses thus made by the Congress to the Muslim proposals were considered by the session of the All India Muslim League at Calcutta, in December 1927, and the following resolution was passed by the League:

The All India Muslim League authorises its Council to appoint a sub-committee to confer with the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and such other organizations as they think proper for the purpose of drafting a constitution for India in which the interests of the Muslim community will be safeguarded having regard to the following proposals which the League approves and adopts and subsequently take part in the National Convention which is going to take place in Delhi in March next as suggested by the Congress.

- 1) That Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.
- 2) That reforms should be introduced in the N.W.F. Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

1. For the text of the Delhi Muslim Proposals, see above, Appendix 5.

- 3) That in the present circumstances the representation of Muslims in the different Legislatures of the country through separate Muslim electorates is inevitable, and that Muslims will not accept any scheme involving the surrender of this valued right unless and until Sind is actually made a separate province and Reforms aforesaid are actually introduced in the N.W.F and Balochistan Provinces and that when these requirements are fully satisfied, Muslims will be prepared to abandon separate electorates in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats fixed on the basis of the population of the different communities, subject to what is related hereinafter.
- 4) In Sind, Baluchistan and the N.W.F. Province, the Muslim majority should make the same concession in regard to the proportion of seats reserved to the Hindu minority that Hindu majorities in other provinces would make to Muslim minorities over and above the proportion of population of the provinces which shall be the minimum basis.
- 5) In the Central Legislature, the Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.

The League further resolves (a) that in the future constitution of India, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, Central or Provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with the liberty of conscience. "Liberty of conscience" means, liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observance and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the

feelings of others and without interfering with the similar rights of others; (b) that no bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of the community affected thereby in that legislature, oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, the resolution, motion or amendment. "Inter-communal matters" means, matters agreed upon as such by the joint standing committee of both communities of the Hindu and Muslim members of the Legislatures concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of that Legislature.

Later Developments

The idea to draw up an agreed constitution led to the summoning of the All Parties Conference at Delhi, on 11th February, 1928. This Conference continued its labours till 11th March but no agreement could be arrived at. The All India Muslim League had appointed a Committee to represent the League at the All Parties Conference but as no agreement was reached the Council of the All India Muslim League met in Delhi and passed the following resolution:

The Council of the All India Muslim League is of opinion that the draft proposals adopted at the All Parties Conference called by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are not in conformity with the resolutions of the All India Muslim League passed at its sessions in Calcutta in 1927. The Council further regrets that the Hindu Mahasabha has practically rejected the Muslim League proposals.

The Council hereby appoints a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen for the purpose of

conferring with the representatives of other organizations in accordance with resolution No.4 of the League referred to above. The Council is of opinion that the Committee should press the representatives of various organizations to accept the proposals embodied in the aforesaid resolutions of the League Sessions of 1927, held in Calcutta and report the final result to the Council for such action as they may consider proper before proceeding with the framing of the constitution.

Thereafter, the Muslim League was not represented by any body authorised in their behalf at the All Parties Conference, as there was created a fundamental difference owing to the Indian National Congress receding from its position adopted hitherto.

Entire Overthrow of Previous Understanding

The All Parties Conference meeting in May, in Bombay, in absence of the Muslim League representatives, changed the basis of rapprochement brought about by the resolution of the Indian National Congress at Madras followed by the Calcutta session of the All India Muslim League when the latter made a response to the Congress.

The meeting of the All Parties Conference at Bombay struck a new line. It adopted a totally different course and appointed a small committee with terms of reference to which the All India Muslim League was not a party.

This Committee's report was considered at Lucknow by the so called All Parties Conference at which the Muslim League was not represented, though it was one of the principal parties who had initiated the move by promoting Delhi Muslim Proposals. This Conference nevertheless passed resolutions with regard to communal adjustments and other matters which were finally embodied in the Nehru Report.

Muslim View of Nehru Report

The basic principles of the communal settlement embodied in the Nehru Report are contrary to those on which Muslim opinion had hitherto expressed its willingness to come to an agreement. The Conference having rejected virtually the Delhi Muslim Proposal, the League is, therefore, free to adopt such course with regard to this matter and formulate such proposals as the League may think proper, to be incorporated in any future scheme of constitution of the Government of India that may be framed and adopted.

The only occasion where the League has given its consideration to the Nehru Report was when it was invited to send the delegation to the All Parties Convention at Calcutta, in December, 1928. The League Delegation submitted proposals at the Convention subject to their ratification by the League and made it clear that if they were acceptable to the Convention, the delegates would then discuss the constitution and the various provisions of the scheme. But the main proposals submitted by the League's delegation were summarily rejected by the Convention. These proposals were:

- 1) That one-third of the elected representatives of both the Houses of the Central Legislature should be Musalmans.
- 2) That in the Punjab and Bengal, in the event of adult suffrage not being established, there should be reservation of seats for Musalmans on population basis for 10 years subject to re-examination after that period but that they shall have no right to contest additional seats.
- 3) That the form of the constitution should be federal and that residuary powers should be left to the provinces and should not vest in the Central Legislature.

- 4) That clause 13 (a) embodied in the Supplementary Nehru Report should be deleted.
- 5) That the division of subjects in the Schedules 1 and 2 of the Nehru Report should be revised.
- 6) That with regard to Sind delete the words, “simultaneously with establishment of Government under this constitution” from the first part which runs as follows: “simultaneously with the establishment of Government under this constitution, Sind shall be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province.

In view of summary rejection of these proposals the League’s delegates could not proceed further and reported the decisions of the Convention to the All India Muslim League.

Other Organizations on the Nehru Report

The League found that it did not stand singular in its difficulties with the Nehru Report. The National Congress itself merely accorded its sanction to the scheme for a year. The All India Hindu Mahasabha declared that even, if a comma were changed the Hindus will withdraw their support from the Nehru Report. The Sikh League delegates at the Convention rejected the scheme of communal settlement. The National Liberal Federation at first adopted an attitude of benevolent neutrality and subsequently adopted the Nehru Report without expressing strong views one way or the other with regard to the Muslim proposals.

Position Confronting the League

Thus the original conception of bringing about a communal pact or a national agreement was not feasible and the All India Muslim League after a very careful consideration decided to adjourn its session and instructed the Council of the League to call the adjourned session at such a place and time as the Council may deem it necessary, before the end of May, 1929.

The Nehru Report proposal can therefore, at best be treated only as counter Hindu proposals to the Muslim proposals. And as there is no agreement reached it is now for the All India Muslim League to take such action or adopt such course as the League may think proper in the best interests of the community and the country.

—M. A. JINNAH

**SAFEGUARDS FOR MUSLIMS OF INDIA****Mr. Jinnah's "Fifteen Points"**

1. The form of the future Constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the province, Central Government to have the control only of such matters of common interests as may be guaranteed by the Constitution.
2. Uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be reconstituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality.

4. In the Central Legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one-third.
5. The representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it should be open to any community at anytime to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates.
6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way effect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal, and North-West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution, or any part thereof, should be passed in any legislature or any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof, on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or, in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.
11. Provision should be made in the Constitution giving the Muslim an adequate share along with other Indians in all the Services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal laws, and the promotion of Muslim education,

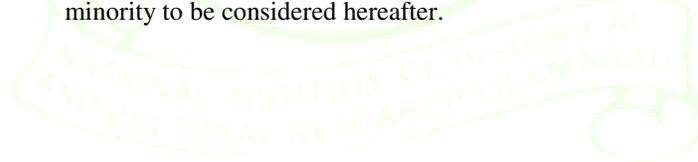
language, religion, personal laws, Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.

13. No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers of at least one third.

14. No change to be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

15. That in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country, and of the other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable, and further, Government being pledged not to deprive the Musalmans of this rights, it cannot be taken away without their consent, and so long as the Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interest are safeguarded in the manner specified above (or herein) they would in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates with or without conditions.

Note: The question of excess representation of Musalmans over and above their population in the provinces where they are in the minority to be considered hereafter.



8. League Parliamentary Board Manifesto, 1936¹

The advent and announcement of the Minto-Morley reforms brought home to leaders of Mussalmans the necessity of starting a Muslim political organisation and thus was founded the All-India Muslim League at Dacca in December, 1906. The League adopted its creed and ideal definitely in December, 1912, and altered its constitution, having for its aims and objects (1) full responsible government for India with adequate and effective safeguards for Mussalmans, (2) to protect and advance the political and religious and other rights and interest of Indian Mussalmans, (3) to promote friendship and union between Mussalmans and other communities in India, and (4) to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between Mussalmans in India and those in other countries.

The League has been faithfully and loyally acting in accordance with these fundamental principles ever since.

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1. The above manifesto, issued from Lahore on 11 June 1936, and adopted by the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board, after meeting for four days under Jinnah's presidentship, is an edited version published in Nripendra Nath Mitra (ed.), *The Indian Annual Register 1936*, Vol. I: January-June 1936 (Calcutta, n.d.), pp. 299-301, and it has been compared with the original version given in *All India Muslim League Central Board: Policy and Programme* (n.d.), pp. 9-16, and changes wherever necessary have been made, and divergence between them have been resolved in favour of the latter. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix 11, pp.482-87.

During the period of existence of the Minto-Morley constitution, it continued its development from time to time and represented and voiced the true feelings and opinions of Mussalmans. As time went on, the co-operation and help of prominent leaders of India and particularly of that great man, the late Maharaja of Mahmudabad, whose selfless devotion and patriotic fervour and single-mindedness of purpose gave the League such strength, power and support that it reached the zenith of its ascendancy and accomplished what is one of the greatest beacon lights in the constitutional history of India, the Lucknow Pact, which is known as the "League Congress Pact" in 1916. This pact will go down in Indian history as a landmark in the political evolution of the country as signal proof of the identity of purpose, earnestness and co-operation between the two great sections of the people of India in the task of the attainment of responsible government.

But the Pact was not the last word on the question of adjustment of political differences between Hindus and Mussalmans. Nor was it ever intended or could be so considered in the new circumstances that arose and developed since then. The national demand for complete responsible government after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms became more and more insistent from 1921 onward. Mussalmans stood shoulder to shoulder with sister communities and did not lag behind in their patriotic co-operation with Hindus. But as a minority they maintain the principle that this position in any future political constitutional structure should be protected and safeguarded. Here it might be stated that at first sight it may appear to an amateur politician that such demand savours of communalism but in reality to those who understand the political and constitutional history of the world, it must be evident that it is not only natural but is essential by insuring whole-hearted and willing co-operation of the minorities

who must be made to feel that they can rely upon the majority with a complete sense of confidence and security.

India's Goal

In the various steps that followed the deliberations and collaborations that took place, the League has always stood for full responsible Government for India and unflinchingly stands for the same ideal. It deplores that as a result of the Round Table Conference, the British Parliament has forced upon the people of India constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. Its attitude towards the constitution is defined by its resolution passed at the session of the All-India Muslim League to the following effect: "While it accepts the Communal Award till a substitute is agreed upon between the communities concerned, emphatically protests against the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 being forced upon the people of India against their will and inspite of their repeated disapproval and dissent expressed by the various parties and bodies in the country. The League considers that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country the provincial scheme of the constitution be utilised for what it is worth, inspite of the most objectionable features contained therein, which render real control and responsibility of the Ministry and Legislature over the entire field of Government and administration nugatory. The League is clearly of opinion that the All-India Federal scheme of Central Government, embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is fundamentally bad. It is most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India vis-a-vis Indian States and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realisation of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible Government and is totally unacceptable. The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the

earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the central scheme before it is inaugurated or else the League feels convinced that the present scheme will not bring peace and contentment to the people but on the contrary it will lead to disaster if forced upon and persisted in as it is entirely unworkable in the interests of India and her people”.

Election Board

But as the provincial scheme embodied in the Government of India Act is going to be enforced in the course of next year, the League decided that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country, the provincial scheme of constitution be utilised for what it is worth. In view of this decision, the League further decided that a Central Election Board be formed with power to constitute and affiliate provincial election boards in the various provinces and passed the following resolution: “Whereas the parliamentary system of government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new constitution presupposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate and co-operation between the groups with approximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the constitution to the best advantage and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for Muslims their proper and effective share in provincial governments it is essential that Muslims should organise themselves as one party with an advanced and progressive programme, it is hereby resolved that the All-India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching provincial elections and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate provincial election boards

in the various provinces, having regard to the condition in each province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects”.

In pursuance of that resolution, the Central Board has now been formed and the policy and programme of the Central Board has to be defined. The inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of constitution and the working thereof has developed and brought forth various forces and it appears that such power as was available under the scheme has been captured in the various provinces by the reactionary conservative elements in combination with a coterie of men whose sole aim and object is to secure offices and places for themselves wherever and whenever available. This has suited the Government and these two classes have received every encouragement and support with the result that they have not only been a hindrance and an obstacle in the way of the independent and progressive intelligentsia, but people generally have been exploited. Thus was created a double domination of reactionary forces and imperialistic power. Our aim is that this domination must cease.

Political Situation

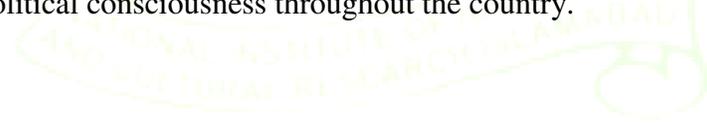
The present political situation has been aptly described by the president of the last session of the All-India Muslim League in the following words: “New problems have arisen to-day. It is not only the question of educating the middle class of Muslims in India on western lines and providing them with jobs, it is only the question of infusing in them the ideals of Victorian Liberalism. On the contrary, present conditions compel one to go much deeper into the problems of the entire social regeneration of the seventy millions of Muslims, of extricating them from the terrible poverty, degradation and backwardness into which they have fallen and giving them at least the rudiments of civilised existence and making them free citizens of a free land. We must

realise, as people of other countries have realised, that a change is necessary and that unless such change is soon made the whole of this social structure must come down with crash which will involve the extinction of not only the educated section of our people but also of all privileged classes, whether they hold privileges by reason of caste, land or money. The foundations of the super-structure in which we are living to-day were laid centuries ago and it is but natural that those foundations have ceased to be stable now. It is the duty, if it is not only an obligation created by the motives of self-interest, of all of us educated classes, capitalists and land-holders to lay the foundations of the new structure. Of course, in order that this effort must fructify, sacrifices will have to be made on the part of all. Let me tell you that the building of such a social edifice will be more glorious, more human and more just than the building of an empire". But at the same time we must make it clear that the League is opposed to any movement that aims at expropriation of private property.

The main principles on which we expect our representatives in various legislatures to work will be (1) that the present provincial constitution and proposed central constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic full self-government; (2) and that in the meantime, representatives of the Muslim League in the various Legislatures will utilize the Legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in the various spheres of national life. The Muslim League Party must be formed as a corollary so long as separate electorates exist, but there would be free-cooperation with any group or groups whose aims and ideals are approximately the same as those of the League party. The League appeals to Mussalmans that they should not permit themselves to be exploited on economic or any other grounds which will break up the solidarity of the community.

Programme for Election

The manifesto lays down the following programme for the ensuing elections: To protect religious right of Mussalmans in which connection for all matters of purely religious character, due weight shall be given to opinions of the Jamiat-Ulema-i-Hind and Mujtahids; to make every effort to secure the repeal of all repressive laws; to reject all measures which are detrimental to the interest of India, which encroach upon the fundamental liberties of the people and lead to economic exploitation of the country; to reduce the heavy cost of administrative machinery, Central and Provincial, and allocate substantial funds for nation-building departments; to nationalise the Indian Army and reduce military expenditure; to encourage development of industries, including cottage industries; to regulate currency, exchange and prices in the interest of the economic development of the country; to stand for social, educational and economic uplift of the rural population; to sponsor measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness; to make elementary education free and compulsory; to protect and promote the Urdu language and script; to devise measures for the amelioration of the general conditions of the Mussalmans; and to take steps to reduce the heavy burden of taxation and create healthy public opinion and general political consciousness throughout the country.



9. The Constitution And Rules of The All India Muslim League, 1937¹

Name

1. The Association shall be called the 'All India Muslim League'.

Aims and objects of the League.

2. The aims and objects of the All India Muslim League shall be:-
 - a) The establishment in India of full Independence in the form of a federation of free democratic States in which the rights and interests of the Mussalams and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution;
 - b) To protect and advanced the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Mussalmans;
 - c) To promote friendly relations and unity between the Mussalmans and other communities of India;
 - d) To maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries.

1. Passed at the AIML Sessions at Lucknow on 18 October 1937
(Source: Original booklet available in the NIHCR, Islamabad.)

Composition of the Organisation

3. The organization of the All India Muslim League shall consist of:-

- i) The annual and special sessions of the All India Muslim League.
- ii) The Council of the All India Muslim League as constituted under Rule 11.
- iii) The working committee of the All India Muslim League as provided for in Rule 14.
- iii) The Provincial Muslim Leagues as constituted and affiliated to the All India Muslim League under Rule 37.
- iv) District Muslim League and their Branches as constituted under Rule 38.
- v) The London Branch of the All India Muslim League, if any.

Membership of the League

4. Every candidate for membership of a primary branch of the All India Muslim League:-

- a) must be a Mussalman and a resident of British India;
- b) must not be less than 18 years of age;

Provided that a candidate may be exempted from all or any of the above conditions by Provincial Leagues.

5. Every candidate shall become a member of a Primary League on a payment of an annual subscription of annas two in advance, provided it is declared in writing that the candidate will adhere to the objects and rules of the League mentioned herein.

6. Annual subscription of members shall expire on the 31st day of December every year, irrespective of the date of their enrolment and a member shall cease to be a member unless he/she renews his/her membership by paying subscription for the next following year.

Office-Bearers of the All India Muslim League

7. There shall be the Office-Bearers of the All India Muslim League as stated below:-

a)	President	1
b)	Honorary Secretary	1
c)	Honorary Treasurer	1
d)	Honorary Joint Secretaries	2

8. The President of the All India Muslim League shall be elected every year by the Council from amongst those who have been nominated by different Provincial Muslim Leagues and he shall hold office until the next Annual Session.

9. Secretary, Treasurer, and Joint Secretaries shall be elected at the Annual Session of the League and shall hold offices for a period of one year but shall be eligible for re-election.

10. No person shall be an office-bearer of the All India Muslim League unless he is a member of some branch of the All India Muslim League.

The Council of the All India Muslim League

11. There shall be a Council of the All India Muslim League constituted under the following rules:-

- i) The Council shall consist of 465 members elected by the Provincial Leagues who shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. Provincial Leagues shall elect their representatives one month before the Annual Session of the League.
- ii) The total number of the members of the council shall be allotted to the different provinces as follows:-

1. Delhi	15
2. United Provinces.	70
3. Punjab	90
4. Bombay	30
5. Sind	25
6. Madras	20
7. N.W.F. Province.	20
8. British Baluchistan	5
9. Bengal	100
10. Bihar	30
11. Orissa	10
12. Assam	25
13. Central Provinces & Berars	20
14. Ajmere.	5
Total	<u>465</u>

Over and above the number allotted above, all the elected members of the Central Legislature will be considered ex-officio members of the Council of the League, provided they are members of some branch of the All India Muslim League and pay the annual subscription mentioned in Rule 12. The Secretaries of the various Provincial Leagues will also be considered ex-officio members of the Council of the League.

- iii) The existing Council of the League will continue to work as such till the Council is duly formed under these rules.
 - iv) In case a Provincial League or Leagues fail to elect within the prescribed time, the Council of the All India Muslim League shall have power to elect members.
12. Every member of the Council shall pay in advance an annual subscription of Rs.6/-.
13. The office-bearers of the All India Muslim League shall be ex-officio members and office bearers of the Council of the League.

The Working Committee of the League

14. There shall be Working Committee of the All India Muslim League consisting of not more than 21 members (besides the President and the Secretary who shall be the ex-officio members and office-bearers of the Working Committee) to be nominated by the President from amongst the members of the Council.

Sessions of the League

15. An Annual Session of the All India Muslim League shall and a Special Session of the League may be held at such suitable time and place as the Council of the League may determine.
16. The Council may convene a Special Session of the League at such suitable time and place as it may determine provided that not less than 50 members of the Council of the League shall call in writing on the Honorary Secretary of the League to hold such a Session.
17. The quorum of the Annual Session of the League as well as of the Special Sessions shall be 100.

18. The Delegates of all affiliated Provincial Leagues and the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League shall be entitled to attend, take part, and vote at annual or special sessions of the League on payment of a fee of Rs.2/- each.

19. The Council of the All India Muslim League shall act as a Subjects Committee to frame and adopt the resolutions to be put forward at the Annual or Special Sessions of the League with power to the President to nominate additional members not exceeding 15 to act on the subjects committee.

Meetings of the Council

20. Meeting of the Council of the League shall be held from time to time at the discretion of the Honorary Secretary with the approval of the President but at least four meetings of the Council must be held during the course of a year. Special meetings of the Council may also be convened at the written requisition of 15 members of the Council.

21. 30 members shall form the quorum of all meetings of the Council and all matters dealt with at such meetings shall be decided by votes, provided that the requirement of a quorum shall not apply to adjourned meetings.

The Secretary shall, not less than 15 days previous to the ordinary meeting and seven days previous to special meetings, issue to each a notice stating the time and place of the meeting. This notice shall be accompanied by an agenda paper.

22. Written opinion of the members of the Council will count as votes at all meetings of the Council.

Meeting of the Working Committee

23. The Working Committee shall meet as often and as frequently as the President desires.

24. Five members excluding the office-bearers shall form the quorum of all meetings of the Working Committee of the League.
25. All resolutions passed by the Working Committee will be subject to the approval of the Council of the League.

Functions of the Council

26. The Council shall exercise the under mentioned functions:-

- a) To convene meetings of the All India Muslim League as provided by Rules 15 and 16;
- b) To elect a President for the Annual Sessions of the League as provided herein;
- c) To collect all information necessary and useful with reference to the objects of the League;
- d) To consider and pass resolutions with regard to all matters arising from time to time relating to the objects of the League;
- e) To take all necessary steps for giving effect to the resolutions passed at the Sessions of the All India Muslim League or at the meetings of the Council of the All India Muslim League;
- f) To control the expenditure of the funds and appoint Auditors;
- g) To appoint Sub-Committees for carrying out its duties and exercising its powers;
- h) To affiliate and disaffiliate Muslim Leagues under these rules;
- i) To frame bye-laws for;
 - i) regulating the conduct of the Sessions of the All India Muslim League and the meetings of the Council;

- ii) regulating the conduct of the Sub-Committees appointed under clause (g);
 - iii) such other and further matters necessary for carrying out the objects of the League. Provided that no bye-law framed by the Council shall be valid if it is inconsistent with the principles embodied herein.
- j) To take disciplinary action against its members who violate the decisions of the League and act in contravention of its aims and objects.
 - k) To disaffiliate Provincial Leagues if they refuse or neglect to give effect to or act in contravention of the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League;
27. The Council may delegate any one or more of its powers to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League with such limitations and conditions as it may deem fit to impose.

Functions of the Working Committee

28. The Working Committee shall exercise the following functions:-
- a) To consider and pass resolutions with regard to all matters arising from time to time relating to the objects of the League not inconsistent or at variance with the creed or policy of the League or any resolution passed by the League or by the Council of League.
 - b) To take all necessary steps for giving effect to resolutions passed at a Session of the All India Muslim League or at a meeting of the Council of the League;
 - c) To prepare the Annual Budget and to authorize payments in accordance with it;

- d) To sanctions all payments exceeding Rs.50/- not included in the Budget;
- e) To employ and dismiss servants;
- f) To appoint Sub-Committees for carrying out its duties and its powers;
- g) To collect all information necessary and useful with reference to the objects of the League;
- h) To perform such other functions which the All India Muslim League or the Council may empower the Committee to perform.

Funds of the Leagues

29. A fund shall be raised and established called "Muslim National Fund" of the amount of five lakhs of rupees to be invested in authorized under the Indian Trust Act, the interest, and not the *corpus* of which shall be utilised by the Council for the objects of the League.

30. All fees received from delegates, councillors and office-bearers of the All India Muslim League and from visitors at the Annual and Special Sessions of the League and all donations, subscriptions or other contributions which the League or the Council may from time to time receive and collect, as well as the funds mentioned in Rule 29 shall constitute the funds of the League.

31. The funds of the League other than the fund mentioned in Rule 29 shall be deposited in the name of the All India Muslim League with the Imperial Bank of India, but in any place in which the Imperial Bank of India may not have a branch such funds may be deposited with any other Bank at the discretion of the Council. The Honorary Treasurer shall be authorised to operate on the Bank.

Powers and Duties of the Honorary Secretary, Joint Secretaries and the Treasurer

32. The Honorary Secretary shall exercise all the powers delegated to him by the Council of the All India Muslim League under Rule 27 or which may be entrusted to him by the Working Committee.

33. The Honorary Secretary shall exercise all the powers and discharge all duties laid down by and incidental to the enforcing of these rules and generally to his office.

34. The Honorary Secretary shall have the power to appoint, punish, dismiss or grant leave of absence with or without pay to the paid servants of the League subject to the sanction of the Working Committee.

35. The Honorary Secretary in case of emergency and relating to matters not affecting the fundamental principles of the constitution and rules of the All India Muslim League may call a meeting of the members of the Council, present at the headquarters, and they will be competent to take such action on behalf of the Council as they deem expedient. The resolution passed at such a meeting shall subsequently be laid before an ordinary meeting of the Council for confirmation.

36. The Honorary Joint Secretaries shall assist the Honorary Secretary and perform their duties under his guidance.

General Provisions

37. A Provincial League shall be formed and constituted in every Province of British India in such manner as the Working Committee may determine and a Provincial League so formed may be affiliated by the All India Muslim League on payment of 10% of its Annual income other than donations.

38. In every district within British India shall be formed and constituted a District Muslim League with its branches which shall be deemed to be affiliated to the All India Muslim League provided it is affiliated to the League of the Province in which the said District League is formed.

39. A Provincial League affiliated by the Council of the All India Muslim League may be disaffiliated after the expiration of one year if the Council is satisfied that it has failed to establish District Leagues in the majority of the districts in the Province.

40. The Provincial League will be entitled to select delegates for the Annual and Special Sessions of the League, but the number of such delegates shall not exceed three times the number fixed for the Council from particular provinces. The Provincial League shall distribute the numbers allotted to them among the District Leagues affiliated to them.

41. All matters dealt with at Sessions of the All India Muslim League and meetings of the Council and the Working Committee or any Sub-Committee appointed under these rules shall be decided by majority of votes, provided that if division is demanded at a session of the League, the voting will be recorded in accordance with the number allotted to the Provinces in the constitution of the Council laid down in Section 11 (11).

42. All casual vacancies arising in the ranks of the office-bearers or members of the Council shall be filled up by the Council by election.

43. The constitution of the All India Muslim League shall not be added to amended, altered or cancelled except at the Annual Sessions of the League and by a majority of the votes of not less two-thirds of the members present at the Sessions.

10. Two Separate Nations in India: Jinnah's Elucidation, 1940¹

Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

1. *All India Muslim League Lahore Session March 1940: Presidential Address by Mr. M.A. Jinnah and Text of Resolution on the future constitution of India and the position of Mussalmans under it together with brief summary of speeches delivered on the occasion* (Delhi, 1940), pp. 19.-25. Mujahid, *Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix 13, pp.490-94.

A leading journal like the *London Times*, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote that 'undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilisations. However, in the course of time the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation'. (So according to the *London Times* the only difficulties are superstitions). These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political have been euphemised as mere 'superstitions'. But surely, it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the sub-continent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society *vis a vis* that of Hinduism to characterise them as mere 'superstitions'. Notwithstanding thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character, but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussalmans, but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-

continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'. There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural good will by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interest of Muslim and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literature. They neither intermarry, nor interdine together and, indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and

final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as 7 or 8 sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last 12 hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during these ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a Government must lead to civil war and

raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow, and if they could not they must emigrate.

Mussalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even today according to the British map of India, out of 11 provinces 4 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and vital interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us....

11. League Lahore [Pakistan] Resolution, 1940¹

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1939, and 3rd of February 1940 on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, *viz.* that geographically contiguous units are

1. 23 March 1940. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix 14, pp.495-496.

demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States'¹ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

1. The ambiguity created by the use of the word 'States' was removed by Jinnah in his letter dated 17 September 1944 to Gandhi; see *Jinnah-Gandhi Talks, op. cit.*, pp.21-25. It was further clarified in the resolution passed by the Muslim League Legislators Convention in Delhi, on 9 April 1946; see below, Appendix 12.

12. The Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League (February 1946)¹

NAME

1. The Association shall be called the All India Muslim League.

Aims and objects of the League

2. The aims and objects of the All India Muslim League shall be:-
 - (a) (i) The Establishment of completely Independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent, units shall be autonomous and sovereign:

1. *The Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League* (Delhi: Hon. Secretary, AIML, 1946).

- (ii) That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them;
- (iii) That in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights, and interests in consultation with them;
- (b) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Mussalmans.
- (c) to promote friendly relations and unity between the Mussalmans and other communities of India; and
- (d) to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries.

Composition of the All India Muslim League

3. The organisation of the All India Muslim League shall consist of:-
 - (i) The Annual and Special Sessions of the All India Muslim League.
 - (ii) The Council of the All India Muslim League as constituted under section 11.

- (iii) The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League as provided for in Section 14.
- (iv) The Provincial Muslim League as constituted and affiliated to the All India Muslim League under Section 40.
- (v) District Muslim League and their branches as constituted under Section 41.
- (vi) Branches of the All India Muslim League, if any, outside India.

Membership of the League

4. Every candidate for membership of a primary branch of the All India Muslim League:-
 - (a) must be a Mussalman and a resident of British India.
 - (b) must not be less than 18 years of age.

Provided that a candidate may be exempted from all or any of the above conditions by Provincial Leagues.

5. Every candidate shall become a member of a primary League on payment of an annual subscription of annas two in advance provided it is declared in writing that the candidate will abide by the objects and rules of the League mentioned herein.
6. Annual subscriptions of members shall expire on the 31st day of December every year, irrespective of the date of their enrolment and a member shall cease to be a member unless he/she renews his/her membership by paying subscription for the next following year within three months.

The Working Committee may, however, in view of the local conditions in any Province, relax this rule and fix such other date, as it may consider proper.

Office-bearers of the All India Muslim League

7. There shall be the Office-bearers of the All India Muslim League as stated below;-
 - a* — President 1
 - b* — Honorary Secretary 1
 - c* — Honorary Treasurer 1
 - d* — Honorary Joint Secretaries 2
8. President of the All India Muslim League shall be elected every year by the Council from amongst those who have been nominated by different Provincial Muslim Leagues and he shall hold office until the next Annual Session.
9. Secretary, Treasurer and Joint Secretaries shall be elected at the Annual Session of the League and shall hold offices for a period of one year but shall be eligible for re-elections,
10. No persons shall be office-bearer of the All India Muslim League unless he is a member of some branch of the All India Muslim League.

The Council of the All India Muslim League

11. There shall be a Council of the All India Muslim League constituted under the following rules:-
 - (i) The Council shall consist of 475 members elected by the Provincial Leagues who shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. Provincial Leagues shall elect

their representatives before the 15th of November every year. Provided that in special cases and for good reasons the Honorary Secretary may, with the approval of the President, extend time mentioned herein for electing representatives by a Provincial League.

(ii) The total number of the members of the Council shall be allotted to the different Provinces as follows:-

<i>i</i> — Delhi	15
<i>ii</i> — United Provinces	70
<i>iii</i> — Punjab	90
<i>iv</i> — Bombay	30
<i>v</i> — Sind	25
<i>vi</i> — Madras	20
<i>vii</i> — N.W.F. Provinces	20
<i>viii</i> — British Balochistan	10
<i>ix</i> — Bengal	100
<i>x</i> — Bihar	30
<i>xi</i> — Orissa	10
<i>xii</i> — Assam	25
<i>xiii</i> — Central Provinces and Berar	20
<i>xiv</i> — Ajmer	05
<i>xv</i> — Banglore-Coorg	05
Total:-	<u>475</u>

Over and above the number allotted above the President shall have the power to nominate upto the extent of twenty members to the Council from such province or provinces and in such proportion as he may be consider necessary and all the elected members of the Central

Legislature will be considered ex-officio members of the Council of the League, provided they are members of some branch of the All India Muslim League and pay the annual subscription mentioned in Section 12. The President and the Secretary of every Provincial League will also be considered ex-officio members of the Council of the League.

[iii] In case a Provincial League or Leagues fail to elect representatives within the prescribed time, the Council of the All India Muslim League shall have power to co-opt members from the defaulting province or provinces.

12. Every member of the Council shall pay, in advance, an annual subscription of Rs.6 and if he or she fails to pay his or her subscription within two months from the date of notice by the Central Office, he or she shall cease to be a member of the Council.
13. The office-bearers of the All India Muslim League shall be ex-officio members and office-bearers of the Council of the League.

The President and the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League shall have the right to attend and address the meetings of the Provincial Councils and their Working Committees.

Working Committee of the All India Muslim League

14. There shall be a Working Committee of the All India Muslim League consisting of not more than 21 members (besides the President and the Secretary who shall be the ex-officio members and office-bearers of the Working Committee) to

be nominated by the President at the time of the Annual Session from amongst the members of the Council.

Sessions of the All India Muslim League

15. An Annual Session of the All India Muslim League shall and a Special Session of the League may be held at such suitable time and place as the Council of the League may determine.
16. The quorum of the Annual Session of the League as well as of the Special Session shall be 100.
17. The delegates of all the affiliated Provincial Leagues and the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League shall be entitled to attend, take part, and vote at Annual or Special Session of the League on payment of a fee of Rs.2 each.
18. The Council of the All India Muslim League shall act as a Subjects Committee to frame and adopt the resolutions to be placed before the Annual or Special Sessions of the League with power to the President to nominate additional members not exceeding 15 to act on the Subjects Committee who will be regarded as delegates.

Meetings of the Council

19. Meetings of the Council of the League shall be held from time to time at the discretion of the Honorary Secretary, with the approval of the President, but at least two meetings of the Council must be held during the course of a year. Special meetings of the Council shall be convened if 100 members of the Council send in written requisition to the Honorary Secretary

stating therein the purpose for which the meeting is required to be convened.

20. Fifty members shall form the quorum of all meetings of the Council and all matters dealt with at such meetings shall be decided by votes, provided that the requirement of a quorum shall not apply to adjourned meetings.

The Secretary shall be not less than 15 days previous to the ordinary meetings, and seven days previous to Special meetings, issue to each member a notice stating the time and place of the meeting. This notice shall be accompanied by an Agenda paper.

Meetings of the Working Committee

21. The Working Committee shall meet as often and as frequently as the President desires.
22. Five members excluding the office-bearers shall form the quorum of all meetings of the Working Committee of the League.
23. All resolutions passed by the Working Committee will be placed before the Council of the League for its information.

Functions of the Council

24. The Council shall exercise the under mentioned functions:-
 - a — to convene meetings of the All India Muslim League as provided in Sec. 15.
 - b — to elect a President for the Annual Sessions of the League as provided in Section 8;
 - c — to collect all information necessary and useful with reference to the objects of the League;

- d — to consider and pass resolutions with regard to all matters arising from time to time relating to the objects of the League;
- e — to take all necessary steps for giving effect to the resolutions passed at the Sessions of the All India Muslim League or at the meetings of the Council of the All India Muslim League;
- f — to control the expenditure of the funds and appoint auditors;
- g — to appoint Sub-Committees for carrying out its duties and exercising its powers.
- h — to affiliate and disaffiliate Muslim Leagues under these rules:
- i — to frame bye-laws for:
 - (i) regulating the conduct of the Sessions of the All India Muslim League and the meetings of Council:
 - (ii) regulating the conduct of the Sub-Committees appointed under clause (g) and
 - (iii) other and further matters necessary for carrying out the objects of the League.

Provided that no bye-law framed by the Council shall be valid if it is inconsistent with the principles embodied herein.

- j — to take disciplinary action against any member of the League who violates the decisions of the League and acts in contravention of its aims and objects; and
- k — to disaffiliate Provincial Leagues if they refuse or neglect to give effect to or act in

contravention of the policy, programme and directions of the All India Muslim League.

25. The Council may delegate any one or more of its powers to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League with such limitations and conditions as it may deem fit to impose.

Functions and powers of the Working Committee

26. The Working Committee shall be the principal executive of the All India Muslim League and shall exercise the following functions:-
- (a) to consider and pass resolutions and take necessary steps with regard to matters arising from time to time relating to the objects of the League not inconsistent or at variance with the creed or policy of the League or any resolution passed by the League or by the Council of the League;
 - (b) to take all necessary steps for giving effect to resolutions passed at a Session of the All India Muslim League or at a meeting of the Council of the League;
 - (c) to appoint annually a Central Parliamentary Board to exercise '*inter alia*' the functions specified in Section 29 of these Rules;
 - (d) to frame, revise and amend rules and regulations for the constitution and working of Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards;
 - (e) to appoint or institute Sub-Committees for carrying out such duties and functions as may be entrusted to them;

- (f) to prepare the Annual Budget and to authorise payments in accordance with it;
- (g) to sanction all payments not included in the budget;
- (h) to employ and dismiss staff;
- (i) to collect all information necessary and useful with reference to the objects of the League; and
- (j) to perform such other functions as the All India Muslim League or the Council may empower the Committee to perform.

27. The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall be empowered:-

- (a) to control, direct and regulate all the activities of the various Provincial Leagues strictly in consonance with the aims, objects and rules of the All India Muslim League;
- (b) to take disciplinary action against any member of the All India Muslim League who violates the decisions of the League or acts in contravention of its aims and objects, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League;
- (c) to suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any Provincial League which fails in its duties, infringes or ignores the decisions or directions of the Working Committee or the Council of the All India Muslim League or binds the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League;

(d) to take disciplinary action against any Office-bearer of a Provincial League who fails in his duties, ignores the decisions or directions of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or binders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

28. The Working Committee may delegate any or more of its powers to any Committee of its members or to the President or to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League with such limitations and conditions, if any, as it may deem fit to impose.

Central Parliamentary Board

29. There shall be a Central Muslim League Parliamentary Board to be appointed annually by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, and it shall exercise the following functions:-

- (a) to select, in consultation with the Provincial Parliamentary Boards, candidates for the Central Legislature and to exercise general control over the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature;
- (b) to see that Provincial Parliamentary Boards are properly constituted in every province;
- (c) to supervise and control the activities of the Provincial Parliamentary Boards;
- (d) to hear and decide finally all appeals against the decisions of the Provincial Parliamentary Boards;

- (e) to decide all disputes arising between a Provincial Parliamentary Board and a Provincial Muslim League or a Muslim League party in a Provincial Legislature; and
- (f) to see that Muslim League Legislative Parties are established in the various Legislatures of the country, and to keep a watch over their activities.

Funds of the League

- 30. A fund shall be raised and established called "Muslim National Fund" of the amount of five lacs of Rupees to be invested in authorised securities under the Indian Trust Act, the interest and not the corpus of which shall be utilised for the objects of the League.
- 31. All fees received from delegates, Councillors and Office-bearers of the All India Muslim League and from visitors at the Annual and Special Sessions of the League, amounts received as provincial quotas under Section 40, and all donations, subscriptions or other contributions which the League or the Council may from time to time receive and collect, as well as the funds mentioned in Section 30 shall constitute the funds of the League.
- 32. The funds of the League other than the fund mentioned in Section 30 shall be deposited in the name of the All India Muslim League with the Imperial Bank of India; but in any place in which the Imperial Bank of India may not have a branch such funds may be deposited with any other Bank at the discretion of the Working Committee.

Powers and duties of the Office-bearers of the All India Muslim League

33. The President shall be the principal head of the whole organization, shall exercise all the powers inherent in his office and be responsible to see that all the authorities work in consonance with the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League.
The President shall have the power to nominate a member of the Council to act for him during his absence due to illness or any other cause,
34. The Honorary Secretary shall exercise all the powers delegated to him by the Council of the All India Muslim League under Section 25 or which may be entrusted to him by the Working Committee.
35. The Honorary Secretary shall exercise all the powers and discharge all the duties laid down by and incidental to the enforcing of these rules and generally to his office.
36. The Honorary Secretary shall have the power to appoint, punish, dismiss or grant leave of absence with or without pay to the paid servants of the League in accordance with the bye-laws to be framed by the Working Committee in this behalf.
37. The Honorary Secretary, in case of emergency and relating to matters not affecting the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the All India Muslim League, may with the approval of the President, take such action, on behalf of the Council, as he deems expedient. The action so taken shall be reported to the Council at its next meeting for confirmation.

38. The Honorary Treasurer shall be authorised to operate on the bank and shall make payments in accordance with the directions of the Working Committee.
39. The Honorary Joint Secretaries shall assist the Honorary Secretary and perform such duties under his guidance as may be entrusted to them.

General Provisions

40. A Provincial League and a Provincial Parliamentary Board shall be formed and constituted in every Province of British India in such manner as the Working Committee may determine. A Provincial League so formed and affiliated by the All India Muslim League shall pay to the All India Muslim League, every year, ten per cent of its Annual Income other than donations.
41. Every District or City Muslim League together with its branches, formed within British India, shall be deemed to be affiliated to the All India Muslim League provided it is affiliated to the League of its Province.
42. A Provincial League affiliated by the Council of the All India Muslim League may be disaffiliated after the expiration of one year if the Council is satisfied that it has failed to establish District League in the majority of the District in the Province.
43. All Provincial Leagues will be entitled to select delegates for the Annual and Special Sessions of the League, and the number of such delegates shall not exceed three times the number fixed for the Council from a particular province. The

Provincial Leagues shall distribute the numbers allotted to them among the District Leagues affiliated to them.

44. All the members of the Muslim League Parties in the Provincial Legislatures shall be *ex-officio* delegates at the annual or Special Sessions of the All India Muslim League on payment of Delegate's fee.
45. All matters, including election of office-bearers, dealt with at the Sessions of the All India Muslim League and meetings of the Council and the Working Committee or any Sub-Committee appointed under these rules shall be decided by majority of votes, provided that if division is demanded at a Session of the League, the voting will be recorded in accordance with the number allotted to the Provinces in the Constitution of the Council laid down in Section 11 (ii).
46. All casual vacancies arising in the ranks of the Office-bearers or members of the Council shall be filled up by the Council by election.
47. The Constitution of the All India Muslim League shall not be added to, amended, altered or cancelled except at the Annual Sessions of the League and by a majority of the votes of not less than two-thirds of the members present at the Sessions.

13. League Legislators' Resolution, 1946¹

Whereas, in this vast sub-continent of India, a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social, economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu *dharma* and philosophy which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and superimposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically;

Whereas the Hindu caste system is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all [the] noble ideas that Islam stands for;

Whereas different historical backgrounds, traditions, cultures, social and economic orders of the Hindus and Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations;

1. 9 April 1946. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix, 15, pp.497-99.

Whereas, soon after the introduction by the British of the policy of setting up political institutions in India on the lines of Western democracies based on majority rule, which meant that the majority of one nation or society could impose its will on the majority of the other nation or society in spite of their opposition, as was amply demonstrated during the two and a half years' regime of Congress Governments in the Hindu-majority provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935, when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and oppression as a result of which they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so-called safeguards provided in the Constitution and in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors and were driven to the irresistible conclusion that in a united Indian Federation, if established, the Muslims, even in majority provinces, would meet with no better fate and their rights and interests, could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the Centre;

whereas the Muslims are convinced that with a view to save Muslim India from the domination of the Hindus and in order to afford them full scope to develop themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent State, comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East zone and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West zone;

This Convention of the Muslim League Legislators of India, Central and Provincial, after careful consideration hereby declares that the Muslim Nation will never submit to any Constitution for a United India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set up for the purpose, and that any formula devised by the British Government for transferring power from the British to the peoples of India, which does not conform to the following just and equitable principles calculated to maintain internal peace and tranquillity in the country, will not contribute to the solution of the Indian problem:

1. That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India, namely, Pakistan zones, where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay;
2. That two separate constitution-making bodies be set up by [the] peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions:
3. That the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the All-India Muslim League resolution passed on the 23rd March 1940, at Lahore.
4. That the acceptance of the Muslim League demand of Pakistan and its implementation without delay are the *sine qua non* for the Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre.

This Convention further emphatically declares that any attempt to impose a constitution on a united India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre, contrary to the Muslim League demand, will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence.

14. League on the Cabinet Mission Plan, 1946

a) League Council Resolution accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan¹

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, after having carefully considered the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy on the 16th May 1946, and other relevant statements and documents officially issued in connection therewith, and after having examined the proposals set forth in the said statement in all their bearings and implications, places on record the following views for the guidance of the nation and direction of the Working Committee.

That the references made and the conclusions recorded in paragraphs 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Statement concerning the Muslim demand for the establishment of a fully sovereign Pakistan as the only solution of the Indian constitutional problem are unwarranted, unjustified, and unconvincing, and should not therefore have found a place in a state document issued on behalf and with the authority of the British Government.

These paragraphs are couched in such a language, and contain such mutilations of the established facts, that the Cabinet Mission have clearly been prompted to include them in their Statement solely with the object of appeasing the Hindus, in utter disregard of Muslim sentiments. Further

1. 6 June 1946. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix, 16, pp.500-502.

more, the contents of the aforesaid paragraphs are in conflict and inconsistent with the admissions made by the Mission themselves in paragraphs 5 and 12 of their Statement, which are to the following effect:

First, the Mission “were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to perpetual Hindu-majority rule”.

Secondly, “this feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards”.

Thirdly, “If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, economic or other interests”.

And Fourthly, “Very real Muslim apprehensions exist that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which Hindus, with their greatly superior numbers, must be the dominating element”.

In order that there may be no manner of doubt in any quarter, the Council of the All-India Muslim League reiterates that the attainment of the goal of a completely sovereign Pakistan still remains the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India, for the achievement of which they will, if necessary, employ every means in their power, and consider no sacrifice or suffering too great.

That, notwithstanding the affront offered to Muslim sentiments by the choice of injudicious words in the preamble of the Statement of the Cabinet Mission, the Muslim League, having regard to the grave issues involved, and prompted by its earnest desire for a peaceful solution, if possible, of the Indian constitutional problem, and inasmuch as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan are inherent in the Mission’s Plan by virtue of the compulsory grouping of the

six Muslim Provinces in Sections B and C, is willing to co-operate with the constitution-making machinery proposed in the scheme outlined by the Mission, in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of a completely sovereign Pakistan, and in the consummation of a goal of independence for the major nations, Muslims and Hindus, and all the other people inhabiting this vast subcontinent.

It is for these reasons that the Muslim League is accepting the scheme and will join the constitution-making body, and it will keep in view the opportunity and the right of secession of Provinces or groups from the Union, which have been provided in the Mission's Plan by implication. The ultimate attitude of the Muslim League will depend on the final outcome of the labours of the constitution-making body, and on the final shape of the constitutions which may emerge from the deliberations of that body jointly and separately in its three Sections.

The Muslim League also reserves the right to modify and revise the policy and attitude set forth in this resolution at any time during the progress of deliberations of the constitution-making body, or the Constituent Assembly, or thereafter, if the course of events so require, bearing in mind the fundamental principles and ideals hereinbefore adumbrated, to which the Muslim League is irrevocably committed.

That with regard to [the] arrangement for the proposed Interim Government at the Centre, this Council authorises its President to negotiate with His Excellency the Viceroy and to take such decisions and actions as he seems [deems?] fit and proper.

b) League Council Resolutions Withdrawing Acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan¹**Resolution No.1**

On the 6th of June 1946, the Council of the All-India Muslim League accepted the scheme embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May, 1946 and explained by them in their statement dated 25th May, 1946. The scheme of the Cabinet Delegation fell far short of the demand of the Muslim nation for the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan comprising the six Muslim Provinces, but the Council accepted a Union Centre for ten years strictly confined to three subjects, viz. Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, as the scheme laid down certain fundamentals and safeguards and provided for the grouping separately for the six Muslim Provinces in Section B and C for the purpose of framing their provincial and group constitutions unfettered by the Union in any way; and also with a view to end the Hindu-Muslim deadlock peacefully and accelerate the attainment of freedom of the peoples of India. In arriving at this decision, the Council was also greatly influenced by the statement of the President which he made with the authority of the Viceroy that the Interim Government, which was an integral part of the Mission's scheme, was going to be formed on the basis of a formula, viz. 5 Muslim League, 5 Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian stipulating that the most important portfolios would be distributed equally between the two major parties, the Muslim League and the Congress. The Council authorized the President to take such decision and action with regard to further details of setting up the Interim Government as he deemed fit and proper. In that very resolution the Council also reserved the right to modify and revise this policy, if the course of events so required.

1. 29 July 1946. *Ibid.*, pp. 502-07.

The British Government committed a breach of faith with the Muslim League in that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy went back on the original formula of 5:5:2 for setting up of the Interim Government to placate the Congress.

Having gone back on the original formula upon the faith of which the Muslim League Council had come to their decision on the 6th of June, the Viceroy suggested a new basis of 5:5:3 and, after carrying on considerable negotiations with the Congress and having failed to get the Congress to agree to it, intimated to the parties on the 15th of June that he and the Cabinet Delegation would issue their final statement with regard to the setting up of the Interim Government.

Accordingly on the 16th of June the President of the Muslim League received a statement embodying what was announced to be the final decision for setting up the Interim Government by the Viceroy, making it clear that if either of the two major parties refused to accept the statement of June 16, the Viceroy would proceed to form the Interim Government with the major party accepting it and such other representatives as were willing to join. This was explicitly laid down in paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16.

Even this final decision of the Cabinet Mission of the 16th of June with regard to the formation of the Interim Government was rejected by the Congress, whereas the Muslim League definitely accepted it. Though this proposal was different from the original formula of 5:5:2, the Muslim League accepted it because the Viceroy had provided safeguards and given other satisfactory assurances which were contained in his letter dated the 20th of June 1946, addressed to the President of the Muslim League.

The Viceroy, however, scrapped the proposal of the 16th of June and postponed the formation of the Interim Government on the plea concocted by the 'legalistic talents'

of the Cabinet Mission putting a most fantastic and dishonest construction upon paragraph 8 of the statement to the effect that as both the major parties i.e., the Muslim League and the Congress, had accepted the statement of May 16, the question of the Interim Government could only be taken up in consultation with the representatives of both the parties *de novo*.

Even assuming that this construction was tenable, for which there is no warrant, the Congress, by their conditional acceptance with reservations and interpretations of their own as laid down in the letter of the President of the Congress dated the 25th of June and the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress passed at Delhi on the 26th of June, repudiating the very fundamentals of the scheme had, in fact, rejected the statement of the 16th of May and there was therefore no justification, whatsoever, for abandoning the final proposals of the 16th of June.

As regards the proposal embodied in the statements of the 16th and 25th of May of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the Muslim League alone of the two major parties has accepted it.

The Congress have not accepted it because their acceptance is conditional and subject to their own interpretation which is contrary to the authoritative statements of the Delegation and the Viceroy issued on the 16th and the 25th of May. The Congress have made it clear that they do not accept any of the terms or the fundamentals of the scheme but that they have agreed only to go into the Constituent Assembly and to nothing else; and that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body and can take such decisions as it may think proper in total disregard of the terms and the basis on which it was proposed to be set up. Subsequently this was made further clear and beyond any doubt in the speeches that were made at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on the 6th of July

by prominent members of the Congress and in the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, to a press conference on the 10th July in Bombay and then again even after the debate in the Parliament in a public speech by him at Delhi on the 22nd of July.

The result is, that of the two major parties, [the] Muslim League alone has accepted the statements of May 16th and 25th according to the spirit and the letter of the proposals embodied therein and inspite of the attention of the Secretary of State for India having been drawn to this situation by the statement of the President of the Muslim League of 13th July from Hyderabad, Deccan, neither Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons, nor Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords, in the course of the recent debate, have provided or suggested any means or machinery to prevent the Constituent Assembly from taking decisions which would be *ultra vires* and not competent for the Assembly to do so. The only reference that the Secretary of State made to this serious situation was a mere expression of pious hope when he stated that “that would not be fair to the other parties who go in”.

Once the Constituent Assembly was summoned and met, there was no provision or power that could prevent any decision from being taken by the Congress, with its overwhelming majority, which would not be competent for the Assembly to take or which would be *ultra vires* of it, and however repugnant it might be to the letter or the spirit of the scheme. It would rest entirely with the majority to take such decisions as they may think proper or suit them and the Congress have already secured by sheer numbers an overwhelming Hindu-Caste majority whereby they will be in a position to use the Assembly in the manner in which they have already declared, i.e. that they will wreck the basic form of the grouping of the provinces and extend the scope, powers and subjects of the Union Centre which is confined strictly to three specific subjects as laid down in paragraph

15 and provided for in paragraph 19 of the statement of 16th May.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy collectively and individually have stated on more than one occasion that the basic principles were laid down to enable the major parties to join the Constituent Assembly and that the scheme cannot succeed unless it is worked in a spirit of co-operation. The attitude of the Congress clearly shows that these conditions precedent for the successful working of the constitution-making body do not exist. This fact, taken together with the policy of the British Government of sacrificing the interests of the Muslim nation and some other weaker sections of the peoples of India, particularly the Scheduled Castes, to appease the Congress and the way in which they have been going back on their oral and written solemn pledges and assurances given from time to time to the Muslims, leaves no doubt that in these circumstances the participation of the Muslims in the proposed constitution-making machinery is fraught with danger and the Council, therefore, hereby withdraws its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals which was communicated to the Secretary of State for India by the President of the Muslim League on the 6th of June 1946.

Resolution No.2

Whereas the Council of the All-India Muslim League has resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May 1946 due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other; and

whereas Muslim India has exhausted without success all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means; and

whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up Caste-Hindu Raj in India with the connivance of the British; and

whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs: and

whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest contented with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution-making machinery or any constitution, long-term or short-term, or the setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre without the approval and consent of the Muslim League;

the Council of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim Nation to resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination.

This Council calls upon the Muslim Nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative and authoritative organization, the All-India Muslim League, and to be ready for every sacrifice.

This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of Direct Action to carry out the policy enunciated above and to organize the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this Council calls upon the Mussalmans to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government.

15. League on the Interim Government¹

Text of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at its meeting held in Delhi from 7th to 14th October 1946 under the Presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah.

Resolution

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League resolve that the following draft of the letter dated 13th October 1946 to be sent to the H.E., the Viceroy by the President of the All India Muslim League be approved:-

Dear Lord Wavell,

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League have considered the whole matter fully and I am now authorised to state that they do not approve of the basis and scheme of setting up the Interim Government which has been decided by you, presumably with the authority of His Majesty's Government.

Therefore, the Committee do not and cannot agree with your decision already taken, nor with the arrangements you have already made.

We consider and maintain that the imposition of this decision is contrary to the Declaration of August 8, 1940, but since according to your decision, we have a right to nominate

1. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), Vol. III, pp.413-14.

five members of the Executive Council on behalf of the Muslim League my Committee have, for various reasons come to the conclusion that in the interests of Mussalmans and other communities it will be fatal to leave the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hands of the Congress. Besides, you may be forced to have in your Interim Government Muslims who would not command the respect and confidence of Muslim India which would lead to very serious consequences: and, lastly, for other very weighty grounds and reasons, which are obvious and need not be mentioned, we have decided to nominate five on behalf of the Muslim League in terms of your broadcast dated August 24, 1946 and your two letters to me dated 4th October, 1946 and 12th October 1946, respectively, embodying clarifications and assurances.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M.A. JINNAH



16. Jinnah on the Partition Plan, 1947¹

The statement of His Majesty's Government embodying in the plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast and will be released to the press to be published in India and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outlines of the Plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We have to examine it coolly and dispassionately. We must remember that we have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400 million people. The world has no parallel for the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.

Grave responsibilities lie particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore, we must galvanize and concentrate all our energies to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Muslim India to maintain peace and order.

We must examine the Plan, its letter and spirit and come to our conclusions and take over decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us and enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner having regard to the *sum toto* or the plan as a whole.

1. 3 June 1947. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix 17, pp.508-10.

It is clear that the Plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view; and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the Plan. It is for us now to consider whether the Plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement.

On this point I do not wish to pre-judge the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League which has been summoned to meet on Monday, 9th of June; and the final decision can only be taken by that Council according to our constitution, precedents and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather on the whole the reaction in the Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful. Of course, the Plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before the final decision can be taken.

I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left in my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality, and it is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him as far as it lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of transferring power to the peoples of India in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now, the plan that has been broadcast already makes it clear in paragraph 11 that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph 4 they wish to adopt; and the referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the Provincial Government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these

circumstances, I request the provincial Muslim League of the Frontier to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had *perforce* to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and Mussalmans generally to organise our people to face this referendum with hope and courage and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Mussalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame, and this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply sympathise with all those who have suffered, and those who died or whose properties were subjected to destruction, and I fervently hope that the Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner and it should be the anxiety of everyone to obtain a fair, free and true verdict of the people of the Frontier. Once again, I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order. Pakistan Zindabad.



17. League on the Partition Plan, 1947¹

The Council of the All-India Muslim League, after full deliberation and consideration of the statement of His Majesty's Government, dated June 3, 1947, laying down the plan of transfer of power to the peoples of India, notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946 will not be proceeded with and has been abandoned. The only course open is the partition of India as now proposed in HMG's statement of June 3.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League is of the opinion that the only solution of India's problem is to divide India into two—Pakistan and Hindustan. On that basis, the Council has given its most earnest attention and consideration to HMG's statement. The Council is of the opinion that, although it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, or give its consent to such partition, it has to consider HMG's plan for the transfer of power as a whole.

The Council, therefore, hereby resolves to give full authority to the President of the All-India Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah to accept the fundamental principles of the plan as a compromise and to leave it to him, with full authority to work out all the details of the plan in an equitable and just manner with regard to carrying out the complete division of India on the basis and fundamental

1. 10 June 1947. Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Appendix, 18, p.511

principles embodied in HMG's plan, including Defence, Finance and Communications, etc.

The Council further empower the President, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the plan.



18. Resolution on AIML's Bifurcation¹

III. The Council of the All-India Muslim League views with great satisfaction the attainment of its main objective, namely the establishment of Pakistan, and congratulates the Musalmans of the Indian Subcontinent on the sacrifices they have made for the achievement of their national goal. The Council feels confident that the unique struggle of the Muslim League for the establishment of a fully independent sovereign State, under the superb leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and its ultimate triumph in the birth of the largest Muslim State and the fifth largest of all States in the world, will go down in history as the most outstanding world event of modern times. The Council now calls upon the Musalmans of Pakistan and all other loyal citizens of the State to make the greatest possible contribution towards the building up of this new-born State, so that in as short time as possible it can attain an honourable position in the comity of nations of the world as an ideal democratic state based on social justice as an upholder of human freedom and world peace, in which all its citizens will enjoy equal rights and be free from fear, want and ignorance.

Now that the main object of the All-India Muslim League has been fulfilled and India has been divided into two independent and sovereign States, certain changes are

1. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970), Vol. II, pp.575-76.

inevitable in the structure, objectives and policies of the All-India Muslim League organization. It is obvious that the Musalmans of Pakistan and India can no longer have one and the same political organization.

The Council therefore resolves:

- (i) That in place of the All-India Muslim League there shall be separate Muslim League organizations for Pakistan and the Indian Union. (ii) That all members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League for the time being who have become ordinarily residents of the territories comprised by Pakistan, or have settled therein, and all Muslim members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly who are primary members of the Muslim League do hereby constitute the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League. (iii) That all members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League who have become ordinarily residents of the territories comprised by the Indian Union, or have settled therein, and all Muslim members of the Indian Union Constituent Assembly who are primary members of the Muslim League do hereby constitute the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League. (iv) That a convener each be appointed for the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League, with instructions to convene at very early dates meetings of the two respective Councils as defined above, for the purpose of electing office-bearers, framing the constitution and transacting such other business as arises by virtue of this decision. (v) That the following be elected the convenors respectively: for the Pakistan Muslim League, the Honourable Mr. Liaquat

- Ali Khan; for the Indian Union Muslim League, Mr. Mohammad Ismail, President, Madras Provincial Muslim League. (vi) That the meeting of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League will be held at Karachi, and that of the Indian Union Muslim League at Madras.
- ii). That all primary members of the All-India Muslim League who are now ordinarily residents of Pakistan, or have settled therein, should be deemed *ipso facto* to have become primary members of the Pakistan Muslim League; and all members of the All-India Muslim League who are now ordinarily residents of the Indian Union, or have settled therein, be deemed to have become *ipso facto* primary members of the Indian Union Muslim League.
- iii). That when meetings of the respective Councils of the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League are convened, each Council shall elect its representatives, not exceeding three in each case, as members of a Joint Ad-Hoc Committee for the purpose of deciding how the assets and liabilities of the All-India Muslim League are to be equitably divided as between the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League. In the event of a difference of opinion in the Ad-Hoc Committee, the issues in dispute will be finally decided by the Quaid-i-Azam.
- iv). That in case of dispute regarding the membership of the Council, a written declaration by an existing member of the

Council of the All-India Muslim League to the effect that he is ordinarily resident of, or has settled in, Pakistan or the Indian Union shall be conclusive.

- v). That the existing Central Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League shall continue to function in accordance with the Constitution and Rules for the Muslim League organization in Pakistan till such time as the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League meets, and for the Muslim League organization in the Indian Union till such time as the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League meets.



19. Muslim League Presidents and Secretaries¹

(a) Presidents, All India Muslim League, 1906-47

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. | H.H. the Aga Khan
(1877-1957) | 1908-12 |
| 2. | Maharaja Sir Muhammad Ali
Muhammad Khan of Mahmudabad
(1877-1931) | 1912-18 |
| 3. | Mr. M.A. Jinnah
(1876-1948) | 1919-30 |
| 4. | Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi
(1869-1985) | 15 March 1931-
15 December 1931 |
| 5. | Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan
(1893-1985) | 1931-32 |
| 6. | Mian Abdul Aziz
(d. 1946) | 1932-33 |
| 7. | Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hosain
(1881-1936) | 1933-34 |
| 8. | M.A. Jinnah
(1876-1948) | 1934-47 |

1. Waheed Ahmad, (ed.), *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice: Towards Consolidation: Speeches and Statements, March 1935-March 1940* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1992), Appendix XXIII (A) (a,b,c), pp.846-49.

(b) Presidents of Annual and other Sessions, (All India Muslim League)

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------|---|
| 1. | Nawab Viqarul Mulk,
Maulvi Mushtaq Hosain
Bahadur
(1841-1917) | Dacca | 30 Dec. 1906
(Inaugural Session) |
| 2. | Sir Adamji Peerbhai
(1846-1910)
Shah Din
(1868-1918) | Karachi

Aligarh | 29-30 Dec. 1907

18-19 March 1908
In continuation of
Karachi meeting
1907) |
| 3. | Syed Ali Imam
(1869-1932) | Amritsar | 30-31 Dec. 1908 |
| 4. | Sir Ghulam Muhammad Ali,
Prince of Arcot
(1882-1952) | Delhi | 29-30 Jan. 1910 |
| 5. | Syed Nabiullah
(d. 1925) | Nagpur | 28-30 Dec. 1910 |
| 6. | Nawab Khwaja Salimullah
(1884-1915) | Calcutta | 3-4 March 1912 |
| 7. | Mian Muhammad Shafi
(1869-1932) | Lucknow | 22-23 March 1913 |
| 8. | Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola
(1862-1942) | Agra | 30-31 Dec. 1913 |
| 9. | Mr. Mazharul Haq
(1866-1930) | Bombay | 30 Dec. 1915 —
1 January 1916 |
| 10. | Mr. M.A. Jinnah
(1876-1948) | Lucknow | 30-31 Dec. 1916 |
| 11. | Maulana Muhammad Ali
(1878-1931) (President elect)
Maharaja of Mahmudabad | Calcutta
Bombay | 30 December 1917
1 January 1916
31 August 1918 |

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|---|
| | | | 1 September 1918
(special session) |
| 12. | Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq
(1873-1962) | Delhi | 30 Dec. 1918 |
| 13. | Hakim Ajmal Khan
(1863-1927) | Amritsar | 29-31 Dec. 1919 |
| | M.A. Jinnah
(1876-1948) | Calcutta | 7 September 1920
(Extraordinary session) |
| 14. | Dr. M.A. Ansari
(1880-1936) | Nagpur | 30-31 Dec. 1920 |
| 15. | Maulana Hasrat Mohani
(1878-1951) | Ahmadabad | 30 December 1921 |
| 16. | Ghulam Muhammad
Bhurgri
(1881-1924) | Lucknow | 31 March
1 April 1923
(Session adjourned) |
| | Mr. M.A. Jinnah | Lahore | 24-25 May 1924
(Session reconvened) |
| 17. | Syed Raza Ali
(1882-1947) | Bombay | 30-31 Dec. 1924 |
| 18. | Sir Abdur Rahim
(1867-1947) | Aligarh | 30-31 Dec. 1925 |
| 19. | Sir Abdul Qadir
(1874-1950) | Delhi | 30-31 Dec. 1926 |
| 20. | Maulvi Sir M. Yakub
(1879-1942) | Calcutta | 30 December 1927
and 1 January 1928 |
| | Sir Muhammad Shafi | Lahore | 31 December 1927-
1 January 1928 |
| 21. | Maharaja Muhammad Ali
Muhammad Khan of | Calcutta | 26-30 Dec. 1928 |

- Mahumudabad
(1877-1931)
22. Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal Allahabad 29-30 Dec. 1930
(1876-1938)
23. Chaudhri Muhammad Delhi 26-27 Dec. 1931
Zafrullah Khan
(1893-1985)
- Mian Abdul Aziz Howra 21 October 1933
(d. 1946) (Aziz Group)
24. Hafiz Hidayat Husain Delhi 25-26 Nov. 1933
(1881-1936)
25. Syed Wazir Hasan Bombay 11-12 April 1936
(1874-1947)
26. M.A. Jinnah Lucknow 15-18 October 1937
(1876-1948)
Calcutta 17-18 April 1938
(Special Session)
27. M.A. Jinnah Patna 26-29 Dec. 1938
28. M.A. Jinnah Lahore 22-24 March 1940
29. M.A. Jinnah Madras 12-15 April 1941
30. M.A. Jinnah Allahabad 3-6 April 1942
31. M.A. Jinnah Delhi 24-26 April 1943
32. M.A. Jinnah Karachi 24-26 Dec. 1943

(c) Secretaries, All India Muslim League

1. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk Mehdi Ali Khan 1906-1907
(1837-1907)
and Nawab Viqarul Mulk Maulvi Mushtaq Hosain
2. Nawab Viqarul Mulk Maulvi Mushtaq Hosain 1907-1908
(1841-1917)

3. Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami
(d. 1915) 1908-1910
4. Maulvi Muhammad Aziz Mirza
(1865-1912) 1910-1912
5. Syed Wazir Hasan
(1874-1947) 1912-1918
6. Syed Wazir Hasan
(b. 1870) 1919-1926
7. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew
(1884-1963) 1926-1929
8. Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub
(1879-1942) 1930-1933
9. Professor Mirza Muhammad Said
(1886-1962) 1933
10. Hafiz Hidayat Hosain
(1881-1936) 1934-1935
11. Maulvi Sir Muhammad Yakub
(1879-1942) 1935-1936
12. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
(1895-1951) 1936-1947

