Appendices
Appendix-A

Lahore Resolution (1940) of the
All India Muslim League

"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 principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are 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" 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 Musalmans 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".
Appendix-B

C.R. Formula

"Basis for terms of settlement between the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League to which Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah agree and which they will endeavour respectively to get the Congress and the League to approve:

1. Constitution for free India: The Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period.

2. After the termination of the war, a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign State separate from Hindustan such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either State.
3. It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

4. In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

5. Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

6. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain in full power and responsibility of the governance of India."

Appendix-C

Mr. Gandhi's Proposal Dated 24th Sep. 1944.

"The areas should be demarcated by a Commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

If the vote is in favour of separation it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can therefore be constituted into two sovereign independent States.
There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States.

Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of independence of India.

The League will, however, be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort and in which the League may not be willing to participate."

Appendix-D

Jagat Narain Lal's Resolution of the All India Congress Committee

"The A.I.C.C. is of the opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union for Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different States and provinces and the country as a whole, and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."
Gandhi-Jinnah Correspondence—Their points in their own words:

Eager for Joint Freedom Front

JINNAH I think you realise and will admit that the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question is the foremost and the major hurdle and unless the representatives of these two nations (Hindus and Muslims) put their heads together how is one to make any headway with it. (Letter, 10.9.1944).

GANDHI: My life mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake, but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted. Hence the first condition for the exercise of the right of self-determination is the achieving of independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too, I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

JINNAH: (After quoting the above sentence) This in my opinion, is as I have repeatedly said putting the cart before the horse and is generally opposed to the policy and the declarations of the All-India Muslim League. You are only holding on firmly to the August resolution of 1942. In order to achieve the freedom and independence of the peoples of India, it is essential in the first instance that there should be Hindu-Muslim settlement. (Letter, 11.9.1944).
GANDHI: (Referring to the above para) As to the second (para), I do hold that unless we oust the third party, we shall not be able to live at peace with one another. That does not mean I may not make an effort to find ways and means of establishing a living peace between us. (Letter 14.9.1944)

On C.R. Formula as Basis

(a) Constitution of Free India

JINNAH: With regard to "the constitution of free India" referred to in this clause (1) (see Rajaji's formula printed elsewhere on this page). I would like to know first what constitution you refer to, who will frame it and when will it come into being?

Next, it is stated in the formula that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence." Does it mean the Congress resolution of 1942 passed by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay, or, if not, what is the significance of this term? For you know the Muslim League has made it clear not only by its resolutions, but also by its creed, which is embodied in its constitution, that we stand for freedom and independence of the whole of this sub continent and that applies to Pakistan and Hindustan. (Letter, 10.9.1944).

GANDHI: The Constitution will be framed by the Provisional Government contemplated in the formula or an authority specially set up by
it after the British power is withdrawn. The independence contemplated is of the whole of India. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

JINNAH: I again ask, does it mean on the basis of a united India? I find you have not clarified the point satisfactorily. (Letter, 14.9.1944).

GANDHI: Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. resolution of 1942. But it cannot be on the basis of a United India. If we come to a settlement it would be on the basis of the settlement, assuming of course that it secures general acceptance in the country. The process will be somewhat like this. We reach by joint effort independence for India as it stands. India, become free, will proceed to demarcation, plebiscite and partition if the people concerned vote for partition. All this is implied in the Rajaji formula. (Letter, 15.9.1944).

(b) PROVISIONAL INTERIM GOVERNMENT

JINNAH: I would like to know the basis or the lines on which such a government ("Provisional interim government") is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete definite scheme let me have it. (Letter, 10.9.1944).

GANDHI: The basis of the provisional interim government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

JINNAH: No doubt it will be subject to agreement between the League and the Congress, but I think that, in fairness, you should at least
give me some rough idea or lines of your conception for you must have thought it out by now. I would like to know your proposals or scheme for the formation of a provisional interim government which can give me some clear picture to understand it. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

GANDHI: You ask for my conception of the basis for a provisional interim Government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind I imagine that if we two can agree it would be for us to consult the other parties. I can say this that any provisional Government, to inspire confidence at the present moment, must represent all parties. When that moment arrives. I shall have been replaced by some authoritative person, though you will have me always at your beck and call when you have converted me or I you, or by mutual conversion we have become one mind functioning through two bodies. (Letter, 14.9.1944).

JINNAH: Of course, I can quite understand that such a provisional interim Government will represent all the parties and would be of a character that would inspire confidence at the present moment of all the parties. I can quite understand that, when the moment arrives certain things may follow. What I would like to know would be what will be the powers of such a provisional interim Government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible, what its composition will be, etc. You being the sponsor of the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, you should give me some rough idea and picture of it, so that I may understand what this part of the formula

GANDHI: I can give you full satisfaction about your inquiry. The provisional interim Government will be responsible to the elected members of the present Assembly or a newly elected one. It will have all the powers less that of the commander-in-chief during the war and full powers thereafter. It will be the authority to give effect to the agreement that may be arrived at between the League and the Congress and ratified by the other parties. (Letter, 15.9.1944).

(c) BOUNDARIES OF PAKISTAN

JINNAH: Who will appoint the Commission referred to in this clause (2) and who will give effect to their finding? What is the meaning of "absolute majority" referred to in it? (Letter, 10.9.1944).

GANDHI: The Commission will be appointed by the provisional government. "Absolute majority" means a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan, or the Frontier Province. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

JINNAH: You have omitted to answer my question as to who will give effect to the findings of the Commission. Also it is not clear to me what you mean by 'absolute majority', when you say it means 'a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province.' (Letter, 11.9.1944).
GANDHI: I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations, but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i.e. Baluchistan, Sind, North-west Frontier Province and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority, and in parts of Bengal and Assam, where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India. (Letter, 24.9.1944).

JINNAH: If this term (quoted above) is accepted and give effect to, the present boundaries of these provinces would be maimed and mutilated beyond redemption and leave us only the husk and it is opposed to the Lahore resolution. (Letter, 25.9.1944).

(d) PLEBISCITE FOR CREATION OF PAKISTAN

JINNAH: Will the contemplated plebiscite be taken district-wise or if not on what basis? Who will determine and decide whether such a plebiscite should be based on adult franchise? Who will give effect to the decision or verdict of the above-mentioned plebiscite? Would only the districts on the border, which are taken out from the boundaries of the present provinces by delimitation be entitled to choose either state or also those outside the present boundaries would have the right to join either state. (Letter, 10.9.1944).
GANDHI: The form of plebiscite and the franchise must be a matter for discussion. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

JINNAH: You have not replied to my question as to who will decide the form of the plebiscite and the franchise contemplated by the formula. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

GANDHI: The form of the plebiscite and franchise must be left to be decided by the provisional interim government unless we decide it now. I should say it should be by adult suffrage of all the inhabitants of the Pakistan area. (Letter, 14.9.1944).

GANDHI: Are the people in the regions under plan (Pakistan) to have any voice in the matter of separation and if so, how is it to be ascertained? (Letter, 15.9.1944).

JINNAH: This question does not arise out of the Lahore resolution. (Letter, 17.9.1944)

GANDHI: You seem to be averse to a plebiscite. Inspite of the admitted importance of the League, there must be clear proof that the people affect desire partition. In my opinion, all the people inhabiting the area ought to express their opinion specifically on this single issue. Adult suffrage is the best method, but I would accept any other equivalent. (Letter, 22.9.1944).

JINNAH: (This means) "The right of self-determination will not be exercised by the Muslims, but by the inhabitants of those areas so
demarcated. This is opposed to the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution. (you say) that if the vote is in favour of separation they shall be allowed to "form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination." Whereas we propose that we should come to a complete settlement of our own immediately and by our united front and efforts to do everything in our own power to secure the freedom and independence of the peoples of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan. (Letter, 25.9.1944).

(e) MUTUAL AGREEMENT WITH HINDUSTAN

JINNAH: Regarding clause 4, I would like to know between whom and through what machinery and agency will the 'mutual agreements' referred to in this clause be entered into? What is meant by "safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes"? Safeguarding against whom? (Letter, 10.9.1944).

GANDHI: 'Mutual agreements' means agreements between contracting parties, 'Safeguarding defence, etc.' means for me a central or joint board of control. 'Safeguarding' means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

JINNAH: You say, "mutual agreement' means 'agreement between contracting parties'. "Who are the contracting parties once a provisional interim government of your conception is established? Who will appoint the central or joint board of control which will safeguard defence, etc.? And on
what principle? Through what machinery and agency? And subject to whose control and orders will such a central board or joint board be? (Letter, 11.9.1944).

GANDHI: What is the provision for defence and similar matters of common concern contemplated in the Lahore resolution? (Letter, 15.9.1944)

JINNAH: It will be a matter for the Constitution-making body chosen by Pakistan to deal with and decide all matter as a sovereign body representing Pakistan vis-a-vis the constitution making body of Hindustan or any other party concerned. There can not be defence and similar matter of 'common concern' when it is accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan will be two separate independent sovereign states. (Letter, 21.9.1944).

GANDHI: You summarily reject the idea of common interest between the two arms. I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests such as defence, foreign affairs, and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity (Letter, 22.9.44).

JINNAH: I am sorry that you think I have summarily rejected the idea of common interest between two arms, and now you put it somewhat differently. When you say there will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity - my answer, already given, is that it will be for
the constitution-making body of Pakistan as of Hindustan, or any other party concerned, to deal with such matters on the footing of their being two independent states. (Letter, 23.9.1944).

GANDHI: There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties. (Letter, 14.9.1944).

JINNAH: If these vital matters are to be administered by some central authority, you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer these matters and how and to whom again that authority will be responsible. According to the Lahore resolution as I have explained to you, all these matters, which are the life-blood of any state, cannot be delegated to any central authority or Government. The matter of security of the two states and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan, as of Hindustan, or other Party concerned, to deal with on the footing of there being two independent states. (Letter, 25.9.1944).

(f) LAHORE RESOLUTION & C.R. FORMULA

GANDHI: The Lahore Resolution is indefinite. Rajaji has taken from it the substance and given it shape. (Letter, 11.9.1944).
JINNAH: I would like to know in what way or respect the Lahore resolution is indefinite. I cannot agree that Rajaji has taken from it its substance and given it shape. On the contrary, Rajaji has not only put it out of shape, but mutilated it as I explained in my speech at Lahore on July 30, 1944. (Letter, 11.9.1944).

GANDHI: You refer me to the basic and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution and ask me to accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when I feel I have accepted the concrete consequences that should follow from such acceptance. (Letter, 24.9.1944).

III
ON LAHORE RESOLUTION AS BASIS
(a) MUSLIMS - A NATION?

GANDHI: You must admit that the resolution itself makes no reference to the two nations theory. In the course of our discussions you have passionately pleaded that India contains two nations, i.e. Hindus and Muslims, and that the latter have their homeland in India as the former have theirs. The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it was true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must
remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children. (Letter, 15.9.44).

JINNAH: We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions—in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation. (Letter, 17.9.44)

GANDHI: You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood. If I accept it, I would have to subscribe to many more claims and face an insoluble problem. The only real, though lawful, test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjugation. If you and I throw off this subjugation by our combined effort, we shall be born a politically free nation out of our travail. If by then we have not learnt to prize our freedom, we may quarrel among ourselves and, for want of common master holding us to either in his iron grip, seek to split up into small groups or nationalities. There will be nothing to prevent us from descending to that level, and we shall not have to go in search of a master. There are many claimants to the throne that never remains vacant. (Letter, 15.9.1944).
PAKISTAN AND PAN-ISLAMISM

GANDHI: Pakistan is not in the resolution. Does it bear the original meaning of Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan, out of which the name was mnemonically formed? If not what is it?

JINNAH: Yes, the word 'Pakistan' is not mentioned in the resolution, and it does not bear the original meaning. The word has now become synonymous with the Lahore resolution.

GANDHI: Is the goal of Pakistan Pan-Islam?

JINNAH: This point does not arise, but still I reply that the question is a mere bogey.

GANDHI: What is it that distinguishes an Indian Muslim from every other Indian, if not his religion? Is he different from a Turk or an Arab?

JINNAH: This point is covered by my answer that the Musalmans of India are a nation. As to the last part of your query, it is hardly relevant to the matter of clarification of the resolution.

GANDHI: Are the constituents in the two zones to constitute 'independent states', an undefined number in each zone?

JINNAH: No. They will form units of Pakistan.

GANDHI: Is the demarcation to take place during the pendency of British rule?

JINNAH: As soon as the basis and the principles embodied in the Lahore resolution are accepted, the question of demarcation will have to be
taken up immediately. (Letter, 15.9.44 & 17.9.44).

(C) SELF-DETERMINATION: TWO VIEWS

GANDHI: Can we not agree to differ on the question of "Two Nations" and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination? It is this basis which has brought me to you. If the regions holding Muslim majorities have to be separated according to the Lahore Resolution, the grave step of separation should have specifically placed before and approved by the people in that area. (Letter, 19.9.1944).

JINNAH: It seems to me that you are labouring under some misconception of the real meaning of the world "self-determination." We claim the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit, and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation, which is our birthright. Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that "self-determination" means only that of "a territorial unit" which by the way, is neither demarcated nor defined yet, and there is no union or federal constitution of India in being, functioning as a sovereign Central Government, ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign states by way of settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing union which is non-existent in India. The right of self-determination, which we claim, postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the
self-determination of the Musalmans, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right. (Letter, 21.9.44)

IV DIVISION AS BROTHERS

GANDHI: I am unable to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. More assertion is no proof. The consequences of accepting such a proposition are dangerous in the extreme. Once the principle is admitted there would be no limit to claims for cutting up India into numerous divisions which would spell India's ruin. I have therefore suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be. (Letter, 22.9.1944).

JINNAH: I really do not know what this means and I would like you to elaborate this proposal and give me some rough outlines of this new idea of yours as to how and when the division is to take place and in what way it is different from the division envisaged by the Lahore resolution (Letter, 23.9.1944).

(a) AUGUST RESOLUTION NOT IN THE WAY

GANDHI: You adhere to the opinion often expressed by you that the August 1942 resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. There is no proof for the sweeping statement. (Letter, 22.9.44).
JINNAH: I am really surprised when you say there is no proof of what you characterize as a sweeping statement of mine, that the August 1942 Resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. The resolution in its essence is as follows:

Setting up immediately of a Federal Central Government on the basis of a united democratic Government of India with federated units or provinces, which means establishing a Hindu Raj.

b) That this National Government so set up will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly which will be chosen by adult franchise, which will prepare a constitution for the government of India, which means that the Constituent Assembly chosen will be composed of an overwhelming majority of the Hindus, nearly 75 percent.

c) to enforce this demand of the Congress the August resolution decides on and sanctions a resort to mass civil disobedience at your command and when ordered by you as the sole dictator of the Congress to the ideals and demands of Muslim India, of Pakistan, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution, and to enforce such a demand by means of resort to mass civil disobedience in inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India; and if you succeed in realizing this demand, it would be a deathblow to Muslim India. I see from the correspondence and
talks between you and me that you are still holding fast to this fateful resolution. (Letter, 23.9.1944).

GANDHI: With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement, so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied. You must therefore have no apprehensions that the August Resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement. That resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement. (Letter, 24.9.44).

(b) NEW PROPOSALS OF GANDHIJI

GANDHI: Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommended to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore of 1940, on my basis and on the following terms:

The areas should be demarcated by a commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

If the vote is in favour of separation it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as soon as possible, after India is
free from foreign domination and can therefore be constituted into two sovereign independent States.

There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States.

Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of independence of India.

The League will however be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort and in which the League may not be willing to participate. If you do not agree to these terms, could you let me know in precise terms what you would have me to accept in terms of the Lahore resolution and bind myself to recommend to the Congress? If you could kindly do this, I shall be able to see, apart from the difference in approach, what definite terms I can agree to.

In your letter of September 23, you refer to "the basic and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution" and ask me to accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when, as I feel, I have
accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance. (Letter, 24.9.1944).

JINNAH: You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution. You do not accept that the Musalmans of India are a nation. You do not accept that the Musalmans have an inherent right of self-determination. You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right of theirs for self-determination. You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, North-West and North-East, comprising six provinces, namely Sindh, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore Resolution. The matter of demarcating and defining the territories can be taken up after the fundamentals above-mentioned are accepted, and for that purpose a machinery may be set up by an agreement.

As a result of our correspondence and discussions, I find that the question of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan is only on your lips and it does not come from your heart.

The terms clearly indicate that your basis is in vital conflict with and is opposed to, the fundamental basis and principles of the Lahore resolution.

(Mr. Jinnah after repeating his objections to the way in which the question of demarcation, plebiscite and mutual treaties is posed in the new proposals of Gandhiji, as given above, under the various heads, sums up as
You will therefore see that the entire basis of your new proposals is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore resolution, and as I have already pointed out to you, both in the correspondence and in our discussions, it is very difficult for me to entertain counter-proposal and negotiate and reach any agreement or settlement with you as an individual, unless they come from you in your representative capacity.

(Mr. Jinnah concludes): If you say you have accepted the concrete consequences that should follow from the Lahore Resolution why not then accept the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution and proceed to settle the details. (Letter, 25.9.1944).

BREAKDOWN

GANDHI: My proposal of yesterday is an earnest effort to meet the essential requirements of the Lahore Resolution. I would like you, therefore, to think fifty times before throwing away an offer which has been made entirely in the spirit of service in the cause of communal harmony. Do not take, I pray, the responsibility of rejecting the offer. Throw it on your Council. Give me an opportunity of addressing them. If they feel like rejecting it, I would like you to advice the Council to put it before the Open Session of the League. If you accept my advice and permit me, I would attend the Open Session and address it. (Letter, 25.9.1944).
JINNAH: As regards your proposal of yesterday, which you have simplified in your letter of September 24. I have already sent you my reply. With regard to your suggestion to be allowed to address the meeting of the Council, and if they feel like rejecting your "offer", the matter should be put before the open session, let me inform you that only a member or delegate is entitled to participate in the deliberations of the meetings of the Council or the open session, respectively. Besides it is a most extraordinary and unprecedented suggestion to make. However, I thank you for your advice. (Letter, 26.9.1944).

GANDHI: You keep on saying that I should accept certain thesis which you call the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution, while I have been contending that the best way for us who differ in our approach to the problem is to give body to the demand as it stands in the resolution and work it out to our mutual satisfaction. It is on this plan that I understand Rajaji's formula to be conceived, and it is on the same plan that I have tried to work it out in the course of, and as a result of, our talks. I contend that each gives you the substance of the Lahore resolution. Unfortunately, you reject both. And I cannot accept the Lahore resolution as you want me to, especially when you seek to introduce into its interpretation theories and claims which I cannot ever hope to induce India to accept.
If you break, it cannot be because I have no representative capacity, or because I have been unwilling to give you satisfaction in regard to the claim embodied in the Lahore Resolution. (Letter, 26.9.1944).

JINNAH: No responsible organisation can entertain any proposal from any individual however great he may be unless it is backed up with the authority of a recognised organisation and comes from its fully accredited representative. However, I need not labour this point any more, as I have already explained it in our previous correspondence.

If a break comes, it will be because you have not satisfied me in regard to the essence of the claim embodied in the Lahore resolution. It is not a question of your being unwilling, but in fact it is so. If a break comes, it will be most unfortunate. If one does not agree with you or differs from you, you are always right and the other party is always wrong. The next thing is that many are waiting prepared, in your circle, to pillory me when the word goes; but I must face all threats and consequences, and I can only act according to my judgement and conscience. (Letter, 26.9.1944).