CHAPTER TWO

LAHORE RESOLUTION

From the beginning the League did not agree to the federal scheme of the Government and Jinnah opposed the British idea of introducing democratic institutions in India based on the Parliamentary Government. To Jinnah India was a heterogeneous country, having people of different faith and religions and it would be futile to apply western type of democracy in India.

"It is accepted" Jinnah remarked, "that there is in India a major and a minor nation, it follows (therefore) that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the major nation. Experience has proved that, whatever the economic and political programme of any political party, the Hindu, as a general rule, will vote for his castefellow and the Muslims for his co-religionists." It was on this that Jinnah was opposed to the Western type of democracy in India and suggested that on the basis of the experience gained by the working of the Congress ministries, the British Government should consider the entire problem of India’s future constitution. The Congress ministries would mean a ‘Hindu Raj’, which was unacceptable.

1. India’s Problem of Her Future Constitution, See Jinnah’s article written for, Time and Tide, dated January 19, 1940, pp. 23-28.

2. Ibid.
to the League. In the League's circle, therefore, the Federal scheme was rejected and even Choudhry Khaliquzzaman in an interview at London, apprised the Under-Secretary of State Col. Muirhead of League's viewpoint. He suggested two zones i.e. North-West and North-East in which Muslims were in majority to be separated from India. But even Khaliquzzaman did not have a clear picture of the proposed zones. Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State, wrote to Lord Linlithgow on March 28, 1939 that what Khaliquzzaman and Abdul Rahman Siddiqui proposed was the establishment of three or four federations of provinces and states which would be co-ordinated by a small central body of some unit. "The whole object of the scheme was, of course," he said, "to give the Muslims as great a measure of control at the centre as the Hindus. They were very vague when they came to the details of the scheme, but I rather gathered that what was in their minds was a federation of the Muslim provinces and princely states in the north west India, a further federation of Bengal and Assam and possibly Bihar and Orissa in the east."

By this time a few other schemes had been suggested to the League and they were all under its serious consideration. But no scheme was taken up as final. This was all to escape Congress domination which collapsed because of the Congress resigning from the ministries and the League announced to celebrate the Day of Deliverance on Friday December 22, 1939 by organising rallies and public meetings against the Congress which was responsible for the wrongs done to the Muslims and other minorities.

Gandhi made a personal appeal to Jinnah to call off the observance of the Day of Deliverance but Jinnah would not listen to it and only said that he had asked the British Government to appoint a royal commission to investigate the charges. Jawaharlal also wrote to him to discuss communal question. But Jinnah insisted that the Congress had not accepted League as the sole representative of the Muslims. Hence, there was no question

5. Sir Mohammad Iqbal’s scheme, Rahmat Ali’s scheme, and Dr. Syed Abdul Latif’s scheme etc.

6. Jamiluddin Ahmad, (ed.), Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, (Lahore, 1942), pp.104-05
of any discussion. Moreover he also said that the League was not prepared to back the Congress demand for the declaration of War aims and convening a constituent assembly.

Apart from the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha was also very much opposed to the League's 'Day of Deliverance' and its demand for the appointment of a royal commission to investigate the alleged atrocities of the Congress. It had been very critical to the League from the very beginning.

Hindu Mahasabha condemned League's approach to the formation of a federation. Sarvarkar, like his previous arguments, made some more significant additions to it and he gave a new definition of the term 'Hindu' 'Any one who considered India as both his fatherland as well as holyland in the sense of the land of the origin of his religion was a Hindu'. According to V.V. Nagarkar, 'By this definition, the Muslims, the Christians, the Jews and also the Parsis came to be excluded implying thereby that the followers of these religions might not be accorded equal citizenship rights.' The League was not going to concede such attitudes.

7. V.V. Nagarkar, op.cit., p. 316.
Jinnah was having separate meetings with the Viceroy on November 4, and 7, 1939 and many letters were also exchanged between him and the Viceroy. In this correspondence Jinnah stood for two things.

(1) 'No declaration should be made by the British Government without the approval and consent of the representatives of the Hindus and the Muslims and

(2) The British Government should not frame any constitution or make any declaration regarding the question of further constitutional advance without the consent and approval of the Muslim League.' The Viceroy appeared not to be in concurrence of the League's demand as he thought that other constitutional problem would arise but he assured that the Government 'would give due weight to the views of the Muslim community.'

The League after the celebration of the Day of Deliverance very seriously started working for the safety

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8. Ibid., p. 318.
and security of the Muslims in India. The Working Commit-
ttee of the League met for four days from February 3, 1940 and pressurised the Viceroy to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances demanded by the League in its earlier resolutions of September 18 and October 22, 1939. The Working Committee also concluded that a delegation comprising the premiers of the Punjab and Bengal, and Nazimuddin and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman be sent to London to gain the British support. This was a very crucial meeting of the Working Committee which was considering all facets of an all-India federation. Khaliquzzaman says that on the second day, his suggestion for partition by separating the Muslim zones in the north-west and Bengal and Assam in the east from the rest of India was accepted by Jinnah. Jinnah in return informed the Viceroy about the decision of the League for Partition which worried both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State who wanted to come to a settlement with the Congress and League in view of the unfavourable situation of the Allies in War. But no settlement was reached at. On February 25, 1940 again the League met to review the situation and expressed its determination to fight for the Muslims in India.

Meanwhile early in 1940 Choudhry Rahmat Ali propagated his scheme for a sovereign Bang-e-Islam including Bengal and Assam. It was a much talked off Scheme in the Congress circle. At that time the Indian National Congress was meeting at Ramgarh for its fifty third session on March 19, 20, 1940 under the Presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Maulana Azad devoted the major portion of his speech on the communal problem. It will not be out of place to quote him in extenso:

"I am a Musalman and am proud of that fact. Islam's splendid traditions of thirteen hundred years are my inheritance. I am unwilling to loss even the smallest part of this inheritance. The teaching and history of Islam, its arts and letters and civilisation are my wealth and my fortune. It is my duty to protect them.

As a Musalman I have a special interest in Islamic religion and culture and I can not tolerate any interference in them. But in addition to these sentiments, I have others also which the realities and conditions of my life
have forced upon me. The spirit of Islam does not come in the way of these sentiments; it guides and helps me forward. I am proud of being an Indian. I am a part of the indivisible unity that is Indian nationality. I am indispensable to this noble edifice and without me this splendid structure of India is incomplete. I am an essential element which has gone to build India, I can never surrender this claim.....

Full eleven centuries have passed by since then Islam has now as great a claim on the soil of India as Hinduism. If Hinduism has been the religion of the people here for several thousands of years, Islam also has been their religion for a thousand years. Just as a Hindu can say with equal pride that he is an Indian and follows Hinduism so also we can say with equal pride that we are Indians and follow Islam. I shall enlarge this orbit still further. The Indian Christian is equally entitled to say with pride that he is an Indian and is following a religion of India, namely Christianity.
Eleven hundred years of common history have enriched India with our common achievements. Our languages, our poetry, our literature, our culture, our art, our dress, our manners and customs, the innumerable happenings of our daily life, everything bears the stamp of our joint endeavour. There is indeed no aspect of our life which has escaped this stamp. Our languages were different, but we grew to use a common language; our manners and customs were dissimilar, but they acted and reacted on each other and thus produced a new synthesis. Our old dress may be seen only in ancient pictures of by-gone days; no one wears it today. This joint wealth is the heritage of our common nationality and we do not want to leave it and go back to the times when this joint life had not begun. If there are any Hindus amongst us who desire to bring back the Hindu life of a thousand years ago and more, they dream, and such dreams are vain fantasies. So also if there are any Muslims who wish to revive their past civilization and culture, which they brought a thousand years ago from Iran and Central Asia,
they dream also and the sooner they wake up the better. There are unnatural fancies which cannot take root in the soil of reality. I am one of those who believe that revival may be a necessity in a religion but in social matters it is a denial of progress.

These thousand years of our joint life have moulded us into a common nationality. This cannot be undone artificially. Nature does her fashioning through her hidden processes in the course of centuries. The cast has now been moulded and destiny has set her seal upon it, whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity. We must accept the logic of fact and history and engage ourselves in the fashioning of our future destiny."

In a resolution, the Session said that "It will always be ready as it ever has been to make every effort to secure

10. Arsh Malsiani, Abul Kalam Azad, (Publication Division, Delhi, 1976), Appendix 4, pp. 154-156.
communal harmony, no permanent solution is possible except through a Constituent Assembly, where the rights of all recognised minorities will be fully protected by agreement, as far as possible between the elected representatives of various majority and minority groups or by arbitration if agreement is not reached on any point. The resolution further high-lighted the long standing policy of the Congress. It said that "India's Constitution must be based on independence, democracy and national unity, and the Congress repudiates attempts to divide India or to split her nationhood."

A study of the above speech of the Congress President, Maulana Azad and the resolution passed in the Ramgarh session reveals the differences of approach between the League and the Congress. League stood for two nation theory and was opposed to the convening of the Constituent Assembly and thus drastically differed with the Congress. It was in response to these Congress challenges that the League met at Lahore on March 22, 1940. In view


of the great victory, League achieved in overthrowing the Congress ministries by its clamour and thus celebrating the day of Deliverance this session of the League was also to be momentum.

On Friday, March 22, 1940 the League took its 27th session at Lahore in a decorated Pandal a few furlong from the Mughal Fort. Over one lakhs people has assembled to watch working of the session which started with the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot who recalled the struggle of the League in protecting Muslims and other minorities. Referring to the working of the Congress ministries, Sir Shah Nawaz said that a popular Government could only function when the minorities were satisfied. He regretted that the Congress ministries failed to inspire confidence in the minorities and had to pay heavy cost.

He was followed by the Presidential Address of Jinnah who described the Congress policy of oppression and said that he had 'never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress- governed provinces'. But

he was thankful that the Muslims realised this. They were awakened and the League was grown into such a strong institution that its fall was now impossible. He referred to the statements of C. Rajgopalachari, Babu Rajendra Parasad and Gandhi, who talked about the joint electorate and the Constituent Assembly which was only a myth. Jinnah said that Gandhiji should not be shy of calling himself a 'Hindu' and saying that Congress was a 'Hindu' organisation with a total Hindu backing. He rejected the oft-repeated sentence that the Muslims were a minority and pleaded that they were 'a nation by any definition.' He supported the comments of the Times, which wrote that "the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word, but also of 'law and culture', representing, 'two entirely distinct and separate civilizations.' He asked the British Government to realise the 'fundamental truth' and divide India into 'autonomous national state' to 'secure the peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent.

Continuing his Presidential Address, Jinnah said, "It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu

15. Ibid., p. 337.
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. 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, literatures. They neither inter-marry, nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. He further said that "their aspects in 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, their heroes are different, and they have different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and like-

16. Address (Delivered Extempore) by Qaid-e-Azam Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Printed and Published by S. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, All-India Muslim League at Muslim League printing press, (Darya Ganj, Delhi, 1945), p. 11.
wise their victories and defeat overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one 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.

Continuing Jinnah said that by any definition 'Mussalmans are a nation' and 'they must have their home-land, their territory and their state.' The acceptance of any Constitution without the consent of Muslim League would mean 'a Hindu majority government.' 'Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean a Hindu Raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious to Islam.'

17. All-India Muslim League Lahore Session March 1940 Verbatim Report of the Presidential Address by Quaid-e-Azam Mr. M.A.Jinnah, printed and published by S. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, All-India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing Press (Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945), p.20.

18. Ibid., p. 21.

19. Ibid., p. 21.
The speech of Jinnah was highly cheered. The same day in the night the Subject Committee discussed the draft of the historic Lahore Resolution which was to be presented to the open session next day.

Fazlul Haq moved the Lahore Resolution which said:

"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."

The resolution was prefaced by a long speech of the Bengal Premier who apprised the audience of the latest development in Congress circles. He criticized Maulana

Agad's Ramgarh address which said that 80 million Muslims should not be afraid of any force. "Situated as we are, our political enemy can take advantage of the situation", he said. He asked the Muslims to be united and exercise a calm and sober judgement to prove their strength.

The Lahore Resolution was seconded by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman who pointed out to the audience that the Muslims of India had been forced to demand for a separate homeland. He condemned other Muslims who created organizations other than League and added that 'the responsibility of those Muslims who had damaged Muslim rights in India was great, for they were not only betraying the present generation, but the future generations also.'

Extending his support to the Resolution, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that he had been a member of the Congress for quite a long time but found that the Congress was not anxious to achieve freedom. Its sole objective was to suppress the minorities.

22. Ibid., p. 343.
23. Ibid., p. 344.
Other prominent members of the League were Sardar Aurangzeb Khan of Frontier, Sir Abdullah Haroon of Sind, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (Bihar), Mohammad Isa Khan (Baluchistan) and Abdul Hamid Khan (Madras), I.I. Chundrigar (Bombay), Syed Abdur Rauf Shah (C.P.), Dr. Iqbal Aslam (Punjab), Syed Zakir Ali and Begum Mohammad Ali. While Sardar Aurangzeb, concluded that "we do not want British democracy which is nothing but a counting of heads. Muslims are a separate nation; we want a home for the Muslim nation, and our home is as indicated in the resolution," Sir Haroon warned the Hindus that if the Muslims in Hindu provinces were not justly treated, the Hindus in the Muslims provinces would also be treated likewise. After a heated discussion which continued next day also, the Lahore Resolution was declared passed amidst great rejoicing. In that very session the League's constitution was slightly modified to strengthen it with more disciplinary powers in dealing with the Provincial League which 'fails in its duties, and infringes or ignores the decisions or directions of the All-India Muslim League or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever, subject to a right of appeal to the council of the 26 All-India Muslim League.'

24. Ibid., p. 345.
25. Ibid., p. 347.
26. Ibid., p. 348.
The Lahore session was a landmark in the history of Muslim India. It was a landmark as it finally defined their goal which they had hitherto failed. The concluding remarks were given by the Quaid-e-Azam himself who said, "the more you organise yourself, the more you will be able to get your rights." The Lahore resolution did not employ the word Pakistan, although in his Presidential speech he specifically said that the Hindus and Muslims represented two different cultures and social orders and could not evolve a common nationality. A Hindu correspondent asked him whether the resolution 'meant a demand for Pakistan?' Jinnah in reply said that he would think and that he was prepared to accept his interpretation.

The idea of a separate home land was not a new one. Since the beginning of the twentieth century it had been realised by Muslims that they were not adequately treated by the Hindus. The formation of the Muslim League and the demand of separate electorates was the outcome of this feeling. But circumstances united them temporarily

27. Ibid., p. 348.

till 1922. Between 1922-26 communal riots again separated them and it was realised that both the communities would not be able to live together. Lala Lajpat Rai in 1924, therefore, suggested a scheme of Muslim state in the provinces of the Punjab, North West Frontier, Sind and Bengal.

Six years later, Dr. Iqbal also in his Presidential Address to the League in 1930 suggested a federation of autonomous states with a weak centre within India.

The great historian Dr. Tara Chand says that a memorandum by Plowden-Justice of U.P. High Court, was also sent to the Tory group stating the division of India into Hindu and Muslim states to ensure peace in the country. The special correspondent of the Bombay Chronicle in London had also suggested the vivisection of India into Hindu India and Muslim India. At that very time, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, a student of Cambridge University, also floated a scheme of the division of India. He published a pamphlet in 1933 which gave the shape of what Pakistan

30. Ibid., p. 318.
was to comprise with. Though it was rejected as 'a boyish exercise' and 'a chimera' but soon thereafter many schemes provided a common central government for all India. By 1938-39 the idea of Pakistan had become clearly manifest and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman in consultation with Chaudhry Rahmat Ali at Cambridge brought home a complete picture of the division of the country. Jinnah is credited with having put the scheme so logically and emphatically in 1940 which was not done by any one before him.

The whole of India watched the development of Muslim politics in Lahore with great anxiety. The Lahore resolution shocked it and produced a quick reaction throughout the country. Its discussion in Press ultimately gave it the name of the Pakistan resolution. Sarvarkar was the first to declare that his party would fight to the last to the partition of India.

Jawaharlal who had hitherto been thinking of bringing the Hindus and Muslims on one platform through negotiation felt disappointed and apprehended that there was no

33. The Hindu, March 26, 1940.
question of settlement or negotiation on this issue. Gandhi wrote a series of article in the *Harijan* in which he expressed his resentment.

Scholars on Indian History have also criticised the Lahore Resolution. Dr. Tara Chand is of the opinion that 'The resolution bears the marks of precipitancy and inadequacy of thought and appears to have been passed because the leaders were apprehensive lest the worsening of the war situation in Europe and the hardening of the Congress attitude might force the Government to yield to the Congress demand.' To Lal Bahadur "The Lahore Resolution was the highest culmination of Muslim aspiration roused by leaders from Sayyid Ahmad's time. Not only the Hindus but there was also a section among the Muslims who did not approve of the Lahore Resolution. They were Allah Baksh of Sind, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan from North Western Frontier Province and Syed Abdul Rahman of Bengal. They speculated to present a United front but the rising and influential personality of Jinnah did not encourage them to go ahead beyond murmuring.

34. *The Statesman*, (Calcutta), April 16, 1940.


Jinnah defended the resolution and to its critics he replied comprehensively with all the aspects of the scheme. He said:

"In the first place a wrong idea and false propaganda appear to be set in motion in order to frighten the Muslim minorities that they would have to migrate en bloc and wholesale. I wish to assure my Muslim brethren that there is no justification for this insidious misrepresentation. Exchange of population, however, on the physical division of India as far as practicable will have to be considered. Secondly the Muslim minorities are wrongly made to believe that they would be worse off and be left in the lurch in any scheme of partition or division of India. I may explain that the Musalmans, whenever they are in minority cannot improve their position under a united India or under one central government. Whatever happens, they would remain a minority. They can rightly demand all the safeguards that are known to any civilised government to the utmost extent. But by coming in the way of division of India they do not and cannot improve their own position. On the other hand, they can, by their attitude of obstruction, bring the Muslim homeland and 60,000,000 of Musalmans under the government, where they would remain no more than a minority in
Jinnah continued replying to his critics wherever he had the occasion to explain his viewpoint. To his audience he again said "The issues involve the future fate and destiny of ninety million of Muslims and I am sure that Muslim India today is fully alive to the gravity of the situation both internal and external that is facing us. Our ideal and our fight is not to harm or injure any other community or interest or block the progress but to defend ourselves. We want to live in this country an honourable life as free men and we stand for free Islam and free India."

Viceroy, since the commencement of World War II, was asking both the Congress and the League to support the British in their war efforts. He wanted their representatives to join Executive Council. But the Congress rejected this. The League continued corresponding the Viceroy and finally in July, 1940 sent its proposals to the Viceroy. The proposals said that the Home Government

37. Jamiluddin Ahmad, Some Recent speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, op.cit., pp. 157-58.
would not announce any scheme which may be contrary to the Lahore Resolution and that a previous approval by Muslim India of any scheme would be appreciated. Jinnah assured full cooperation of the League in war efforts provided equal representation was given to League along with the Congress on the proposed war council and the Executive Council of the Governor General. It also claimed that all the Muslim members should be exclusively from the Muslim League. This resulted into the announcement of the August Offer on August 8, 1940, by the Viceroy which said:

"They could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government."

This announcement was a departure from the previous policy of the Government. The Secretary of State for India was convinced that the question of minority was a major issue. The Viceroy announcing the British policy on this complicated question further said:

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

The Secretary of State was conscious of the great followings of the Congress and the constitutional problems of the British Government would have been diminished if the other important section had accepted Congress as a national organisation. This section was the Muslim minority, which was adamant to be treated equally with the Congress in any constitutional advance in India. It was this element which could not be ignored and the August Offer was the outcome of this thinking. Thus the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow and Lord Amery, the Secretary of State fully endorsed the Lahore resolution, based on the two nation theory. British attitude had emboldened Jinnah and in his birth day message on December 24, 1940 to his

41. Ibid., p. 335.
nation he said that the Muslim nation had to prove its fitness to 'govern and achieve' the goal as enunciated in the Lahore Resolution. He reiterated that the Muslim League was 'The only authoritative and representative body of the Muslims of India'. Pakistan was their goal and they were determined to fight for it.

Jinnah led a vigorous campaign and through his speeches and writings explained the scheme of Pakistan. He spoke to the Muslim Progress Society and Muslim Youth Majlis on January 3, 1941; the Kanpur Muslim Students Federation on March 30, 1941; the Muslim Educational Service League at Bombay on January 10, 1941 and explained to them that the Pakistan was a necessity to them. He gave them a call for the observance of March 23, 1941 as 'Pakistan Day' and told them that there could be no settlement because of the differences of approach between the Congress and League.

The Foreign Committee of the All-India Muslim League was also very active. It also published the scheme of Pakistan and divided India in three Sovereign

42. Jamiluddin Ahmad, Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, op. cit., pp. 203-04.
43. Ibid., pp. 232-33.
Muslim states - one in the North West stretching up to Delhi, the second one in the East, comprising Bengal and Assam and the third one in the south with Hyderabad and Berar.

Amidst this propaganda the Twenty-Eighth Session of the All-India Muslim League was convened at Madras on April 12-15, 1941 under the Presidentship of M.A. Jinnah. A special feature of the session was the presence of a large number of non-Muslim leaders, including Sir R.K. Shanmukhan Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, Sir K.V. Reddy, Sir A.P. Patro, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, leader of the justice Party, Kumarajah M.A. Muthiah Chettiar, C.R. Srinivasan, Rao Bahadur M.C. Rajah and Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj. They were special invitees and Jinnah had given them, the idea of the creation of another independent state by the name of 'Dravidistan' which found emphatic support from Jinnah in his Presidential address. This was an extempore address which had taken two hours. The speech was confined not only to political affairs but to the socio-economic uplift of the Muslims. Jinnah wanted Muslims to take commerce and industries which could pull them out of the morass in which they had fallen for the last century. He declared

44. The Statesman, (Calcutta), April 19, 1941.
45. All-India Muslim League, Madras Session, April 1941 Presidential Speech by M.A. Jinnah, Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary from the All India Muslim League Press (Daryaganj, Delhi).
a Five Years Plan for Muslim India based on three things
(i) a definite well considered educational plan (ii)
Taking up commerce for the uplift of Muslim India and
(iii) Political training.

Mr. Jinnah condemned the misrepresentation and
mis-interpretation of the Lahore Resolution by the Con­
gress in the Press. Therefore he once again clarified
the position and the goal of the Muslim League:

'Let me tell you as clearly as possible', he said,
the goal of the All-India Muslim League is as follows.
We want the establishment of completely independent states
in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India with full
control of Defence, Foreign Affairs Communication, Customs,
Currency, Exchange etc. and we do not want under the cir­
cumstances, a constitution of an All-India Character, with
one Government at the Centre. We will never agree to that.
If you once agree, let me tell you that the Muslims will be
absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be a sig­
noratory to any power of Government at Centre so far as
the North-Western and Eastern Zone's free national homes
are concerned. This fully explains Jinnah's stand. He
would not agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly

46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
due to the fear of the Congress being in majority, which, by sheer majority of votes, would force the Constituent Assembly to do what it liked.

He supported the demand of Dravidistan and criticised 3 per cent of Brahmin high castes to rule the rest of the races inhabiting South. Expressing his sympathy and fullest support to non-Brahmins and Christians he said that "the only way for you to come in to your own is to live, your own life, according to your culture, according to your language and according to your own history."

This was a masterly address, an address which touched every thing from top to bottom and fully explained the viewpoint, of the Muslim League. A slight modification, to suit the changed condition, in the League's constitution was made and resolutions to achieve the goal passed.

48. Ibid.