The consolidation of All India Muslim League during 1936 to 1943 thus provided the canvas on which Jinnah painted the portrait of a new state of Pakistan in 1947. 'During the last decade of his life, in fact, Jinnah may have been the shrewdest barrister in the British Empire. He was certainly the most tenacious. He crossed swords with at least as many great British-born as Indian barristers, defeating them all in his single-minded pleas for Pakistan. He burned out his life pressing a single suit, yet by winning his case he changed the map of South Asia and altered the course of world history'.

This "shrewdest barrister" and "tenacious" Jinnah played an important and central role in consolidation and strengthening of Muslim League during 1936 to 1943. Towards the end of 1935 he returned to India from England to organize, revive and consolidate the moribund Muslim League for the forthcoming provincial elections. From this period onwards one could see that he had decided to embark on a course radically different from that he had followed in his earlier life. The Muslim community had also been looking for a great saviour and they regarded it as their religious duty to follow a leader who was prepared to unite the community and bring earthly glory to Islam. Thus, there took place a congruence between the personal needs and ambitions of a leader like Jinnah and
the needs of the Muslim community. Since he could not get along with others, he needed an organization which he could dominate and through which he could forward his point of view. In the dominant role that he played in the Muslim League movement after 1937, he found an outlet for the political talents and qualities of leadership he possessed.

But in this process he was assisted by variety of factors. Separatist politics of Muslim community of India was one of these factors which became a base for his political activities. From the second half of 19th Century Muslims adopted a separatist course in politics due to some historical circumstances. This attitude and tendency of separatism substantially multiplied in 1920s and 1930s. Jinnah shrewdly exploited these circumstances and became the diehard propagator of already propounded "two-nation" theory in 1940s.

This theory attracted weak and insecure Muslim middle classes towards the Muslim League. In fact Muslim separatism was in origin, the ideology of an upper class and upper middle class elite attempting to prepare its privileged position in society through political means. Middle class Muslims realized that their chances of success could be immensely increased if they stood together as a corporate Muslim body and fought for power. To put matters in simple terms, this argument, when
carried further, led to the demand for a separate state for the Muslims, where the Muslim elites would have an opportunity for investing their money; of dominating commerce, the 'professions', and government services; of raising tariffs to protect their industries, and so on. Thus the idea of separate state put forward by Pakistan Resolution in 1940 offered a shortcut to worldly success, attracted the interest and aroused the ambitions of the Muslim middle classes. These classes after 1940 began to organise and consolidate under the banner of All India Muslim League.

For the masses Jinnah hammered on the danger of Hinduization and Hindu communalism. He spread the message—Islam in danger—among the Muslim masses. Tactless words and actions by Congressmen under the ministries of 1937-39 provided welcome material for this line of which he made the most dexterous use.

The exigencies of British policies during the wartime circumstances amply assisted Jinnah in the consolidation of Muslim League during 1939 to 1943. In fact it was the fear and intensity of Congress movement against the British Imperialism led British authorities to formulate such policies which were basically behind the foundation of Muslim League in 1906 and responsible for its consolidation after 1940. At the time of its
foundation Minto assured the Simla Deputationists that 'the Mohammedan community was rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative reorganization with which I am concerned'. This was the critical period for British for the extreme section of the Congress had the upper hand, Minto was in search for allies who could be loyal and faithful to the British and counteract the activities of the Congress. It was "nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition". In the same manner in 1940 the Viceregal assurance through "August offer" encouraged the Muslim League directly. This 'assurance' was also came in the wake of Congress movement during wartime. Caught in the web of his anti-Congress manoeuvreings, Linlithgow at crucial junctures provided a certain amount of reasonably direct support in the consolidation and strengthen the Muslim League. The formation of Muslim League ministries upto 1943 provided an illuminous illustration of British policy in this context.

Introduction of representative institutions and electoral element in the Indian administration and polity led Muslims to realize their minority position in a united India. They were face to face with a permanent and impregnable Hindu majority. This fear increased substantially after 1920s because British Government
announced their policy through August declaration of 1917 and again in October 1929. The inevitable and impending departure of the English greatly increased their fears. Afraid of these circumstances Muslims began to think of a separate state the goal of which Muslim League adopted in 1940.

Finally one can extract the inference from the foregoing analysis in this thesis of historical developments during 1936 to 1943 that it was the consolidation of Muslim League which ultimately paved the way for Pakistan in 1947.