After discussion lasting over four days, the A.I. Muslim League Parliamentary Board, under the presidency of Mr. M.A. Jinnah, adopted the following manifesto and issued it from Lahore on 11th June, 1936:

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 A.I.M.L. 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 in India with adequate and effective safeguards for Mussalmans, (2) to protect and advance the political and religious and other rights and interests 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. 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 Mahamudabad, 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 ascendency 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-Cong. 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 of the question of adjustment of political differences between Hindus and Mussalmans. Nor was it even 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 cooperation 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 demands are savours of communalism but in reality to those who understood the political and constitutional history of the world, it must be evident that it is not only natural but is essential by insureing 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 A.I.M.L. 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 1935 being forced upon the people of India against their will and in spite 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, in spite 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 pre-supposes 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 ensure 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 presidency, 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 civilized existence and making 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 seen made the whole of this social structure must come down with a 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 superstructure 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, and (2) that in the meantime, representatives of the Muslim League in the various Legislatures will utilise 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 co-operation 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.
The manifesto lays down the following programme for the ensuring 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 Mujrahids 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 of 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 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.