

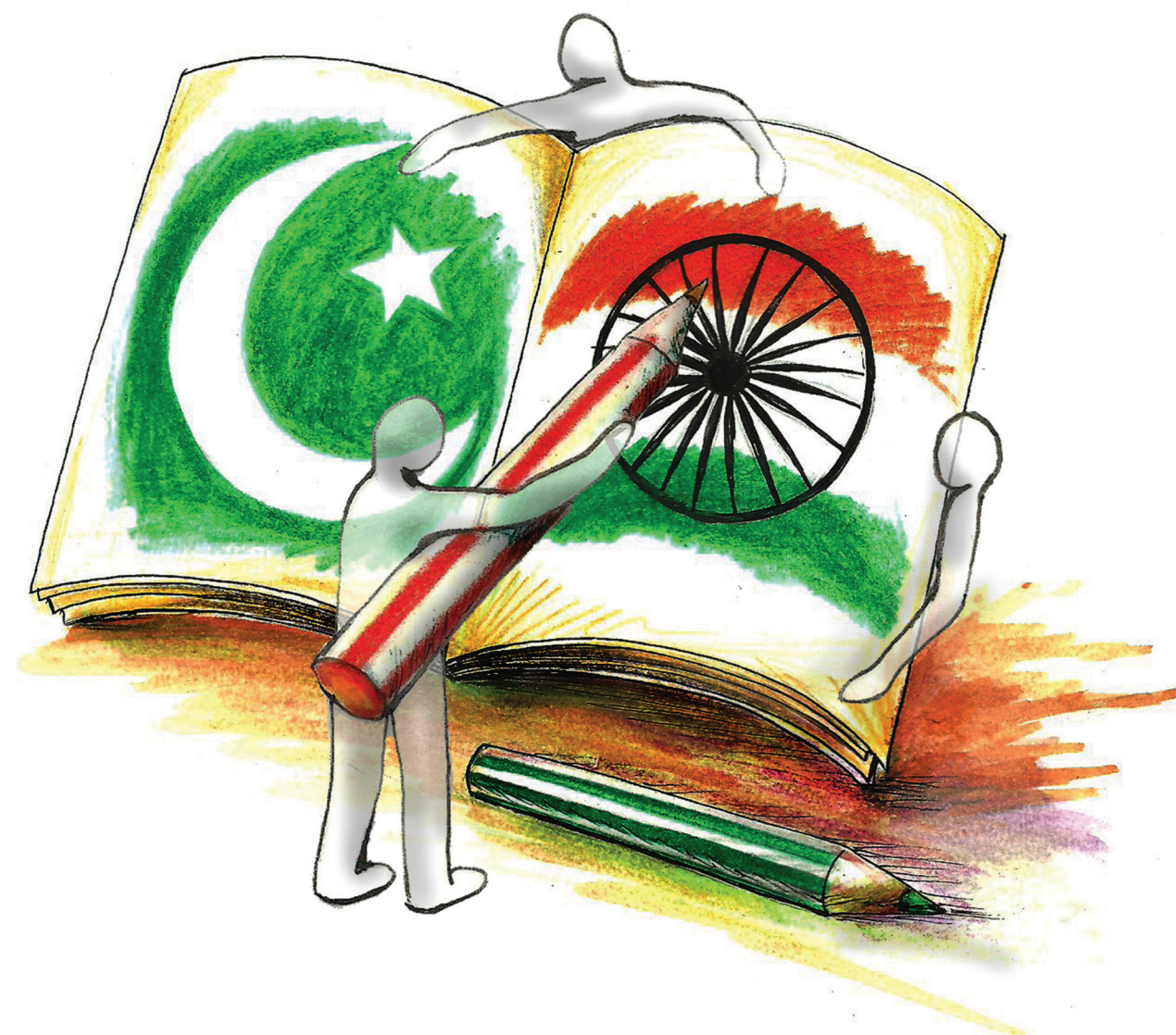
In addition to the conventional sporting, cultural and traditional exchange, we stumbled upon the subject of our shared past. From a shared culture to religious differences, a collaborative freedom struggle to alleged deception, the two-nation theory to nostalgia for a united India – we uncovered a plethora of deep rooted sentiments as emotions flared threatening to engulf the friendships we had developed.

Once the thickness of the air dissipated, we returned to the dialogue room determined to bring tolerance, respect and the will to listen, if not agree...

As we worked through the difficult hours listening to accounts anti-thetic to some of our deepest rooted beliefs, we stumbled across the subjectivity of reality itself, the bias within narration *viz a viz* the human side of history. We discovered that the arguments and sources supporting *their* accounts were as strong as *ours*, if not stronger. We walked away confused yet more empowered; less informed yet perhaps, with much more knowledge. But most importantly, we discovered that people laden as enemies in our minds without us ever having met them can be as good friends (or enemies) as anyone back *home*.

...After dozens of months of debates and consultations on how to synergize the contrasting versions of our shared past and the best way to present it, we decided to keep our individual perspectives at bay and juxtapose unadulterated versions of history being taught in textbook..."

THE HISTORY PROJECT



THE HISTORY PROJECT

GLOBAL
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SEEDS of
PEACE

 BRITISH
COUNCIL

THE HISTORY PROJECT



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Thank You

A very special thanks to Ms. Feruzan Mehta, the brain, muscle and will behind this idea. Her persistent effort kept it alive for years before it finally gained momentum.

Also, we'd like to thank Seeds of Peace, USA and Global Changemakers, British Council for their faith and support through all the hurdles that we encountered.

The Concept Note

In 2001, a group of Pakistani and Indian teenagers met in the beautiful setting of Otisfield, Maine. In addition to the conventional sporting, cultural and traditional exchange, we stumbled upon the subject of our shared past. From a shared culture to religious differences, a collaborative freedom struggle to alleged deception, the two-nation theory to nostalgia for a united India – we uncovered a plethora of deep rooted sentiments as emotions flared threatening to engulf the friendships we had developed.

Once the thickness of the air dissipated, we returned to the dialogue room determined to bring tolerance, respect and the will to listen, if not agree (offerings that we had earlier demanded but forgot to offer). We traced the roots of such hatred to history textbooks which epitomized indoctrination of stereotypes in the minds of millions of youth across India and Pakistan in a continuous cycle.

As we worked through the difficult hours listening to accounts antithetic to some of our deepest rooted beliefs, we stumbled across the subjectivity of reality itself, the bias within narration viz a viz the human side of history. We discovered that the arguments and sources supporting their accounts were as strong as ours, if not stronger. We walked away confused yet more empowered; less informed yet perhaps, with much more knowledge. But most importantly, we discovered that people laden as enemies in our minds without us ever having met them can be as good friends (or enemies) as anyone back home.

The experience begot the obvious next question. How do you scale such an empowering experience? There is probably no single all-encompassing answer to this massive question but The History Project would hopefully serve as one of the answers.

After dozens of months of debates and consultations on how to synergize the contrasting versions of our shared past and the best way to present it, we

decided to keep our individual perspectives at bay and juxtapose unadulterated versions of history being taught in text books on either side of the border. We collated versions from history text books and put differing versions side by side, in an attempt to highlight the reality of an alternative perspective with equally convincing foundations. Additionally, we stumbled across events that highlighted the variable significance of incidents with respect to the viewer's lens. While certain events constitute the foundation of one side's overall narrative, it barely captures real estate in the other.

The primary purpose of this endeavor was to enable access for youth in their formative years to alternative perspectives on their shared heritage and to encourage a culture of rational and critical thinking with particular focus on information that shapes the view of our respective lineage. An affirmative to the herculean question of whether we'll accomplish the latter, would probably be stretching the realms of optimism. But we'd certainly like to believe that access to alternative perspectives, is a tangible change that we're offering by the way of this book.

About the Team



Qasim took it upon himself to make the History Project a reality when it was merely an idea. From finding contributors, editors, illustrators to working with donors, he was involved every step of the way. Without his leadership and relentless pursuit for creating social value, the History Project would not have happened.



Zoya - our savior illustrator. Joined the core team when we were seven months into the struggle of finding a decent illustrator and brought a much needed art(sy) touch to our overall efforts. She took the idea from a raw concept and brought the text to life in the form of the wonderful graphics entailed within the book.

Ayyaz has been the driving force behind materializing the book. From content curation, to formatting, to layout, to taking the book through the mysterious world of publishing (and back), he has been instrumental in ensuring that you all get to hold this hard-back in your hand.



About the Donors



Seeds of Peace International

Seeds of Peace is an international non-profit, non-political organization with a presence in over 22 countries including Afghanistan, India and Pakistan. For the last eighteen years it has been dedicated to empowering young leaders, from regions of conflict, with the leadership skills required to advance reconciliation and coexistence.



British Council - Global Changemakers

Global Changemakers is a global youth network of social entrepreneurs, community activists and advocates between the ages of 16 and 25. Our mission is to empower youth to catalyze positive social change by providing them with skills, contacts, opportunities and a community of like-minded people pursuing the same goals.



Acknowledgments

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Turab Hassan
Yasmeen Naseer

Editors
Narmeel Adeel
Noorzadeh Raja
Saad Idrees
Sara Pervaiz Amjad
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India

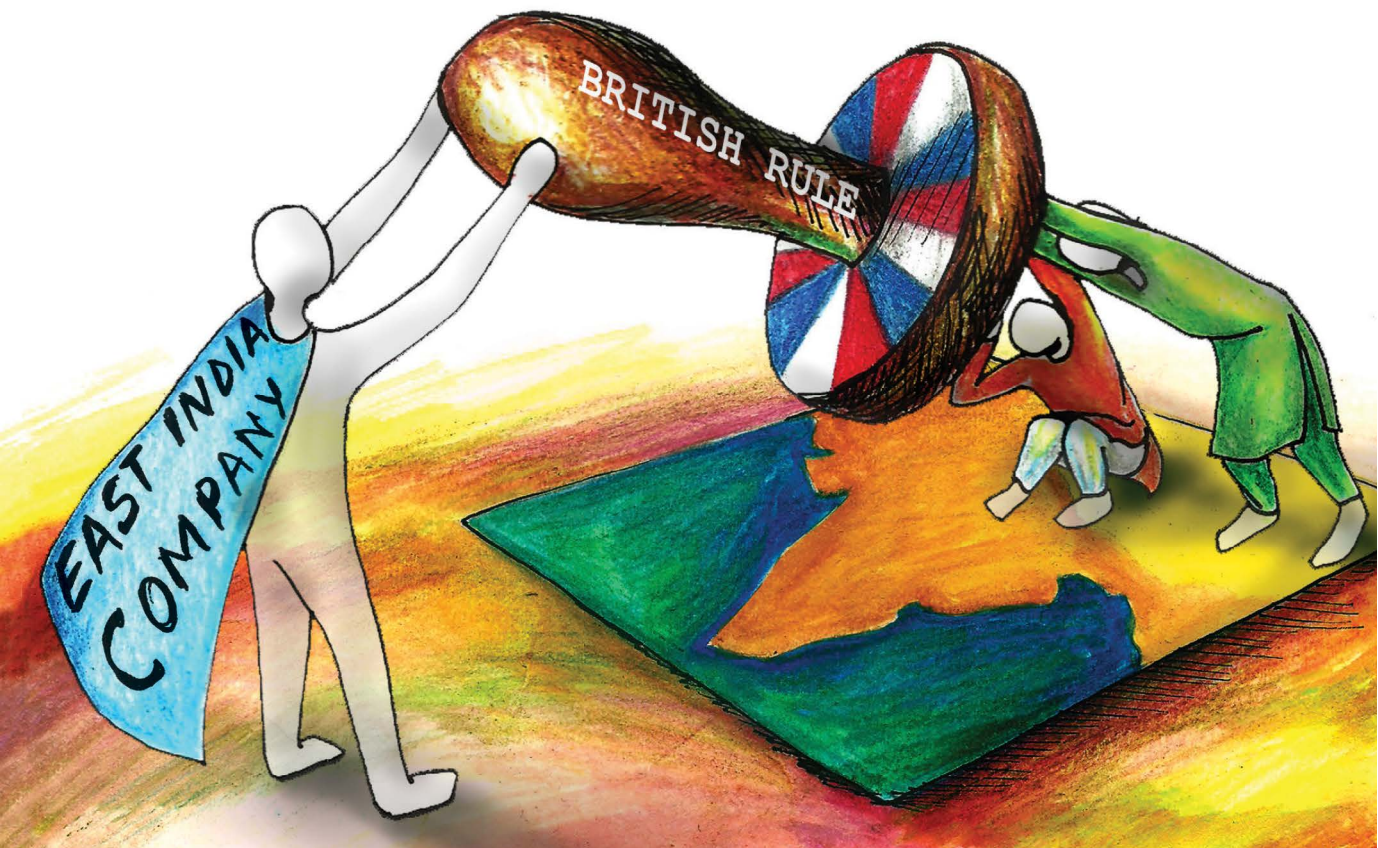
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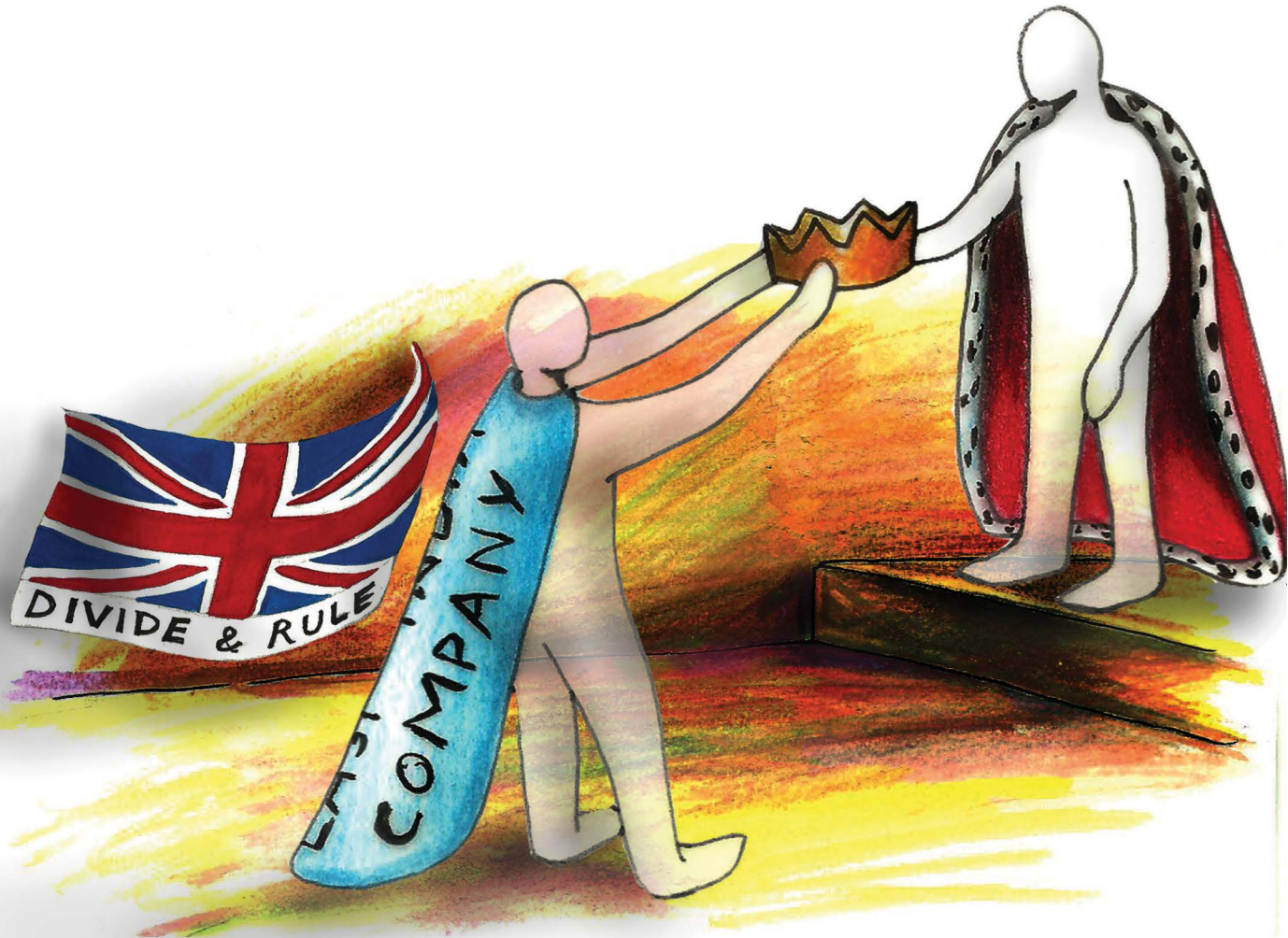
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WAR OF INDEPENDENCE



Indo



The combined effect of British expansionist policies, economic exploitation and administrative changes which ultimately culminated into the breakout of the War of Independence in 1857. Written below are the factors that led to this historic event.

Causes for the War of Independence

Political causes

There were many factors that politically disadvantaged the Indians and culminated in the War of Independence. The East India Company's territorial power increased rapidly. States had either been annexed or had entered into alliances with the company. According to the doctrine of lapse, heirs adopted without the consent of the Company, could inherit only the private property of the deceased ruler and not his territory which would come under the Company's rule. This doctrine was implemented in the states of Satara, Jaipur, Sambhalpur, Udaipur and Nagpur. Regal titles of the Nawabs were taken away from Indians. Lord Dalhousie announced that successors of Bahadur Shah Zafar would not be permitted to use the Red Fort as their palace. On February 13 1856, Lord Dalhousie annexed Awadh on the pretext of alleged misrule. This affected the soldiers' financial position. The dissolution of the Nawab of Awadh's army and administration left thousands of soldiers out of a job. When Lord Dalhousie refused to pay the pension to Nana Saheb (the adopted son of Baji Rao II) the former Peshwa, it was widely resented in the Maratha region. Nana Saheb travelled between Delhi and Lucknow to gather support for the movement. Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi, who became the victim of the doctrine of lapse, also became a bitter enemy of the British.

Social causes

The British interfered with the social customs of the people. Their legislations, such as the abolition of Sati (1829) and the introduction of the Widow Re-marriage Act (1856), were not welcomed by the masses. Moreover there were occasional rumours that upset the people, for example some believed that the telegraph poles were erected by the British to hang people

who opposed their rule. Similarly, the orthodox Indians noted with disdain that in the railway compartments the higher castes and the lower castes were made to sit side by side. Because the British believed that they were superior to the Indians, they often treated them with contempt and even referred to the Indians using derogatory terms such as barbarians and *niggers*. Muslims were dubbed as cruel and unfaithful.

Religious causes

In the 18th century the British had a fairly accommodating attitude towards Indian religions. However in the 19th century, this attitude underwent a radical change. The British began to interfere with local religious and social customs – they denounced idol worship and dubbed local beliefs as ignorant. After 1813 there was an increase both in the numbers and activities of the Christian missionaries. The shift of emphasis from oriental learning to Western education was not received well by the people, especially the Pandits and the Maulvis. They saw in it an attempt to discourage traditional Islamic and Hindu studies. People started suspecting that the aim of Western education was not to promote literature and sciences but to encourage their children to become Christians. There were also several changes in property law that instigated the religious sectors. The act of 1850 changed the Hindu law of property and allowed heirs who had converted from Hinduism to inherit as well. Religious lands that had been exempted from taxation by previous Indian rulers were no longer tax-free and the families dependent on these lands began to propagate the belief that the British were trying to undermine the religions of India.

Economic causes

Agricultural India was made an economic colony of industrial England. India was forced to export raw materials like raw cotton and raw silk at cheap rates. India was also made to accept manufactured imports from Britain either duty free or at nominal duty rates while Indian products were subjected to high import duties in England. This ruined the Indian industry. Till the Battle of Plassey (1757) the European traders used to bring gold into India to buy Indian cotton and silk. However, after the conquest of Bengal, the British

stopped bringing gold into India. Such transfers of wealth from India to England for which India got no proportionate economic returns are termed *Drain of Wealth*. Furthermore, the traditional rulers had given financial support to scholars, preachers and men of arts. The coming of the British led to the decline of such rulers and gradually their patronage came to an end. Thus, all those who depended on their patronage for their livelihood were left impoverished.

Military causes

Despite the fact that Indian soldiers were as efficient as their British counterparts, they were poorly paid, ill fed and badly housed. British military authorities forbade the *sepoys* from wearing caste or sectarian marks, breads or turbans and showed disregard for the sentiments of the *sepoys*. According to the General Service Enlistment Act the Indian soldiers could be sent overseas on duty – this act did not take into account the sentiment of the soldiers. In 1856 the Company's troops comprised 2,33,000 Indians and 45,322 British. Places of strategic importance like Delhi and Allahabad were wholly defended by Indian armies. All the higher positions in employment were kept reserved for the British irrespective of their performance. Indian soldiers meanwhile were required to serve in areas away from home without extra payment or additional Bhatta (foreign service allowance). In fact, the British counterparts received more than eight times the salary of the Indian soldiers

Immediate cause

In 1856, the authorities decided to replace the old fashioned musket by the new *enfield rifle*. The loading process of the rifle involved bringing the cartridge to the mouth and biting off the top greased paper. In January 1857, there was a rumour in the Bengal regiments that that cartridge was greased by either pig or cow fat. Hence, both the Hindu and Muslim soldiers refused to use these cartridges and staged an uprising when they were forced to use them.

The War of Independence

On February 26th 1857, the 19th Native Infantry at Berhampur in Bengal refused to accept the cartridges given to them. Mangal Pandey, a *sepoys*, led an attack on the Adjutant of the 34th Native Infantry at Barrackpur on March 29th 1857. Mangal Pandey was executed after a court martial.

At Meerut, on May 9th, eighty five *sepoys* refused to touch the cartridges. They were sentenced to ten years of imprisonment. In Delhi, they seized the city and proclaimed the aged Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah the emperor of India. Nana Saheb led the struggle for independence at Kanpur. Though the British surrendered in June 1857, they defeated Nana Saheb in December that year. At Lucknow, Begum Hazrat Maha, the wife of the Nawab of Awadh led the uprising. The city was recaptured by the British in March 1858. In central India, Rani Laxmi Bai and Tantia Tope captured the Fort of Gwalior from Sindhia. The Rani died fighting the British on June 17, 1858 at Gwalior. Tantia Tope was betrayed by the Gwalior Chief, Man Singh and was hanged on April 18, 1859. In several states in India, the rulers remained loyal to the British Government but their soldiers rose against the British.

The failings of the first War of Independence included the lack of planning, organization and leadership. The uprising was originally planned to begin on May 31st 1857 but greased cartridges triggered the soldiers much earlier, resulting in more disorganization. The soldiers were deficient in experience, not bravery. The movement had no common goal before it except for the anti-foreign sentiments. There was also a lack of efficient leadership. The British Empire, on the other hand, had far superior resources in terms of men, money and materials. Moreover the British even had the support of some Indian rulers who remained loyal to the British rule even during the War of Independence.

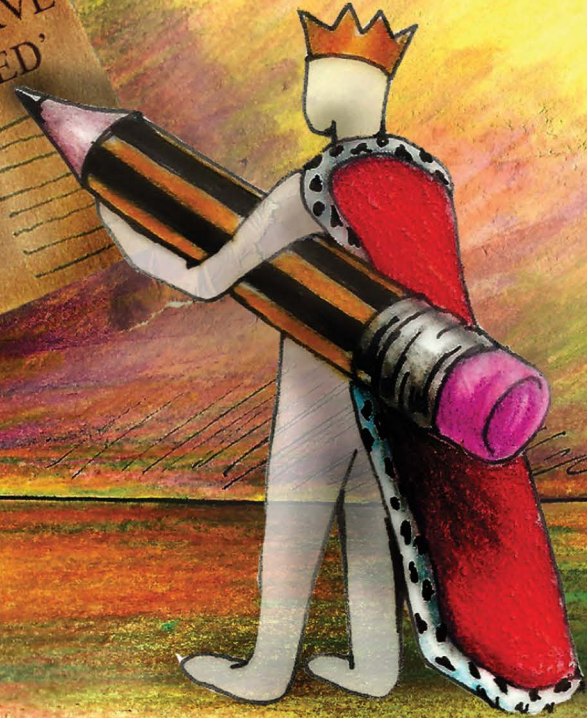
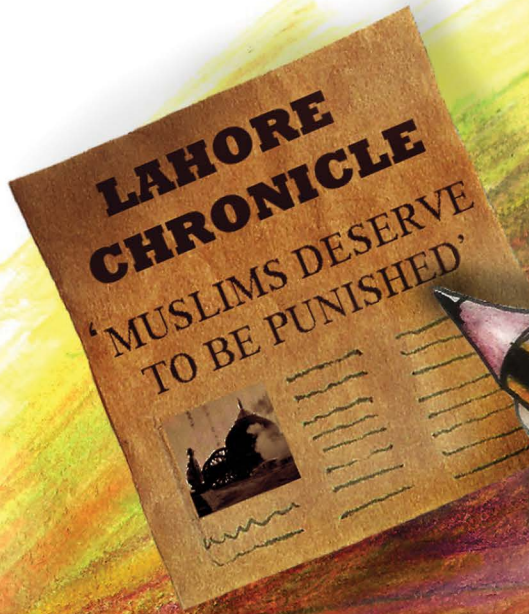
The Results and Effects of the Uprising:

The government of India was assumed directly by the Crown. Actual governance was to be carried on as before by the Governor General who was also given the title of Viceroy or Crown's personal representative. Queen Victoria proclaimed via the Lord Canning, the first viceroy of India, that the Indian

government would follow a policy of non-intervention in social and religious matters and do its best to advance the industries and promote works of public utility. With the death of Bahadur Shah II, who was deported to Yangon, the Mughal dynasty came to an end. Nana Saheb also fled to Nepal, thus the office of the Peshwa also came to an end. The policy of annexation and the doctrine of lapse were abandoned. The British continued their policy of divide and rule and maintained their racial superiority. The British generalized all Indians as being unworthy of trust and subjected them to insults and humiliation. The strength of European troops was increased. Sophisticated weapons and ammunition were never placed under the charge of Indians. Discrimination on the basis of religion and region was practiced in the recruitment to the army. India was turning into a typical colonial economy exporting raw material and importing finished goods. The uprising was the first struggle which paved the way for the rise of the modern national movement. The sacrifices made by revolutionaries like Laxmibai, Nana Saheb and Mangal Pandey served as a source of inspiration for the future freedom fighters. During the war, the Muslims and Hindus both showed great enthusiasm and zeal. But after the war the gap widened as consequence of the British policy of *divide and rule* through which they sowed the seeds of dissension between the two communities.

Whatever the nature of the uprising of 1857, it provided an inspiration to Indian leaders and people to fight for independence from the British rule.

Pak



The 1857 War of Independence was the most poignant protest registered against the growing power of the British. The anti-British movement started within the lower ranks of local employees in the army. The march into Afghanistan and the conquest of Sindh had created problems because the Hindus did not want to leave 'Mother India'. The Muslim soldiers were also reluctant towards fighting outside national borders because of religious affiliation with Muslim Brethren. The *sepoys* feared the oppression of Muslims and Hindus at the hands of the British, and there was little or no effort by the rulers to appease these *sepoys*. The replacement of both Sanskrit and Persian by English as the official language in 1834 had further worsened the relationship between the ruling party and the locals of the Subcontinent. Moreover, the locals strongly resented the social reforms of British. In 1852, the British had introduced the 'Doctrine of Lapse', which entailed that any local kingdom not having a direct male heir was to be taken over by the Government. In 1857 there had been some major annexations, which infuriated local communities.

The immediate reason of the revolt, however, was the introduction of a new rifle cartridge, which was coated in both cow and pig fat in early January 1857. The cow is considered a sacred religious symbol by Hindus, and pig is *haram* in Islam. Though the British withdrew the offending cartridges, it was too late to mend the harm done. Individual protests became prominent in Bengal, but protests by the troops at Meerut augmented the crisis. It forced the British to realize that the Indians' fight for independence was not a frivolous endeavour. By June 1857 the British had lost control over Kanpur, Jhansi and Allahabad and they were surrounded at Lucknow. The British sent troops to claim Delhi back on first preference, and got full control over it in September. One of the bravest and most daring of the anti -British leaders was Rani of Jhansi, who succeeded in capturing Gwalior from the British and lost her life attempting to keep Gwalior under her control. After getting Gwalior back the British were only left to deal with scattered factions of resistance. In August 1858 the War of Independence was officially declared over.

The attempt to drive the British out of the subcontinent failed due to a number of reasons. The major cause was the lack of unity and coordination among the rebels. The British had recently annexed Punjab by using *sepoys* of Bengal and Central India, so the people of Punjab were uninterested in participating in the revolt. Instead, they sent men and supplies to bolster

British armies. Some of the powerful Rajas and Nawabs also refused to rebel against British, while some even decided to support them. The new ruler of Kashmir, for example, who had recently been appointed by the British sent 2000 men to their aid. Consequently, the British managed to keep some vital supporters and maintained influence over three-fourths of their territory. The availability of modern weapons and practice of latest fighting techniques gave them an edge over local troops.

The locals lacked the proper planning and discipline to fight against the strong British army. Moreover, they had no common motive. The locals were mainly interested in their physical and economic security. The concept of nationalism was non-existent in these efforts. British cleverly employed their 'divide and rule' policy and successfully used different communities against each other. The Muslims had always been a minority so it was not new for them to unite in the face of a common threat. Moreover they shared a bond of religious affiliation and were not divided on regional lines.

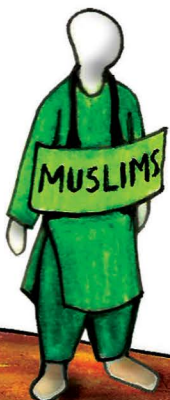
The British were replacing Muslim rulers with themselves or Hindu rulers hence Muslims played a large role in the rebellion of 1857. The Muslims wanted to restore Mughal rule, though many Hindus, Sikhs and Marhattas did not want continued Muslim dominance. To add to the chaos some local rulers were fighting for restoration and protection of their own rights and not for the Mughals. Furthermore, Bahadur Shah Zafar (last Mughal Emperor) was uninterested in war. He was more inclined towards poetry and Sufism. However, British still considered him a threat and exiled him to Rangoon, where he finally died. His sons were brutally killed by the British. The war was marked by violence and bloodshed on both sides. The British showed no mercy at all as they were determined to show their power and ultimate dominance over the locals.

The repercussion of this war was that it ended the possibility of any future alliance between the British and the locals. They started governing with more political and governmental structure.

For the Muslims it was a serious setback from which it took them a long time to recover. It was to take an equally long time for the British to come to terms with the Muslims for they considered this war a Muslim 'mutiny' and

hostility against themselves and their rule.

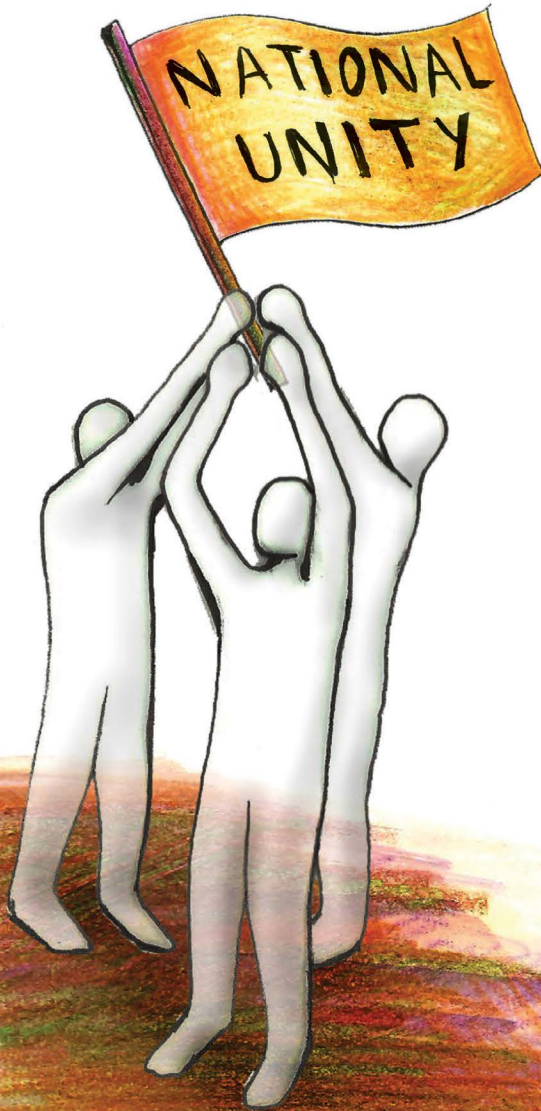
Thus war of independence ended with the loss of many lives and jobs, mistrust between the British and the Muslims, introduction of the viceroy and secretary of state by the British, and a deadlock between the governing party and the locals.



FORMATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



Indo



CONGRESS

Though there were several political organizations during the time of the British, they functioned on a small scale and were local in nature. Their activities however had prepared the ground for an all-India political association.

While Indian leaders like Surendranath Banerjea, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tybaji and Justice Ranade were moving towards the formation of an all-India political body, help came from an unlikely source – A. O. Hume, a retired British member of the Indian civil service, who wanted to set up an organization that would draw the government's attention to the administrative shortcomings and suggest means to rectify them.

Hume wrote an open letter to the graduates of Calcutta University asking them to dedicate themselves to the service of the people by forming a union with the aim of organizing a well-defined course of action. This appeal produced the desired result.

In 1884 Hume, in consultation with the Indian leaders, laid the foundation of the Indian National Union. The conference of the representatives of different parts of India was convened by the Union at Pune on 25th December 1885. However the plague broke out in Pune and so the meetings were shifted to Mumbai from the 28th to the 31st of December 1885.

On the suggestion of Dadabhai Noaraji the name of the union was changed to the Indian National Congress. Thus, the foundation of the Indian National Congress was laid on 28th December 1885.

In the presidential address of the first session of the Indian National Congress, W. C. Bonnerjee declared the following as the aims of the Indian National Congress:

- to promote friendly relations between nationalist political workers from different parts of the country,
- to develop and consolidate the feelings of nationalist political workers from different parts of the country,

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- to develop and consolidate the feelings of national unity irrespective of caste, religion or province,
- to formulate popular demand and present them before the government,
- to train and organize public opinion in the country

The viceroy Lord Duffrin favoured the formation of Congress because he wanted it to act as a safety-valve for popular discontent, and thereby help safeguard the British interest in India.

Pak



It took almost 26 years for British to forget about the rebel of locals in 1857. By the end of the nineteenth century there were many talks about the need for Indians to have a local political body to represent their views to British. By that time the Indians had also realized the importance of having a platform to collectively present their concerns. In 1883, the Indian Association suggested forming such a body and in the same year a British Member of Parliament wrote to the Times Newspaper suggesting that the Indians should set up their own national political association.

Then, a former member of the Indian Civil service, Allan Octavian Hume, wrote a letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University inviting them to actively participate in forming a national political organization. Hume followed his letter by setting up the Indian National Union with branches in several cities. The British Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, bolstered Hume's actions as he said that the new organization would act as 'a safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces'.

On 28 December 1883, conference of the Indian National Union was called in Bombay. The conference was held under the name of the Indian National Congress (usually just referred to as the 'Congress') and marked the beginning of the journey which ended with gaining complete freedom from British in 1947. However, initially Congress was keen to take a soft tone with the British. It declared its loyalty to Queen Victoria and stated that its ambition was only 'that the basis of government should be widened'.

By the time Congress had its second meeting in 1886, there were 436 delegates who were elected representative of their provinces. At this meeting Congress documented its aim to establish an organization 'united one and for all to promote welfare and the welfare of our mother country'. It would achieve this in two ways.

By educating the public in India and in Britain. So its resolutions were printed in newspapers and a British Committee of the Congress was formed.

By persuading the British government to end unfair practices. To this end the Indian Civil Service (ICS) called for more Indian representation in the ICS and in the legislative councils in the various provinces.

However, Congress accomplished little in this first attempt. Nevertheless, it did work to move the British to introduce Indian Councils Act of 1892, which enhanced the representation of Indians in the Indian Council. But, in reality, these bodies were not very effective, and were completely discounted by the British. It was not long before the British began to ignore Congress too. Lord Dufferin claimed that it represented just 'a microscopic minority' of Indian opinion and in 1900 the new Viceroy, Lord Curzon, wrote that 'the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions is to assist it to a peaceful death'.

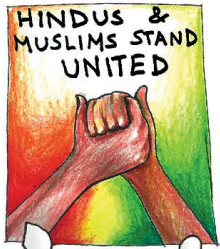
However, Congress members felt that the British would eventually increase the role of the native Indians in the government. These 'Moderates' believed that the British were fair-minded and that British rule had brought benefits to India. There was political stability and a moderate form of justice and education. All that was required was for peaceful protest and persuasion to encourage the British to relax their tight control of their country.

Other Indians, however, wanted things to move more quickly. The other religious majority, the Muslims believed that Congress was not the sole representative of the entire population and it was a Hindu dominated party that could not safeguard the rights of other religious communities. Therefore, many events and attitude of Congress led to the formation of the *All India Muslim League*.

PARTITION OF BENGAL



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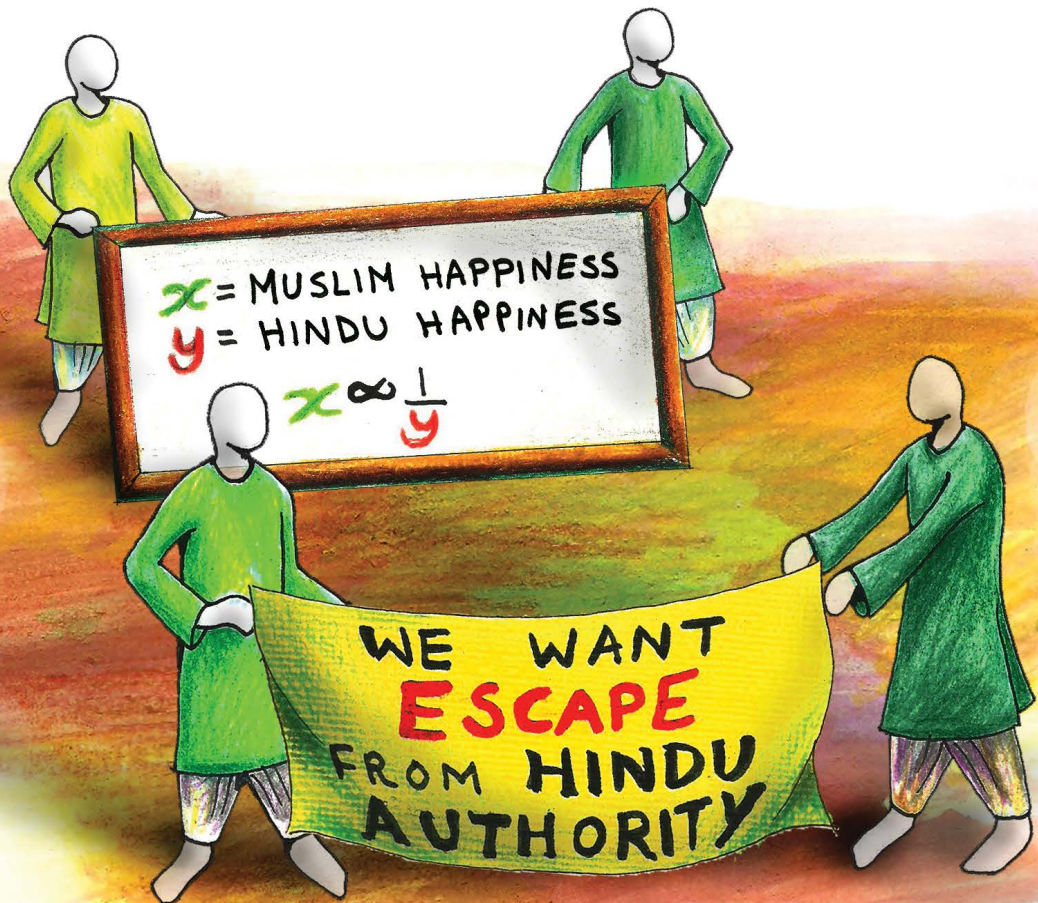
The Partition of Bengal was one of Lord Curzon's administrative policies. In 1905, he called for the partition of Bengal on administrative grounds, but it was essentially a 'concealed attack on Indian nationalism'. The presidency of Bengal was the most populated region of India at the time. On 20th July 1905, Lord Curzon announced the division of the province of Bengal into West Bengal with a non-Bengali Hindu majority and East Bengal with predominantly Bengali Muslim majority. Therefore, the Hindu Bengali community was reduced to a minority in both provinces.

There were many hidden reasons behind the partition, but the reason given by Lord Curzon was that Bengal was too large a province to administer under one government. Some of the unstated reasons were that Bengal was the nerve centre of Indian nationalism and they hoped to curb the rising tide of nationalism by partitioning Bengal. The partition was also meant to foster divisions on the basis of religion. The Indian nationalists clearly saw the design behind the partition and condemned it.

Hence, there was an anti-Partition movement launched by Congress and other nationalists in which all sections of society rose up in opposition to the partition. Newspapers like Bengali, Hitabadi and Sanjibani condemned the partition. Hindus and Muslims composed songs, marched barefoot to the Ganges and chanted slogans in protest. They also adopted the swadeshi and boycott techniques. Raksha bandhan was celebrated in a new way with Hindus and Muslims tying yellow threads on each other to signify their undying unity.

There were several notable impacts of the anti-partition movement; it accelerated the national movement by adding a new zeal to it, it popularized the swadeshi techniques as methods of agitation and it resulted in people losing their faith in British justice. The movement was successful as the partition was revoked in 1911.

Pak



Bengal was the largest province of India with a total population of 85 million. Of these, 42 million Hindus and 12 million Muslims lived in West Bengal while 12 million Hindus and 18 million Muslims lived in East Bengal and Assam. There were obvious administrative problems in trying to control such a large province as one unit. However, when the viceroy at the time, Lord Curzon, proposed to partition the province into two, it was immediately seen by the Hindus as a plot to divide up their most educated and politicized province. According to the proposal, East and West Bengal were to be created. East Bengal would include Assam, Dhaka, Chittagong and Mymensingh, whereas the rest would be part of West Bengal.

It took two years for the decision to be put into effect but in 1905, the British partitioned Bengal as Lord Curzon had suggested. Whether they took this action for political or administrative motives is still unclear. However, the immediate effect of the partition was to divide Muslims and Hindus along communal lines.

The Hindus were furious as they saw it as a deliberate blow against them for leading the movement for Indian self-government. With this bold decision, Curzon had succeeded in uniting them against the British. The Hindus had progressed because of the toil of the Muslim peasants of Eastern Bengal, therefore they found this partition to be a threat to their cultural, economic and political dominance. Also, they could not bear to see the Muslims gain superiority. The Muslims, on the other hand, were delighted with the partition as they were now in majority in East Bengal. Since 1867, they had been mistrusted by the British and had been denied the right to proper education. The Hindus on the other hand, had been favoured and had even attempted to replace Urdu with Hindi. Being in majority in East Bengal would allow the Muslims to escape from the oppression of Hindu rule.

A violent agitation for the reversal of the partition was begun by the Hindus. They saw it as a cynical exercise in the old British policy of 'divide and rule'. Mass meetings, protests and marches took place and the movement for the boycott of British goods was started. This swadeshi movement quickly gained popularity among the Indians. British cloth was burnt and only locally produced clothes were worn. As a result, the sale of British goods was rapidly reduced. Alongside the protests, there was also a Hindu assassination attempt

on a later viceroy, Lord Minto.

The protests by the Hindus were so intense that the British began to reconsider the partition, despite its administrative practicality. Their immediate reaction was to place restrictions on newspapers and meetings. Radical Hindu leaders were also arrested. However, the British realized that tough measures alone would not be enough to curb the violent reaction of the Hindus. In 1905, Lord Minto was appointed viceroy and he worked along with the secretary of state to introduce what came to be known as the Morley-Minto reforms. These reforms were intended to win the support of the Hindus.

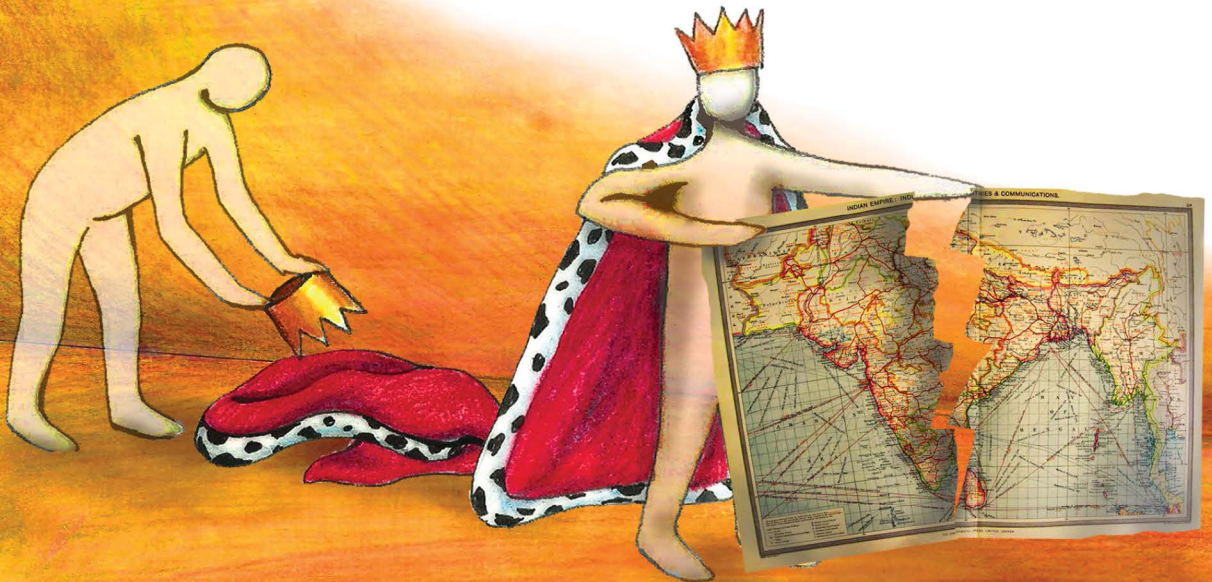
The Muslims had watched the reaction of the Hindus with dismay. They were not organized or educated enough to counter the Hindu agitation. They relied on the promises of the government that the partition would not be reversed and were soon disappointed. The British finally yielded to the demands of the Hindus and in 1911 the partition of Bengal was annulled. This satisfied the Hindus but made the Muslims extremely bitter. The British claimed that they had reunited Bengal as part of their administrative policy but in reality they had been forced to do so because of the fierce opposition by the Hindus. The Muslims opposed the reversal but their demands were left unheard.

The partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon triggered a chain of events, including the Simla Deputation and the creation of the Muslim League that nearly fifty years later led to the independence of India and the creation of Pakistan. All in all, it was an extremely significant event in the history of the subcontinent that greatly enhanced the divide between the Hindus and Muslims.

FORMATION OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE



Indo



Hindu-Muslim unity posed a threat to British Imperialism. The uprising of 1857 made the British realize that they had to divide the two communities in order to check the rising tide of nationalism and prolong their rule. They claimed that the national movement aimed to establish a Hindu kingdom in India and encouraged Muslims to set up their own separate political organization. It was the British policy of 'divide and rule' that led to the rise of communal divisions and to the formation of the Muslim League in 1906.

Factors promoting the formation of the Muslim League

Loss of sovereignty by Mughal Rulers

The British established their supremacy in India after dethroning the Mughal Rulers who were the followers of Islam, which triggered the Muslims' resentment. They participated in the Wahabi movement, which aimed at restoring Islamic rulers in India. They also took part in the uprising of 1857. This made the British view them with suspicion.

British Policy of 'divide and rule'

The manifestations of this policy are as follows:

- In 1871 Lord Mayo's government adopted a resolution which made Urdu the primary language of instruction for Muslims in primary and secondary schools and increased government aid to educational institutions run by Muslims
- They tried to create hatred amongst Hindus and Muslims by portraying Muslim rulers as plunderers, and Hindu rulers as cruel kings to their Muslim subjects
- They tried to justify the partition of Bengal by convincing Muslims that Bengal was being partitioned to create a new Muslim majority province where the Hindus would not be able to subvert their interests

- They tried to utilize the caste structure to turn the non-Brahmins and the lower castes against high castes
- They treated Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as separate communities and accepted their communal leaders as authentic representatives of all their co-regionalists
- They tried to spread communal hatred through the press, posters, literature and public platform

Relative backwardness of the Muslim community in education, trade and industry

- The upper class Muslims comprising of zamindars and aristocrats, during the first 70 years of the 19th Century were anti-British. They were conservative and hostile to modern education. Because of this, the number of Muslims educated according to the Western style remained small.
- The British government in India had consciously discriminated against the Muslims after 1858, holding them responsible for the uprising of 1857. They were also discriminated against in the recruitment to civil and military services.
- The Muslim community was not much involved in the growth of any organized industry.
- Some members of the Muslim communities did not keep up with the modern trends in social and cultural spheres and held their own literature and culture in high esteem. Unlike many Hindus, they did not adopt the Western education system and were consequently disadvantaged to gain entry into government service.
- In these circumstances it was quite easy for the British officials to incite the Muslims against the Hindus.

Role of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was a great educationalist and social reformer. He regarded Hindus and Muslims to be one Quom (nation). He founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh which had both Hindu and Muslim patrons. However, in the 1880s he gave up his earlier views and declared that the political interests of the Hindus and Muslims were different.

When the Indian National Congress was founded, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan opposed it. He founded the United India Patriotic Association in 1888 mainly with a view to oppose the Congress.

It was said that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed that since the Hindus formed the majority of the Indian population, they would dominate the Muslims in case of a withdrawal of the British rule. He felt that the continuance of British rule was a “guarantee for the welfare and progress of the Muslim community”.

Erroneous interpretations of history

The manner in which Indian history was interpreted in those days contributed to the growth of communal thinking among the Hindus and the Muslims.

Rise of assertive Nationalism

The assertive Nationalists played an important role in the National Movement but some of their actions marked a step back in respect of the growth of national unity and annoyed some sections of Indians. For example, the propagation of Shivaji and Ganapati festivals by Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh's concept of India as a mother and nationalism as religion and the initiation of the Anti-Partition agitation with dips in the Ganga did not appeal to some of the Muslims.

Economic Backwardness of the Country

Due to British colonial policies, India lacked modern industrial development and there was acute unemployment among the educated youth. As a result, there was fierce competition among the youth to secure the few available jobs. This led the people to demand the reservation in jobs on the basis of caste, creed and religion. The British government used this opportunity to push further their policy of divide and rule and fanned communal rivalry among the educated Indians on the question of jobs in government service.

Events Leading to the Formation of the Muslim League

The Hindi –Urdu Controversy

In the United Provinces (present Uttar Pradesh) Urdu was the court language and all the petitions to the offices and courts were submitted in Urdu. Some sections of the society protested against the practice. On April 8, 1900, the government instructed that all petitions were to be submitted in Hindi, in Devanagri script, and the court summons and official announcements were to be issued in Hindi as well as Urdu. The Muslims resented this.

Foundation of Mohammeden Anglo-Oriental Association (1893)

The growing influence and popularity of the Congress became a cause of concern for the British. In order to counter it, they encouraged the formation of the Mohammeden Anglo-Oriental (MAO) Defence Association in the year 1893. Principal Beck of the M.A.O College, Aligarh, was its secretary. The motive of the British in setting up the Association was to promote loyalty to the British and to prevent Muslims from participating in any political movement.

The Aligarh Politics

Nawab Mohsin -Ul-Mulk led the Aligarh movement after the death of Sir Sayyid in 1898. When the Hindu-Urdu controversy raged in 1900, the Nawab was the secretary of the M.A.O College Trust. He had criticized the

Government Order granting equal status to Hindi and Urdu in UP. The Lt. Governor of UP, MacDonnel, was furious and he demanded that the Nawab should either resign from the Secretary-ship of The Trust or separate himself against the Government Order. Muslim leaders became angry. They suggested that a political organization of the Muslims should be set up.

Partition of Bengal

Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal into two provinces apparently on administrative grounds. However, the real purpose of the Partition of Bengal was to create a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims and to check the rising tide of nationalism. The British won the support of the Muslims on the ground that the new province would have a Muslim-majority province.

Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy, Lord Minto

To create possible opposition to the Congress by using the Muslims, the Viceroy, Lord Minto, appointed a committee (Arundale Committee) to work out an expansion of the Legislative Council. This spurred some communal minded Muslims to action. A delegation of 35 influential Muslims from all over the country, led by Aga Khan, head of the Ismaili Sect, met the Viceroy in Shimla on October 1, 1906 and put forward their demands which included the following:

- Representation of Muslims in Elected bodies on the basis of their political importance and not on their numerical strength.
- Separate electoral constituencies for the Muslims in the Provincial Council and the imperial Legislative Council.
- Preference to be given to the Muslims while nominating members of the Viceroy's Council.
- Reservation of seats for Muslims in the State Services
- More States aid for promoting the new Muslim Universities.

The viceroy received the deputation and expressed his sympathy with their political aspirations. He assured them that their political rights and interests as a community would be safeguarded.

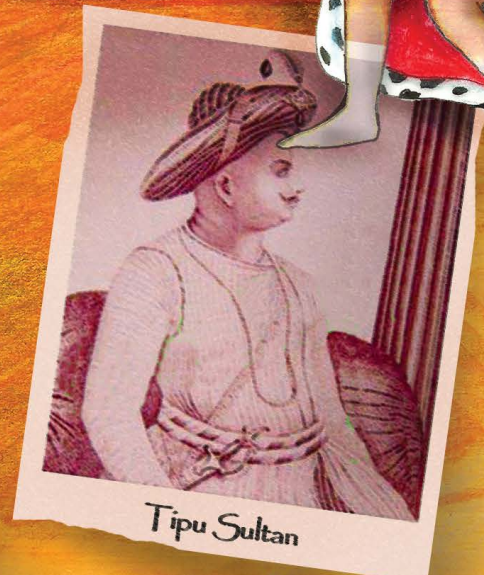
Formation of the Muslim League

The success of the Muslim deputation to the Viceroy motivated the Muslims to start a separate political organization. In December, 1906, when eminent Muslim leaders assembled at Dacca in connection with the Mohammaden Education Conference, Nawab Salimullah arranged a meeting to consider such a proposal.

The proposal was accepted and a political association, the “All-India Muslim League”, was set up on December 30, 1906 under the President-ship of Nawab Salimullah. Aga Khan was elected as Permanent President of the Muslim League. Its headquarters were to be at Aligarh but its central office was shifted to Lucknow in 1910.



Raja Dahir



Tipu Sultan

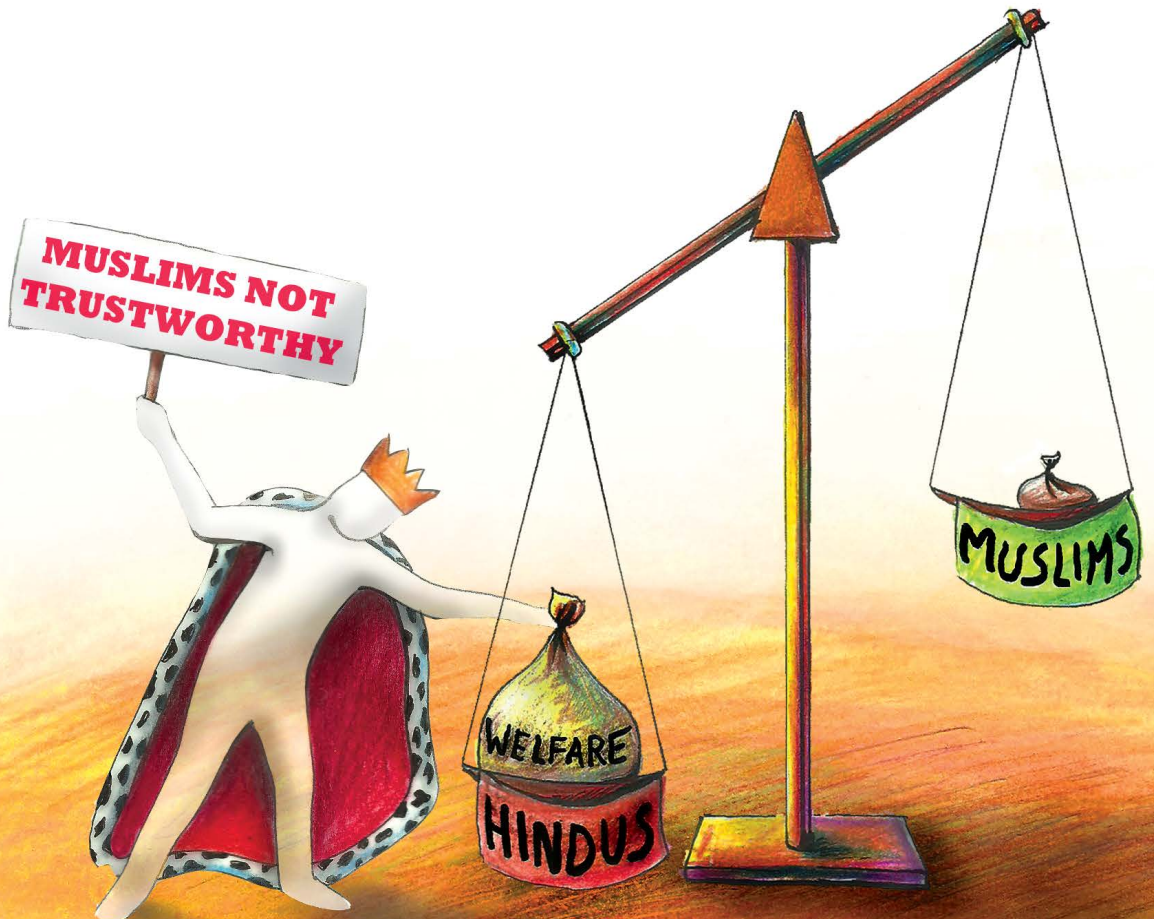
Aims and objectives of the Muslim League

The objectives of the League were laid down as follows :

- To promote, among the Muslims of India, support for the British government and to remove any misconceptions regarding the intention of the government in relation to Indian Muslims.
- To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims and to represent their needs and aspirations to the government in mild and moderate language.
- To prevent feelings of hostility between the Muslims of India and other communities.



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Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Two-Nation Theory – the belief that 'Hindus and Muslims in spite of living together for centuries had nothing in common – made the necessity of a separate sovereign state clear to the Muslims of India. However, the event that clearly delineated the Muslims as a separate faction was the formation of the All India Muslim League.

Several historical reasons made the formation of such a party a necessity.

After the War of Independence (1857) the British largely blamed the Muslim community. The army recruitments then onward were made from the 'trustworthy' groups such as Sikhs, Pathans and Gurkhas. Muslim schools were deprived of funding by the British and consequently Muslim education declined, whereas the Hindus adapted to the new education system. Owing to the fact that Muslims were a minority and were subject to prejudice, they were deprived of participating in both the legislation and bureaucracy.

In 1905 viceroy Lord Curzon partitioned the province of Bengal into West and East Bengal allegedly for the ease of administration. The partition was extremely significant in terms of population demographics as East Bengal, comprising of Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh became a Muslim dominated province. The Hindus were angered as they considered the partition an exercise in the usual British 'divide and rule' policy. Contrastingly, Muslims rejoiced as it allowed them to be recognized as a noticeable power in India and the division between the interests of Muslims and Hindus became apparent. When the Hindus began mass-protests against the partition of Bengal, the Muslims felt weak and unrepresented. Eventually, in 1911, the partition was reversed. Some historians believe that the reversal was quite inevitable. At this point, Muslim leaders felt a great need for an organized body that could register Muslim concerns with the rulers.

The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 by Allan Octavian Hume. It stated that its aim was to create an organization 'united one and for all to promote our welfare and the welfare of our mother country.' It was supposedly a political platform for the whole of India, which represented every community living in the subcontinent. However Congress opposed the partition of Bengal, in keeping with Hindu interests and launched a boycott of British goods. This resulted in the Muslims feeling alienated and seeking

true representation.

The immediate reason behind the formation of Muslim League was the success of the Simla Deputation. With the Liberals in power in London, the British Raj was more willing to provide compensations for Indians in the Indian Civil Services (ICS) and Lord Minto was inclined to better the relations with Muslims. The Muslim leadership watched the Hindu protests to the partition of Bengal in dismay and were also afraid that Urdu might be victimised and replaced by Hindi in devanagri script as the national language of the country. A delegation of 35 Muslim leaders led by Sir Agha Khan met the viceroy Lord Minto at Simla and put forth the demand of separate electorates for the Muslim constituencies. The Simla Deputation was also an attempt to reach out to the British and show them that the Muslim leadership could be loyal and cooperative, so that the British would be particular about protecting the rights of Muslims as well. The viceroy agreed to the demands and promised separate electorates in the coming constitutional set-up. This success made it necessary for the Muslim leaders to draft a political party that would organize Muslim politics and represent them at a constitutional as well as public level.

Objectives of the Muslim League

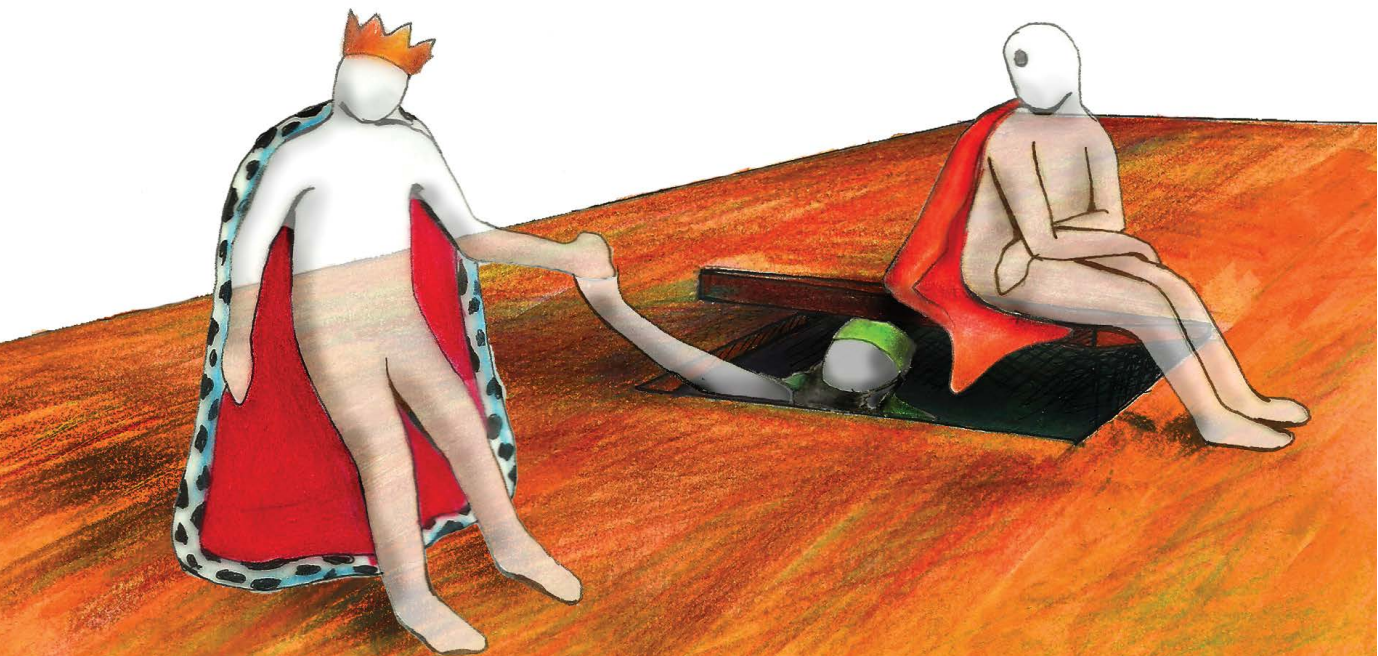
In December 1906, Muslim leaders met at the twentieth session of Muhammadan Educational Conference at Dacca. A meeting was called afterwards, chaired by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, at which foundations were laid for the creation of an organization by the name of All India Muslim League.

Its objectives were:

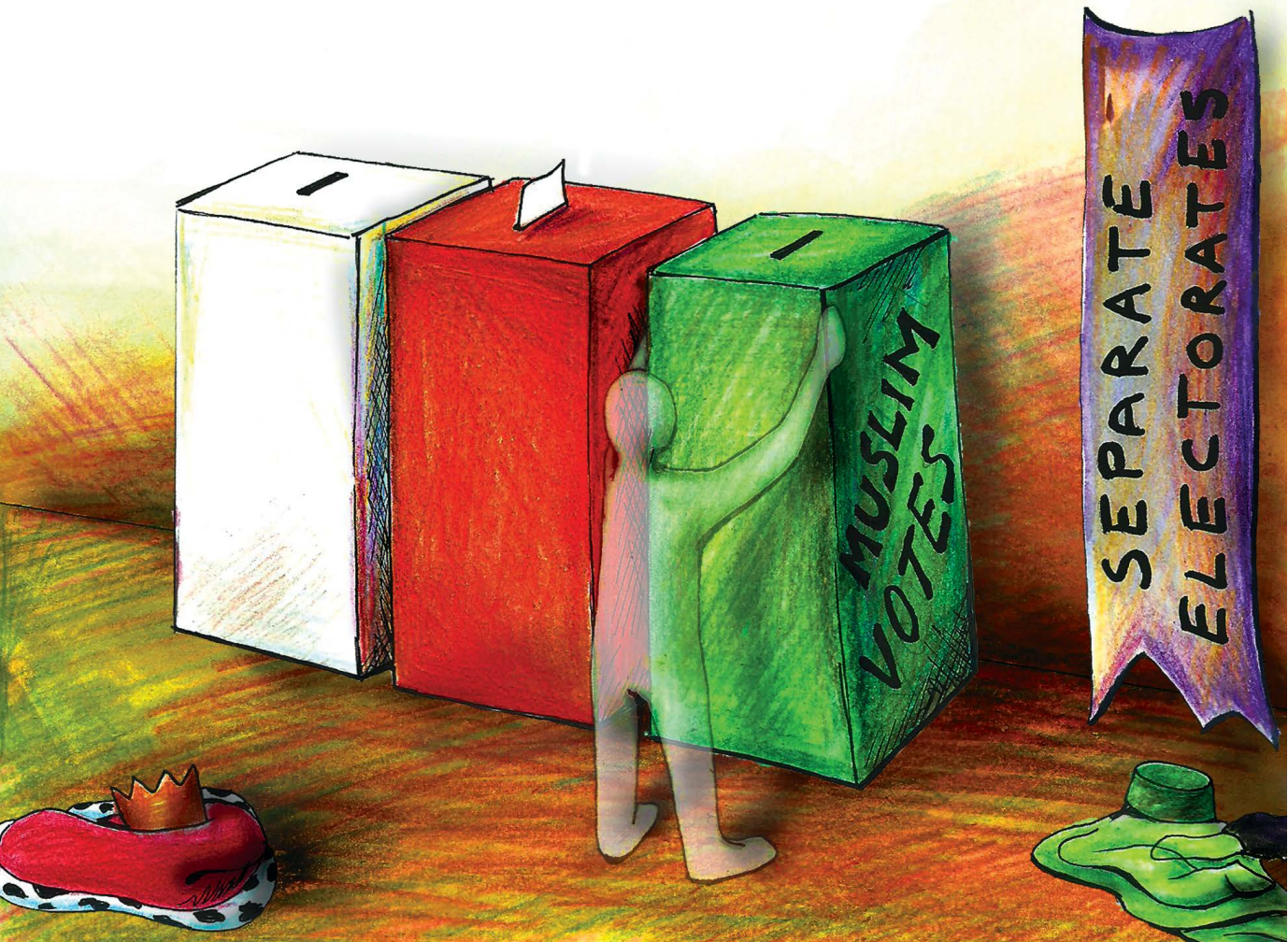
- To develop feelings of loyalty towards the British among Muslims, and to remove misunderstandings about the actions of the government
- To safeguard political rights of Muslims and to convey their demands to the government
- To develop friendly relations with all nationalities of the sub-continent without harming the above mentioned objectives of the Muslim League

Hindus claimed that the British had contributed to the establishment of the League, however in reality the Muslims themselves had established the organization. According to Nawab Viqar the only way for Muslims to get a better position in India was to clear the misconception that Muslims were responsible for Anti-British activities in India before.

Over the course of history Muslim League evolved into a powerful political stakeholder in Indian subcontinent and it was through the collective effort of its leaders, especially Muhammad Ali Jinnah, that the Pakistan movement became a reality rather than just a philosophy.



THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS



Indo



Lord Minto, the viceroy of India in 1906, planned to prevent an important section of the Muslim community from joining the Congress. He used the Muslims' fear and kept them away from Congress by promising them political concessions. In 1906, Morley (the Secretary of State for India) announced that the viceroy would appoint a small committee to consider the question of extending representation in the Legislative Council. An Aligarh official Mahsin-ul-Mulk led a delegation headed by Aga Khan to the viceroy.

The deputation led by Aga Khan submitted the following points to the viceroy:

- Muslims should be granted separate representation in the Council.
- Their representation should be determined not on the basis of their numerical strength, but on the basis of their political importance and the services rendered by them to the British Empire.
- Some rights should be given to the popularly elected representatives.
- Special favors should be granted to the Muslims in appointment to the government services and in membership of Central and Provincial Councils.

The viceroy responded favourably to the delegation and separate electorates became part of the Indian Council Act of 1909, popularly known as the Morley-Minto reforms. Separate electorates implied that elections were to be held on the basis of communal representation. That is to say, the Muslims could vote for a Muslim candidate and the Hindus for a Hindu candidate. Thus the Muslim community could be represented fairly in the Council.

This system of separate electorates sowed the seeds of communalism in the country and created a gulf between the two communities.

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CREATION OF
PAKISTAN



As viceroy, Lord Minto witnessed the worst of the situation in 1906 that resulted from the partition of Bengal, including assassination attempts on British governors. The viceroy had a continuous correspondence with John Morley—the then recently appointed Secretary of State for India under the new Liberal Government. A set of proposals were drawn and passed as law in 1909. Several features of the Act had pivotal effects.

Under the Indian Councils Act of 1909:

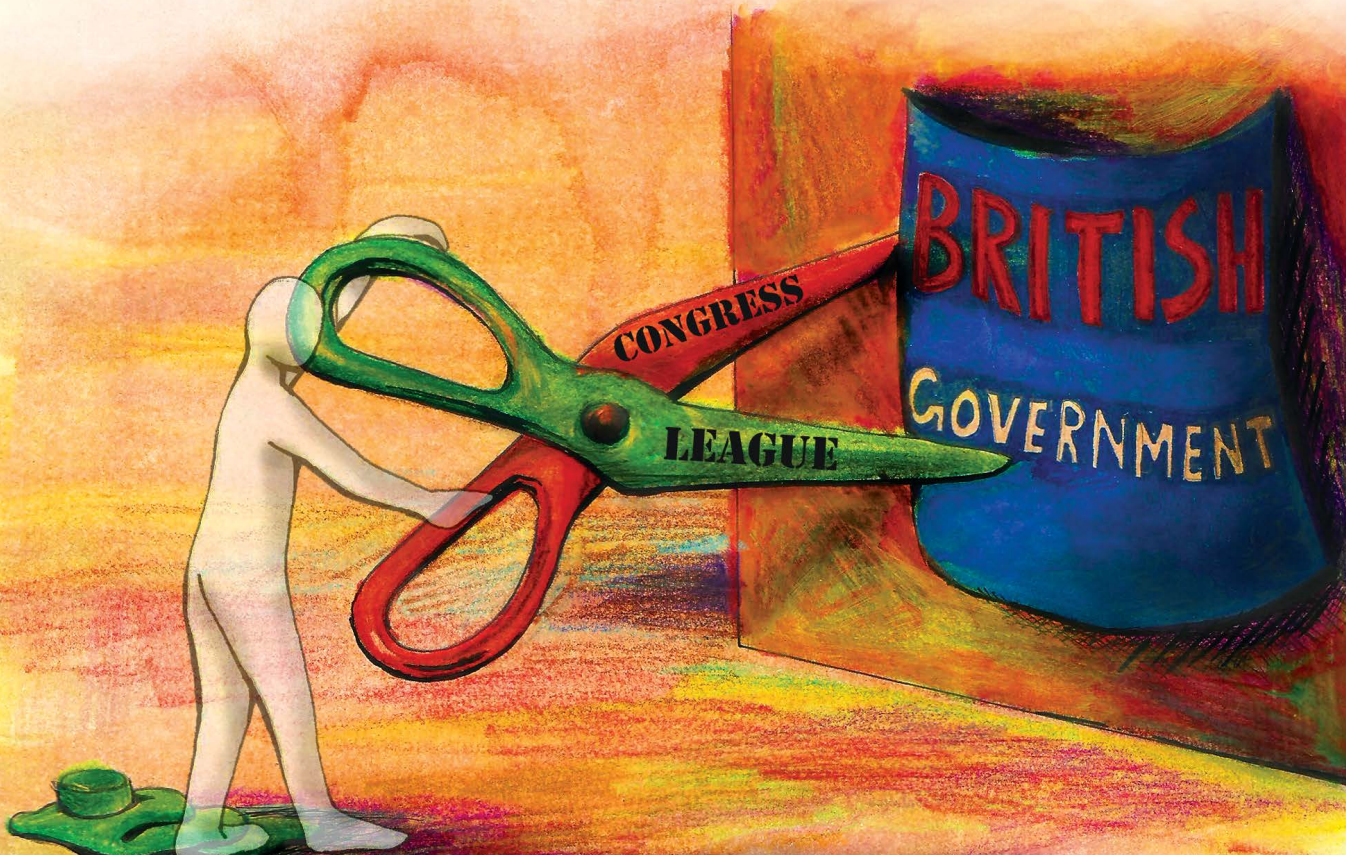
- The Imperial Council was expanded to 60 members; Provincial Council to 50 members in large states and 30 members in smaller states.
- Indians could join the Executive Council of the viceroy and the Provincial Executive Councils.
- Indian members of the Council could present a resolution or motion for discussion.
- Provinces were given the right to form their own Councils.
- Separate electorates were introduced.
- The making of separate electoral rolls was ordered.

The Morley-Minto Reforms are considered by some to be the first step towards the creation of Pakistan. They fulfilled the long-standing Muslim demand for separate electorates. The reforms were appreciated in general for the pathway they paved towards greater self-rule. Even Congress, which bitterly opposed the provision for separate electorates, appreciated this aspect. The British rightly foresaw the violent outburst that may have resulted from continued subjugation of Indian subjects, however, their primary motivation was to bring a model of the Indian elite to the chambers and respectfully express their concerns. Even the limitations of the Minto-Morley Reforms proved useful, egging on constitutional development in India .

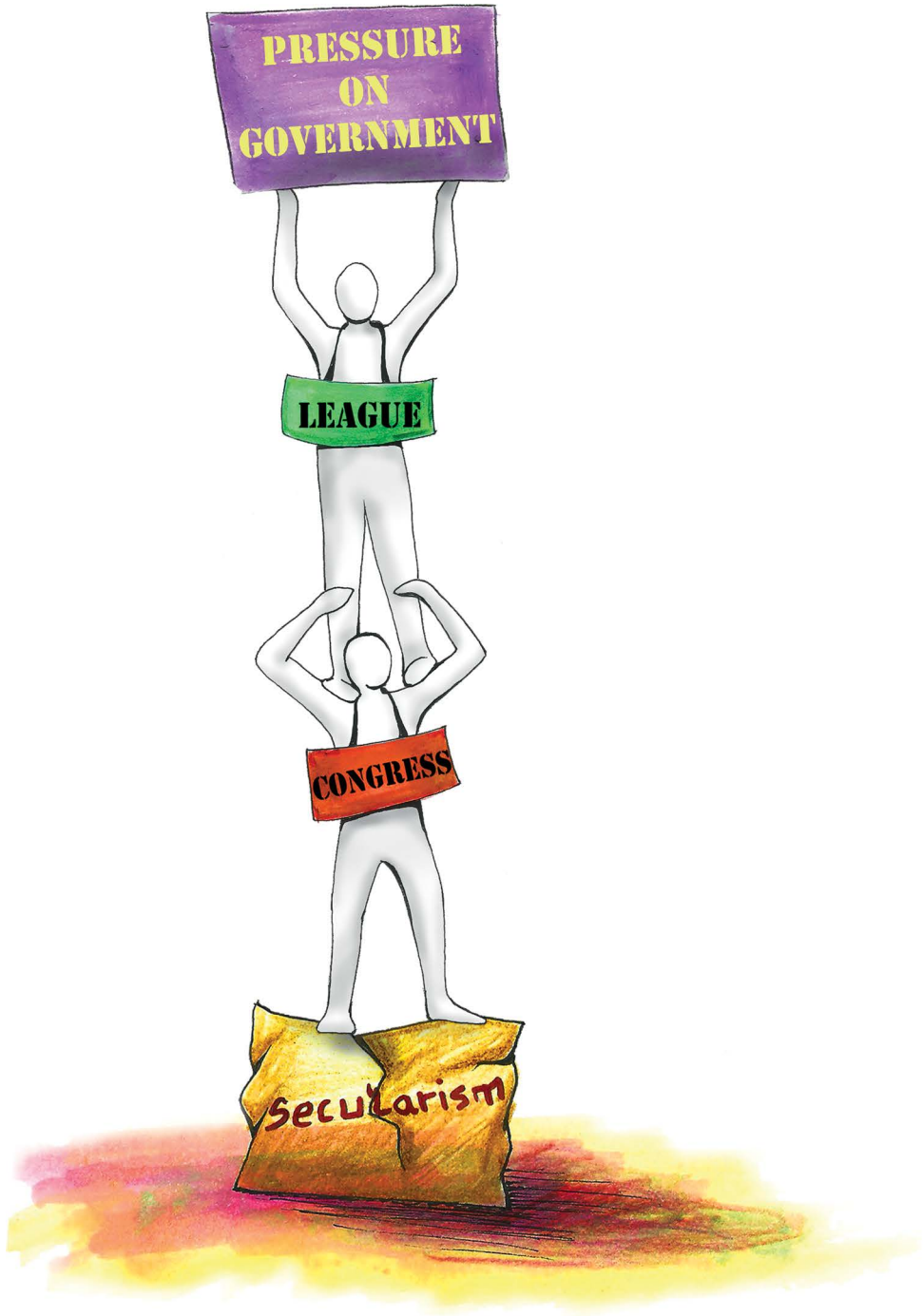
Although the purpose of the reforms was to allow greater Indian involvement in the running of the country, the British certainly were not ready or willing

to hand over any decisive power to the locals. The power to forward motions and critique policy was weakened by the fact that legislative power still rested with the English government. And where it was necessary to provide some semblance of an outlet for public opinion, Morley was very clear that these reforms should not be seen as progress towards an Indian Parliament.

LUCKNOW PACT



Indo



The war being fought against Turkey by the British created a wave of anti-British sentiment among the Muslims as they felt that the British were pro-Christian. Consequently they were supportive of Congress in their efforts of gaining self-government in India and the Muslim League changed its objectives to include 'a system of self-government under the aegis of the British Crown'. The partition of Bengal was cancelled, and a number of prominent Muslim leaders were arrested under the Seditious Meetings Act, which brought Congress and Muslim League closer.

The unity of interests and objectives of Muslim League and Congress opened doors for renewed cooperation between them. Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak played a significant role in resolving the differences between Congress and the League. The joint scheme of political reforms put forward and adopted by both parties in 1916 is known as the Lucknow Pact. The Lucknow pact also came to be known as the Congress-League Accord.

Clauses of the Pact

Abolition of the India Council

The India Council of the secretary of state, operating from England, should be abolished. The secretary of state for India was to be assisted by two under-secretaries, of whom one should be an Indian.

Provincial Legislatures

Four-fifths of the members of provincial legislatures were to be directly nominated. The number of members in the provinces was laid down in the scheme. The number of Muslim members was decided for each Province. These Muslim members were to be elected through separate electorates. On the whole, the proportion of Muslim members was large; for example 50% in Punjab, 40% in Bengal and 30% in UP.

Minorities in Elected Bodies

The minorities should have adequate separate representation in elected bodies.

Limitation of the Imperial Legislature

Defence, foreign affairs and political relations of India i.e. the declaration of war, or signing of peace treaties were excluded from the control of the Imperial Legislature.

Imperial Legislative Council

The Imperial Legislative Council was to have 150 members. Of these four-fifths were to be elected and one-fifth nominated. One-third of the elected members were to be Muslims.

Powers of The Legislative Council

All bills passed by the legislature were to be operative unless vetoed by the governor-general in the council. If the same bill was passed again by the Legislative Council within a year, the government was obliged to pass it. Extensive power was to be given to the legislature for control over financial matters.

Autonomy in Provinces

Provinces were to be autonomous in their respective spheres.

Viceroy's executive council

Half of the members of the viceroy's executive council were to be Indians, elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Religious Interests

No legislative council (imperial or provincial) was to proceed with any bill or resolution affecting any community, if three-fourths of the members of that community opposed it on the ground that it adversely affected their interests.

Separation of the judiciary from the executive

Executive officers should not have judicial powers. Members of the judiciary in every province were to be placed under the control of the highest court in that province.

Significance and Impact of the Pact

Hindu-Muslim Unity

The joint scheme symbolized Hindu-Muslim unity. Both the communities agreed to compromise in some areas for their collective good. Congress compromised on its secular character by accepting the scheme of separate electorates for Muslims. Muslim League accepted the principles of election and the majority rule. As a result of this pact, Hindus and Muslims worked together from 1916 to 1922.

Unity within the Congress

The Lucknow session and the signing of the Lucknow Pact brought about unity between the radical nationalists and the moderates. After the Surat Session of 1907, both wings of Congress were moving in different directions. They came together in 1916 and as a result, Congress was strengthened. The Congress President of the Lucknow session of 1916, Ambica Charan Majumdar rightly remarked, 'if the united Congress was buried at Surat, it is reborn at Lucknow'.

Pressure on the Government

The unity between Congress and the League and between the moderates and the radical nationalists became a threat to the British Government of India. Until now, the government had been repressing the nationalist movement by force but now they had no excuse for delaying political or constitutional reforms.

Necessity to pacify Indians

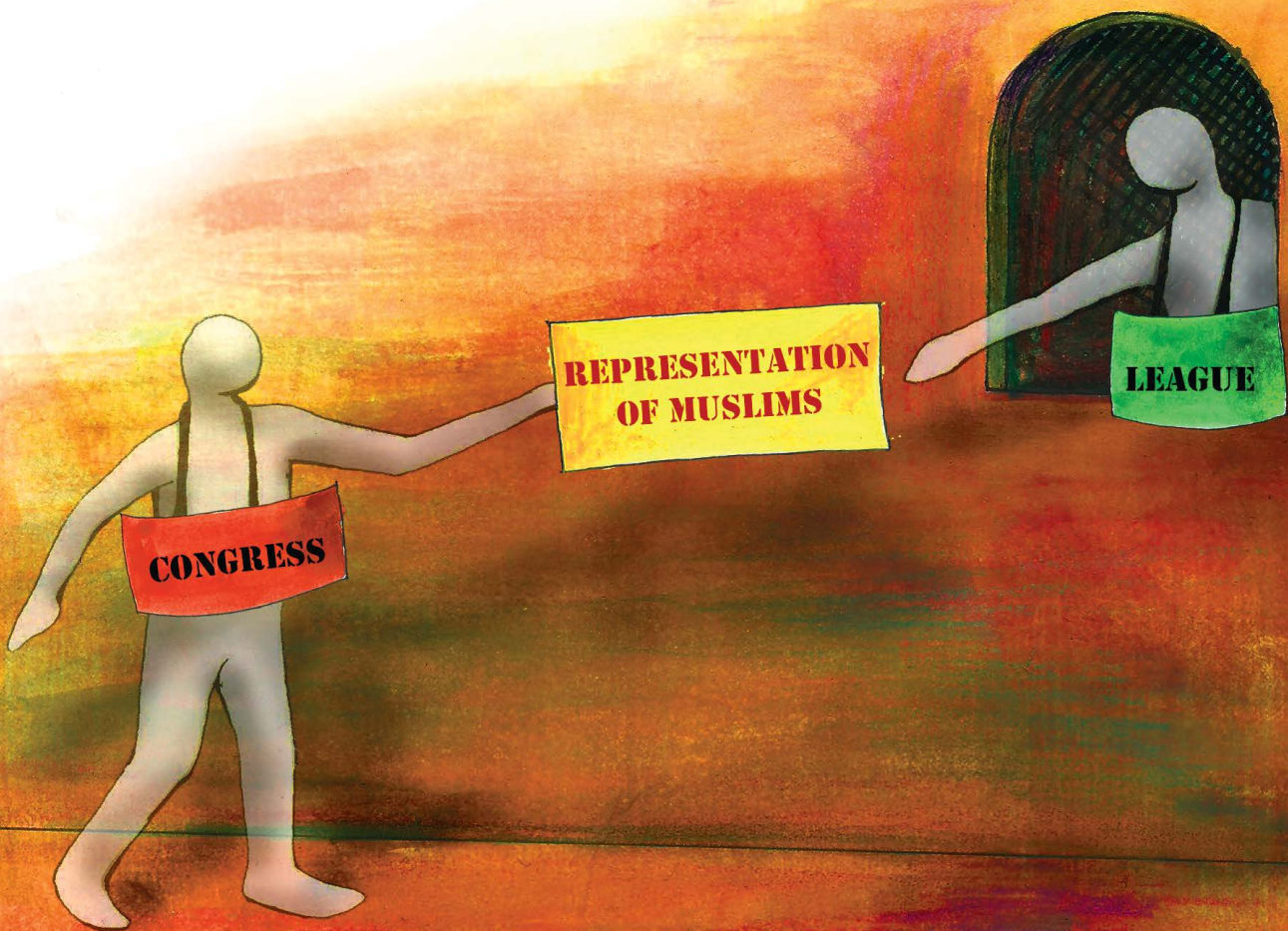
As the First World War continued and the Home Rule League was gaining momentum, the leaders of Congress and the League impressed upon the British government that their demands for constitutional reforms should not be rejected if they wished Indians to be loyal to the British. The government therefore felt it necessary to pacify the Indians by the declaration of 20th August 1917, which promised a policy of gradual development of self-government institutions in India.

Drawbacks of the Lucknow Pact

- The Lucknow Pact did not involve the masses. It was confined only to the educated and rich Hindus and Muslims.
- The Lucknow Pact seemed to have laid stress on the separate interests of the Hindus and Muslims and their separate political existence. Congress made apparent compromises for the sake of political unity because they thought that unity with the League would put more pressure on the British government to grant political concessions.
- By accepting separate electorates for Muslims, Congress lost its secular character and paved the way for future communal tension.
- The pact provided Muslim representation in the Council in excess of their proportion in the total population.

- The pact provided for a Communal Veto in legislation, because no legislature could proceed with any bill if three-fourths of the members of a particular community opposed it.
- The Lucknow Pact was a temporary truce between Congress and Muslim League. Muslim League still remained a separate entity, with a communal outlook, advocating that the Muslim's political interests were separate from those of the Hindus.

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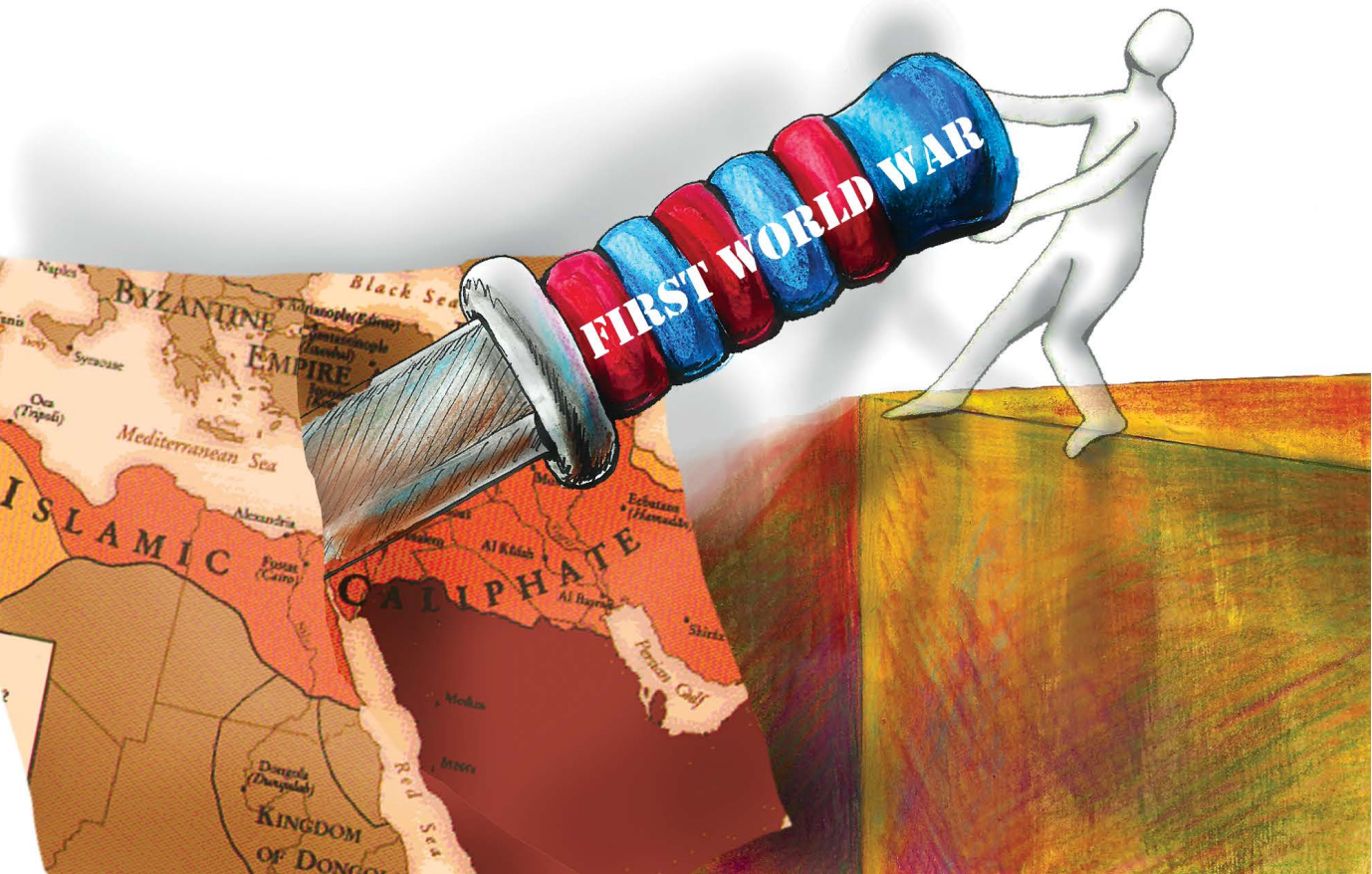
The All India Muslim League had initially outlined loyalty to and support for the British as one of its political aims. The decision to reverse the partition of Bengal however greatly damaged the Muslim relationship with the British. It was viewed as a breach of their trust by the Muslims. Muslims felt that since the British had surrendered to the demands of the Hindu majority, they could not be trusted to protect the rights and demands of the Muslims. The aims of the League were amended, such that the party would then work towards 'a form of self-government suitable to India'. Muslim League and Congress now had common grounds over which they could collaborate.

Muslim League and Congress held sessions at Lucknow in 1916, with M. A. Jinnah and Ambeka Charan Maujanddar presiding for the respective parties. It was a unique occasion where both parties made important concessions on their part. Most notably, Congress agreed to separate electorates for Muslims and 1/3rd representation. The following proposals were put forward to the British:

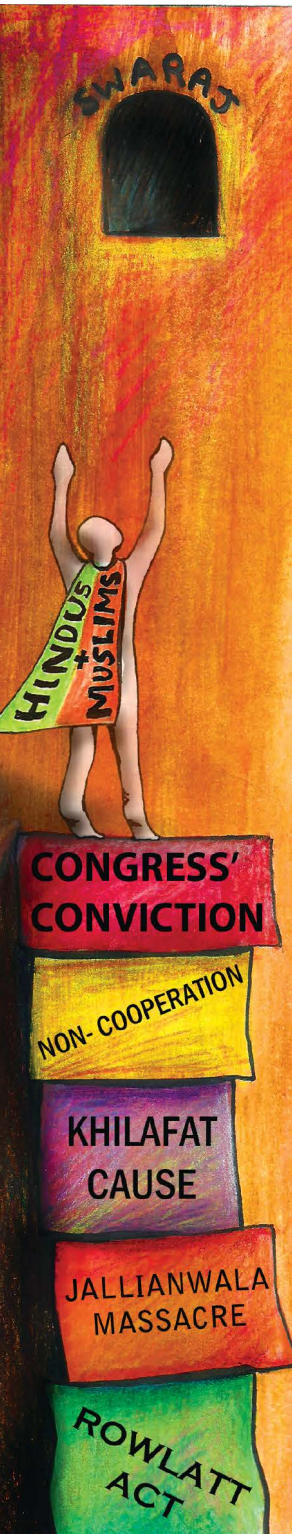
- The executive councils should have at least half their members popularly elected;
- The legislative council should have a majority of elected members;
- All legislative councils should have fiscal autonomy and the right to vote on the sending of supplies to the armed forces;
- India should be given the same rights as a dominion.

The converging goals of Congress and Muslim League allowed both parties to unite on a single platform where they were willing to make concessions for the sake of working together. The acceptance of separate electorates by Congress despite their rigid denial in the past showed that they were accepting the League as an entity that represented the Muslims of India. These proceedings also brought Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who had always been a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, to the fore. The Lucknow pact was also important as the Congress, for the first time, acknowledged the existence of a Muslim minority that deserved representation in governance.

THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT



Indo



In the First World War, Turkey was defeated and the Ottoman Empire was divided. The sultan of Turkey, the Caliph, who was widely considered by Muslims as their religious head, was deprived of all authority. Consequently, the Muslims in India felt that any weakening of the Caliph's position would adversely affect their own. They started a powerful protest known as the *Khilafat movement*, under the leadership of the Ali Brothers, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, as well as Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Hasrat Mohani.

The leaders of the *Khilafat movement* formed a three point programme:

- The Ottoman Caliph should retain his empire.
- The Caliph must be left with sufficient territory to enable him to defend the Islamic faith
- The Arab lands (Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Palestine) must remain under Muslim rule.

Gandhi ji saw in the *Khilafat Movement* an opportunity to unite Hindus and Muslims. He said that the Congress plea for Hindu-Muslim unity 'would be an empty phrase if the Hindus would hold aloof from the Muslims when their vital interests are at stake'. Mahatma Gandhi was elected as president of the All-India *Khilafat* Conference in November 1919. He advised the *Khilafat* Committee to adopt a policy of non-cooperation with the government.

Causes of the Non-Cooperation Movement

- The restrictions on Indian rights in the form of the Rowlatt Act imposed by the government, which allowed the arrest of a person without warrant, in-camera trial, restrictions on movements of individuals and suspension of the right of Habeas Corpus.
- The Jallianwalla Bagh massacre in Amritsar where 1000 peaceful protesters were gunned down by General Dyer in 1919 triggered a response from the Indians.

- International events like the rise of democracy after the First World War gave steam to this movement. The Russian revolution against the Tsar fuelled hope in Indian leaders to fight against the British.
- The Indian economy reached a major low after the War and people were unemployed and poor.

Objectives of the Non-Cooperation Movement

- Annulment of the Rowlatt Act and remedying the Punjab wrong
- Remedying the *Khilafat* wrong
- Satisfying the nationalist urge for *swaraj*

By 31st August 1920, the *Khilafat non-cooperation movement* had started. People resigned from government services, shops selling foreign goods were picketed, students boycotted schools and colleges, and *hartals* and demonstrations were held. By the end of 1920, the *Khilafat movement* and the Congress non-cooperation movement merged into one nationwide force.

In 1921, the *Khilafat* committee appealed to all Muslims not to join the police and armed forces and not to pay taxes. This enraged the government. The Ali Brothers were arrested on charges of sedition.

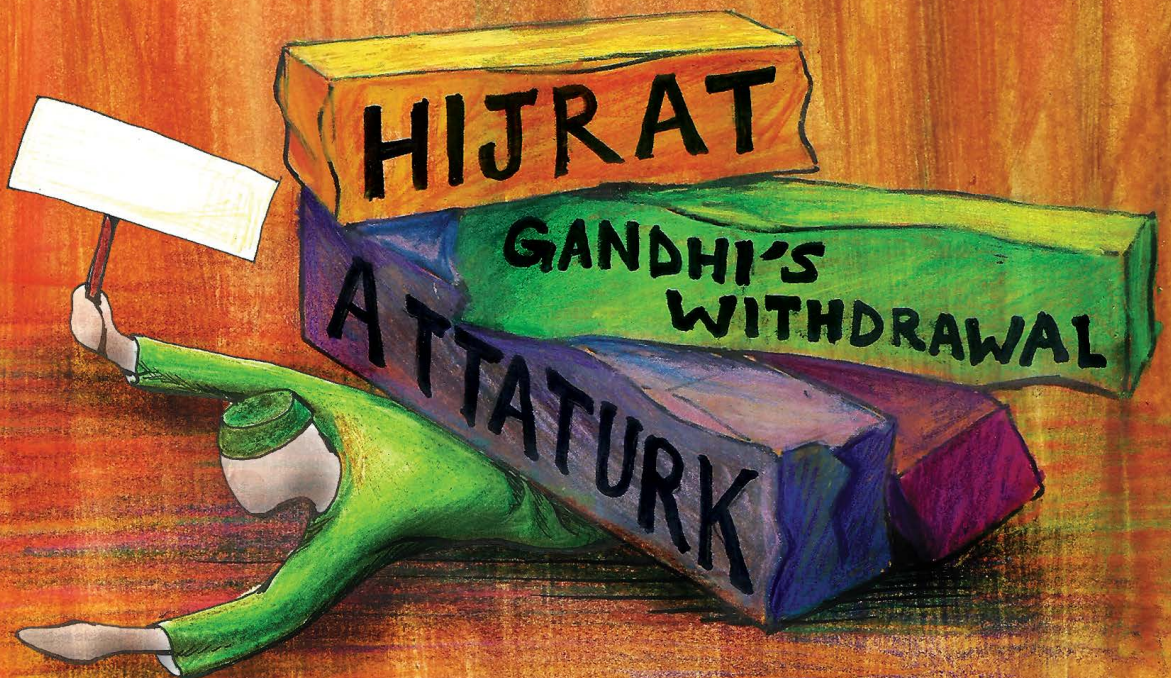
There was a policy to boycott government goods, schools, colleges and even elections. Lawyers, politicians and other government employees gave up their jobs to join the movement, national universities were set up, shops selling foreign goods were picketed and unity between Hindus and Muslims were fostered. The *swadeshi* and boycott strategies were used in this movement.

After the Chauri-Chaura incident in 1922 where citizens resorted to violence to combat state oppression, Mahatma Gandhi withdrew his support from the *Khilafat movement*.

The *Khilafat movement* itself came to an end in 1922 when Mustafa Kemal led a revolution in Turkey and deposed the Turkish sultan. He abolished the Caliphate and developed Turkey on secular lines.

The impacts of this mass movement were that Congress became more popular, there was increased confidence amongst the people, social reform was promoted and Hindu-Muslim unity strengthened. It also popularised *swaraj* and spread nationalism to every part of the country.

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In the history of the Indian subcontinent, there are certain events of particular importance that influenced immensely subsequent events – the Khilafat movement of 1920 was one of them. The movement was launched in order to pressurize the British to meet the demand for swaraj (self-rule) and maintain the status of the Khilafat in Turkey.

The first Khilafat Conference was held in January 1920. The members of the movement met the Viceroy and voiced their displeasure about the unfair treatment to Turkey. However their efforts to save the khilafat were unsuccessful. In February 1920 another deputation called on Prime Minister Lloyd George to convince him to do justice to Turkey but again met with no success. On 22nd June 1920 the Muslims in India warned the Viceroy that if the Treaty of Sevres was imposed on Turkey a non-cooperation movement would begin.

Events such as the enactment of the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in Amritsar and the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms raised distrust and contempt among Indians towards their British rulers. When the British failed to punish Dyer adequately for the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Gandhi, who had already been rallying for swaraj since the Lucknow Pact, declared that ‘cooperation in any shape or form with this satanic government is sinful’. The Indians were certain that the alien government had no concern for the rights and opinions of the native people. There was anxiety among all groups, regardless of religion. This, together with the fresh memory of the Lucknow Pact, created an air of mutual cooperation for Hindus and Muslims.

The main leaders of this movement were Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Shaukat Ali Jauhar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mohammad Ansari. This movement was later joined by Gandhi.

The conference passed a resolution to initiate a non-cooperation movement, which would include a boycott of British goods. Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement, named satyagraha, emphasised passive resistance as superior to violence in morality and strength. He urged the Muslims to join Congress in seeking swaraj. Although the idea of swaraj was supported by most Muslim leaders, Jinnah, who considered self-rule to be premature at the time, stood as a prominent exception.

It was evident that Hindus had no serious concern for the Khilafat movement. The real motive that Congress had for supporting the Khilafat movement was to take advantage of the World War and use the Muslims' agitation in order to pressurize the British government to grant self-rule.

The non-cooperation movement became more rigorous after Gandhi joined in 1919, and leaning towards civil disobedience it became a symbol of a common objective for Hindus and Muslims. British titles were renounced, courts of law were boycotted by lawyers, educational institutions were abandoned and British goods were rejected.

The official launch of the non-cooperation movement was triggered by the announcement of the terms of the Treaty of Sevres. The terms confirmed the worst fears of Indian Muslims as Turkey was to be punished and torn apart. Gandhi began touring various parts of India. The official launch of the movement on 1st August 1920 was greeted zealously by Hindus and Muslims alike.

Gandhi advised Indians to:

- Follow non-cooperation with the government
- Resign from government services
- Refuse to join armed forces
- Boycott British goods
- Abandon British educational institutions
- Renounce titles awarded by the British
- Present themselves for arrests
- Refrain from paying taxes
- Migrate to Iran, Afghanistan and other Muslims countries

Congress also refused to field candidates for the first elections for the reformed councils, which were held in 1920.

The Muslim leaders failed to recognize the conspiracy behind Gandhi's support. The Muslim masses followed his guidelines and had to face the consequent damage to their economic, educational and social status. The most detrimental step was the hijrat (migration) movement. Despite opposition from senior Muslim League members, approximately 15,000 to 20,000 Muslims sold their properties to Hindus and migrated to Afghanistan where they were refused entry by the Afghan government. Helpless, they returned home where poverty, homelessness, food shortage and humiliation awaited them.

The mass movement raised law and order problems for the British government. The strikes and rioting that greeted the visits of the royal princes in 1921 embarrassed the British. The alleged trouble-makers were arrested, including some of the leaders of the movement, and there were over 30,000 political prisoners locked up in jails. The movement was posing serious difficulties for the British.



Towards the end of 1921, there were several reports of riots. Violence involving the locals and British soldiers in Nilambur, and arson at the Tirur police station were amongst the more prominent reports. But the incident occurring in the village of Chauri-Chaura in Gorakhpur was the most notable of all where 22 policemen died as a mob of enraged locals set fire to a police station.

After this incident, Gandhi decided to call off the non-cooperation movement, regarding which he had already started to have uncertainties. He now decided that India was too immature for such a large scale movement. The truth was that he had already exploited the support of the Muslims and the Khilafat movement for his swaraj demand, but when there was no doubt about the victory of the Allied forces, he abruptly called off the movement without consulting the Muslim leaders. This treacherous step infuriated Muslims and Congress leaders were also disappointed. Gandhi was criticized for backing out when the movement was getting popular. Muslim leaders were furious with Gandhi for removing the pressure off the British government. The movement destroyed all ties of fraternity between Hindus and Muslims as it became clear that neither the British nor the Hindus had any concern for the rights of the Muslims.

Moreover, in 1924 the Khilafat was abolished by Kamal Attaturk who sent the last Sultan Mohammed VI into exile and became the ruler of modern Turkey. Since the object that the movement wished to protect i.e. the Khilafat, ceased to exist, the movement no longer had any cause.



THE NEHRU REPORT



Indo



The British cited the disharmony amongst various groups in the country to justify the exclusion of the Indians from the Simon Commission. In 1927 the secretary of state, Lord Birkenhead, had challenged the Indian leaders to come up with a constitution to which all parties would agree. He said that the Indians were not united and could not come up with a unanimous scheme of reforms. An All Parties Conference was convened in 1928 in response to Lord Birkenhead's challenge.

Representatives of Congress, liberals and radicals, members of Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and the depressed classes came together between February and May 1928. A select committee was appointed for the actual drafting of the constitutional scheme. Pandit Motilal Nehru was made chairman of the committee with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sri N.C. Kelkar, Sardar Mangal Singh and Subhash Chandra Bose. The report submitted by the All Parties Conference is referred to as the Nehru Report. The Nehru Report was submitted on the 10th of August, 1928 and mainly addressed communal problems and their solutions. It was deliberated upon by the parties at Lucknow in the same month and was passed by one dissenting vote.

The Nehru report stated that the 'next immediate step for India must be dominion status'.

Recommendations of the Nehru Report

- Attainment of dominion status for India at an early date
- A federal set-up built on the basis of linguistic provinces and provision of provincial autonomy
- Abolishing separate electorates and providing protection of minorities
- A joint electorate with reservation of seats for the minority groups in the legislature
- Reorganization of Indian British provinces according to language

- The language of the commonwealth shall be Indian, which may be written either in Devanagari, Hindi, Kannada, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengal, Tamil or in Urdu character. The use of the English language shall be permitted.
- The Governors of provinces were to act on the advice of the Provincial Executive Council
- The governor-general would be the constitutional representative of the crown, with no more actual power than the English king
- Fundamental rights such as the right to vote, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience and freedom from arbitrary arrests and searches were emphasized
- Parliamentary democracy for India with the Indian parliament having the following features:
 - » The Prime Minister will be appointed by the governor-general and the other ministers with the advice of the Prime Minister.
 - » Executive to be made collectively responsible to the legislative.
 - » The senate to be elected for 7 years
 - » The House of Representatives with 500 members elected for 5 years.
 - » The provincial councils to be elected on the basis of adult franchise for 5 years.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a former Congressman and then the leader of Muslim League, refused to accept the Nehru Report and demanded more representation for the Muslims. He then came up with his Fourteen Points which contained the minimum demands by the Muslims. All these demands were rejected at the next All Parties Convention in Calcutta in December 1928.

In the same meeting Congress also decided to launch a non-cooperation and civil disobedience movement if the Nehru Report wasn't accepted by the end of 1929. The British rule did not accept the Nehru Report and hence Congress resorted to national movements and passed a Purna Swaraj resolution in 1929.

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According to the Government of India Act (1919) a statutory commission was to be appointed at the end of ten years to determine the next stage in the realization of self-rule in India. For that purpose, the Simon Commission, led by Sir John Simon, was sent to the subcontinent in 1927. All seven members of the Simon Commission were British; this was regarded as extremely insulting to the Indians and so all the major political parties rejected the commission with the slogan of 'Go back, Simon'.

After the failure of the Simon Commission, the British government asked political parties of the subcontinent to frame a constitution for themselves. An All Parties Conference met for the third time in Bombay on 19th May 1928, in which members of Congress, Muslim League, the Liberals, Hindu Mahasabha and the Central Sikh League participated. Pandit Motilal Nehru chaired the committee that devised this constitution, and the decisions of the committee were contained in the Nehru Report. There were 9 other members of this committee including 2 Muslims, Syed Ali Imam and Ali Qureshi.

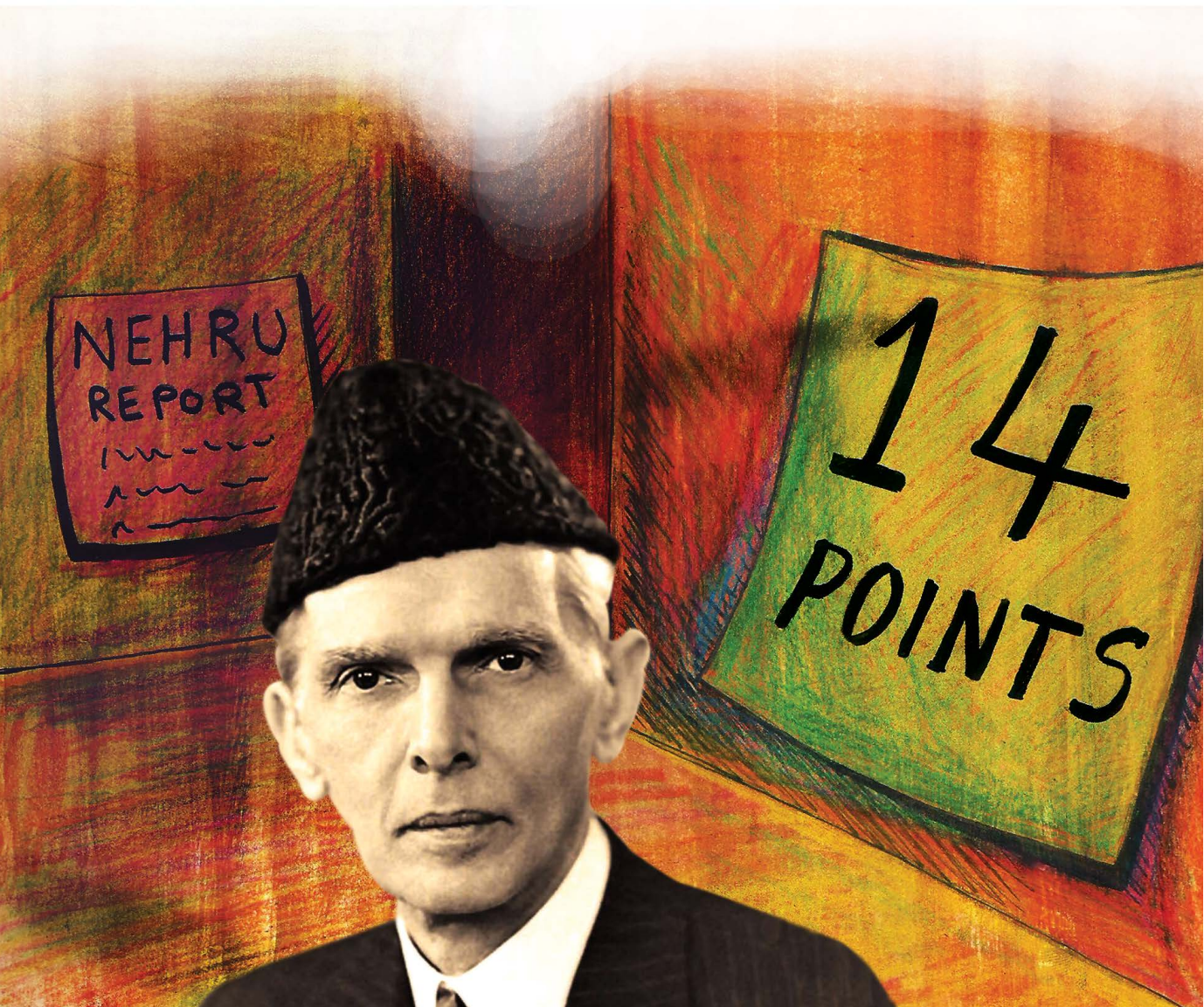
The committee worked on the constitution's details for three long months and came up with the following memorandum.

- Immediate dominion status for India (India would become independent, but remain a member of the Commonwealth and accept the British monarch as head of state)
- There should be no separate electorate for any community
- India was to be a federation with a two-chamber parliament
- System of weightage for minorities was to be abolished
- Muslims should be granted one-fourth representation in the central legislature
- Reservation of Muslim seats could be possible in the provinces where Muslim population was at least 10%, but reservations were to be made in strict proportion to the size of the community

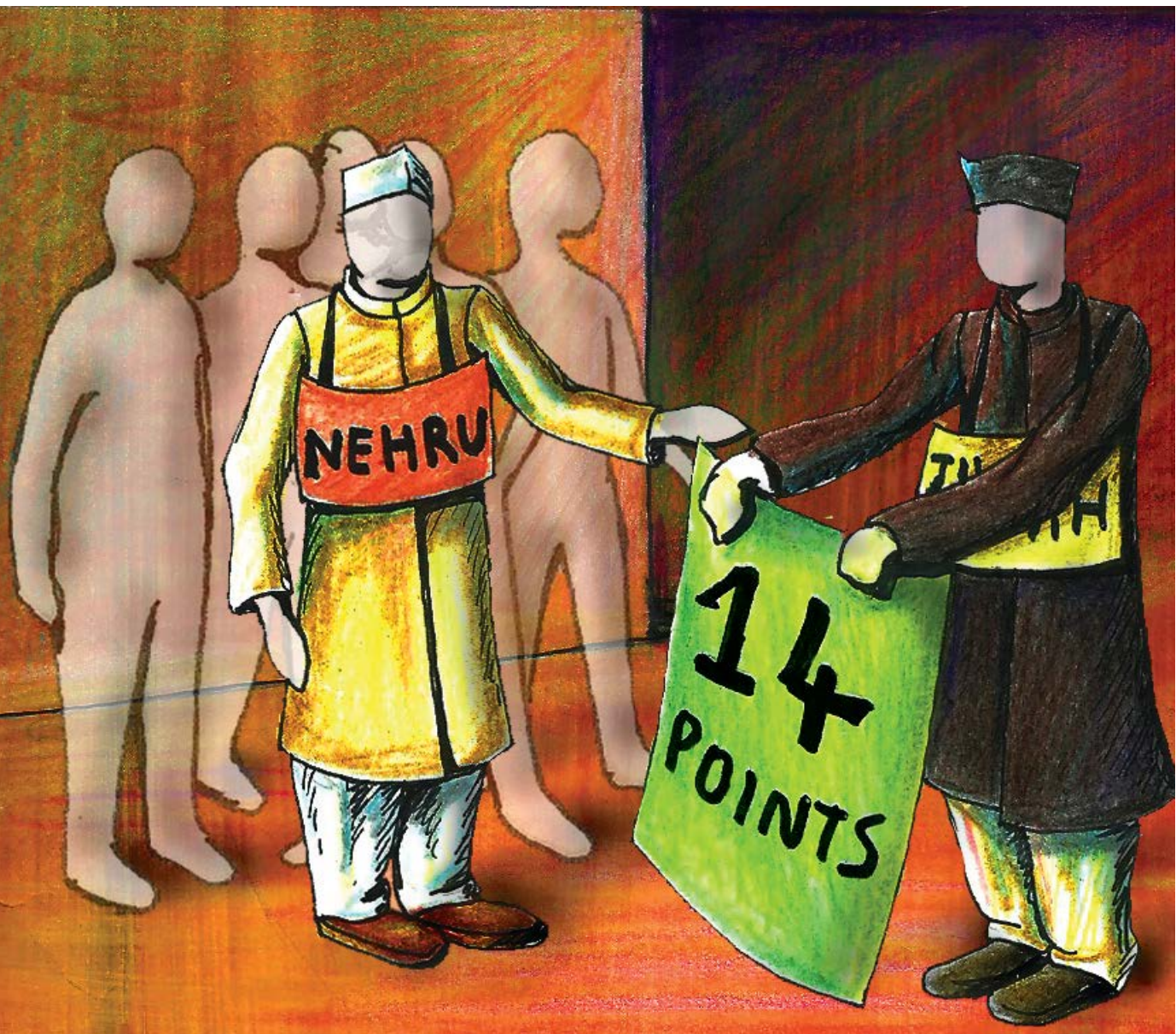
- Hindi should be made the official language of India
- Sindh would be separated from Bombay only if the committee certified that it was financially self-sufficient
- The vote was to be granted to all adult men and women
- Gandhi proposed a resolution saying that the British should be given one year to accept the recommendations of the Nehru Report or a campaign of non-cooperation should begin. The resolution was passed.

Although the Nehru Report had been drawn up by an All Party Conference, it deprived Muslims of the subcontinent of various rights; separate electorates and 1/3rd representation of Muslims in the central legislature were not granted, the separation of Sindh was stipulated with financial conditions and the province of Balochistan was entirely overlooked. In response to the Nehru Report, Muhammad Ali Jinnah proposed his famous Fourteen Points to guard and highlight the rights of the Muslim community.

JINNAH'S 14 POINTS

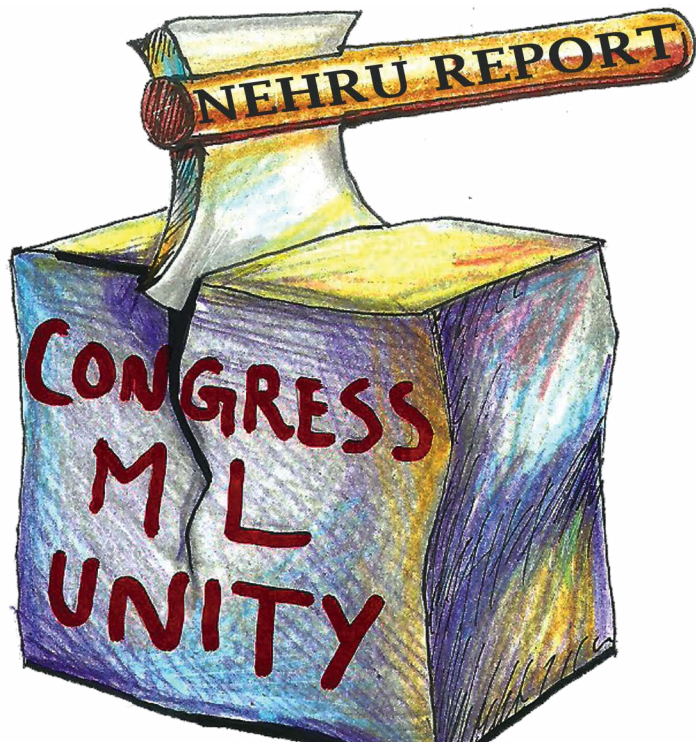


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Although the Muslim League, led by Jinnah, initially accepted the Nehru report (with some safeguards for the Muslims) they later rejected it in March 1929. Jinnah put forward a list of demands, known as his Fourteen Points, which contained the minimum conditions acceptable to the League for any political settlement. It included separate electorates for Muslims and a 1/3rd representation for Muslims in all cabinets. His points were rejected by the All Parties Convention at Calcutta in December 1928.

Pak



The Nehru Report published in 1928 had inflicted permanent damage on Hindu-Muslim unity. Since the report warranted the reversal of all the concessions made to the Muslims in the historic Lucknow Pact of 1916, Muslims were strongly against the report. Jinnah, despite his concerted efforts, remained unsuccessful in convincing Congress to guarantee the continuation of one-third Muslim representation in the Central Assembly. The intransigence of the Congress leaders coupled with their increasingly hostile attitude towards Muslims led Jinnah to term the report as 'the parting of ways'.

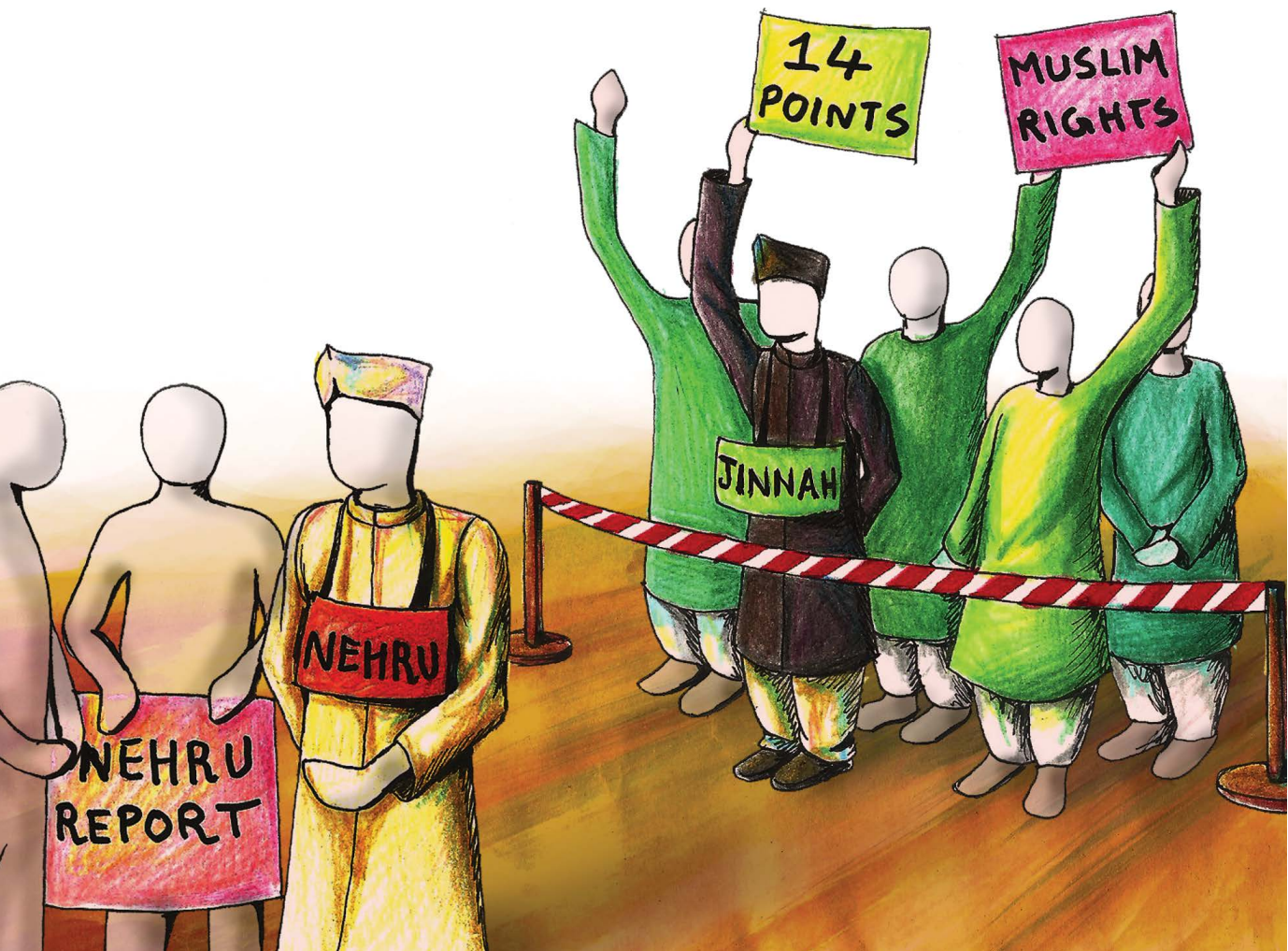
This was to become a defining moment for the relations between Congress and Muslim League. Despite having been one of the most ardent proponents of the League-Congress alliance, Jinnah had realized that the deteriorating relations between Congress and Muslim League had made both parties irreconcilable. Jinnah thus moved forward from the abortive attempts of conciliation to the parting of ways and the unmitigated struggle for the rights of Indian Muslims. To express the popular and legitimate demands of the Muslims, Jinnah proposed his famous Fourteen Points that were a true representation of the demands of the Muslims that had been snubbed by the Nehru Report. Jinnah's points stressed provincial autonomy, adequate representation of minorities, separate electorates, freedom of worship and the constitutional protection of minorities. These points also highlighted the much needed de-centralization as 'the federation of India must not change laws without the consent of the provinces'.

The points also demanded the exclusion of Sindh from the Bombay presidency. Jinnah spoke for the rights of NWFP and Balochistan and attempted to bring them on equal footing with the other provinces. Jinnah could discern the probable manipulation of electoral constituencies by the influential Congress elite and hence explicitly demanded that the Muslim majority in Bengal, Punjab, and the NWFP be retained at all costs. Jinnah's points delineated fundamental human values of liberty, equality and individual freedom.

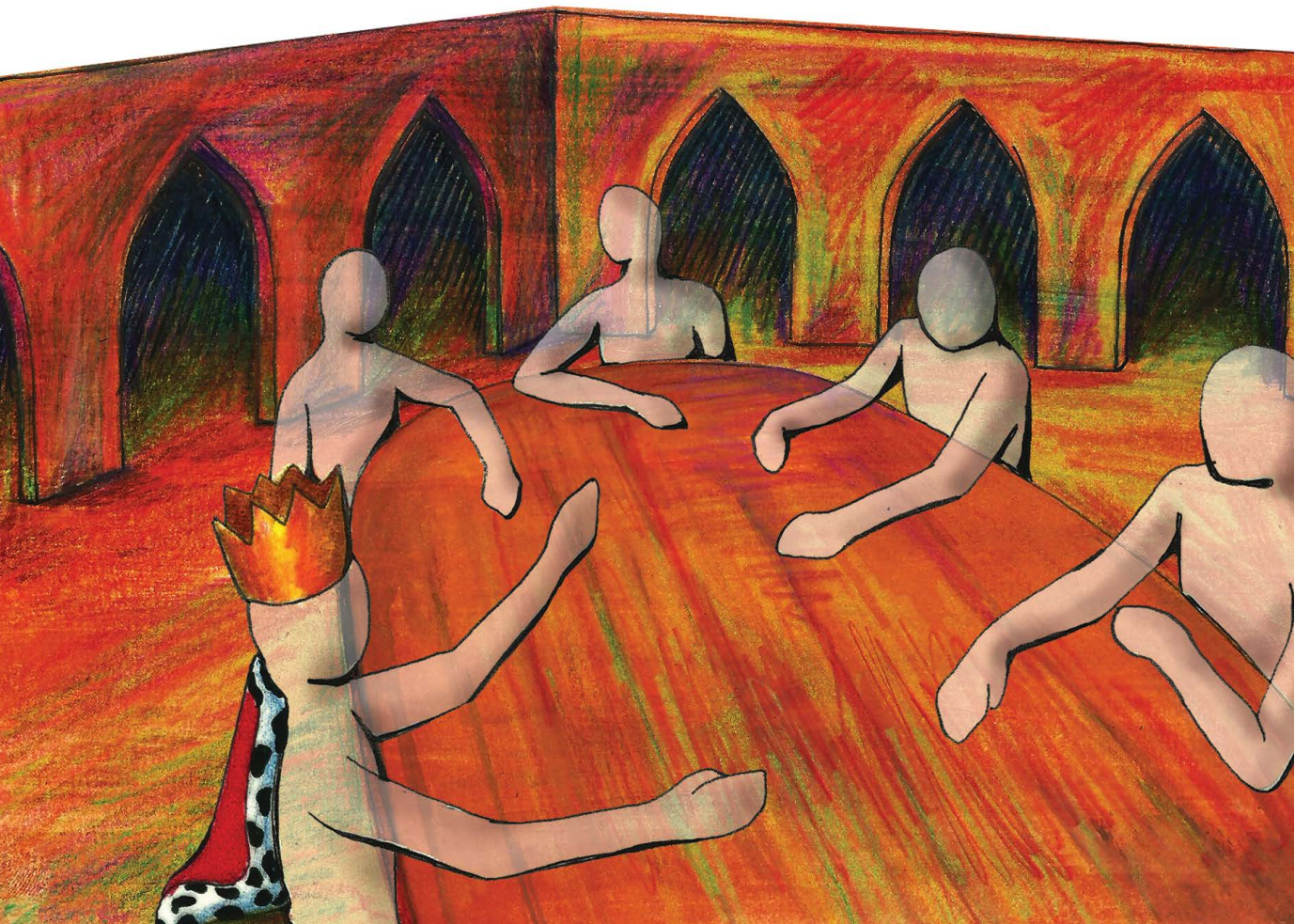
The Fourteen Points also underscored the under-representation of Muslims in the civil bureaucracy. He therefore proposed that 'Muslims should have an adequate share in the services of the state'. Similarly, adequate Muslim representation in the elected institutions was also demanded so that 'all Cabinets

(at central or local level) should have at least 1/3 Muslim representation’.

In January 1929, the session of All-India Muslim League decided unanimously, despite the internal conflicts and disunity in the past, that Jinnah’s Fourteen Points be accepted. The League went to the extent of stipulating any further negotiation with Congress on the implementation of these points. Thus, the biased and untenable demands of the Nehru report were rejected by the League in favour of Jinnah’s Fourteen Points. This gave birth to another hostile chapter of Hindu-Muslim antagonism. However, the struggle for independence from the British Raj by both parties continued.



ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES



Indo



The first session of the Round Table Conference was held in London, from the 12th of November 1930 to the 19th of January 1931. Every political party and interest group who had boycotted the conference because they were unhappy with the Simon Commission's report attended it, except for Congress. The Simon Commission was appointed by the British government in November 1927 to investigate the need for further constitutional reforms. It comprised only of 7 British members of parliament. The fact that there were no Indian members in the Commission was viewed as an insult by the locals. Furthermore, the report and its recommendations were considered biased and inadequate.

The British realized the futility of discussing constitutional reforms without Congress, which led to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The Gandhi-Irwin pact had several clauses that dealt with the satyagraha and civil disobedience movement, as well as an agreement/guarantee that Congress would attend the second session of the Round Table Conference.

At the second session from 7th September to 1st December 1931 Gandhiji attended as the sole representative of Congress. This session failed because the conference was soon in a deadlock over the issue of minorities - with separate electorates being demanded not only by Muslims, but by other depressed classes, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans as well. The question of setting up a responsible government receded to the background.

Due to the failure of the second session and the refusal of Gandhiji's request for an interview with Lord Willington to discuss India's situation (as the great depression of the 1930s had affected India as well), Congress passed a resolution to renew the civil disobedience movement. The British government retaliated by resorting to repression – they declared Congress illegal, arrested their leaders and seized their property. Communalism was fanned. Gandhiji was also arrested.

While Gandhiji was in jail, Ramsay Macdonald, then Prime Minister of England gave his Communal Award in 1932 through which he extended the system of separate electorates to the depressed classes as well. According to the award, separate representation was to be provided for Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. The depressed classes were assigned

a number of seats, to be filled by elections from special constituencies in which voters that belonged to the depressed classes only could vote.

Gandhiji observed a fast unto death against the provision of separate electorates for the scheduled or depressed classes.

A compromise put forth by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes saved the situation. The outcome was the Poona Pact. According to this pact, the system of separate electorates for Harijans was replaced by reservation of seats for them. The British government accepted the pact, and Gandhiji ended his fast. He was released from jail in May 1933.

Congress once again boycotted the third session of the Round Table Conference, which was held from 17th November to 24th December 1932. As the conference recommended, the British government enacted the Government of India Act of 1935, which introduced the principle of a federation and the principle of provincial autonomy, i.e. responsible government in the provinces.

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The Simon Commission agreed to the idea of separate electorates but did not accept other Muslims demands including a one-third share of seats in the central assembly for Muslims and the separation of Sindh from Bombay. The British called the Round Table Conferences to discuss these issues.

The first Round Table Conference was held in 1930, in London. Congress boycotted this conference because they wanted any decisions taken at the conference to be implemented, but no such guarantee was given. The Congress refused to attend and began non-cooperation. The liberals and the representatives of the League and Princely states attended the first round table conference. As Congress was India's largest party, its absence meant that important decisions could not be made; nonetheless there was some progress. The British agreed to have a representative government on the provincial level. The princes agreed to become a part of a federal India as long as their rights were guaranteed.

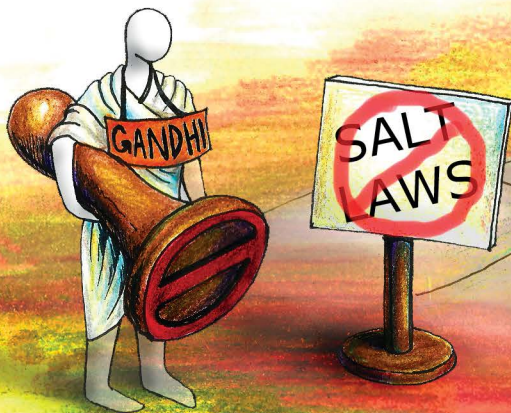
Indian representatives, after returning from the first conference, urged Gandhi to join the next round of talks. Lord Irwin also understood the importance of bringing Congress to the table for discussions. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in March 1931. The British agreed to release most political prisoners, and return property seized by the government. Gandhi agreed to stop the non-cooperation campaign, and also agreed to give up the demand for full independence as long as the Indians had a genuine say in the running of a federal India.

The second Round Table Conference was also held in London and failed for two reasons. Firstly, the Labour Party had failed in Britain and the new government did not wish to make any compromises in India. Secondly, Gandhi took a hard line stance in the talks and refused to recognize the problems of the minorities in the subcontinent. The British then declared that they would impose their own solution to the Indian problem if an agreement wasn't reached soon.

The third Round Table conference stood little chance of success as Lord Willington, who was less equipped to solve the problem, replaced Lord Irwin. Non-cooperation campaign also restarted and important Congress leaders

including Gandhi and Nehru were arrested. In August 1932, the British Prime Minister, announced the Communal Award which Congress strongly opposed. While the League had some concerns about it, they accepted the proposal as they were the ones who had asked the British to make an award. The third Round Table Conference was therefore not expected to achieve anything. Congress boycotted the conference, as did the major princes. Jinnah had gone into voluntary exile, because of disillusionment at the lack of productive work being done. Aga Khan represented the Muslims, but there were only 46 delegates and the meeting broke up without anything substantive being achieved. The British were disappointed with the lack of action taken on the political front.

THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT



Indo



Before initiating the movement, Gandhiji presented the British government with an eleven-point ultimatum. After waiting in vain for the government's response to his ultimatum, he commenced the movement with a large number of followers on 12th March, with the historic march from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi, a village on the Gujarat seacoast. On the morning of 6th April, Gandhiji violated the Salt Laws at Dandi by picking up some salt left by the sea waves. He had chosen to attack the Salt Laws because the salt-tax affected all sections of society.

The programme of the movement was inclusive of the following:

- Defiance of salt laws
- Boycott of liquor
- Boycott of foreign cloth and British goods of all kinds
- Non payment of taxes and revenues.

The Civil Disobedience Movement was different from the Non-Cooperation Movement because the former involved non payment of taxes and land-revenue as well as violation of laws of different kinds in addition to Non-Cooperation activities.

The Progress of the Movement

Violation of the Salt Laws all over the country was soon followed by defiance of forest laws and refusal to pay the rural "Chaukidari" tax in Eastern India. People throughout the nation joined strikes and refused to pay taxes. Hundreds and thousands of Indians offered Satyagraha. Under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi), the Pathans organised the society of Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God), also known as Red Shirts. The Manipuris joined the movement with great enthusiasm, and Rani Gaidilieu responded to Gandhiji's call at the age of 13.

Repression by the Government

The government resorted to firing, “lathi” charges and large scale imprisonment. The Congress was declared illegal and severe restrictions were imposed on the nationalist Press. Protest meetings were held everywhere. The textile and railway workers of Mumbai went on strike and there were incidents of firing at Delhi and Kolkata.

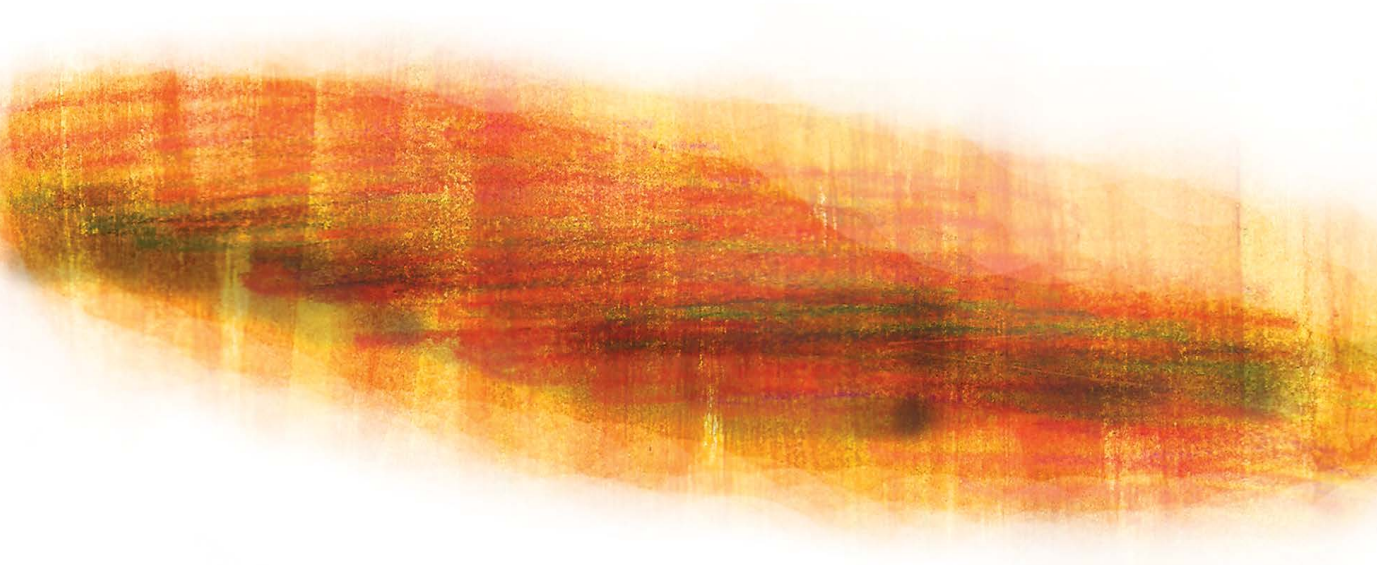
Since the Satyagraha could not be suppressed, the government started negotiations with Gandhiji in jail. This resulted in the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin pact by Gandhiji and then viceroy Lord Irwin, in March 1931. The government agreed to withdraw all ordinances and end prosecutions, release all political prisoners except those guilty of violence, permit peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops, restore the confiscated properties of the satyagrahis and permit free collection or manufacture of salt by persons near the seacoast. The Congress in turn, consented to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement, to participate in the second session of the Round Table Conference and not press for investigation into police excesses.

Importance of the Civil Disobedience Movement

The movement caused a tide of patriotic fervour throughout the country that would not leave the Government in peace. A large number of social groups like merchants and shopkeepers, peasant, tribals and workers in different parts of the country were mobilised for the Indian National Movement. It made the civilians recognize the essence of the principles of non violence. The movement also popularised new methods of propaganda. The depressed classes were elevated and it brought women out of their homes to participate. This convinced the government that basic constitutional reforms were necessary.

In October 1934, Gandhiji decided to withdraw himself from active politics to devote his time to the cause for Harijans.

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THE CONGRESS RULE



Indo

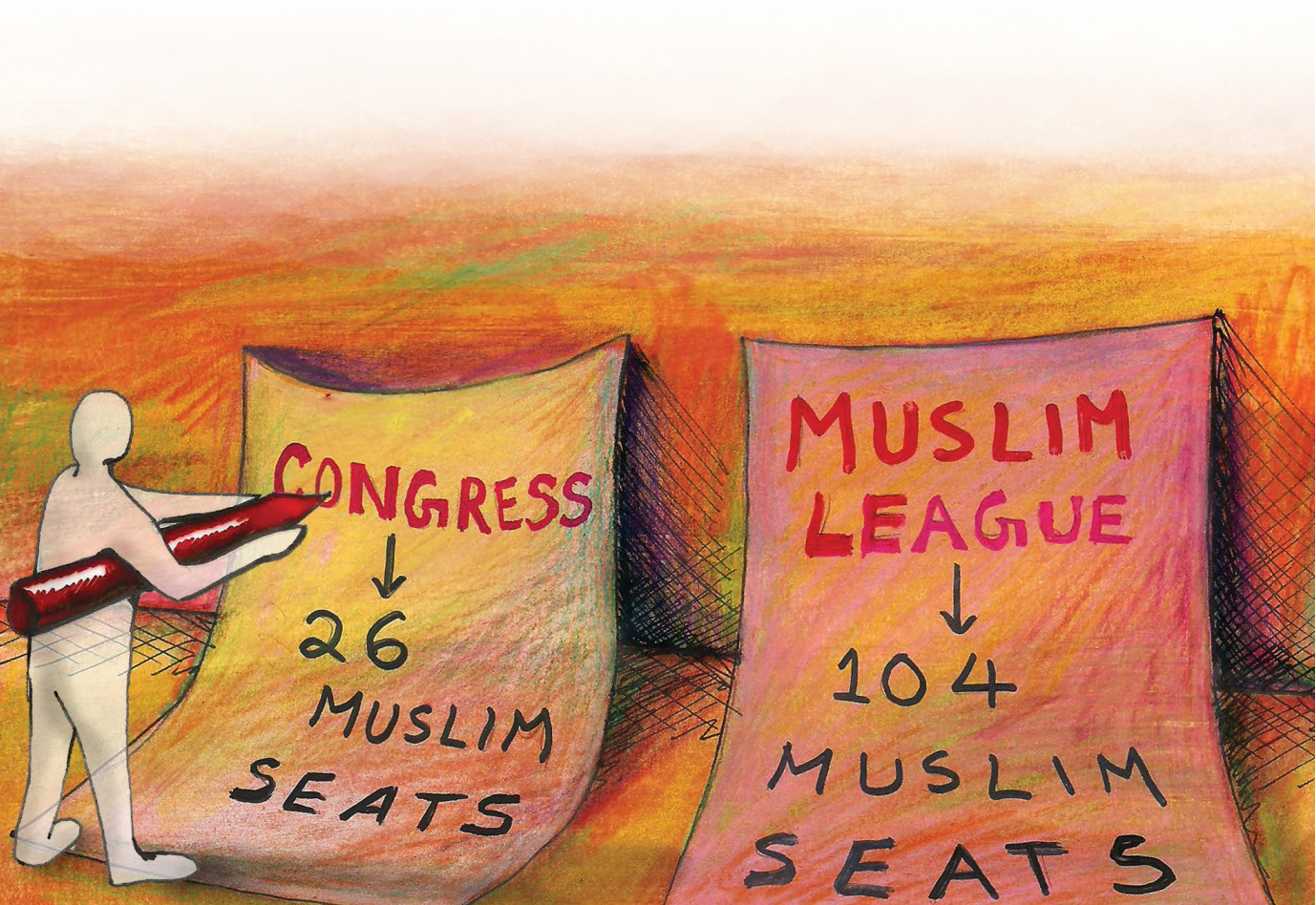


The elections of 1937 were the political cause leading up to the Quit India Movement. The period between 1935 and 1942 was marked by hectic political activity, which saw a number of developments.

The Civil Disobedience Movement faded out and the Congressmen decided to contest the elections. Accordingly, the Congress launched the election campaign and in the election held in the beginning of 1937, swept the polls winning absolute majority in five provinces: Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. In July 1937, the Congress formed ministries in the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Orissa, Bihar, Madras and Bombay. Later, Assam and the North-West Frontier also came under the Congress rule. A significant section of Congressmen like Acharya Narendra Dev, Jai Prakash Narayan and Achyut Patwardhan decided to form themselves into a group within the Congress to propagate the socialist ideas. Therefore they formed the Congress Socialist Party in October 1934. The Congress Socialists accounted for about one-third of the Congress membership.

Besides the emergence of socialists within the Congress, another notable trend was the division of the Congress into two ideological groups- the conservative (or the right-wing) and the radical (or the left-wing), led by Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose respectively. The rise of the popular movement in the Princely States, known as Praja Mandal, became inextricably linked with the National Movement. The popularity of the Congress rapidly grew. Its membership increased from half a million (1936) to five million by the end of 1939.

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In the 1937 elections, both Congress and Muslim League made public declarations, setting out their important policies. However, Muslim league still had to organize itself as a political party and gather local coordinators to spread the cause and acquire votes.

Mr. Nehru on the other hand, was prepared to show the strength of Congress through the upcoming elections. He disapproved of the League as a representative party and told the Indians that there were only two parties in the subcontinent, Congress and the British. To this, Mr. Jinnah reacted angrily, stressing the fact that the League should be accepted as an equal associate with the Congress and the British. Muhammad Ali Jinnah invited Muslims to join hands together through the League, so they can oppose both the parties with power and courage.

The final results, however, failed to meet the needs of both Congress and the League. Congress won with greater votes, having 711 seats out of a total of 1585. It won only 26 Muslim seats which represented about five percent of the Indian Muslims. Muslim League's results were a disappointment, out of 489 Muslim seats, the League won only 104. Muslim League at that time was not a comparable political party to Congress. This however, only partly explains the poor election results for the League. Lack of organization made it quite tough to search for appropriate members. The overview that Muslims in the Hindu majority voted more for the League, clearly showed their awareness of political affairs, and thus, they had feared the Hindu reign.

After the Congress's success, hostility toward and ill treatment of the Muslims started and their individual identity was quelled. Soon practicing religion was made impossible for Muslims; music was played at the time of prayers outside masjids, Hindi took over the entire nation and singing bande matram was made obligatory, Muslim children were forced to salute the picture of Mahatma Gandhi and apply tilak onto their foreheads and Muslims were rejected from all government jobs. Such behavior intensified the Muslim's zeal for an independent homeland.



CONGRESS
RULE

THE LAHORE RESOLUTION



Indo



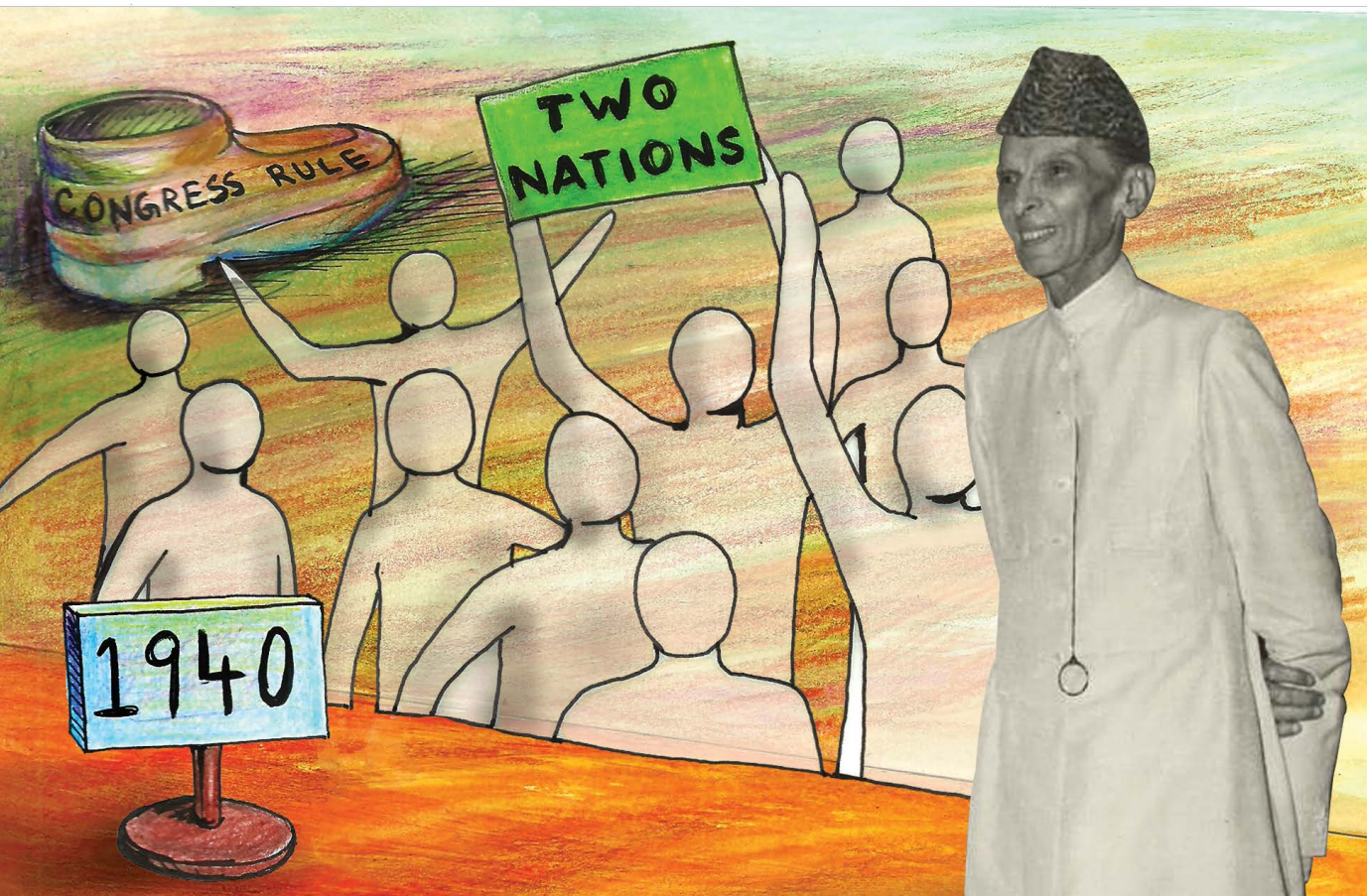
By the end of the Calcutta Session, Congress gave an ultimatum to the British government to accept the Nehru Report or face a national movement. When the one year limit given by Congress had passed without any response from the British government, Congress declared the Nehru Report as a failure and Jawaharlal Nehru was made the next president of Congress in the Lahore session of 1929.

The main objective of Congress was complete independence; hence they passed a resolution of Purna Swaraj on the midnight of 31st December 1929. Jawaharlal Nehru led a procession to the banks of river Ravi in Lahore and hoisted a tri-colour flag. The Congress Working Committee met in January 1930 and decided the following agenda:

- Preparation of civil disobedience
- According to Purna Swaraj resolution the word Swaraj means complete independence and henceforth Purna Swaraj was the most important goal of Congress
- Observance of 26th January as Purna Swaraj day all over the county and hoisting of the tri-colour flag
- Resignations by the members of legislature.
- Withdrawal from all possible British associations.

Henceforth 26th January was celebrated as the Independence Day every year. A pledge was taken while celebrating this day.

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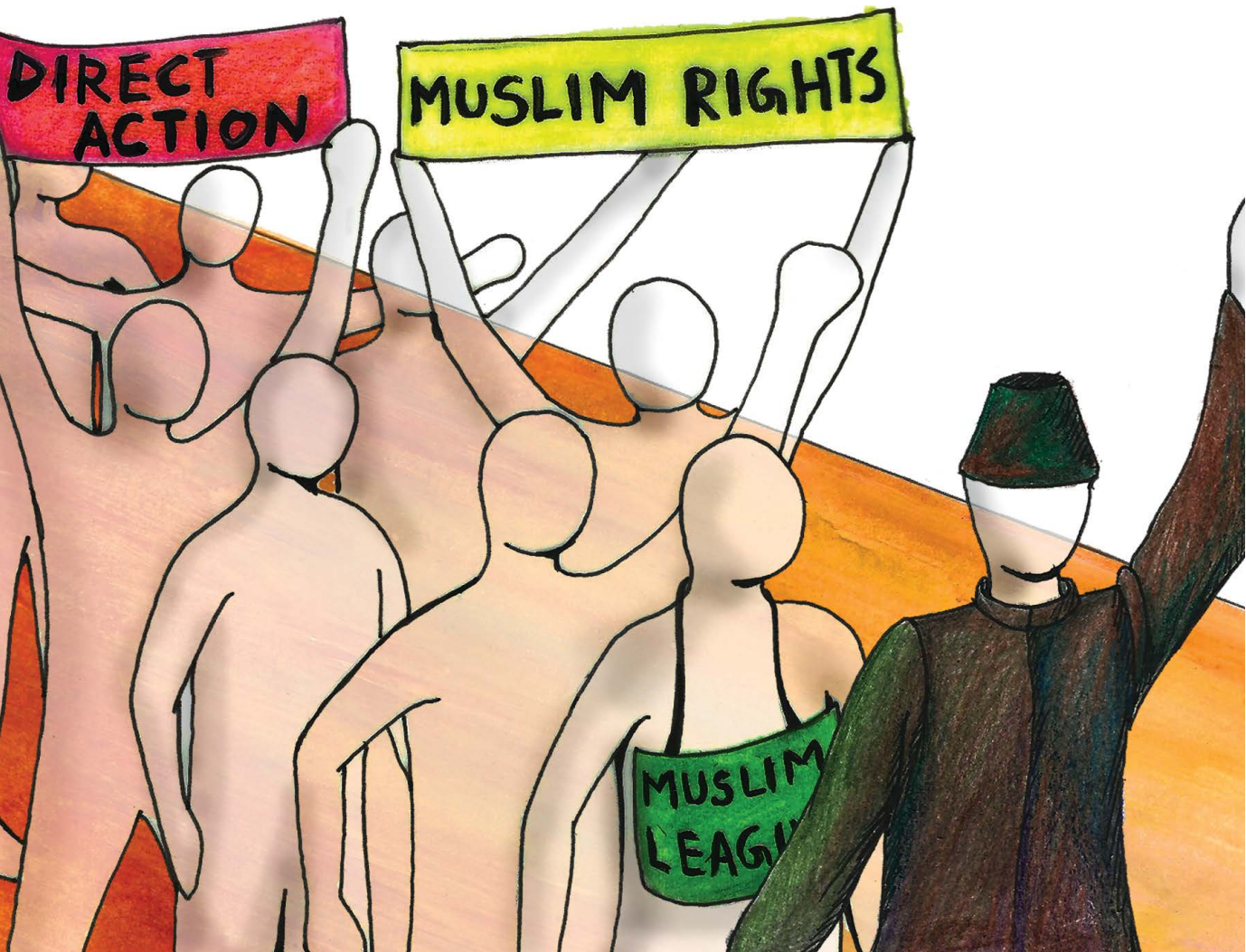


The concept of the nation state was gaining prominence after World War I. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first Muslim to point out that Hindus and Muslims, although culturally similar, were two separate nations and needed to live in separate homelands due to their religious differences. However, his observation came too early for the subcontinent. In 1930, Allama Iqbal openly advocated self-governance for the provinces of Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and NWFP, and by 1933, the idea was being discussed frequently by Muslims. Chaudhri Rehmat Ali even suggested a possible name for a Muslim homeland. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was skeptical about the idea of partition initially, and wanted India to be a loose federation of politically autonomous provinces instead. However, as the departure of the British became eminent and negotiating with Congress became increasingly harder, Jinnah finally took up the cause and began to demand the right to a separate homeland for the Muslims of India.

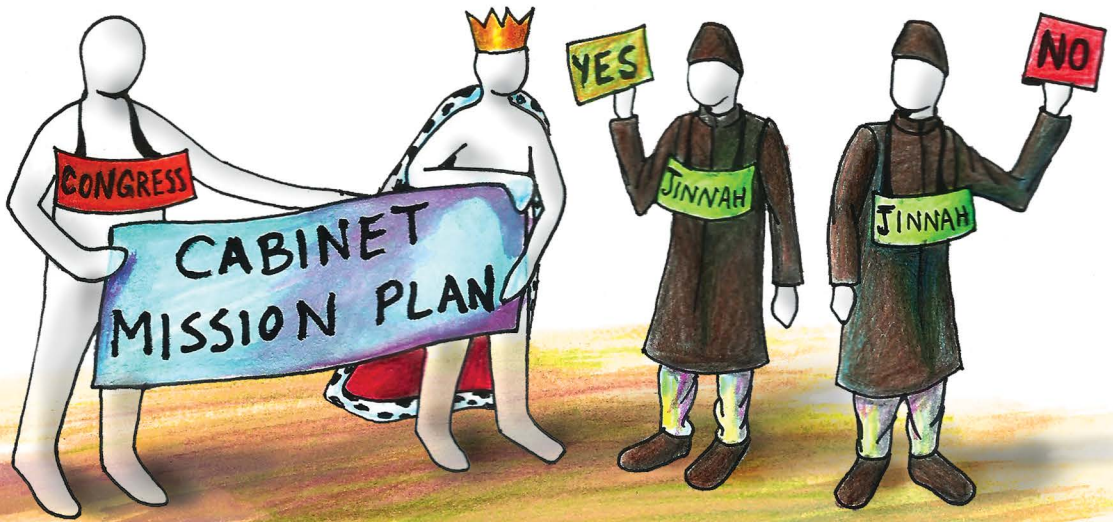
It was decided that the Muslim League would hold their 27th annual session in Lahore on the 22nd of March 1940 to call for Muslim independence from Hindus and the British. The resolution was put forth by Maulana Fazl-ul-Haq of Bengal and unanimously approved on 23rd March, after which Jinnah addressed his people. Lahore had given an overjoyed welcome to Jinnah and the League – 10000 passionate supporters attended the speech even though many could not even understand English. Quaid-e-Azam touched upon the political problems Muslims were facing in India and reiterated the Two Nation Theory in his presidential address. He reminded Muslims of the oppression under the Congress Ministries' and predicted that the Hindu majority would only further oppress Muslims in an Indian democracy. The passing of the resolution meant that geographical changes would be made in accordance with Allama Iqbal's earlier suggestions; Muslim majority areas of the North-West and the East must be independent and self-governed states. The League refused to accept any constitutional plan unless it was laid on the basis of these fundamental demands. Congress was strongly opposed to the idea of Pakistan.

A Hindu newspaper called the resolution 'The Pakistan Resolution' (instead of the Lahore Resolution) and inspired the League to refer to their efforts as the Pakistan Movement thereafter. The League, led by Jinnah, became the undeniable commander of the Pakistan Movement after the Pakistan Resolution was passed successfully in March 1940. Minar-e-Pakistan was later built to honor this great moment in the history of the country.

DIRECT ACTION DAY



Indo



In July 1946, elections were held for the Constituent Assembly and Congress won the majority of the votes. Muslim League, fearing that it would be outvoted, withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan and demanded the appointment of two different Constituent Assemblies. Moreover the attitude of the League's leader was another reason for why the Cabinet Mission Plan was rejected. Jinnah, who had earlier accepted the scheme, was annoyed by the viceroy's decision to postpone the formation of interim government and accused Lord Wavell of going back on his promise.

The League under Jinnah's leadership passed a Direct Action Day resolution on 30th July 1946 condemning the British government and Congress for their betrayal of the Muslim community and set 16th August 1946 as a day for protest. On 14th August 1946 the viceroy invited both the parties to form the interim government. The Congress agreed but the Muslim League under Jinnah refused.

Dr. Tarachandm a famous historian, states that Jinnah justified the Direct Action Day by stating that the British had their machine guns to enforce their will and the Congress had the power of civil resistance, therefore the Muslims could not sit with their hands and feet tied. They must bid goodbye to the constitutional method and prepare for self-defense and self-preservation by direct action.



No plan had been chalked out for the Direct Action Day. Though there were peaceful protests in many parts of the country, the situation in Calcutta was very different. People there went on a rampage – murdering, looting and committing arson. An estimated 5000 people were killed, 15000 were injured and 1 lac were rendered homeless. The Muslim League ministry in Bengal was unable to control the situation. Apparently the violence was encouraged by the Muslim League itself. Gandhiji went from village to village and tried his best to restore peace in riot-stricken areas. Nehru too worked to restore peace in Bihar.

Pak



The failure of the Cabinet Mission plan removed Britain's last hope for consensus between Congress and Muslim League. The British's explicit statements of evacuating India as soon as possible meant that insecurity amongst Muslims rose to new heights in the middle of 1946. Muslims feared that the English would leave without granting their demand for a separate state, and hence leave them at the mercy of an unfair, overwhelming Hindu majority.

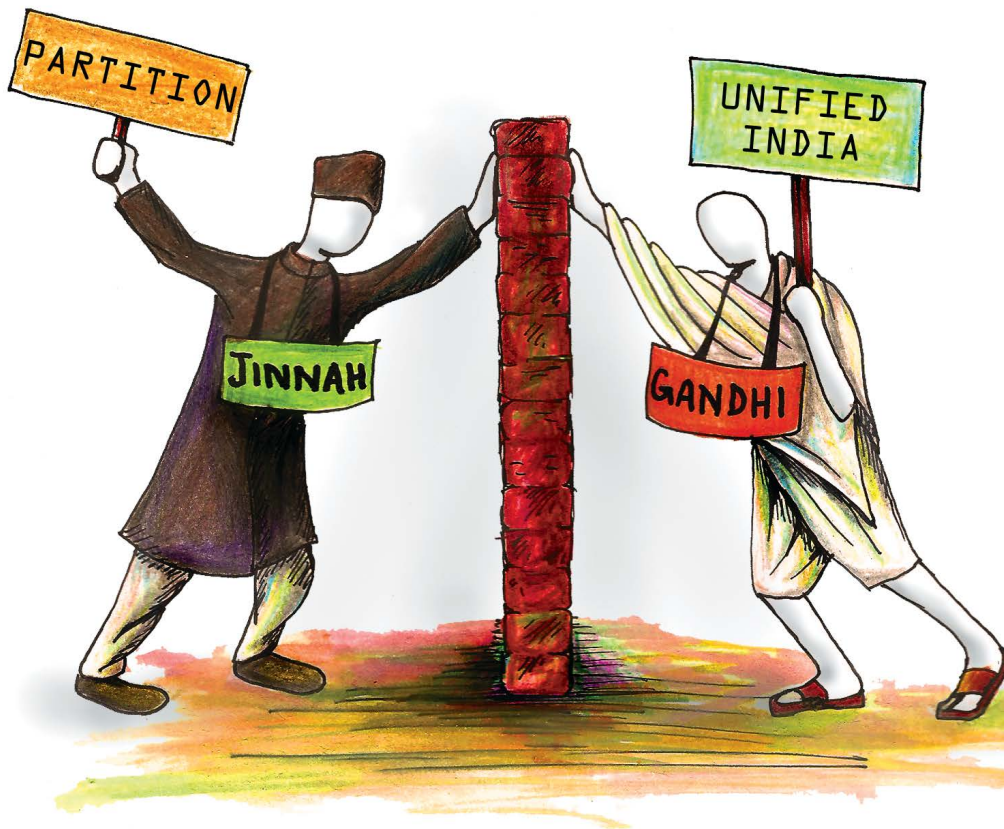
Disturbed by such a prospect, Muslim League called a meeting on the 6th of July, 1946 in Bombay (now known as Mumbai). There it passed a resolution to gear up for a final struggle for their rights against the British and Congress and decided to observe the Direct Action Day on August 16th as a demonstration of their resolve.

Though this demonstration was recognized as a peaceful protest in most parts of the subcontinent, the situation in Calcutta escalated into violence. In fact that day is also remembered as the day of the Great Calcutta Killings with an estimated death toll of 40,003.

THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN



Indo



Against the background of severe communal violence in the country, Lord Clement Attlee sent Lord Mountbatten as the viceroy of India. Admiral Lord Mountbatten was a member of the British royal family and had served as the Supreme Commander in South Asia during the Second World War. He arrived in India on 22nd March 1947 with a definite plan. He was given powers to negotiate a transfer of powers to help Indians. After meeting leaders of different parties and communities, Mountbatten came to the conclusion that partition of the subcontinent was inevitable and that he could help reach an agreement between the two major parties.

Congress was against the partition of the country. Gandhiji said, 'Even if the whole of India is in flames, it will not bring Pakistan. Pakistan would be made over my dead body'. However, Mohammad Jinnah was adamant. He said that Muslims were a separate nation and must have their own state.

The Mountbatten plan stated that the transfer of power in India could happen on the basis of the partition of the country. He said that a bill to this effect would be introduced in British parliament in July 1947. Power would be transferred to one or more states.

Following are the main points of the Mountbatten plan:

- The country would be divided into two Dominions i.e. India and Pakistan.
- The princely states would have the option to join either of the two Dominions or to remain independent.
- A plebiscite would be held in the North West Frontier Province [NWFP] to ascertain whether the people in the area want to join India or Pakistan.
- The provinces of Assam, Bengal and Punjab would be divided. A boundary commission was to be instituted to delineate the boundaries.

Pak



The events of the late 1940's made the British realize that the outcry of the subcontinent for sovereignty had reached such an extent that any attempt to stay would be futile. The failure of the Cabinet Mission plan, conflicts between Muslims and Hindus with regard to the formation of an interim government, Muslim uproar in the form of Direct Action Day and the fear of outbreak of violence in the region, forced the British to draft their strategy to depart and transfer the power to India and Pakistan.

In February 1947, the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, announced to the House of Commons in London that British government had to leave the subcontinent no later than June 1948. The last British viceroy to handle the British withdrawal was to be Lord Mountbatten. Attlee had deliberately set a short time span for arrangements to be made—more time would mean more disagreements. The fear of the start of a civil war between the Muslims and Hindus and the outbreak of violence in the Punjab in March 1947 finally convinced the congress to accept the principle of partition along religious lines. Lord Mountbatten on his arrival in March 1947 was viewed as a pro-Congress viceroy by the League as he had met and befriended Nehru earlier. Mountbatten realized the need for speedy action; he tried hard to persuade Jinnah to either accept the Cabinet Mission proposals or the partition of Punjab and Bengal. However, Jinnah refused to comply and insisted that the sizeable non-Muslim minority that would be formed in Punjab and Bengal would be guaranteed their rights.

On 3rd June the plan for the partition of the subcontinent was announced:

- Two states were to be set up, India and Pakistan. The interim constitution of both states was the 1935 Government of India Act
- Each State was to have Dominion status and have an executive responsible to a Constituent Assembly
- Muslim majority provinces would vote either to stay in India or join Pakistan. The Sindh assembly would decide the future status of the province through the majority of vote, the people of KPK and Sylhet through a plebiscite. They decided to join Pakistan. Bengal and Punjab had two decisions to make. Firstly on whether to join Pakistan. If so,

they then had to decide whether the provinces should be portioned into Muslim and non-Muslim areas. They both decided to join Pakistan, but maintained that Muslim minority areas should remain part of India.

- Princely states had an option to decide which country to join and for a division of military and financial assets between India and Pakistan.
- With regards to the boundaries of India and Pakistan, a boundary commission was to be set up to define the exact divisions.

After the announcement of the 3rd June plan, Lord Mountbatten, in the press conference held the next day, brought the date of British departure earlier from June 1948 to 15 August 1947. By the middle of June 1947, both Muslim League and Congress had officially accepted the plan. Though neither was happy with conceding some of their dearly held principles, they both recognized that some form of compromise was inevitable. This hurried plan left a disturbingly short span of time (72 days) for the implementation of these decisions.

Unfortunately, the Mountbatten Plan had a few serious problems:

- There was still a need to draw boundaries between Muslim and non-Muslim areas, particularly in Bengal and Punjab.
- The issue of the princely states had to be resolved. What was to happen if a prince went against the wishes of his people in deciding which country to join?
- It was still undecided what the division of the assets (army, civil service, finance etc) would be.
- Although India had decided that Mountbatten should be the first Governor-General of India, Jinnah was to be Pakistan's Governor-General. Consequently, Pakistan's relation with Britain still had to be resolved.

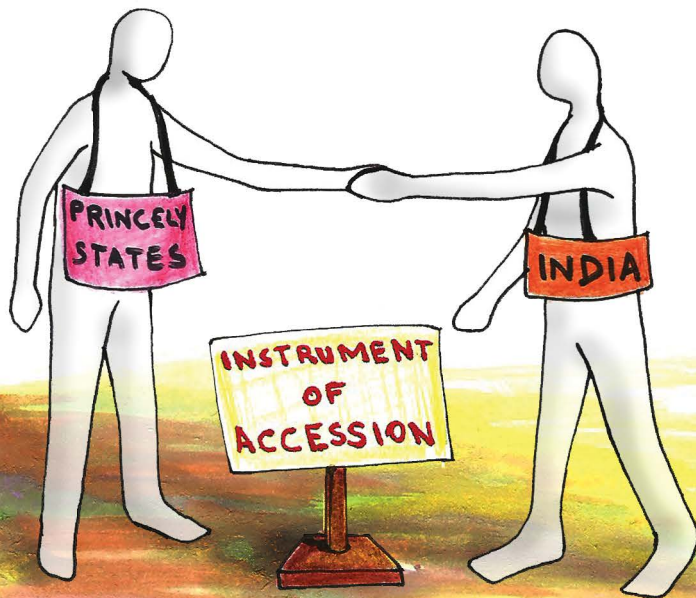
The Indian Independence Act was passed on 15th August 1947 and the

British partitioned the subcontinent into two separate nations- Pakistan and India. Though the Mountbatten plan left the newly created state of Pakistan with many challenges, Jinnah had a vision and all the courage to prevent anything from standing in his way.

PRINCELY STATES



Indo



There were more than 600 princely states in India. According to the India Independence Act of 1947, the states would have a choice to either merge with India or remain independent. Due to the influence of the non-cooperation movement, a political awakening began in the princely states. *Praja Mandals*, people's organizations that worked to secure their interests and political rights, were formed. In 1927, all these *Mandals* came together to form an All India States' People's Conference. This gave an impetus to the movement in the princely states. After independence, the then Home Minister of India, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel resolved the issue. He prepared an Instrument of Accession acceptable to all and only handed the subjects of Foreign Relations, Transport, and Communication and Defence to the government of India. The princes responded well to Sardar Patel's call to merge with India. All states except for Junagad, Hyderabad and Kashmir merged with India.

Junagad

Junagad was a princely state in Saurashtra. The people there wanted to merge with India however the *nawab* was contemplating a merger with Pakistan. The people strongly protested against it. The *nawab* then left for Pakistan and Junagad merged with India in February 1948.

Hyderabad

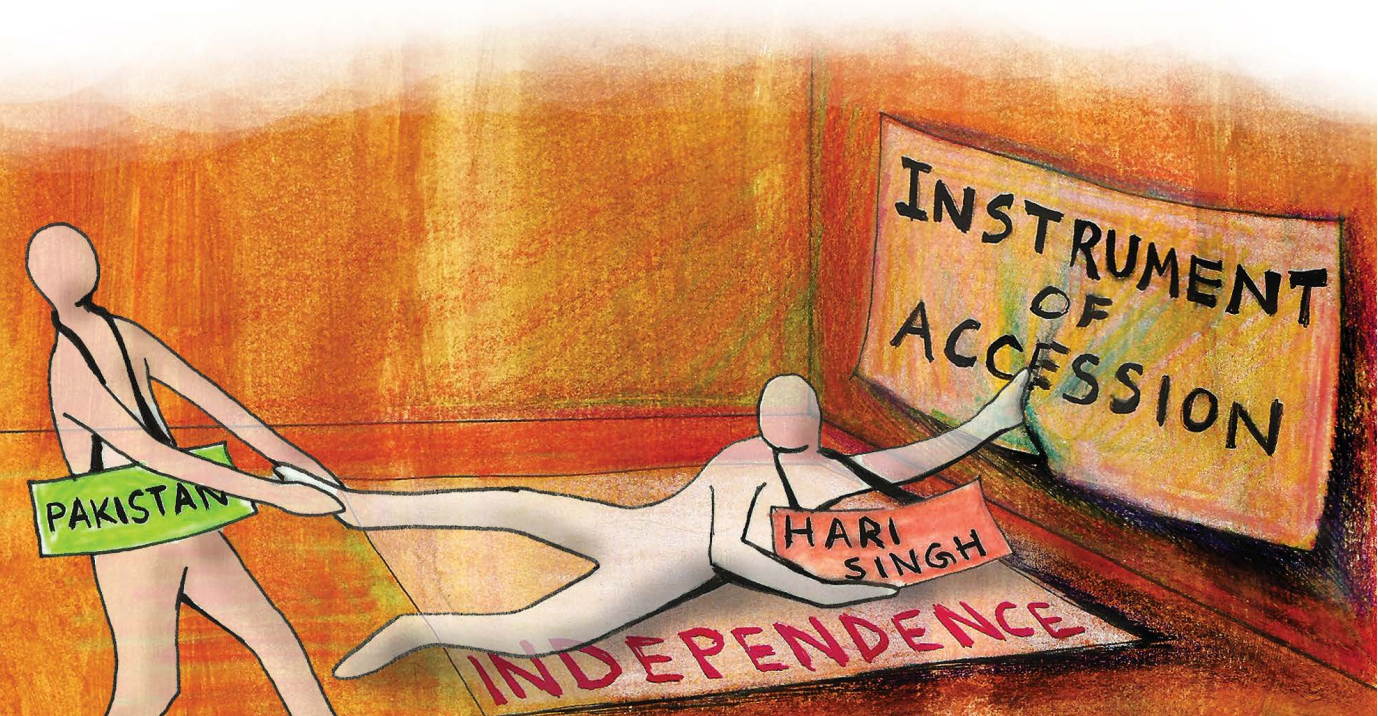
This state was under the autocratic rule of the *nizam*. The people there had no civil or political rights. In order to secure their rights, the people there formed regional organizations like the Andhra Parishad, Maharashtra Parishad and the Kannada Parishad. Swami Ramanand Tirth formed the Hyderabad State Congress in 1938. When the *nizam* banned this organization, a struggle ensued to get the organization recognized and to secure democratic rights.

The Hyderabad State Congress passed a resolution in July 1947 to merge with India. The *nizam*, however, took an anti-India stand and started planning to merge with Pakistan. With an intention of rejecting the people's demand for merging with India, Qasim Rizvi founded an organization *Razakar* with the backing of the *nizam*. Rizvi and his followers committed atrocities against

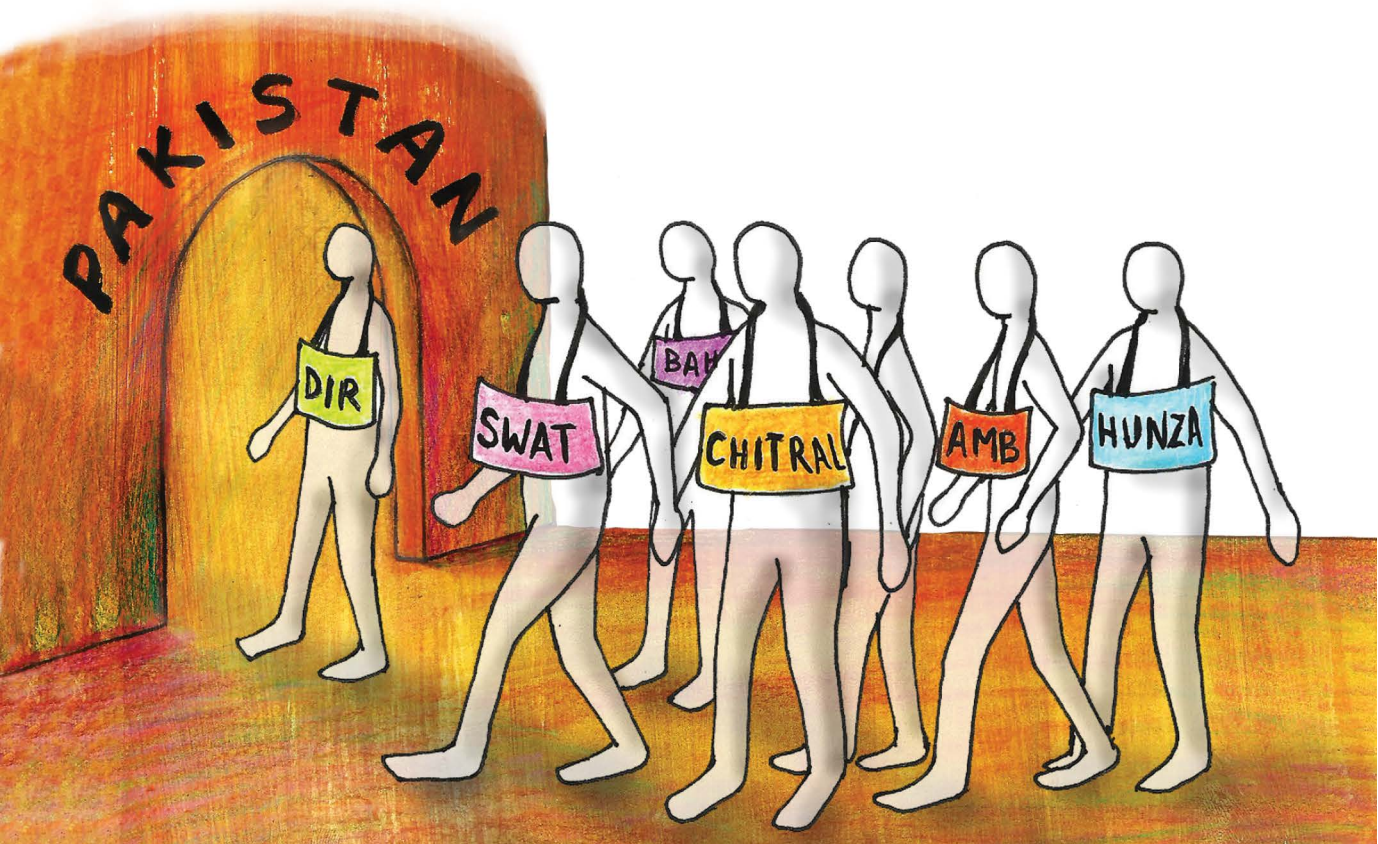
the Muslims who supported the democratic movement. This inflamed public opinion everywhere. The government of India tried to negotiate patiently with the *nizam* but he refused to respond. At last, the government of India started police action on 13th September 1948 and the *nizam* surrendered on 17th September 1948. Hyderabad merged with India.

Kashmir

Hari Singh, the ruler of Kashmir, decided to remain independent. Pakistan had intended to secure the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. For this purpose, Pakistan began to put pressure on Hari Singh. At the instigation of Pakistan, armed intruders attacked Kashmir in October 1947. Hari Singh then signed the Instrument of Accession with India. After Kashmir merged with India, the Indian army was sent to defend Kashmir. The Army won back a major portion of Kashmir from the possession of the intruders but a part of it remained under the possession of Pakistan.



Pak



At the time of the partition of the sub-continent, 462 princely states existed independently in the region. Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy of the British Raj, had told the rulers of these princely states that they would not be given independence and had the option of either acceding to India or Pakistan. This choice depended upon a variety of variables such as the demographic make-up of the population, the geographic location of the princely state and the desires and wishes of the local people and rulers. The northern states of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb and Hunza joined Pakistan. They were accompanied by the state of Kalat in the south. Bahawalpur with a population of 1.5 million also joined Pakistan and Sylhet to the east became a part of East Pakistan. For the majority of the princely states this transition was smooth. However, a lot of problems and issues arose with regards to the states of Junagarh, Munvader, Huderabad and Kashmir.

Junagarh and Munvader

These two small contiguous states had Muslim rulers and were located 300 miles south-east from Karachi and were surrounded by Indian territory. They had a Hindu majority population but the rulers decided to accede to Pakistan arguing that they could maintain ties with Pakistan through the sea route. Their accession was officially accepted by Pakistan and the Indian government was informed of the decision. Lord Mountbatten, the then governor-general of India, was furious with the decision and sent a telegraph to Mr. Jinnah saying that 'the acceptance of the accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by the government of India as an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with the friendly relations that should exist between the two dominions. This action is in utter violation of the principles on which partition was agreed upon and affected'. The Indian forces surrounded the states and an economic blockade was imposed leading to a severe food crisis. Finally by the end of October 1947, the conditions deteriorated to such an extent that the ruler had to leave for Karachi with his family fearing for his life. Subsequently the Indian forces occupied the state and under their command a plebiscite was held in which the people voted for India. Pakistan did not recognize the plebiscite held under Indian occupation and a formal complaint was lodged with the UNO which is still pending.

Hyderabad

Hyderabad was the largest princely state in the Indian subcontinent at the time of the partition. Its annual revenue amounted to 160 million rupees and the Muslim *nizam* of Hyderabad was regarded as one of the wealthiest people in the world. The *nizam*, Mir Osman Ali Khan, wanted to be given dominion status because Hyderabad had its own military, currency, railways and postage stamps. When his request was declined the Muslim ruler opted to accede to Pakistan. However it was surrounded on all sides by Indian territory and Mountbatten, opposed to the idea of Hyderabad acceding to Pakistan, pressurized the *nizam* to accede to India. In November 1947 an agreement was reached regarding defence, foreign affairs and communications, but India wanted full accession and a Hindu revolt was organized in the state. In August 1948, Hyderabad filed a complaint with the security council of the UNO against the Indian atrocities. Before the UNO could take any action, Indian forces occupied the state and it was incorporated into India. The complaint in the UNO is still pending.

Jammu and Kashmir

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has remained a bone of contention between India and Pakistan since 1947. It was the biggest state in India and was strategically placed sharing borders with Tibet, China and Afghanistan. At the time of the partition it was ruled by a Hindu ruler Hari Singh Dogra but had a Muslim majority population. The *maharaja* on purpose delayed acceding to either Pakistan or India and at the same time started a brutal campaign aimed at ousting the Muslims from the state. Over 200,000 people fled to India and finally the Muslims rose up in revolt. Aided by the tribesmen from the North-West Frontier Province, Muslims were able to liberate large areas from Indian control. The *maharaja* was forced to turn to India for help and the Indians agreed to help only if the *maharaja* acceded to India. Thus an instrument of succession was signed and the Indian forces occupied Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and a small war ensued between the Indian and Pakistani forces. A UNO sponsored ceasefire was adopted by both countries in 1948 which called for a plebiscite to be held in the region and the wishes of the people to be taken into account. However no neutral plebiscite was held and Pakistan refused to

accept the plebiscite held under the Indian occupation in 1954. The issue still remains unresolved and both the countries have fought three wars over the dispute in 1965, 1971 and 1999. In 2000, the president of the United States Bill Clinton, called the ceasefire line that divides Kashmir 'the most dangerous place in the world' which had the potential of triggering a cataclysmic nuclear war between two nuclear armed nations.

