

PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

1940-1947

Outbreak of WWII - 1939

Britain announced that it was at war against Nazi Germany. India too, was announced to be at war with Germany without any consent.

- Congress demanded a promise of full independence if India were made to fight against Germany.
- British promised dominion status after the war.
- Muslim wanted to end Congress atrocities, coalition with Congress in provincial ministries and legal protection

Day of Deliverance – 22 December 1939

As a protest, Congress resigned from the government. Muslim League observed “Day of Deliverance” as they no more had to bear the Congress atrocities.

Pakistan Movement 1940-47

CAIE Exam Questions:

Key Question: How successful were attempts to find solutions to the problems facing the subcontinent in the year 1940 to 1947? [14]

Key Question: How important were the contribution of Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rehmat Ali to the success of the Pakistan Movement to 1947? [14]

Focus points:

- How successful were the meetings held during World War II to agree the future of the sub-continent?
- How did the success of the Muslim League in the 1945-46 elections lead to changes in British attempts to solve the problems of the sub-continent?
- How important were Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rehmat Ali to the Pakistan Movement?

Specified content:

- The Second World War (1939-45) in relation to India and the 'Quit India' Movement
- The Pakistan Resolution 1940
- The Cripps Mission 1942
- The Gandhi-Jinnah Talks 1944
- Wavell and the Simla Conference 1945
- The Elections of 1945-46 in India, reasons for Muslim League success and the consequences thereof
- The cabinet Mission Plan 1946
- The 3rd June 1947
- The Radcliffe Commission and Award 1947
- The Indian Independence Act 1947

Specified Content:

Jinnah as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity:

- His role in the Muslim League, the Pakistan Movement and as negotiator with the British

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • His relations with Gandhi, Nehru and the All India Congress [NB: Study should include the evolution of Jinnah's thought and reasons for his change from advocating Hindu-Muslim unity to support for the Pakistan Movement] <p>Allama Iqbal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Views on Hindu-Muslim future as separate nations, Allahabad Address 1930 <p>Rehmat Ali:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Views on a separate Muslim homeland, his pamphlet 'Now or Never 1933 and the name 'Pakistan' • Differences between his views and those of Allama Iqbal
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CAIE Exam Questions

1. Was the Cripps Mission in 1942 the most important factor during the 1940s that led to the partition of the sub-continent in 1947? Give reasons for your answer. [14]
2. Why did the Cripps Mission fail? [7]
3. Was the Simla Conference of 1945 the most important factor during the 1940s leading to the partition of the sub-continent in 1947? Give reasons for your answer. [14]
4. How important was Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Pakistan Movement? Explain your answer. [14]

5. (c) How successful were negotiations aimed at Independence during the Second World War? Explain your answer [14]

6. Which of the following contributed the most to the establishment of a separate homeland for Muslims?

- Gandhi Jinnah Talks 1944
- Simla Conference 1945
- Cabinet Mission plan 1946

Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. [14]

Timeline of Events (1940-47)

1. Pakistan Resolution in 1940	7. Elections 1945
2. August Offer 1940	8. Cabinet Mission Plan 1946
3. Cripps Mission 1942	9. Direct Action Day August 1946
4. Quit India resolution 1942	10. 3 rd June Plan 1947
5. Gandhi Jinnah talks 1944	11. Radcliffe Award 1947
6. Simla Conference 1945	

Pakistan Resolution (1940)

Background

At first, Jinnah was not in its support as he believed that Muslims would live better in a federation where they had political autonomy and a promise of safeguard of their rights, but the Congress rule of 1937-1939 and the growing realization that the British were to leave India, obliged Jinnah to think of a separate Muslim state.

Aim

- Its main aim was to make a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent, namely PAKISTAN.
- The Pakistan Movement officially started after the Muslim League passed the Lahore Resolution in March 1940.

Proceedings

- At the annual session of AIML in March 1940 Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq put forward a resolution “Regions in which Muslims are numerically in majority as in the North-Western zone and Eastern zone of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which would be autonomous and sovereign rule”.
- This became to be known as Pakistan Resolution and this was to become the goal of Muslims.
- Now was the time to work for a separate homeland and the Muslim League was surely the initiator of The Pakistan Movement.

August Offer 1940

The British government wanted the co-operation of Indians during World War II. On behalf of the British government, Lord Linlithgow, the British Viceroy of India made an important declaration in August 1940. The British offered:

- To expand the executive council of Governor General with more Indian members from the political parties. Also, they set up the war advisory council made up of Indians.
- To set up a constitution making body after the war to suggest the new constitution for India.
- The British government made it clear that there would be no transfer of power to any political party at present whose authority was denied by any other large community of India.

Both all India Muslim League and congress rejected the August offer.

Cripps Mission 1942

After the 2nd World War had broken out in 1939, the conditions in India were deteriorating politically. INC and AIML were gaining power insecurity for the British. The Japanese had invaded Far East Asia and were now threatening to attack India via Burma. In March 1942 British sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of British Cabinet to seek solution to Indian Problem.

Cripps proposed that after the war an Indian Union would be setup with. Congress wanted British to leave India before the war ended and AIML wanted a separate state. British had still not decided whether their rule in India should end.

The main proposals were:

- Non-Accession Clause (though Individual provinces could opt out of the union and negotiate their own independence) after 10 years.
- After the war a Constituent Assembly should frame a new constitution.
- Elections for the Constituent assembly would be held immediately after the War.

Reaction

- The Muslim league rejected the proposals immediately, as it did not include anything relating to the establishment of Pakistan.
- Jinnah was at least pleased with the point that any province could opt out of the future Union. It was known as '**Non-Accession Clause**'.
- The Cripps mission was also rejected by the Congress, as it wanted immediate control of India. They could not trust the British anymore and Gandhi called the proposals '**a post-dated cheque on a failing bank**'.
- The Muslim League rejected the plan immediately as it contained no reference to the establishment of Pakistan.

Reasons for the failure of Cripps Mission

1. Rejections by INC on the following grounds:

- Congress wanted immediate dominion status and transfer of power to INC while Cripps Mission proposed dominion status after the war.
- Congress did not agree with the non-accession clause.
- INC wanted to exert political pressure when British wanted Indian support in war.

2. Rejection by AIML:

- After passing Pakistan Resolution, the official policy and major goal of Muslim League was to create a separate state by joining North-Eastern and North-Western Muslim majority provinces of India. This demand for establishment of Pakistan was not accepted in Cripps Mission as it recommended 'Indian Union' so they rejected it.
- However, Jinnah appreciated non-accession clause as it accepted Pakistan indirectly by giving option to provinces to be independent outside Indian Union. But this could be implemented after 10 years.

3. Weak position of British in WWII:

- British were in a terrible position a year into the War. The fall of France had further dented their position in Europe.

The Quit India Resolution - 1942

Background

- In May 1942, Gandhi emphasized on the point that if the British left India, there would be no threat of Japanese invasion, which were gaining power and had reached till Burma.
- On 8th August 1942 the All-India Congress Committee passed its 'Quit India Resolution' calling for immediate departure of the British. This was to be Gandhi's last Non-Cooperation Movement.

- To support this campaign, there was to be a widespread struggle without any violence of any kind.
- The key Congress members like Gandhi, Nehru and others were arrested.
- This led to widespread rioting in India and British lost power in some areas.
- The power was only restored by strong measures like the use of military. It claimed a lot of lives.
- The Muslim league did not support the movement as they considered it a Hindu attempt to drive British out of India and gain their own power to practice their own, anti-Muslim wishes.
- Jinnah regarded it as a Hindu 'blackmail' as they were taking advantage of British problems for their own benefits.

The Gandhi-Jinnah Talks - 1944

Background

In May 1944, Gandhi was released from prison on medical grounds. Gandhi showed his desire to have talks with Jinnah who duly accepted it after the permission was sought by the Muslim League. The talks began on **19th September 1944** at Jinnah's Bombay Residency and lasted up to **24th September**. The talks were a failure for a number of reasons:

- Gandhi wanted the Muslims to give up the idea of a separate Muslim state and to help Congress to drive out the British of the subcontinent.
- Gandhi proposed that the Muslim problem could be solved after they gained independence. Jinnah resented to it as he knew that he had to secure partition before the British left.
- Gandhi also wanted the central govt. to have power over things such as defense and foreign policy whereas Jinnah wanted that these areas to be in the hands of the provinces.

- Gandhi considered himself as the representative of whole India. Jinnah corrected him and reminded that he was the spokesman of only Congress representing Hindu population.
- Gandhi pointed out that he did not support the 'TWO NATION THEORY' which had now become the League's official policy.
- The talks finally ended in a dead lock but Jinnah claimed some sort of success as the Muslim League was now recognized as an important party and that it represented Muslims.

Eventually these talks failed because Jinnah was not ready to give up idea of separate state and Gandhi could not agree to the partition of India before the withdrawal of British. Its failure contributed to the formation of Pakistan.

Simla Conference - 1945

- By the end of 1945 when WWII ended, it was clear that the British intended to leave India. But they wanted to ensure what would happen of India after their departure.
- Lord Wavell proposed that an Executive council should be set up which would contain equal number of Muslims and Hindus and would be dominated by the Indians except the viceroy and a member to control defense.
- A conference was called in Simla in June 1945. The conference was attended by Muslim League, Congress, the Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and other groups.
- All parties accepted to the proposal of an Executive council.
- Lord Wavell wanted an equal number of Muslims and Hindus. Jinnah wanted all the Muslim members should be from the Muslim League and not from any other political party.
- Jinnah also made it clear that Muslim League was the only party which represented the Muslims unlike any other party.
- No solution was found in the conference and it also failed. However, had this conference been successful and a solution would have been reached to Indian problem, Pakistan could not be made.

Elections 1945-46

The general elections to the Central and Provincial legislature were held in India in 1945-46. Both the parties took an active part in it because the constitutional future of India was dependent on these elections. The results showed that:

- a. the Muslim League won 87% of the Muslim vote, all the 30 Muslim seats in the Central Legislature.
- b. It won 446 out of 495 seats in the provincial assemblies.
- c. It took control in Bengal and Sindh and was the largest party in Punjab.
- d. Congress won 91% of the non-Muslim vote and took control of other eight states.
- e. The victory of Congress in NWFP was a serious blow to the League.

The elections showed that the Muslim community was supporting the League and rest of the country was supporting Indian National Congress. AIML's performance has improved drastically in 1945-46 because:

- i. It became a force in Indian politics after 1937 elections and launched an effective campaign.
- ii. Atrocities during Congress rule helped AIML to determine its goal of achieving a separate state for Muslims after passing the Pakistan Resolution.

Election further divided Hindus and Muslims and it was clear that no settlement in India was possible without Hindu-Muslim settlement and creation of Pakistan seemed to be the only practical solution.

The Cabinet Mission Plan - 1946

In 1946, the British sent a group of three members (Lord Pathrick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A.V Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty) of the Cabinet to India to find a solution to the Indian problem. They met the

representatives of the League, Congress, the Sikhs and the Hindu Mahasabha. Sir Stafford Cripps Supported Congress that insisted on a single Constituent assembly while the Muslim League demanded two separate constitution making bodies is set up for framing the separate respective constitutions.

After seeing a wide gap of differences among the Indians, the Cabinet Mission tried to adopt a different approach and produced its final plan in May 1946. It rejected the idea of Pakistan.

It proposed two set of proposals:

- a) Short term setting up an interim government to govern India.
- b) Grouping of provinces
 - India will remain a Union. Foreign affairs, defense and communication would be handled by a Central Indian Union
 - ✓ There would be three parts of India consisting of:
 - Hindu majority areas.
 - Western Muslim provinces.
 - Bengal and Assam.
 - ✓ Each territory would set up its own constitution.
 - ✓ The provinces and states should be the basic units. All subjects other than the ones under the control of Indian union and all residuary powers will remain with the provinces
 - The Muslim league was in favour of this because grouping of provinces indirectly accepted. Congress rejected the whole plan by stating they would not be bound to follow the plan after the British departure. Hence, there was no point of further discussions.
 - Finally the Cabinet mission was also a failure. This plan did not ensure creation of independent Pakistan but at least provided constitutional freedom and protection of Muslim rights in Muslim majority areas. This was the last attempt by the British to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem and keep India undivided.

Direct Action Day - 1946

By late 1946, the Muslims feared that if the British left India without sorting out the Indian problem, the Muslims would be totally at the mercy of the Hindus and would surely suffer, so the Muslim League decided that they had to prove their strength to both; the British and the Hindus.

- On **16th August 1946**, the League called for a 'Direct Action Day' to show the strength of Muslim feelings.
- In many places demonstrations were held peacefully except Calcutta where violence occurred and 4,000 people were killed in the '**Great Calcutta Killing**' as it was known.
- For the first time Muslims, under Jinnah, demonstrated their street power that clearly indicated that India was on the brink of civil war if Muslim demands were not accepted.
- Congress and British both got aware that partition of India was inevitable.
- Despite of the violence and failure, the British asked Nehru to form an Executive Council to act as an interim govt. Members were nominated and elections were held for a constituent assembly in 1946.
- However, at first the League opposed it and in retaliation the Congress wanted the League members to resign from the Executive council.

The 3RD June Plan - 1947

There were problems going on in India so Lord Mountbatten wanted quick steps to be taken and on 3rd June 1947 a plan was announced.

It stated the following points:

- Two states to be established, India and Pakistan. The constitution of both states would be the Govt. of India Government of Act of 1935.
- Each state was to have a Dominion Status.
- Muslim majority provinces were given the choice of remaining in India or to join Pakistan.

- After the plan was announced Lord Mountbatten announced a date which was to be the date when British rule ended and a lot of work had to be done in just 7 weeks.
- There was a need to draw boundaries.
- The issue of the princely states had to be resolved. Rulers of the states would decide according to the wishes of the population whether to join India or Pakistan.
- Referendum to be held in NWFP and Balochistan whether they like to join India or Pakistan.
- Assets had to be divided.
- On **15th July 1947 an Indian Independence Act** was passed by which British India would be divided in Pakistan and India.

The Radcliffe Award - 1947

The boundary award also known as the Radcliffe Award was announced on **16th August 1947** to decide the boundaries of Punjab and Bengal (these provinces to be divided between India and Pakistan)

- The award was quite unjust to the Muslims as many Muslim majority areas were not given to Pakistan like Calcutta in Bengal and Ferozepur/Gurdaspur in Punjab. India could control Kashmir through these areas.
- Jinnah called the award as 'wrong, unjust and perverse'.
- As partition had taken place two days earlier so there was nothing to be done.
- Now Pakistan had to deal with great problems to establish it and to prosper.

Practice Question:

- **How successful were negotiations aimed at Independence during the Second World War? Explain your answer.** **[14]**

Successes

- Muslim League's own progress in Day of Deliverance/Lahore Resolution.
- Unity in rejecting Cripps Mission/demands for a separate homeland.

- Muslim political gains in Gandhi-Jinnah Talks.
- Muslim stance at Simla Conference – necessity for new elections.

Failures

- Breakdown of relations between Congress and Muslim.
- Rejection of Cripps Mission's proposals.
- Imprisonment following 'Quit India' protests.
- Failure to reach agreement from Jinnah-Gandhi talks 1944.
- Failure to reach agreement from Simla Conference 1945.
- Failure to persuade Jinnah to agree to safeguards for Muslims in a united India.

(c) How important was Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Pakistan Movement? Explain your answer. [14]

- Jinnah started politics in early years when he attended the debates of House of Commons in England.
- 1897 established a successful law practice in Karachi.
- Joined INC in 1906, believed in radical ideas and freedom struggle.
- Joined AIML in 1913-maintained the membership of INC.
- Lucknow Pact 1916.
- Agreed to the cause of Khilafat in 1919 but disapproved Non-Cooperation Movement of Gandhi.
- Resigned from INC in 1920 due to differences with Gandhi over the Satyagraha campaign.
- Believed in Hindu – Muslim unity till Nehru Report 1928 but got disgusted with extremist attitude of INC, rejected Nehru Report and described it as 'parting of ways'.
- 1929 presented his Fourteen Points (An important step towards creation of Pakistan) 1/3rd seats in Central Legislature, Federal system of Government, Separate Electorates and protection of Muslim religion and culture.
- 1930s attended first and second RTCs. Represented AIML.
- 1934 returned back to India to guide Muslim population on the insistence of Iqbal.

- 1937 elections, witnessed humiliating defeat of AIML. Jinnah created awareness during Congress rule 1937-39 against Congress atrocities and determined to reorganize AIML at grass root level.
- 1939 - By the end of Congress Rule, emerged as undisputed leader of Muslims acknowledged by both Congress and the British.
- 1940 Lahore Resolution under his leadership - set a goal for AIML to struggle for a separate state for Muslims.
- 1942 – Rejected Cripps Mission and not ready to accept anything less than Pakistan.
- 1944 – In his talks with Gandhi, represented Muslim community. He did not agree to Gandhi's idea of one nation in India.
- 1945 - Rejected Simla Conference. He showed determination to minorities' issues.
- 1946 – asked Muslims to show their solidarity by observing ' Direct Action Day' as a reaction to Cabinet Mission Plan
- 1945-46 - overwhelming victory of AIML in the elections.
- 1947 criticized the 3rd June Plan but accepted and became the First Governor General of Pakistan.

It is justified to say that creation of Pakistan in 1947 was a direct result of Jinnah's determined leadership, rational approach towards politics and sincerity to the cause of Muslim population in India. It was due to his strong convincing power and diplomatic skills that British and INC had to accept Muslims of India as separate nation who needed a separate state to live according to Islamic laws.