

1 By Himanshu Khatri

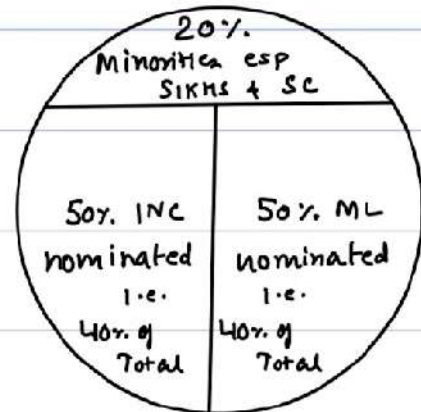
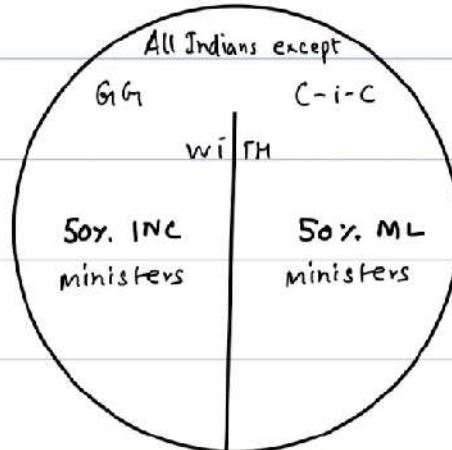
RAJAJI FORMULA 1944 {Viceroy was Wavell4347 (1943-47)}

1. The Rajaji Formula or C.R. Formula or C. Rajagopalachari Formula was given by C. Raja Gopalachari, a veteran leader of INC from Madras.
2. **Goal** was to build INC-ML unity & give joint demands to British (*like Lucknow Pact 1916) for ensuring smooth & faster transfer of power by British & to ensure territorial integrity of India.
3. Reason= in August Offer 1940 & Cripps Mission 1942 Br gave Veto to ML regarding constitutional progress; also ML1906 had given Pakistan/Lahore Resolution (1940); ML1906 was adamant on 2 constituent assemblies during visit of Cripps Mission (March 1942).
4. **Proposals** –
 1. (*@Swaraj) ML1906 should support goal of Purna Swaraj.
 2. (*@ToP) INC-ML ready to setup coalition government at Centre.
 3. (*@unity) Plebiscite after war in Muslim majority regions on question of partition & if vote in favour then a confederation i.e. weak common centre & strong provinces (*link later Cabinet Mission Plan (CMP1946), Syed Ahmed Khan's 2 Nation 1 State theory).
5. **Result**- MG-Jinnah talks on CR formula failed as Jinnah wanted
 1. Voting based on separate electorates i.e. only Muslims vote on question of partition.
 2. Not a weak common centre but separate independent Pakistan (* i.e. not 2 nations 1 state but 2 nations 2 states solution)
 3. Implementation of above before British leave as he didn't trust INC.

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Desai Liaquat Pact (1945)

PROPOSED VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL & FEDERAL ASSEMBLY



- 1.
2. Negotiated & finalised by Bullabhai Desai & Liaquat Ali, leaders of INC & ML1906 in Central Legislative Assembly.
3. **Goal** was to build INC-ML unity & give following joint demands to British (*like Lucknow Pact 1916) for ensuring smooth & faster transfer of power by British:-
 - a. In VEC- all Indian ministers except Governor General & Commander-in-Chief. 50% of Indian Ministers to be from INC & rest 50% from ML1906.
 - b. In Central Legislature:- 20% seats be reserved for minorities especially Dalits & Sikhs & 50% of the rest seats with INC & 50% with ML1906; seats to be filled via nomination (*for now, later there may be filled via elections- direct or indirect).
4. MG had knowledge of pact.
5. Pact failed because Jinnah refused knowledge of the pact (*thus he tested how far can INC bend & now he has setup a minimum base & future negotiations to be successful would have to offer something even more for ML1906 to agree)

WAVELL PLAN (1945; Wavell4347 (1943-47))

1. Discussed in Shimla conference (June 1945) which was held after release of INC leaders. The release also ended the QIM (1942-45).
2. Churchill wanted progress on India problem before elections in Br. Hence Wavell Plan was based on Desai Liaquat Pact (1945) as it was the closest that INC & ML1906 had reached an agreement on & therefore possibility of being rapidly accepted by INC & ML1906. Also changes in VEC can be swift at behest of Governor General.
3. Wavell4347 proposed –
 - a. In VEC- all ministers to be Indians except Governor General & Commander-in-Chief (*C-I-C). 50% of Indian Ministers to be Hindus & rest 50% to be Muslims.
 - b. Governor General/ Viceroy to rule on aid & advice of ministers but to have veto power.
 - c. Portfolio of Foreign Affairs was offered to Indians (*recall in Cripps Mission 1942- foreign policy offered to Indians hence in line with that).
 - d. Wavell demanded that a joint list of names for ministership be submitted by political parties and if not possible then each party submits a separate list.
4. Failed because

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- a. ML1906 wanted Muslim ministers should be only from ML1906.
 - b. ML1906 rejected the plan as Wavell4347 did not guarantee the above.
 - c. INC refused ML1906 demand & argued that INC is not a Hindu organisation & Muslim leaders of INC should also have opportunity to be ministers.
5. Wavell4347 announced failure as ML1906 could not be convinced. This meant implicit veto to ML. This increased prestige of ML1906 & it did very well in December 1945 elections in seats reserved for Muslims.

Cabinet Mission Plan (CMP1946)

1. Background

1. July 1945- Clement Atlee became British PM (Churchill lost).
2. INA trials of PoWs began with trial at red fort of Prem Sehgal, Shah Nawaz Khan & Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon. This helped in communal unity during INA agitations (1945-46).
3. Dec 1945-elections in India for Provincial Legislative Assemblies (PLAs).
 - i. INC got majority everywhere except Bengal, Punjab & Sindh +
 - ii. INC formed coalition government in Punjab with Akalis & unionist +
 - iii. ML did very well in seats reserved for Muslims & got majority in Bengal & Sindh. (**INC got majority in NWFP & Assam where Sylhet District had majority of Muslims. In NWFP

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support of Khudai Khidmatgars or Red Shirts of Frontier Gandhi or Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. Poor Muslims were supporters of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan while elite Khans were pro-ML1906 + since Khilafat Movt (1920-24) INC had support of poor masses.)

4. Feb 1946:- Cabinet Mission came to India & on same day Naval Mutiny began.
5. After [QIM (1942-45) + INA Agitations (1945-46)] + [INA (1942-45) + Naval mutiny (1946)] -: British realised that if Cabinet Mission fails then next movement will overthrow them violently as they no more had confidence on Indian military.
2. Cabinet Mission Plan (*CMP1946) was the only proposal where British offered a united India & Purna Swaraj. Reasons:-
 1. They wanted a strong & friendly India for influence in South Asia post decolonization (*as Cold War (1945-91) had begun).
 2. In three decades, three events shook the European economy including of Britain- WWI (1914-19), Great Depression (GD1929) & WW2(1939-45).
 3. Also partition would be a diplomatic failure (* i.e. could not keep India united).
3. **Mar 1946: Anti-Partition Statement by Atlee** –“a minority won't be allowed veto over majority”.
4. Proposals –

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1. Goal of CMP1946= peaceful Transfer of Power (*i.e. Transfer of Executive Power at Centre) & to setup a Constituent Assembly (*CA) for Constitution for an independent India.
2. provided a "One State Two Nation" solution to question of partition i.e. a weak common centre having subjects of Defence, Communications and Foreign affairs and Provincial autonomy over all other subjects & residual powers with provinces (*i.e. a Confederation of India)
3. No two Constituent Assemblies (*CAs) & no veto to ML1906 but British also won't accept a constitution (*COI) not based on INC-ML consensus (*i.e. decisions during constitution framing will take place as per majority vote but overall agreement of ML1906 should be there on the constitution framed)
4. Provinces to be divided into three sections
 - i. Section A = Hindu majority provinces
 - ii. Section B= Muslim majority provinces (*MMPs) of the west (NWFP, Punjab, Sind)
 - iii. Section C = Muslim majority provinces of East (i.e. Bengal; Assam was not a MMP as only 31% Muslims; Sylhet District of Assam was having Muslim majority)
 - iv. Each section will frame its group's constitution i.e.
 1. Section A will frame Group A constitution,
 2. Section B will frame Group B constitution,

3. Section C will frame Group C constitution (**section = provinces & group = representative from provinces).
5. Union constitution to deal only with 3 union subjects & to be framed by Constituent Assembly (*CA) having-
 - i. Nominees of Princely States or Princes and
 - ii. Elected members from PLAs [* Dec1945- direct elections to PLAs had taken place]
 - iii. (**i.e. CA = Group A + Group B + Group C + Nominees of 565PS)
 - iv. (**max number of constitutions possible 565 + 3 of Groups + 1 of Union)
 - v. (*minimum number of constitutions= 3 of Groups + 1 of Union)
6. Constituent Assembly (*CA) to be populated by Aug 1946
7. Future changes to constitutions only after 10 years.
8. After general elections a province may come out of a group (**it implies that a group's constitution won't be binding on a province which comes out of a group)
9. Full independence once constitution is drafted.
10. (*@ToP) Immediate transfer of executive power to an interim government at Centre (*only of Br India). The interim govt was setup in September 1946 with J.L. Nehru as PM.
11. An advisory committee to be formed on rights of citizens, Tribals & minorities.

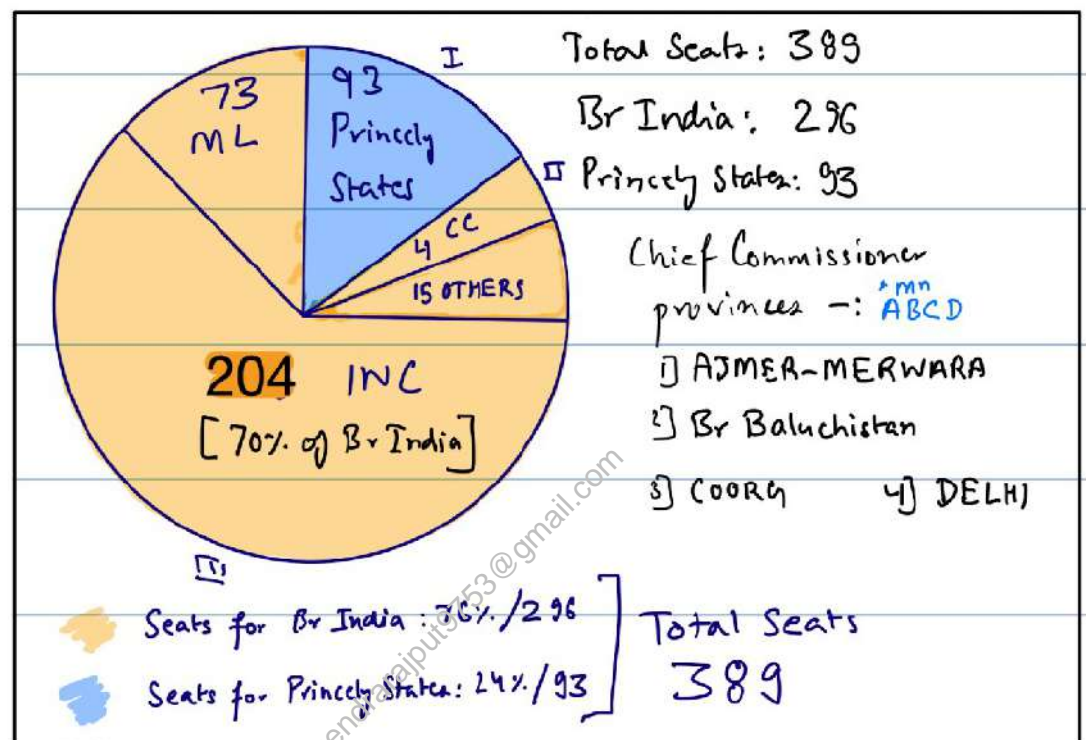
12. Decision on any major communal question in Central Legislature would need majority of both Hindu & Muslim members along with overall majority.

5. Debates @CMP1946

1. ML1906 wanted right to question the union constitution immediately instead of after 10 years (** as COI will setup a united India).
2. INC argued that grouping is not compulsory i.e. groups may be created but it should not be compulsory for a province to join a prescribed group (**as INC in power in NWFP & Assam & doesn't want them to follow constitution of Group B & C respectively).
3. INC wanted elected representative from Princely States (*565PS) in Constituent Assembly (*CA)
4. ML1906 argued that grouping is compulsory i.e. compulsory for all Muslim Majority Provinces (*MMPs) to join Group B & C & therefore partition is implicit (*explicit would have been separate Pakistan; implicit as CMP1946 was 1 state 2 nation solution i.e. a Pakistan within India in form of Group B & C) & if this is correct then ML1906 accepts else rejects CMP1946.
5. INC decided that NWFP & Assam won't join Group B & Group C respectively and Nehru in July 1946 said that only decision of Cabinet Mission is formation of a Constituent Assembly. Therefore, ML1906 rejected CMP1946 & didn't join Interim govt & Constituent Assembly and gave call for **Direct Action** (by Muslims) for creation of Pakistan

on 16th August 1946 leading to communal riots in Calcutta where 5000 died in a week.

6. However, later ML1906 joined interim government as did not want INC having executive power at Centre. ML1906 got Finance ministry & didn't allow government to function.



- 7.
8. 6th Dec 1946: British took stand in favor of 2 Constituent Assemblies by stating that if ML ruled provinces don't join constituent assembly then constitution framed won't apply to those provinces.
9. Feb 1947: ML1906 demanded dissolution of Constituent Assembly on grounds that it was not truly representative.

Atlee Statement (Feb 1947)

1. A pro balkanisation Statement (**like Cripps 1942)

1. By June 30th 1948, British will leave India even if no constitution. Therefore wanted to force INC & ML1906 into a compromise using fear of anarchy.
 2. (*@unity) Princely States (*565PS) not to be under any future government of India (**i.e. 565 Independent countries)
 3. (*@unity) stated that in British India, power will be transferred to:
 - The interim govt at Centre (under Nehru)
 - & to provincial govts of provinces for which Constituent Assembly (*CA) is not representative i.e. provinces which have not joined Constituent Assembly (*CA)
 4. Mountbatten(*MTB) will replace Wavell4347.
2. This (*point 3) was a victory for ML1906 & now widespread violence & coalition government of INC, Akalis & Unionist Party in Punjab was overthrown by direct action (by Muslims led by ML1906).

(April 1947) Plan Balkan/Ismay Plan (Ismay was member of committee)/Dickie Bird Plan by Mountbatten (*MTB).

- a) Dickie was nick name of Mountbatten
- b) Proposal (*of a voluntary union like USA)
 - a. Give independence to each province & to each Princely State.
 - b. Give option of partition to two big Muslim majority provinces of Punjab & Bengal.
 - c. Give option to each province & princely state to join or not join Constituent Assembly for a united India.

- d. Nehru opposed therefore not discussed.

3rd June Plan/Mountbatten Plan (1947).

1. Context

- a. Mountbatten (*MTB) was given deadline of Oct 1947 to explore options of unity & partition & within two months realised that Cabinet Mission Plan (*CMP1946) or idea of a united India was a dead horse due to Jinnah.
 - b. British were working in their national interest of securing influence in South Asia post decolonization therefore better to have two dominions friendly to Britain instead of risking an unfriendly future Pakistan created by direct action/civil war. Atlee stated "Britain wanted a united India, tried but failed".
 - c. Partition was avoidable if British had acted against communal violence but they played passive role of mediators between INC & ML1906 (*in British national interest).
2. 3rd June Plan gave dominion status that allowed Britain to keep India & Pakistan in British Commonwealth even if temporarily. Commonwealth, the group of British colonies, was important for British trade & business as it led to special economic relationship, therefore, dominion status was political victory for British govt among British people.
3. since INC agreed to partition & dominion status, all other demands of INC were accepted:-

- a. Divide India but while retaining maximum unity i.e. Pakistan to be as small as possible and informal promise that Princely States (*565PS) not to be independent.
 - b. a strong centre (*unitary structure)
 - c. British to exit in 72 days from 3rd June i.e. on 15th August or 1 year in advance.
- 4. in Punjab & Bengal- simple majority of either Hindu or Muslim members of PLAs in favour of partition will lead to partition. (*i.e. Decision of Partition was by two big MMPs)
- 5. (*decision of Partition as per above & now pending issue is which provinces join Pakistan) Plebiscite in Sindh; Referendum in NWFP & in Sylhet district of Assam; and voting by political leaders in Baluchistan- on question of joining India or Pakistan. INC won Dec1945 elections in NWFP & Assam, therefore Referendum for clear answer by people.
- 6. If vote in favour of partition then Constituent Assembly (setup by Cabinet Mission) to be split into 2 Constituent Assemblies for 2 dominions & transfer of power to 2 centres by 15 Aug 1947/Appointed day (*i.e. why India=indestructible union of destructible states as power transferred only to Union & states did not decide to form a union like USA)
- 7. INC and ML1906 both accepted Mounbatten plan & vote came out in favour of partition in Punjab & Bengal; NWFP, Sindh, Baluchistan, Sylhet voted to join Pakistan. (*Frontier Gandhi boycotted referendum & passed Bannu Resolution (June 1947) for independent Pakhtonistan for Pashtuns, thus

NWFP voted to join Pak as followers of Frontier Gandhi did not vote. 1948 Pakistan banned Khudai Khidmatgars of Frontier Gandhi) (*Pakhto means the Pakhtun code of life) (*some wanted to join Afghanistan)(*Today NWFP is called Khyber Pakhtunwa)

8. Two boundary commissions both headed by Radcliffe, a Br Jurist, set up for demarcating borders in west & east.

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT 1947

- a) Gave legal status to MTB plan
 - a. Partition of British India into two independent dominions (*independent of each other) on appointed day of 15th Aug, 1947
 - b.
- b) Each Dominion to be headed by a Governor General appointed by King. Same GG for both dominions until constituent assemblies pass a law for separate Governor General. Pakistan decided that Jinnah would be GG.
- c) CA of two dominions could pass constitutions that ends dominion status.
- d) End of jurisdiction of British Parliament on British India + end of Paramountcy over 565PS on appointed day + Paramountcy not to be transferred to any govt in 2 dominions (**i.e. legally 565PS had right to Independence).
- e) Abolition of title - Emperor of India; Abolition of office of Secretary of State for India (*created in 1858)
- f) Till passage of constitution, GOI 1935 to apply.

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- g) Territories of India & Pakistan to be determined "before or after" appointed day by boundary commission appointed by Governor General.
- h) *India was a dominion of Britain from 15th Aug 1947 until 26th January 1950 when our Constitution came into effect.

WHY PARTITION-

1. As per Bipin Chandra- INC failed to bring Muslims into INM & failed to curb Muslim communal forces esp from 1937+. Proof = ML1906 won 90% Muslim seats in 1945 elections to PLAs. By June 1947 INC had given up on united India due to communal violence, failure of interim govt & ML1906 not joining CA (*Aug1946).
2. Even Bengal govt of ML1906 promoted communal riots. Therefore 3rd June plan was accepted by INC.
3. False belief that
 1. partition will be temporary eg MG to INC - don't accept partition in your hearts.
 2. That appeasement of ML1906 will remove fear of majority e.g. LP1916. Instead appeasement led to prestige of ML1906 which moved closer to goal of Pakistan with each concession by INC.
 3. MG could not start a movement against partition due to high communalism e.g. MG stated that Sikh & Hindus desire partition. Thus, Muslims already hated him & Hindus & Sikhs abandoned him.

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4. (**if essay on partition) (*Major factors were British Divide & Rule (*DnR) + Role of Western Educated Middle Class Muslims + Hindu Revivalism (negative version)+ Role of INC)

1. (*DnR) Hunters Book -Indian Musalmans (1871) argued that neglect of Muslims by British contributed to faraisi movement (1830-70s)
2. (*DnR) Census 1881, contributed to sense of homogenous identity of Hindus & Muslims, otherwise heterogenous communities + brought religious identity into public policy & governance as government published religion based report/statistics.
3. (*WEMC Muslims) Muslim organizations led by Sayyed Ahmed Khan, who gave 2 nation theory, labelled INC as Hindu organization + demanded reservation & special status for Muslim Quam + supported the British in return.
4. Hindu revivalism (1880s -90s)
 - i. Shuddhi movement & cow protection movement of Arya Samaj became aggressive after death of Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1883)
 - ii. Cow killing Riots (1893)
 - iii. Hindu-Urdu controversy (1880s- 1900) in "NWP & Awadh" [setup in 1877]. Impact – led to identification of Hindi with Hindus & Urdu with Muslims.

5. INC didn't condemn 1893 riots (as 1886 rule of no social issues to be taken up by INC). Low Muslim participation thereafter in INC & INC didn't do much to reclaim leadership of Muslims.
6. (*DnR) 1897-Reservation in Govt jobs to Muslims
7. (*DnR) 1905- Bengal partition
8. (*DnR) 1906- positive response of Minto to Simla deputation.
9. 1906-formation of ML1906
10. 1909 ICA - separate electorates for Muslims.
11. 1905-11 Swadeshi Movt : use of Hindu symbolism alienated Muslims
12. 1916-Lucknow Pact - INC accepted separate electorates for future council reforms.
13. (*INC) No major agitation when even Sikh given separate electorates by GOI 1919.
14. 1921: Moplah revolt hurt Hindu-Muslim unity during NCM(1920-22)
15. 1922-24: Communal violence in different parts.
16. Four Delhi Proposals (Dec 1927), Three Calcutta Amendments (Dec 1928) by Jinnah for amending Motilal Nehru Report (Aug 1928)- failed & then Jinnah gave 14 Point demands (Mar 1929).
17. ML1906 opposed CDM (1930-34), QIM(1942-45) -hurting Muslim participation in INM.
18. (*INC) In Cripps Mission (March 1942), INC accepted provincial autonomy to Muslim Majority Provinces (*like Art 370)

19. (*INC) 1944- In MG-Jinnah talks on CR formula (1944), INC agreed to plebiscite for "partition without independence" (*i.e. Art 370 for MMPs). Therefore, INC partially agreed on right to self-determination of Muslim majority provinces.
20. (*INC) In CMP1946, INC opposed only compulsory grouping & not the idea of grouping itself (***CMP1946=2Nation 1State or what Syed Ahmed Khan hinted at)
21. INC 1st time mentioned Partition in March 1947 - Punjab & Bengal would have to be partitioned if country was divided.
22. (*DnR) In August Offer (AO1940) & Wavell Plan 1945, ML was given Veto on constitutional progress + in Cripps Mission (1942) there was choice to provinces to not join Union + Cabinet Mission Plan (*CMP1946) was One State Two Nation solution as there was religion based grouping of provinces.
23. Therefore, acceptance of partition via 3rd June plan was culmination of long process.