

# **Aligarh Movement**

Aligarh Movement is, in fact, the name of continuous struggle of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that he launched for the betterment of Muslims. This movement performed the educational, social, religious and literary services for the Muslims, so Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Aligarh Movement are the two names of one and the same thing.

## **1:- Educational Services**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan opened educational institutions for Muslims so that new paths of progress might open for them, for they had become literally backward. The English introduced English as an official language in place of Persian. Hindus by getting English education, got the jobs but Muslims remained behind terrified. Sir Syed made it clear that it was quite wrong to think that English education would keep them away from religion. Our religion did not forbid to learn English language and Western sciences. Where he put emphasis on the learning of English language there he did not ignore Urdu. He gave full attention to it. He also shifted the Society of Scientific Knowledge to Aligarh. He constituted the committee for the progress of Muslims. The aim of it was the acquisition of the knowledge of the reasons of low strength of Muslims in government's colleges and schools; and why they gone behind in learning the new sciences. The research showed that the Muslims wanted to have their own institutions for the education of the Muslims. For this purpose Muhammadan College Fund Committee was established. In May 1875 MuhammadanAngloOrientalHigh School was established in Aligarh, and after two years the school was upgraded to a college. In a short time it became the important educational institution of Muslims. The reason of it was the availability of the boarding facilities for the students alongwith the modern and religious education. Sir Syed desired that the college be given the status of a University, but this did not happen in his life time. Twenty years after his death AligarhCollege was made a University in 1920.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan realized that the AligarhCollege even after becoming a University would not be able to meet the educational needs of all the Muslims of India. Therefore, he made a way out to spread the message of Aligarh in all the parts of India. For this, he established Muhammadan Educational Conference. The meetings of it were held every year in different cities, and attempts were made to solve the educational and other problems of the Muslims.

## **2:- Social Services**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wrote many books and magazines for the social involvement of Muslims. He brought out the magazine '**Tehzeeb-ul-Akhlaq**' in 1870, in which he narrated the rules and principles to make the Muslims dynamic and effective. He established an orphanage in Muradabad. Sir Syed wanted to bring Muslims socially closer to the English. Therefore he taught new ways of living to the Muslims; coat, pantaloons, modern designing of houses and use of knife and fork in eating. All that was

done to curtail the distance among the Muslims and the English. Sir Syed published a pamphlet '**Loyal Muhammadans of India**' and mentioned the services rendered by the Muslims in saving the lives of the English, so the English should not ignore this aspect of Muslims, and forget the enmity with them.

### **3:- Religious Services**

The Aligarh Movement did not ignore religion, but put great emphasis on it, and negated the superfluous rites. Sir Syed published the Commentary of the Holy Quran in which he tried to prove the Quranic Verses logically and scientifically true, but it was disliked by the religious scholars. He wrote '**Tabayen-ul-Kalam**' a book on Bible and put more emphasis on the things common in Islam and Christianity. Besides this he wrote an article "**Tehqeeq Lufze-Nasara**" to remove the misunderstanding from the minds of the English. The English believed that Muslim 'Nasara' was a distorted form of 'Nasarath', a birth place of Christ, hence they had ridiculed them. He made it clear that there was no truth in that, but the fact was that the word 'Nasara' was derived from the Arabic word 'Nasir' that means helper of friend. He further clarified that Islam and not forbidden the Muslims from the friendship and eating with Christians provided wine and unlawful things were not served. Therefore he wrote a booklet '**Ahkam-e-Tuam-e-Ahle-Kitab**'. It changed the attitude of many of the Muslims and the English. The publication of these books and pamphlets did not actually mean that he honoured the English in all respects, and wanted to ignore the Islamic rules. He took a firm stand in matters of religion. When an English writer, William Meore, wrote a book "**The Life of Muhammad**" in which he disgraced the Prophet (PBUH). Sir Syed could not tolerate it and refuted him by writing a book "**Khutabat-e-Ahmadiya**"

### **4:- Political Services**

After the war of independence of 1857 the British Government wanted to punish the Muslims by declaring them the real accused of the rebellion. But Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in his magazine "**Causes of Indian Revolt**" made it clear that Hindus, Muslims and the English were equally responsible for that revolt.

Sir Syed attributed the following reasons to the outbreak of the war of Independence:

1. Non-representation of the Indians in the legislative councils.
2. Forcible conversion of Indians to Christianity.
3. Mismanagement of Indian army.
4. Many other ill-advised measures of the Government which created large scale dissatisfaction among the various sections of society.

On the other hand he advised the Muslims to keep away from politics for the time being because they were far behind in education and the English saw them with suspicious eyes. In 1867, with the rise of Hindi-Urdu controversy, Sir Syed became suspicious of Hindus and said that it was not now possible for Hindus and Muslims to go along together. He said that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and could not live

together. He also believed that the British parliamentary form of government could not succeed in India because there was not a single nation here. Even by the implementation of the separate electorate the Muslims would not gain a considerable amount of representation. Similarly the Muslims would not get jobs through competitive examination because they were far behind in education. Therefore a quota in jobs might be fixed for Muslims so that they could also have government jobs.

### **5:- Literary Services**

Sir Syed worked very hard for the protection and progress of Urdu language. Hindi Urdu conflict made it clear that Hindus wanted to damage the cultural, social, and literary heritage of the Muslims. He established Urdu Defence Society and defended Urdu language. Due to the opposition of Aligarh, Hindi could not become the official language. He also wrote a book ***"History of Revolt of Bejnour"*** in which he mentioned the circumstances and events of war of Independence. ***"Asaar-Asanadeed"*** was the famous book of Sir Syed. It provided the information of old buildings, ruins and historical places. A copy of it was presented to Royal Asiatic Society London, and Sir Syed was awarded the honour of fellowship. Besides this he wrote many other articles.

## **Effects of Aligarh Movement**

Aligarh Movement trained the Muslims how to deal with the prevailing new circumstances. It guided the Muslims in every field of life.

### **1:- English-Muslim Reconciliation**

Due to Aligarh Movement the feelings of hatred against Muslims started diminishing from the hearts of the English. The English started coming closer to the Muslims.

### **2:- Protection of Rights**

Aligarh Movement created an awareness of the protection of rights among the Muslims. Sir Syed spent whole of his life in improving the educational, social, economic and political affairs of the Muslims. Aligarh College was the biggest educational institution of the Muslims. It's educated persons presented the problems of the masses before the government that considered from favourably. In 1906 the demand for separate electorate forwarded through the Simla Deputation was accepted.

### **3:- Supply of Political Leadership**

The Muslims got education from Aligarh Movement and made themselves capable to face Hindus and the English. Muslim League was established by the educated political leadership that also owed to Aligarh Movement. Political awareness was created among

the masses by Aligarh Movement. In fact the struggle for the establishment was originated from this movement.

#### **4:- Concept of Separate Nation**

Aligarh Movement made the Muslims realized that they were a separate nation having a glorious past, and also made it clear that Hindus and Muslims were two nations and could not unite together. Moreover Hindus were not the well-wishers of Muslims. This two nation theory was made the basis of Pakistan Movement by Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who got a separate homeland for Muslims.

#### **5:- Acquisition of Western Education**

Muslims were afraid of western education but they could not make progress without it. As the source of modern sciences was the English language so it was necessary for them to learn it. Therefore arrangements of western sciences side by side with Islamic education were made in Aligarh College that motivated a large number of Muslims to get education. Aligarh Movement also persuaded other affluent Muslims to start educational institutions; and in a short time the Muslims became prominent in the fields of English and modern education.

#### **6:- Economic Progress**

Aligarh Movement attracted the Muslims towards education and made them enabled to improve their economic conditions. By getting the share in government jobs, the Muslims rose to the higher positions, and in this way the economic condition of the Muslims improved a lot.

#### **7:- Muslim Unity**

Aligarh Movement created a sense of Muslims nationality. A Muslim wherever he lives in the world is a member of Muslim 'Nation'. In 1919 the educated youth of Aligarh College launched Khilafat Movement for the Muslims of Turkey. They created a sense of unity among the Muslims. Hence feelings of union, relationship and brotherhood were developed among them.

#### **Conclusion**

The Aligarh Movement injected a life in the dormant body of the Muslim nation and helped them to regain their lost position of eminence and glory. It revived confidence among the Muslims to fight for their economic and social rights. The Aligarh Movement was a broad movement which left its impact on every phase of the Muslim life. The actions taken by Sir Syed left a far reaching impact on the social, economic, religious, political and cultural aspects of the Muslims. His precepts and examples revived hope

and self-confidence, showed new ways to progress and opened doors for the Muslims to modern education and economic prosperity.

# **Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and His Contributions**

Some personalities leave far-reaching effects in history and the succeeding generations cannot ignore them. Such is the personality of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who showed the ray of light to the Muslims and enabled them to restore their lost status.

The great emancipator of the Indian Muslims Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born at Delhi on October 17, 1817. This is the period when the great Mughal Empire was close to a complete collapse. Sir Syed's family had already joined the East India Company and his maternal grandfather served in Iran and Burma under the British government. Sir Syed got interest in English from his maternal family. S M Ikram writes, "For this insight into the affairs of the state and first contacts with Western learning and civilization he was indebted to his maternal grandfather..." Sir Syed was very healthy by birth and his grandfather remarked: "A Jat has been born in our family." He joined the British as head clerk in 1839. The death of his brother made him serious and energetic to face the neuroses of life courageously. Another event that changed him entirely was the War of Independence in 1857. In 1841, he passed examination and became sub-judge. At the eve of the War of Independence he was performing the duties as sub-judge in Bijnore. He established educational institutions and after coming at Aligarh he rejuvenated his aspirations to work for the depressed Muslims of the Subcontinent. He devoted his entire life for this purpose to bring the Muslims close to the British. He died on March 27, 1898 and was buried in Aligarh.

## **His Services**

He took responsibility of the Indian Muslims when they had been thrown in backwardness, depression and humiliation. The British held them criminal of the War while the Hindus had won the British being anti-Muslim force. In such environment, Sir Syed guided his community to rejoin the life. To Dr Qalb-i-Abid, "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was among a very few leaders produced by Muslim India, who like Mohammad Ali Jinnah made a tremendous contribution in guiding the destinies of the Indian Muslims."

Sir Syed opened schools, one in Muradabad in 1859 and other in Ghazipur in 1862 so that the children of Muslims might get education. In 1863 he established a society of Scientific Knowledge in Ghazipur. The objective of it was the translation of English books in Urdu so that the inhabitants of the Sub-Continent could have the knowledge of English sciences. After this Sir Syed shifted to Aligarh that remained the center of his activities till his death.

## **Sir Syed and Politics**

In the political arena, Sir Syed carved numerous successes; he eradicated misunderstandings between the Muslims and the British infused due to the past particular incidents. Awakening among the Muslims about the political ups and downs and co-existence in the presence of other

nations in India was another contribution of Sir Syed. He motivated the Muslims to absorb the modern education of the West because this was the very motive of the Western expansion in the world. He visualized the bright future of the Muslims if they engaged themselves in the Western learning.

Sir Syed won the British confidence and cordial relationship by saving their lives during the War of Independence. He utilized this relationship for the betterment of the Muslims. It was a subtle situation because the government had put the War crimes on the Muslim shoulders and assaulted their every aspect of life: "These events were a trauma for the Muslims; the methods used by them shocked the civilized world. The detestation of Delhi as a centre of Muslim culture was horrendous; Bahadur Shah Zafa was exiled to Rangoon; Lt. Hodson shot three Mughal princes and later 24 princes were tried and executed; a vast ocean of blood there was; Some Muslims were shot dead and their dead bodies were thrown into the river Jamna". All Muslims were ousted from land, property and employments that made them third class citizens of India. This created revengeful sentiments among the Muslims who detested British, their culture and civilization. Sir Syed was of the view that British were a civilized, educated, wise and disciplined nation and occupied India with the new war strategy and munitions that could not be matched by the locals and particularly by the Muslims. Therefore at the juncture the Muslims should mould themselves according to the pace of time to avoid more disaster.

Sir Syed published Loyal Mohammedans of India and Risala Asbab-i-Baghawat i-Hind that helped both the nations to redress their grievances. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was founded but Sir Syed warned the Muslims from the sinister aspirations of the Hindus. Another factor was that he intended the Muslims to abstain from the politics that could result in friction with the ruling nation.

### **Urdu-Hindi Controversy**

Urdu grew as common language of all the Indians regardless of origin or religion but in 1867 the Benarsi Hindus started campaign to replace Urdu by Hindi. To gain the objectives, they declared numerous organizations, which discouraged Sir Syed who said to Shakespeare that since now both the nations could not live together. Later the followers of Sir Syed tried their level best to save Urdu language. Mohsin ul Mulk was the outstanding person who organized the Muslims in defense of Urdu.

### **Muslims-as a Nation**

Sir Syed used the word 'nation' for the Muslims. Some writers criticize that he declared Hindus and Muslims one nation. But as a matter of fact, he advocated the Hindu-Muslim unity that meant 'the working relationship' between the two nations as once he said: "Hindus and Muslims should try to be of one mind in matters which affected their progress." He favored separate electorate for the Muslims in 1883 saying that the majority would override the interests of the minority.

### **United Indian Patriotic Association**

In 1888, he set up the Patriotic Association to meet the propaganda of the Congress. Muslims

and Hindus joined the Association. It advocated the Muslims' emotions.

### **Mohammedan Defense Association**

In December 1893, Sir Syed founded the Association. Its main purpose was to protect the political, religious and social rights of the Muslims. Sir Syed was great because he contributed greatly to the Muslim struggle for identity. Otto von Bismarck served the German nation with the help of all government sources but Sir Syed did the same without all this. To Khalid Bin Sayeed, "Many tributes have been paid to Sir Sayyed, particularly by modern educated Muslims for being daring enough to put forward such views in an age which was by no means liberal or tolerant."



# **Indian Council Act, 1861**

## **Background**

On August 2, 1858 British Parliament passed a law for complete takeover of all rights of the East India Company over India. Post of Secretary of State for India was created through the cabinet. The Secretary of State for India was empowered about government and revenues of India. On November 1, 1858 Queen Victoria issued a proclamation for the assumption of control of India by the British Crown. Lord Canning, Governor General of India was given the title of "Viceroy." He continued in office but not as the Company's representative but direct representative of British Crown. Moreover armies of the Company came under British Control.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had indicated in the causes of the Indian Revolt several weaknesses of the Government in the running of administration of the country. He advised the British Government to include the Indian people in the administration of the country so that the people's mistrust and fear could be minimized. He advised the Government to give representation to the local people in the Legislative Councils to create sentiments of loyalty among their subjects.

## **Legislative Councils Act, 1861**

The first ever constitutional structure was formulated in 1861. The British Government passed the Legislative Councils Act to introduce better provisions for the Governor-General's Council and for Local Government.

According to this Act:

- The Indian people were included in the Governor-General's Council for the first time in the history of India.
- The number of the members of the Legislative Councils was increased.
- The Governor was given authority to nominate at least six persons to his Council.
- The Legislative Council was to make laws.
- The nominated members were not authorized to criticize the actions of the Council and also could not put questions to the members of the Councils about the functions of the Legislative Council.
- The Governor-General could issue ordinances and was authorized to veto provincial legislation.

The enforcement of Legislative Council Act of 1861 was the first step taken for the constitutional reforms in India. It provided, in spite of its limited scope, an opportunity to the Indian People to safeguard their political interests. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was nominated as the member of Legislative Council under the Act of 1861.

# **Indian Councils Act, 1892**

## **Background**

Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 on the initiative of the retired British Civil Servant Sir Allan Octavian Hume. The Indian National Congress, which grew in time to be the most powerful and vocal political organization of India, was originally intended to provide a platform for the safeguard of the interests of all communities in India irrespective of their religion or political tendencies. But with the time it turned into a pure Hindu body working for the safeguard of the Hindu interests. The Indian National Congress expressed its dissatisfaction over the inadequate representation which the Legislative Councils Act of 1861 gave to the Indian people. It demanded more representation for the Indian people in the Legislative and administrative bodies of the Government. The Congress demanded that the nomination to the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils should be through general elections instead of by nomination. It also demanded the appointment to the Government service through competitive examination.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan vehemently criticized these demands by the Congress and advised the Muslims to keep away from the Congress politics. He said that the system of elections, on the pattern of Western Democracy could not be introduced in India as it would impose the Hindu majority rule over the Muslim minority. He, therefore, advocated the system of nomination introduced in the Act of 1861. He also opposed the appointment to the Government service by competitive examinations which meant the expulsion of the Muslims from Government service because the Muslims could not compete with the Hindus who were well advanced in modern education.

## **Indian Council Act of 1892**

In 1892 the Government introduced another Act known as the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The salient provisions of this Act were as follow:

1. The number of the non-official members, in the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils was increased. However, the official members were still in majority.
2. The members of the Legislative Councils were given the right to put questions. They were also authorized to discuss the annual budget.
3. The local bodies were given right to send their elected members to the Legislative Councils.

The Act of 1892 could not ensure the maximum safeguards to the Muslims. The Muslim leaders now rightly felt for a separate electorate to protect the Muslim interest.

# **Government of India Act, 1909 (Minto-Morley Reforms)**

## **Background**

By 1909 the political turmoil and unrest prevailed in India. The Extremists Hindu and Congress activities had forced the Muslims to give a serious thought to their future line of action in order to protect and safeguard their interests as a nation. By now the Muslims had come to realize with firmness that they were a separate nation. The demand for separate electorate by the Simla Deputation and later by the Muslim League was the first step taken into the direction to protect and maintain the separate image of the Muslims.

## **Minto-Morley Reforms**

The British Government had realized the importance of Muslim's anxiety about their future and was convinced that the present constitutional provisions were inadequate to provide safeguards to the Muslims. The Government therefore, decided to introduce new constitutional reforms to dispel Muslim suspicions. The Government made it clear that it was in favour of giving more rights to the Indian people. The Viceroy Lord Minto in accordance with the policy of the Government set to the task of preparing a draft Bill, in collaboration with Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, for the introduction of constitutional reforms. The Bill was prepared and presented in the Parliament for approval. The Bill, after approval by the Parliament and Royal Assent, was enforced in 1909 and came to be known as Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909.

## **Salient Features, Government of India Act 1909**

The Act contained the following provisions:

- ☐ Separate Electorate was accepted for minorities.
- ☐ The preparation of separate electoral rolls was ordered.
- ☐ The Legislative Councils were expanded.
- ☐ The authority of the Council was enhanced. The members were given more liberties. Members were allowed to present Resolutions, discuss Budget and put up questions.
- ☐ The Viceroy's Council's membership was fixed at sixty members.
- ☐ The membership of the provinces of Bengal, U.P., Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Orissa was fixed at 50 members whereas the membership of the provinces of Punjab, Burma, and Assam was fixed at 30 members.
- ☐ The Indians were included in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and in the provincial Executive Councils.

- The local bodies, trade unions and universities were allowed to elect their members.
- Lt. Governors were appointed in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. These provinces were given right to form their own Councils.

### **Defects of Minto-Morley Reforms**

There were some inherent defects in Minto-Morley Reforms due to which the Minto-Morley Scheme could not last very long. These reforms had following defects:

- The Minto-Morley Reforms did not provide for mode of electing the representatives.
- The system failed to develop a sense of accountability among the representatives.
- The voting rights were squeezed which made the electorate too narrow and restricted.
- The authority given to the elected members of raising questions and criticizing the policies proved useless as the real legislative authority rested with the Government and its nominated persons.
- The legislative bodies lacked effective control on the Government agencies.
- The Central Government exercised vast authority in the financial sphere. Provincial expenditures were controlled by the Central Government which could cut the provincial expenditures at will.

### **Significance of Minto-Morley Reforms**

Following is the importance of Minto-Morley Reforms:

- The Minto-Morley Reforms gave impetus to the constitutional development in India.
- These reforms introduced the system of elections for the first time which created a great deal of political awareness among the Indian people.
- The acceptance of separate electorate for the Muslims enhanced their political importance and significance.

### **Conclusion**

The importance and utility of Minto-Morley Reforms cannot be set aside because of some weaknesses in the scheme. It acceded the Muslims, their much cherished demand, the separate electorate in the provinces where legislative councils existed. The Muslim League performed in a commendable manner by achieving major demands of the Muslims after only two years of its inception. It scored an amazing political triumph within a short time of its political struggle. The separate electorate set the course of Muslim freedom movement which culminated in the shape of Pakistan after a forty years intense struggle. It also gave strength to the Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of Muslim freedom struggle.

# **The Government of India Act, 1935**

## **Background**

The Act of 1919 did not make important changes at the Centre. The Indians felt that the Reforms of 1919 had not given them enough powers and they were dissatisfied with them. The Rowlett Act, the Jullianwala Bagh Tragedy, Martial Law and other sad happenings added to the resentment and bitterness of the people. The major Indian parties and influential sections of people in the country boycotted the Simon Commission. The recommendations of the Round Table Conferences were contained in a white paper which was published in 1933 and discussed in the parliament.

## **The Government of India Act, 1935**

A committee was set up under the chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, to consider the recommendations of the white paper. The report of the committee was published in 1934 which was contained in a Bill of Law. The report along with the Bill was presented in the British Parliament for approval. The Parliament passed the Bill which after the Royal assent on 24th July 1935 was enforced in the country as Government of India Act, 1935.

## **Salient Features of Act of 1935**

It was the most important and most comprehensive legislation introduced by the British Government in India. The Act contained 14 parts and 10 schedules and consisted of two parts. Part I pertained to provincial subjects while Part II contained federal list of subjects. The Act came into operation on 1st April, 1937 except part II which could not be enforced until a specific number of Princely States acceded to the Indian Federation.

### **a) Provincial Reforms**

The provincial reforms were as follows.

- The provinces were given more authority and powers and for the first time the provinces were made the separate entities.
- The system of Diarchy was scrapped in the provinces and introduced in the centre.
- Three lists of subjects were drawn up which were the federal list, the provincial list and the concurrent list.
- The provincial legislatures were given powers of legislation on provincial and concurrent subjects.
- The provincial executive was handed over to the representatives of the people who were accountable before the provincial legislatures.

- The country was divided into 11 provinces.
- Responsible parliamentary system was introduced in the provinces. The provinces were given complete autonomy. The Ministers were to be chosen from the representatives of the people.
- Every province was given a council of ministers whose advice was binding on the Governor. However, in the discharge of his responsibilities the Governor was to act under the general control of the Governor-General.
- Special powers were given to the governors for the protection of the rights of the minorities.

### **b) Federal Part of the Act**

The main provisions of the Federal part of the Act were as follows:

- The Act proposed to give a federal form to the Indian Constitution.
- The proposed Federal Legislature was a bicameral body consisting of the Council of States (Upper House) and the Federal Assembly (Lower House).
- The Council of State was to consist of 260 members, out of these 104 nominated by the rulers were to represent the Indian States, 6 were to be nominated by the Governor-General and 150 were to be elected. The Council of State was a permanent body and its members were to be chosen for nine years, one-third retiring every three years.
- The Federal Assembly was to consist of 375 members, out of these, 250 members were to be representatives of British India and 125 of the Indian States. Its life was fixed at five years, unless dissolved earlier by the Governor-General.
- Dyarchy was to be introduced at the Centre. The Federal subjects were to be divided into two parts--- Reserved (Governed by the Governor-General) and Transferred (Controlled by ministers responsible to the Legislature).
- The division of legislative power is essential in a Federation.
- A Federal Court of India was to be established.

### **An Appraisal of the Act of 1935**

The Act of 1935 failed to satisfy various political sections of the country. The political leaders of India rejected it for it did not meet the demands of the different political factions. Quaid-e-Azam described it as “thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable”. Rajgopalacharia, too, declared it as worst than the system of Dyarchy. Nehru condemned it as “a new chapter of slavery”.

The Federal System introduced by the Act of 1935 was defective in many ways. There was no guarantee of individual liberties neither it could give a workable dominion status. The people were not given their rights. All authority was vested in the Parliament which was under British influence. The system of Dyarchy which had failed in the provinces was introduced in the Centre without any prospective results. Vast authority was given

to the Governors in the provinces and to the Viceroy in the Centre which was against the principle of democracy and provincial autonomy. The Minister of State could interfere in the Government services without any reason.

The Central part of the Act could not be enforced and was suspended for some time. However, the provincial part of the Act was enforced on 1st April 1937, under which the elections were to be held in the country.

Conclusion:

The Act was a significant step towards self-rule in sub-continent, though the ultimate powers were not devolved. However it initiated a political process which eventually lead to independence of Sub continent.



# **Partition of Bengal**

## **Background**

*Bengal was the biggest province with a population of 78 million. It had a vast area and was an unwieldy administrative unit. The whole province was under one Lieutenant Governor who could not look after the administrative requirements of such a vast area alone. It was not possible for the Lt. Governor to go around the province whenever there was a dire need of such tours. Consequently a major portion of the province remained neglected due to its unwieldiness. In view of its size and enormous population it was felt that the province of Bengal should be divided into two parts in order to facilitate the administrative requirement of the vast area.*

## **Partition**

Lord Curzon became the viceroy of India in 1899. He was an able and efficient administrator. He undertook an extensive tour of the province of Bengal and felt that the province was too big to be administered effectively. The provincial Governors had already complained about the administrative difficulties faced by them in the large province. They had recommended the partition of the province in view of its size and big population.

A number of partition proposals were viewed and discussed which, however, could not materialize. Lord Curzon decided to divide the province into two provinces. He prepared a comprehensive plan of the partition of Bengal in 1905 and sent it to England for approval. The British Crown gave approval to the partition plan and the province of Bengal was divided into two parts on 16th October 1905 named as Western Bengal and Eastern Bengal. The new province of Eastern Bengal consisted of Dacca as capital, Memansingh, Chittagong, Assam, Rajshahi, Khulna, Rangpur and Bogra as the constituted districts.

## **Reaction of Muslims Toward Partition**

In the combined province of Bengal the Muslims were a suppressed and dominated class of society. **The Hindus had monopolized trade and Government services which aggravated the economic condition of the Muslims.** The new province of Eastern Bengal brought happier prospects of political and economic life for the Muslims. The Muslims overnight turned into majority by the creation of the new province. The Muslims were 18 million out of the total population of 31 million in the new province. The partition of Bengal provided chances of great progress to the Muslims who formed the majority

group in the new set up. The partition of Bengal provided them with a chance to rehabilitate their social position. They hoped that their social status would get a tremendous boost in the new province. The Muslims, therefore, expressed their utmost happiness over the partition of Bengal. They offered their gratification in a loyal way to the Government for taking a step for their social, economic and political uplift.

### **Reaction of Hindus Toward Partition**

The Hindus reacted toward the partition of Bengal in a hostile and violent manner. The Hindus could never support a move which was to bring prosperity and happiness to the Muslims.

### **Reasons of opposing partition**

The reasons for Hindu opposition to the partition were as follows:

1. The Hindus believed that they would come under the domination of the Muslim majority in the new province and their superior position would be downgraded to the inferior status.
2. As the provincial High Court and other judicial bodies were to be shifted to Dacca, the Hindus lawyers feared that their legal practice would be affected.
3. Since Dacca was to become the centre of journalistic and other academic activities, the Hindu press and media believed that from now onward the Muslim point of view would be projected in the newspapers and magazines. They also feared that their income would seriously be lessened.
4. The Hindu landlords, capitalists and traders did not like the partition as it was to put an end to their exploitation of the poor Muslims.
5. Before the partition of Bengal the Hindus enjoyed dominant position in the political sphere of the province over the Muslims. The new set up was to put an end to their superior political position and their political dominance over the Muslims will end.

### **Reaction**

The Hindus launched an intensive movement against the partition of Bengal. They termed the partition as degrading and an insult to the national character of the Hindu population. Religious colour was given to the agitation and the partition was termed as the dissection of the Sacred Cow Mother, in order to arouse deep opposition by the Hindu masses. They considered the partition as an attempt to sow the seeds of hatred and discontentment among the Indian people to weaken the national movements for independence.

The day of partition was declared as a national tragedy. Strikes were held throughout the country. The Indian National Congress also jumped in to support the agitation against the partition. The Hindu students put up violent demonstration against the

partition. The Congress severely criticized the partition in its annual session of 1906.

The Hindus agitation soon turned into a violent reaction. The people disobeyed Government orders by refusing to pay taxes and rentals. Communal clashes erupted at a number of places which aggravated the law and order situation in the country. Bombs were thrown and attacks were made on the lives of the British people. Swadeshi Movement was organized by which the foreign goods were boycotted. The train carrying the Governor of the Eastern Bengal was derailed and an attempt was made on Viceroy's life which failed.

### **Annulment of the Partition**

The vigorous Hindu agitation rocked the Government which could not withstand the extreme pressure of the movement. The Hindus threatened the Government to boycott the forthcoming tour of India of the King George. The threat proved successful and the British Government succumbed to the Hindus agitation. The partition of Bengal was ultimately annulled on 12th December, 1911 at a Royal meeting known as Delhi Darbar where the King George announced the decision of annulment to the extreme dismay of the Muslims of Bengal.

### **Conclusion:**

The events incidental to the partition of Bengal and its subsequent annulment proved instrumental in making the Muslim realize about their distinct position in comparison to Hindu Majority and that the interests of both the nations run counter to each other.

# **Simla Deputation**

## **Background**

The political scene of India was affected by the vigorous political activities of the Congress which had no rival in the political arena. The Muslims believed that only an organized endeavour would lead them to success.

**Political Scene of India in that arena was as follow:**

1. Ever since its establishment in 1885 as a political organization, All India Congress had been actively striving for the Hindu cause. It had ignored the aims and objectives which said that the Congress would work for the protection of interests of all communities of India irrespective of their religion and nationality. It, however, could not pursue this lofty principle of looking after the interests of all communities of India and very soon indulged in purely pro-Hindu activities. It became clear, by Congress designs, that it was a forum meant to project the Hindu demands only.
2. The Hindu opposition to Urdu and partition of Bengal revealed it to the Muslims that the Hindus and Congress would never allow them a respectable place in the Indian society. The Hindu and Congress agitation intensified these feelings and aroused Muslim suspicions about Hindu designs.
3. The rise of Hindu Nationalism awakened Muslim's feelings of separate identity.
4. The movement launched by Swami Dayanand and B.G. Tilak raised Muslims eyebrows who seriously pondered over their future plans to safeguard their interests.

## **Simla**

## **Deputation**

The Simla Deputation of 1906 was the first systematic attempt on the part of the Muslims to present their demands, to the British government and to seek their acceptance.

The Simla deputation comprised 35 Muslims from all over India. It was a galaxy of Muslims leaders from all the provinces, from one end of India to the other and it had Muslims of all background. Therefore, when in 1906, this deputation called on the Viceroy, it was the most representative Muslim delegation. This delegation was led by Sir Agha Khan and Nawab Mohsin ul Malik served as a secretary and this delegation met the Viceroy in Simla that was why it was called as Simla Deputation.

The memorandum which they presented was a kind of demands which were the uppermost in the minds of the Muslims at that time. The delegation emphasized that the Muslims should not be viewed simply in numerical terms but they should take into account their historical importance and the kind of contribution the Muslims had made to British India and keeping in view that importance they should work towards accommodating their demands.

The delegation emphasized that democratic principle should be introduced keeping in view the peculiar conditions and circumstances of India. The diversity, the fact that there different kinds of people living in India and the fact that the Muslims consider themselves to be a separate entity, all these things had to be taken into account because the India was not a homogenous amalgamated or monolithic political identity. It was a political identity comprising diversity, divergence in view, divergence in outlook and when you introduce some kind of system then these realities had to be accommodated.

### ***Demands of Simla Deputation***

Muslim leaders presented following demands:

- Representation more than their population because of their importance.
- Separate electorate
- Reservations of Muslims seats in government jobs.
- Special share in Municipal or district boards University senates and syndicates
- Muslim representation in Viceroy Executive Council.
- Muslim University at Aligarh.

The Viceroy was sympathetic towards the demands. It encouraged the Muslims to launch struggle for their rights parallel to the Indian National Congress but it required an organized platform.

### **Conclusion**

It was a great achievement of the Simla Deputation to have convinced the Viceroy about the genuineness of the Muslim's demands. The Muslims were now convinced that organized efforts were essential to press for the acceptance of the demands. The most important demand of separate electorate was accepted by the Government and included in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. At this time the Muslims had left the Congress and had not political platform to project their demands. They badly needed a forum for the projection and safeguard of their interests to counter the false propaganda of the Congress. This led to the formation of All India Muslim League.

## **Formation of All India Muslim League**

Time had come to formally organize the Muslims after the success of the Simla

Deputation. The Muslim leaders desired to create a permanent political forum. The Congress's anti-Muslim activities too emphasized the need of a political platform for the Muslims from where the interests of Muslims could be projected. The Muslim leaders of Simla Deputation after their meeting with the Viceroy held consultations among themselves as to the possibility of forming a political association.

The annual session of All India Muslim Educational Conference was held in 1906 at Dacca. The prominent Muslim leaders from all over the country were attending this meeting. When the meeting ended, Nawab Saleem Ullah Khan of Dacca, convened a meeting of the Muslim leaders at his residence. The objective of this meeting was to discuss the possibilities of forming a political association for the Muslims. The meeting was presided by Nawab Viqar-ul-Malik on 30th December 1906. Nawab Saleem Ullah of Dacca had already circulated an idea of the political organization known as All India Muslim Confederacy. Nawab Viqar-ul-Malik in his presidential address stressed the need for a political platform for the Muslims. He said that Congress political activities were highly injurious for the Muslims for which Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had asked the Muslims to keep away from the Congress politics. He said the Muslims form only one-fourth of the total population of India. It is obvious that if the British leave the country at any time, the Muslims will come under the domination of that nation which is four times bigger than the Muslims. The other participants also expressed their views in favour of forming a political organization for the Muslims.

Nawab Saleem Ullah Khan of Dacca, therefore, proposed Muslim League which was supported by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and other participants.

Nawab Mohsin-ul-Malik and Nawab Viqar-ul-Malik were elected provisionally as Joint Secretaries of the Muslim League. A Committee consisting of sixty members was set up to draft the constitution of the Muslim League. The Constitution Committee included all the members of Simla Deputation. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, a distinguished student of Aligarh and Oxford, was given the responsibility of drafting the rules and regulations of the League.

The first regular session of the Muslim League was held at Karachi on 29th and 30th December, 1907 exactly after one year of its formation. Sir Adamjee Pirbhai, a prominent leader of Bombay, presided over this session. The draft Constitution prepared by the committee was placed before the session for approval. The Constitution was adopted after a further scrutiny by the members of the Constitution Committee present at Karachi session.

The Karachi session of the League was adjourned after adopting the Constitution. The session resumed after a few months and met again on 18th March, 1908 at Aligarh. Agha Khan was formally elected as the President and Major Hassan Bilgrami as the Secretary.

### **London Branch: May 1908**

Justice Amir Ali Syed organized a branch of Muslim League at London and responded

effectively to the misunderstandings and conspiracies of the Hindus against the Muslims.

### **Objectives and Goals of Muslim League**

The purposes and objectives of the Muslim League were as follow:

1. Protection and promotion of political rights and interests of the Muslims.
2. Cooperation with other communities without prejudice to the above goal.
3. Fostering sense of loyalty, among the Muslims, towards the government.

## **Change in the Goals of the Muslim League 1913**

The Muslim League with its establishment became active for the protection of the Muslim interests. It took over the Muslim struggle launched by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and was successful in securing a number of demands from the Government for the Muslims. The most important demand was the separate electorate, which the Government at last conceded in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. The acceptance of separate electorate was the first step by the Government taken towards the establishment of self-rule in India.

In spite of some early successes the Muslim League could not assume that political importance and significance which All Indian Congress had achieved. The Government too, was not very considerate and sympathetic towards Muslim League as it was towards Congress.

Some important developments occurred during the first decades of the 20th century like annulment of the Partition of Bengal and Western aggression towards Muslim countries, Balkan wars, Libya-Italy war, Demolition of the mosque in Kawnpur (1913), etc. weakened Muslim faith in the British. This led to a major drift in the Muslim League's policy. In 1913, the League changed its goals:

- Self government under the British Crown keeping in view the peculiar conditions in India.
- Good relations with other communities' cooperation with any party working for similar goals.

This change brought the Muslim League and Congress closer. In this way the era of cooperation between Hindus and Muslims set in. The role of the Quaid-i-Azam is highly

noteworthy to bring the Congress and the Muslim League to the table. He joined the Muslim League in 1913.



# **Lucknow Pact 1916**

In 1913, the Quaid-e-Azam's inclusion in the Muslim League was a historic event which gave new dimensions to Muslim League's struggle. He was a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity and was widely respected in Muslim League and the Congress. He succeeded in persuading both the Congress and the Muslim League parties to hold their annual sessions in Bombay in 1915. Both the parties set up Reform Committees for making a scheme for constitutional changes in consultation with other political parties.

The atmosphere of Lucknow in 1916, where the Muslim League and the Congress, for the first time in the history of India, held their joint sessions, was even more cordial. The scheme for constitutional reforms prepared by the Reform Committees of Congress and Muslim League, in which the Quaid-e-Azam played a major role, was placed before the joint session for approval. Finally the scheme was approved and an agreement on the scheme of constitutional reforms was reached between Congress and Muslim League known as Lucknow Pact. It was decided that both Congress and Muslim League would submit the jointly approved scheme to the Government for its introduction after the war in order to introduce self-Government in India.

## **Main Recommendations**

Following were the main recommendations of the pact:

1. One Third seats for Muslims in the Imperial Legislative Council.
2. Separate Electorate
3. Half members of the Executive Council should be Indian to be elected by the Imperial Legislative Council.
4. Commissioned ranks of the army for Indians.
5. Expansion of Provincial Legislative Councils.
6. Half members of the Governor's Executive Council should be Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council.
7. Weightage to minorities in provinces.
8. Unofficial bill, if opposed by three-fourth members of a community, it will not be passed.

## **Role of the Quaid-e-Azam**

Jinnah was the principal architect of the Lucknow Pact and was hailed as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. He presided over the League session at Lucknow in December 1916. Jinnah said,

***“To the Hindus our attitude should be of good-will and brotherly feelings. Co-operation in the cause of our motherland should be our guiding principle. India’s real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and harmonious relations between the two great sister communities. With regard to our own affairs, we can depend upon nobody but ourselves”***

### **Gains from Muslim Point-of-view**

1. Separate Electorate
2. One Third Muslim seats in Central Legislature.
3. Unofficial bill, if opposed by three-fourth members of a community, it will not be passed.

### **Achievements of Lucknow Pact.**

On August 20, 1917 the Secretary of State Montague promised for:

1. Greater association of Indian in all branches of government.
2. Responsible government
3. Induction of Indians in the commissioned ranks.

### **Importance of Lucknow Pact**

The Lucknow Pact was a bright chapter in the dark and gloomy environs of the Indian political history marred with communal strife and narrow-mindedness. It was a political agreement which set in a new path leading towards a happy and prosperous future. The Lucknow pact created political homogeneity between the two separate political entities, Hindus and Muslims, who frankly and fairly admitted each others interests with sincerity. The credit for creating this harmonious situation undoubtedly went to the unflinching and untiring efforts of the Quaid-e-Azam who was conferred with a proud title of **Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity** by the famous poet politician Mrs. Sarojni Naidu.

The historical struggle of the Muslims confirmed their identity. They organized their political party to address the demands. They also got recognition by the Hindus as a separate nation. The British accepted their role in the political domain.

### **Reaction of the Hindus and the Muslims**

The Hindus of the United Provinces expressed their resentment because it granted separate electorates to the Muslims of India. All India Hindu Mahasbaha also did the same. Muslims belonging to the “Sir Syed School of Thought” in the Punjab and United Provinces went against the Lucknow Pact. Sir Muhammad Shafi led this group. In retaliation, Sir Muhammad Shaft’s Punjab Muslim League was

disaffiliated from the Central Muslim League and the Muslim League under Sir Fazal Hussain was recognized. The Bengali Muslims also disapproved the Lucknow Pact because their majority was changed into minority in the Provincial Legislative Council. Newspaper of Aligarh i.e., “Al-Bashir”, “Al-Mizan”, “Zulqurnain”, “Mashriq” and “Aligarh Institute Gazette” were against the Lucknow Pact.

# **The Khilafat Movement**

The Khilafat movement was a religio-political movement launched by the Muslims of British India for the retention of the Ottoman Caliphate and for not handing over the control of Muslim holy places to non-Muslims.

Turkey sided with Germany in World War 1. As it began to lose the war, concerns were expressed in India about the future of Turkey. It was a peak period from 1919 to 1922 casting demonstrations, boycott, and other pressure by the two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. Being brothers, the Indian Muslims realized their religious duty to help the Muslim country. It was the extra territorial attachments based on Islam. Another factor same to the first was that the Indian Muslims considered Ottoman Caliphate a symbol of unity of the Muslim world as Ummah.

## **Goals:**

1. Ottoman Khilafat should be kept intact.
2. To preserved the Territorial solidarity.
3. Control of holy the places should not be given to non-Muslims.

## **Dimensions:**

The writings of the Muslim intellectuals provoked the sentiments for the preservation of Khilafat and retention of the Muslims control of the holy places. The Muslims journalism played a vital role to steer the direction of the struggle. Zamindar of Zafar Ali Khan, Comrade and Hamdard of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, and Al-Hilal of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad etc. were the prominent newspapers and magazines which performed their duties to express their resentment. The Allies imposed humiliating terms on vanquished Turkey.

## **Protests in India:**

All India Khilafat Committee was formed at Bombay in July 1919. The first Khilafat Conference at Delhi in November 1919 was arranged in which the Congress leaders like Gandhi and Nehru participated. In this way, the major political parties joined hands to assault the injustice with the Muslim community. These steps were announced:

- No participation in victory celebrations.
- Boycott of British goods
- Non Cooperation with the Government

The second Khilafat Conference (Amritsar) was held in Dec. 1919. Maulana Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali joined the session after being released from prison. In Jan. 1920, M. A. Ansari led a delegation to Viceroy while Maulana M. A. Jauhar to Europe. The Khilafat Committee decided to start non-cooperation in collaboration

with the Congress in May 1920.

### **Rowlett Act, 1919**

Rowlett Act was a black law introduced in India. To the law, the government got authority to persecute any Indian and the arrested had no facility of legal assistance and right to appeal just as the 'Lettres de Cachet' in France before the French Revolution. Jinnah resigned from the central legislature as a protest.

### **Jallianwala Bagh Incident, April 1919**

The people gathered in Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar but General Dyer opened fire to disperse the throng that cast huge human casualties (379). It is considered one of the great tragedies in India. In 1940, by killing Governor Punjab, Sir Michael O' Dyer, 'Ram Muhammad Singh Azad' got revenge of the Indian massacre.

### **Non-Cooperation:**

The Nagpur Session of the Congress (Dec. 1920) approved non cooperation with Government but Jinnah opposed and left the Congress on 13th April 1923, because he was against the use of extra-constitutional means of protests.

The country was passing through a critical period and both the Congress and the Muslim League fully felt the necessity of mutual co-operation to the Khilafat Movement. The leaders of the two movements met at Amritsar and resolved to launch a country-wide agitation under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. So the two movements, one led by Maulana Muhammad Ali and the other by Mr. Gandhi merged into one and it was directed against the British Government.

The policy of 'progressive, non-violent, non-cooperation' was to be given effect to in the following manner:

- Renunciation of all Government titles.
- Boycott of courts and educational institutions.
- Resign from jobs.
- Later resign from police and military jobs.
- Refusal to pay taxes.
- Boycott of foreign goods.

### **Khilafat Conference, Karachi, July 1921**

In the session the participants expressed their loyalty to Turkish Sultan. They decided to continue the agitation and supported Attaturk to expel foreign forces from Turkey.

### **Hijrat Movement 1920-21**

The Indian ulama (religious leaders) declared India 'Darul Harab.' Darul Harab means

the place (country) where Muslims are not allowed to perform their religious practices. In the said situation, the Muslims should migrate to the nearest safe place. The ulama issued verdicts to go to Darul Islam, Afghanistan. There was an impression that King of Afghanistan would welcome them. So the migration took place at large scale. Initially Afghans welcomed them. Later, they closed the border and pushed the migrants back to the Indian territories. It resulted in loss of lives and money. Many died during this mission. Some went to Soviet Union from Afghanistan because they had nothing in India now.

## **End of the Movement**

### **Moplah Revolt Malabar Coast, near Kalicut**

Moplahs were the descendents of the Arab Muslims settled in the Sub Continent even before the arrival of Muhammad Bin Qasim. In August 1921, they revolted against Hindu landlords whose treatment was very brutal with them. Later this clash changed as Moplahs versus the Police and Hindu. This embittered the Hindu-Muslim relations. There was an increase in violence day by day and the Chorachori Incident (UP) in February 1922 worsened the situation. The Congress volunteers set a police station on fire and 21 policemen were killed. Gandhi suddenly called off the movement without consulting other leaders.



### **Developments in Turkey**

In 1922 Attaturk emerged as a national leader and restricted powers of Sultan. Next he was appointed Chief of the state by Grand National Assembly. In March 1924, Khilafat was abolished. This caused a widespread resentment among the Indian Muslims. They sent delegations to Turkey but failed to achieve their objectives.

### **Results of the Khilafat Movement**

Despite its failure, the Khilafat Movement left a far-reaching impact on the Indian politics. Following are the most significant influences which the Khilafat Movement left on the Indian Politics:

- ☐ The Khilafat Movement was a great Muslim struggle which provided dynamic leadership to the Muslims and established foundations to launch further Muslim Freedom movement on stable and firm basis.
- ☐ It confirmed to the Muslims that the Hindu mind can never be sincere to the Muslims.

- The Khilafat Movement effectively demonstrated the religious enthusiasm of the Muslims to the British. The British now seriously felt of giving independence to India.
- The Khilafat Movement also cultivated a new outlook amongst the Muslims not to rely on others support and to wholly depend on self-determination for the achievement of national cause.
- The Khilafat Movement developed a sense of concern amongst the Muslims about their national matters and inculcated among them the awareness about their future.
- The Khilafat Movement immensely strengthened the Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of establishment of Pakistan.
- The Khilafat Movement added much to the economic miseries of the Muslims who resigned their jobs.

### **Reasons for the Failure of the Khilafat Movement**

Following factors can be attributed towards the failure of the movement.

- Gandhi's action of calling off the Non-Cooperation movement at a moment when the Government was about to make major concessions, was a severe set-back to the movement.
- The Government arrested all important leaders of the movement which left the Muslims leaderless who drifted aimlessly from one side to the other. The Government after arresting leaders, adopted repressive measures on the masses to quell their agitation.
- The Grand National Assembly of Turkey elected Mustafa Kamal as their leader who abolished the institution of Caliphate and the last Caliph Sultan Abdul Majeed was banished from Turkey.
- The Hindu-Muslim unity, achieved at Lucknow, disappeared in the beginning of the movement and could not be recaptured.
- The extremist Hindu movements, Shuddi and Sanghtan, began converting the Muslims to Hinduism which provided a new cause of bitterness between Hindus and Muslims.
- The communal clashes and riots erupted in the country which adversely affected the political conditions of India.

### **Conclusions:**

The Khilafat Movement was of considerable importance in the history of Muslim India. It served the important purpose of the mass-awakening of the Muslims. It also served to demonstrate the religious and political cohesion among the Muslims of the sub-continent. Its failure led them to believe that the Muslims, if they wanted to survive in the sub-continent, must rely upon their own strength and work out their political destiny. The movement later gave and impetus to the struggle for the independence and for a separate homeland for the Muslims.

# **Nehru Report**

## **Background**

The Nehru Report was an answer to the challenge thrown to Indians by Lord Brienhead that the composition of the Simon Commission had to be purely British because Indians were incapable of arriving at an agreed solution as regards the constitutional problem of India. The main objective was to constitute proposals for the Indian Constitution. The Congress called All Parties Conference that appointed a 10-member committee in May 1928 under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru and Secretaryship of Jawaharlal Nehru. It included spokesmen of the various communal points of view like those of the Muslims, the Hind Mahasabha, non-Brahmins, Sikhs and also those representing the Liberal viewpoint and the interests of labour.

The Report referred to what it considered the illogical fear of Muslims of being dominated by the Hindu majority. But what was significant was the way Muslims were thinking of tackling this problem. They had made a novel suggestion that 'they should at least dominate in some parts of India. Hindus on the other hand, in spite of enjoying all-India majority, were fearful of Muslim majorities in Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and North-West Frontier Province.) But the Report ended on an optimistic note saying that once alien authority and intervention were withdrawn from India, people would start thinking in terms of the larger economic and political problems. In such a climate, political parties based mainly on economic grounds were a natural outcome.

## **Features**

The summary of the contents of the Nehru Report is as follows:

- India should be given the status of a Dominion on unity basis with a parliamentary form of Government.
- Residuary powers should be vested in the centre.
- There should be no separate electorates or weightage for minorities. It should be substituted by adult and universal franchise.
- The reservation of seats for Punjab and Bengal as suggested by Quaid-e-Azam under Delhi proposals was ruled out. However, reservation of Muslim seats could be possible in the provinces where Muslim population was at least ten percent, but it was to be in strict proportion to the size of the community. The report contained: "A minority must remain minority whether any seats are reserved for it or not.:
- Muslims could enjoy one-fourth representation in the Central Legislature.
- It agreed to the Muslim demands for the separation of Sindh from Bombay and the raising of the North-West Frontier Province to the status of other provinces.




- It suggested the creation of a new Canarese-speaking Province in South India.
- It tried to show by detailed examination of the distribution of the Muslim population in the various districts of Punjab and Bengal that Muslims without reservation of seats could certainly expect to have elected majorities at least in proportion to their numbers in their provinces.
- Hindi should be the official language of India.
- The Central Government would comprise a Prime Minister along with other six Ministers appointed by the Governor General.

The Nehru Report, published in August 1928, made the Hindu-Muslim rift final and irrevocable. It recommended a fully responsible system of Government in which the majority would be sovereign. Muslim electorates were to be immediately abolished.

As the Report was totally against the Muslim interests, it became the charter of the Hindu intelligentsia and was supported by Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and all other Hindu leaders. Gandhi took it as a great achievement accomplished by the All-Parties Committee and warmly congratulated Motilal Nehru.

A Convention of all parties known as the All Parties National Convention met in Calcutta in the last week of December 1928, to consider the Nehru Report. Jinnah proposed three amendments to the Nehru Report and put forward before the open session of the Convention on 28 December 1928. Those amendments were:

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1. One-third of the elected representatives of both the houses of the Central Legislature should be Muslims.
  2. That the residuary powers should be vested in the provinces and not in the Centre.
  3. That Muslims in Punjab and Bengal should be represented on the basis of population for ten years subject to subsequent revision of this principle.

All these amendments, proposed by the Quaid-e-Azam when put to vote, were rejected by the Hindu majority. The result was that the refusal to accept any amendments to the Nehru Report on the part of the Congress and Hindu leaders at the All Parties National Convention united the different factions of Muslims in the All-India Muslim Conference held in Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sir Aga Khan on 1 January 1929. Some of the noteworthy features of the Resolution passed in this Conference were:

1. The only form of Government suitable to Indian conditions was a federal system with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. Muslims should not be deprived of the right to elect their representatives through separate electorate without their consent.
3. Muslims should continue to have weightage in the Hindu majority Provinces and they were willing to accord the same privilege to non-Muslim minorities in Sindh, the N.W.F.P. and the Balochistan.
4. Muslims should have their due share in the Central and Provincial cabinets.

5. One-third seats should be given to the Muslims in the Central Legislature.
6. There must be safeguards for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions.

## **Conclusion**

The Quaid-e-Azam declared:

***“The Nehru Committee has adopted a narrow-minded policy to ruin the political future of the Muslims. I regret to declare that the report is extremely ambiguous and does not deserve to be implemented.”***

Muslims were shocked into unity. Members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies found it impossible to agree with the report. The Aga Khan doubted if any serious minded person could imagine the Muslims accepting such degrading proposals. The united provinces, all Parties Muslim Conference repudiated the Muslim members of the committee. In March 1929 the two groups into which the Muslim League had been split came together in opposition to the Report. When on March 12, 1929 the Report was debated in the Indian Legislative Assembly all the Muslim members, including Jinnah, who had sided with the Congress in boycotting the Simon Commission, rejected it.

On the other side the Congress made the rift irrevocable by not only adopting the Report in the entirety and congratulating the committee on “their patriotism and their far-sightedness” but also by giving notice that if the British Government did not accept it by December 1929, the Congress would launch a non-cooperation movement.

*Consequence* → There is a little doubt that the Nehru Report conferred the real power upon the Hindu majority and envisaged a Hindu Raj. At least that was the impression if conveyed to the Muslim mind. The Lucknow Pact had been forgotten. The good old days of the Khilafat were fled, never to return. The unity of the Congress-League Scheme was buried deep under the debris of communal riots. Gandhi's emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity sounded unreal in juxtaposition to his ultimatum to Britain that the non-implementation of the report would lead to chaos. The fundamental Muslim demand for separate representation conceded in 1909 by the British and in 1916 by the Hindus was rejected by the Report and by the Congress in unqualified terms. The Muslims were completely disillusioned and from 1928 onwards the Congress became fall but in name a Hindu body. The Muslims would henceforth look upon it as the arch-enemy of their claims and interests.

Prof. Dr. Shafique Ali Khan writes in his famous book ‘Two Nation Theory’:

***“Thus the Nehru Report, instead of bridging the gulf further widened it, which rather increased with the passage of time. The obvious reasons of the failure of Report lie in the uncompromising attitude of the Congress and the threats of the***

***Mahasabha leaders.”***

In retrospect it is now apparent that the Nehru Report was a blessing in disguise to Muslim nationalism. It united the Muslims as nothing else could have done at that time. All political differences and personal rivalries were hushed from this moment onwards there was nothing that could be called “Indian Nationalism” a separate Muslim National feeling had by now grown almost to maturity, though it was not given a name for another ten years.

# **Fourteen Points of Quaid-e-Azam**

Quaid-e-Azam learned a bitter lesson from the All Parties National Convention of 1928. He had played the role of a compromiser and negotiator successfully in composing Hindu-Muslim differences at Lucknow in 1916. He thought in 1928 he could play the same role in negotiating a compromise. But he was bluntly reminded that he had no right to speak on behalf of the Muslims because he did not represent them. There he learnt the lesson that political leadership did not rest merely on one's forensic ability to plead a political case. It also depended on political strength, that is, the actual support that one had among the masses of people. It was only when Jinnah acquired a large political following among Muslims and with his political astuteness (like Gandhi) succeeded in uniting different factions and interests of Muslims that he became a leader who was respected and feared by his opponents because he could veto any proposal that was not acceptable to the Muslim League.

The Quaid-e-Azam decided to give his own formula for the constitutional reforms in reply to Nehru Report. He convened the meeting of the Muslim League in 1929 in Delhi and gave his famous Fourteen Points Formula. While delivering his Presidential Address, the Quaid-e-Azam declared that no constitution shall be accepted by the Muslims of India without the Fourteen Points which were as Follow:-

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all the provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favor of a joint electorate.
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship, and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or any resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be made in the North-West Frontier Province and Balochistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.
11. Provisions should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the services of the state and in local self-governing

bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institution and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the state and by local self-governing bodies.

13. No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.

14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the State's contribution of the Indian Federation.

### **Importance of Fourteen Points**

These points were not given any importance in the Congress circle as well as by the Government authorities. As a result of it, the political attitude of the Muslims of India was constituted on the basis of these Points after 1930. As these points also contain the germs of the idea of Pakistan, they postulate the Muslims as a separate national identity. On the basis of these Points, it was suggested that the political power and opportunities for development were to be equally divided among Hindus and Muslims.

With the rejection of Fourteen Points by the Congress and other Hindu leaders, the Nehru Report was also doomed. The Nehru Report created great deal of suspicion in the Muslims who were now seriously thinking for the attainment of a separate homeland for themselves.

These Points attained historic importance. No future constitution could be evolved unless it was within the framework provided by these Points. Even Allama Iqbal seems to have drawn his concept of separate Muslim state in South Asia from these Points of Jinnah.

# **Allama Iqbal's Presidential Address**

## **December 1930**

Dr Allama Muhammad Iqbal ranks amongst the Muslim intellectuals who left a deep impact on history. He inspired Muslims of the Sub-Continent and beyond. He infused a moving spirit and identity in the Indian Muslims. He presented a framework of their political future and talked how that would help to achieve the goal of Ummah. He presented a vision and dream in his Allahabad Address.

### **Background**

The Hindu-Muslim question had great importance and stood crucial to British Indian history after 1857, especially in the 20th century. To Muslims, the key issue remained 'separate identity.' They tried their level best to make the rival nations understand that the Muslims are a separate nation having different culture and civilization, interests and rights. The Two Nations theory could not fascinate the Hindus and the British peoples because they believed in 'territorial nationalism.' The Hindus desired to absorb them in their majority but they could not face the arguments of the Muslim intellectuals. By 1930, Muslims had developed a sense of identity and political demands. Iqbal delivered his Presidential address in this background.

Iqbal's stay in Europe, 1905-08, helped to crystallize his thoughts. He returned to India in 1908 and started work on the roots of Muslim decline and the mechanism to uplift the Muslims. He reminded them to follow the teachings of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) practically as the ideal leader. He emphasized on the ideals, teachings and principles of Islam. He sought salvation through Islam. He was awarded with many prominent social positions:

- □ Title of Sir was conferred in 1922
- □ Member Punjab Legislative Council (1927-1930)

He delivered lectures on Islam in Aligarh, Hyderabad and Madras (1928-29). At Allahabad, he presided over the meeting and delivered his famous address.

### **The Address, December 1930**

Iqbal presented a review of the political and social situation of India and solution of the ills befalling India. He evaluated the importance of role of Islam in the lives of Muslims of British India. He said that the European view of duality of religion and state does not apply here in the Indian society. Rejecting the secularism he said, religion is not a totally personal affair.

He explained that Islam offers an ethical order, socio-political structure, legal

framework, code of life, culture and civilization. It is a living, dynamic force that has a profound impact on the lives of Indian Muslims. With the force of Islam the scattered and disoriented people have been turned into an organized force.

The Muslims are not willing to submerge their religious individuality. They have lack of trust, fear of domination from Hindus. If the British want any sort of internal harmony it would be impossible unless the communal question is settled. It's historical reality that India is a continent inhabited by diverse people. No political arrangement may be acceptable without recognizing this reality.

- ☐ If the Muslims have an opportunity to develop in accordance with their Islamic civilization and tradition, they would be willing to sacrifice their lives for India.
- ☐ Federalism cannot succeed without recognizing the national identity of the Muslims.
- ☐ Territorial redistribution of British India on the basis of religion has become a need of time.
- ☐ Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan be amalgamated into a state, self government within the British empire or without it. The formation of such a consolidated North Western Muslim state appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North West India. To India, it will offer peace and security due to internal balance of power.
- ☐ Islam is a people building force in India that has given moral consciousness and political identity to the people.

### **Importance**

Iqbal's address is a forceful and logical presentation of the Muslim case in India. Why should they be treated as a political entity rather than a minority?

- ☐ Territorial adjustments will enable the Muslims to develop themselves in accordance with their ideals and serve the cause of Ummah.
  - ☐ Redistribution of territory developed later on concept of Muslim homeland.
  - ☐ He further expressed these ideas in LETTERS TO JINNAH from May 1936 to November 1937. He talked of a separate federation of Muslim provinces. The North Western India and Bengal can be considered as entitled to self-determination like other nations in India and outside. Shariah's development is impossible without a free Muslim state or states. He advised the Muslims to be above self interest and devote themselves to Islam
  - ☐ In difficult times, Islam has saved the Muslims.
  - ☐ Faith, culture and historical traditions are more important than patriotism.
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# **The Lahore Resolution, 1940**

The experience of Congress Rule compelled the Muslims to launch the movement for separate homeland. The Hindus made them realize that Hindu government would mean an anti-Muslim rule in India. The Muslims' disappointment from the Congress leadership decided to open a new phase of history. Quaid-e-Azam's article in Time and Tide concluded that Muslims are a nation. No Constitution can be enforced by ignoring Muslims. His comments on March 13, 1940 are remarkable:

***“If some satisfactory settlement cannot be found for Muslims in united India, the Muslim will have to demand for division of the country.”***

## **The Lahore Resolution**

The Muslim League held its annual session at Lahore on 22-24 March 1940. The Lahore Resolution was moved by Maulvi Fazlul Haq and seconded by Ch. Khaliqzaman that finally approved on March 24, 1940. Jinnah rightly expressed his valuable remarks about the political circumstances of India and the Muslims stand. He said:

**“Indian problem is not communal but international. No Constitution can work without recognizing this reality. Muslims of India will not accept a constitution that establishes a government of the Hindu majority on them. If Hindus and Muslims are placed under one democratic system, this would mean Hindu Raj.”**

## **Text of the Resolution:**

- They decided that the Federal system under Government of India Act, 1935 was not acceptable for the Muslims.
- No revised constitutional plan would be acceptable unless it was framed with their approval and consent.
- Adjacent units where Muslims are in a majority, as in Northwest and East, should be constituted as Independent States where the constituent units will be autonomous and sovereign.
- Protection of minorities would be given priority.

## **Reaction of Muslims to the Pakistan Resolution**

The Muslims responded to the Resolution with amazement and hope for better future. They gathered under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam who gave meaning and shape to their quest for independence. With the passage of Pakistan Resolution the Muslims began to acquire new hope and confidence in their destiny. The Resolution



infused high spirits among the Muslims who were now determined to fight to the last end for the accomplishment of Pakistan. The Muslims were convinced that there was no other solution of the Indian problems except the creation of two separate and sovereign states of Hindustan and Pakistan. They demanded Pakistan because they were not accepted by the Hindus to live with them in peace in spite of their efforts and wishes. The Muslims were tormented by the fear that being Muslims they would not be acceptable to Hindu majority in the united India. Pakistan, therefore, was not demanded on the basis of hatred for the Hindus but for the safeguard of the Muslim civilization and culture.

### **Hindu Reaction to the Pakistan Resolution**

The Hindu reaction to the Pakistan Resolution was hostile. The Hindu leaders condemned it and referred to the partition as vivisection of mother India. The Hindu leaders tried to build up agitation against the partition. Gandhi called it a moral wrong and a sin to which he would never be a party. The Hindu Press came out with the most aggressive propaganda against the resolution and declared it as a conspiracy against the unity of country.

### **Significance:**

The Pakistan Resolution is a landmark in the history of the Muslim India as it eventually decided the future of the sub-continent. The attitude of the Hindus and Congress had intensified Muslim's apprehensions, who feared Hindu subjugation. They were convinced that their future as a Nation was not secure in the united India and, therefore, decided to demand a separate homeland.

This Resolution did not specify any demarcation of the territory but it defined the future plan of struggle for the establishment of the Muslims states (later the word 'states' was replaced by 'state' in 1946) in the Northwestern and Eastern areas where the Muslims were in overwhelming majority. It also intended to give importance to the autonomy of the states. There was no use of the word Pakistan but Pakistan was kernel of the Resolution.

# **The Congress Ministries-- Policies towards Muslims**

## **Government of India Act, 1935 Implementation**

The Government of India Act, 1935 was not fully promulgated but the only provincial part was introduced in the country. Muslim League and the Congress criticized it but agreed to contest provincial elections.

## **The 1937 Elections**

The elections of 1937 were held with the restricted franchise and separate electorate. The Congress projected itself as an all-India force representing all religions and factions of the society. The Muslim League contested for the Muslim seats. There was a tough competition from the other Muslim organizations. The elections were completed in February 1937. The Congress got majorities in five provinces, Madras, U.P., C.P., Bihar, and Orissa. It emerged as the largest party in Bombay and won 704 out of 1585 general seats.

The Muslim League performed poorly in the elections and got only about 21 percent of Muslim seats without winning majority anywhere, Bengal, Punjab, NWFP, and Sindh. It was mostly due to the organizational problems and opposition by local Muslim groups

## **Formation of Provincial Governments:**

In July 1937, Congress formed governments in 6 provinces. In NWFP, Khudai Khidmatgar and Congress formed a coalition government. In the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslim League could not form the governments. The Muslim League desired to be in government in the U.P. but the Congress consented to a conditional support:

1. Dissolve AIML Parliamentary Board
2. AIML members not to function as a separate group
3. AIML members to express allegiance to the Congress

Definitely the above-mentioned terms were a device to subvert the existence of the Muslim League. Therefore, no agreement was possible on this issue.

## **Policies of the Congress Governments**

First all Congress governments in the provinces launched anti-Muslim drive basically to

exclude the Muslim League and other Muslim organizations from the government making process. With the installation of Congress ministries the Hindus came out to impose Hindu nationalism on the Muslims. Following were the attitude and policies of the Congress ministries towards Muslims.

### **Bande Matram**

In order to strengthen the Hindu nationalism, Bande Matram was adopted as a national anthem and was to be recited before the start of official business every day.

### **Wardha and Widdia Mander Schemes**

The Wardha Scheme was the outcome of Gandhi's philosophy. It preached the Hindu nationalism and principles of non-violence. It aimed to develop a high respect among the young minds about the Hindu heroes and religious leaders.

Another attempt was made to erase the Muslim culture by introducing a new educational system. The educational policy was known as Widdia Mander Scheme and meant to convert the non-Hindus to Hinduism. It was introduced in all educational institutions. Under this scheme the students were asked to pay respect and homage to Gandhi's picture every day in their assemblies in the schools. The students were asked to bow before Gandhi's picture and sing hymns in his praise. Dr. Zakir Hussain, a Congress Muslim, was the author of this scheme.

The Wardha and Widdia Mander schemes sought to isolate the young generation of the Muslims from their religion, culture and civilization.

### **Hoisting of Three-Coloured Flag**

The Congress, after taking over the government in the provinces, immediately ordered the hoisting of three-coloured flag with the British Union Jack to prove that there were only two powers in India which were the British and the Congress.

### **Hindu-Muslim Riots**

The Hindu-Muslim riots were usual during the Congress rule. Organized attempts were made on the honour, property and lives of the Muslims by indulging in the communal and religious feuds. The Hindus were free to assault the innocent Muslims in any area. The Muslim houses and property were set on fire and their women and children abducted. Muslim massacre and plundering of their localities were the scenes of the day.

### **Muslim Mass Contact Campaign**

The Congress started a Muslim mass contact campaign. The main objective of this

campaign was to crush the popularity of the Muslim League amongst the Muslims. It was Nehru's imagination to destroy the image of Muslim League as the only representative party of the Muslims. The campaign began by directly contacting the Muslim masses with a view to win them over to the Congress.

The Congress ministries adopted overall negative and cruel attitude, especially towards the Muslim activists. This unjust treatment compelled the Muslims to be disciplined in every sphere of life.

### **Muslim Response**

The Muslims were well aware of the theocratic inclination of the Hindu people. They arranged a close monitoring of the government. They publicized their policies and raised the issues. The mobilization of Muslims on these matters required keen probe to collect the original facts of the Hindu atrocities.

### **The Pirpur Report**

On March 28, 1938, the Council of Muslim League appointed an eight-member committee under the presidentship of Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur that presented its report on, November 15, 1938. It tried to dig out the cruelties of the Congress ministries in seven provinces. The report took up the Congress support to the rival Muslim organizations, intimidation and threats to the pro-Muslim League people.

### **The Sharif Report, March 1939**

The ML deputed Mr. Sharif with members to investigate the injustices under the dictatorial rule of the Hindus. This report mainly collected the facts, concentrating on ill treatment of the government with the Muslims in Bihar.

### **The Fazl-ul- Haq Report: (December 1939)**

A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq published a pamphlet entitled Muslim Sufferings Under the Rule of Congress and made many alarming revelations e.g. forbidding of Azan, attacks in mosques, noisy processions of the Hindu scoundrels, forbidding of the cow-slaughter etc. This pamphlet responded the indictments by the Congress on the Muslims.

All the reports described the Congress government as an attempt to create 'Hindu Raj' that wanted to overwhelm the Muslim culture and their identity. It was a rigorous threat to the Muslims' interests.

### **Muslim League Activism**

The Muslim League highlighted the issues and mobilized the Muslims to counter them

adequately. It reorganized the Muslim community to cope with the situation. The Muslim League arranged its session at Lucknow in October 1937. Many prominent leaders like Fazl-ul-Haq participated in the session while Sikander Hayat and Saadullah announced their support to the Muslim League.

The Muslim leaders shed a sharp criticism on the Congress policies. They protested against the reduction of status of Urdu and other Muslim related issues. They created realization, amongst the Muslims, of what can happen under the Congress rule and urged for serious thinking about the future political and constitutional arrangements. They unearthed the real objectives of the Congress and urged the need of unity among the Muslims under the banner of Muslim League.

### **End of the Congress Rule**

The Second World War began in 1939. Britain declared war against Germany. The government appealed to all political parties for help and assistance in this hour of need. Congress convened its meeting to consider Government's appeal and put the following conditions for assistance in war:

1. The British Government should explain the objective of the war.
2. The Government should announce that the elected legislature would draft the constitution of India.
3. The members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be those only who enjoy the support of the Central Assembly.

The acceptance of these demands would have meant the transfer of power to the Congress as these demands clearly showed that the Congress was asking for the right of constitution making. The government could not accede to these demands as it wanted to pacify both Congress and the Muslim League. Viceroy declared that due consideration would be given to the point of view of every party and that dominion status would be given to India after the war.

The Congress did not believe the promises of the government. The Congress leaders expressed their utter disappointment on the decision of the government. The Congress with a view of putting more pressure on the government refused to extend co-operation to government in the war activities and announced to resign from the ministries. The Congress High Command asked its ministers to tender resignations in protest against the decision of the government. In November, 1939 the Congress ministries resigned from their office. The poor Muslim population took a sigh of relief as they have been relieved of the most tyrannical and oppressive rule of the Congress.

### **Day of Deliverance**

With the resignation of the Congress ministries the Muslims of India were relieved of the

most dreadful domination of the Congress and Hindu majority. The two and half years of the Congress rule was a bitter and painful experience for the Muslims of India who had seen the real Hindu mentality. The Quaid-e-Azam appealed to the people to observe the Day of Deliverance on 22nd December, 1939. The Muslims of India, in accordance with the appeal of the Quaid-e-Azam celebrated the day with happiness. Public meetings were held and thanksgiving prayers were offered in token of relief from the tyranny, oppression and high-handedness of the Congress regime.

The Muslim League redefined its position during the World War II. They expressed their enthusiasm that no constitution to be enforced without the consent of the Muslims. They eradicated their organizational weaknesses and refined their objectives keeping the experiences of the Congress ministries.

# **Cripps Mission Plan**

## **Background**

Japan joined the war against the Allies in 1941, and her success in conquering one country after another disturbed the pleasure of the British statesmen. The armies of Japan occupied Burma and threatened India. Both England and the U.S.A began to feel the necessity of changing their policy towards India.

## **Cripps Mission**

The Britain Government appointed a delegation under the chairmanship of Sir Stafford Cripps, a prominent member of the War Cabinet of England. The Cripps Mission reached New Delhi on March 23, 1942 to hold discussions with the Indian leaders. The Cripps Mission could not hold talks with the Indian leaders and left after a fortnight. The Cripps Mission, however, submitted its own suggestions to the Government in April 1942 for constitutional reforms.

## **Important terms of the Proposal**

Important terms of the proposal were as follows:

1. A Constitution-making Body would be set up immediately after the war.
2. There would be provisions for the participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making Body.
3. If any province did not like to accept the new constitution, it could later retain its existing constitutional position.
4. There would be provision in the constitution for the protection of racial and religious minorities.
5. The members of the Constitution-making Body were to be elected by an electoral college consisting of the entire membership of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies.
6. His majesty's Government would retain control of Defence during the critical period of the war.
7. The suggestions are to be accepted or rejected as a whole and there shall be no amendments.
8. The recommendations would be implemented only if both Muslim League and Congress accept them unanimously.

## **Reaction of Muslim League**

The scheme was opposed by the Muslim League because the proposals held out the prospects of a single Union of India.

### **Reaction of Congress**

The Congress rejected the Cripps's proposals because he did not give assurance that the Governor-General would act as a constitutional head in case of all the departments except Defence. Moreover, the Congress was opposed to the principle of non-accession of the provinces, because it virtually meant acceptance of the idea of Pakistan.

### **Quit India Movement**

The Congress, in order to put more pressure on the Government, launched Quit India Movement against the British Government. The Congress had decided on 8th August 1942, to get independence from the British and to capture political power in India at all cost with a view of stopping the creation of Pakistan. Violent agitation was launched to press the British to quit India.

The Quaid-e-Azam considered Quit India Movement as anti-Muslim action of the Congress and declared it as political Blackmailing. The Muslim League, in reply to 'Quit India' slogans by the Congress, demanded 'Divide India and go'. Quaid-e-Azam said,

***“The Quit India Movement, in fact is a conspiracy to establish Hindu Raj and to finish Muslim demands.”***

The Government took stern action against Quit India Movement. The prominent leaders of this movement including Gandhi, were arrested and put in jails. The movement lost its momentum and very soon failed



# **The Cabinet Mission Plan**

The Labour Party came to power in the 1945 and C.R. Attlee became the Prime Minister. He sent a mission of three Cabinet members of India to solve the constitutional problems. It came to be called Cabinet Mission.

The Cabinet Mission consisted of Lord Pathick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander. It met the leaders of different parties in India but the Indian leaders could not agree among themselves. Maulana Azad as the president of the Congress stressed to establish federal government and Jinnah repeated the Two Nation Theory as a universal reality.

On May 1946, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy published a statement containing their own solution of the constitutional problem which is known as Cabinet Mission Plan.

## **Main Recommendations**

It made the following proposals:

Indian Union comprising British India and princely states.

1. Centre to deal with foreign [affairs](#), defence, communication, taxation.
2. Rest of the subjects with provinces.
3. There will be a legislature and executive comprising representatives of provinces and states.
4. No legislation on communal [affairs](#) if the majority of the two communities are not present and voting in favour.
5. Provinces will be divided into three groups:  
A: Hindu majority provinces e.g. UP, CP, Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Orissa.  
B: Muslim majority provinces in NW e.g. Punjab, NWFP, Balochistan and Sindh.  
C: Bengal and Assam.
6. Each group could decide what to be managed jointly and what should be managed by provinces themselves. They could decide if the group desired to frame constitution.
7. After ten years, a province by a vote of its legislature could ask for review of relationship with the Union. It implied that a group or province could quit the Indian Union.
8. CA to be elected by the elected members of the provincial assemblies. Seats to be divided into three categories: General, Muslim, and Sikh on the basis of population in provinces. Separate Electorate.
9. Interim Government to be set up.

## **Muslim League Reaction**

The Muslim League reiterated its demand for Pakistan. It accepted the plan for two reasons: Basis and foundation of Pakistan was in the compulsory grouping and the right to ask for review.

### **Congress Reaction**

The Congress was critical of groupings and right to ask for review of constitutional relationship. It agreed to contest elections for the CA but declined to be bound by the proposals of the Cabinet Plan. The nonsensical stand of the Congress was that they were 'free to make any change in the proposal.' Definitely the ML was alarmed by the Congress' intentions.

# **Partition Process**

## **Mountbatten as Viceroy**

Mountbatten arrived in Delhi on March 22, 1947. The basic objective of his appointment was to wind up British rule. He arranged dialogue with the Indian leaders. Then he visited England for deliberations for new plan.

## **3rd June Plan**

The Plan was issued on June 3, 1947 and is known as 3rd June Plan. The main characteristics of the plan are as follows:

- The British will not impose a constitution but the Constituent Assembly will frame a constitution.
- The constitution will not be imposed on the areas that do not accept it. Opinion will be sought from them if they want to set up a separate CA (Constituent Assembly).
- Punjab & Bengal Assemblies will meet in two parts, members from Muslim majority areas and other districts separately to decide if the province be partitioned.
- If any part decides for partition, each group will decide which CA they wish to join.
- Sindh Assembly will decide about joining either side.
- Referendum in NWFP
- Balochistan: appropriate method
- Boundary Commission for Punjab and Bengal
- Princely states to decide for themselves keeping in view their geographical contiguity.

## **Indian Independence Act July 1947**

To give legal shape to the June 3 Plan, the Indian Independence Act was promulgated (July 1947).

- Two independent dominion states on August 15, 1947
- Their legislatures will have all powers to make laws for the respective states.
- Government of India Act, 1935, to be interim constitution subject to changes due to Indian Independence Act 1947.
- Governor Generals can amend the Interim Constitution until March 31, 1948.
- All arrangements between the British and the Princely states to come to an end and they will have new arrangements with the new states.
- British King will no longer use the title of the King of India

## **Implementation of Plan June 3rd, 1947**

### **Punjab**

The Muslim members favoured joining new Constituent Assembly. the non-Muslims voted for partition and joining India.

### **Bengal**

Muslims favoured joining new Constituent Assembly while non-Muslims favoured partitioning and joining India.

### **Sindh**

The Assembly voted to join [Pakistan](#).

### **NWFP**

Referendum decided in favour of [Pakistan](#) while Dr. Khan's govt. boycotted it after it became clear that it would lose.

### **Balochistan**

Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of Quetta Municipal Committee opted for [Pakistan](#).

### **Sylhet**

Referendum was held to join East Bengal for joining [Pakistan](#).

### **Governor General's Issue**

Mountbatten wanted to be joint GG (Governor General) of India and [Pakistan](#) while ML decided to appoint Jinnah as the first Governor General of [Pakistan](#) in July.

### **Transfer of Power**

1st meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held on August 11, 1947 and the ceremonies on August 14. Radio announcement was made at midnight 14-15 Aug. Oath taking ceremony for GG (Governor General) and PM (Prime Minister) was held on August 15 1947.

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# **Redcliffe Award**

The Indian Independence Act, 1947, provided among the other provisions the appointment of two Boundary Commissions for the division of Punjab and Bengal between [Pakistan](#) and India. Sir Cyril Redcliffe, a prominent British lawyer, was appointed as the chairman of both the boundary commissions who would have the power to make the Award which may be called as the perfidious Redcliffe Award.

## **Members of the Punjab Boundary Commission**

The members of the Punjab Boundary Commission were Mr. Justice Din Muhammad and Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir on behalf of [Pakistan](#), and Mr. Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan and Mr. Justice Teja Singh on behalf of India.

## **Members of the Bengal Boundary Commission**

The members of the Bengal Boundary Commission were Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Muhammad Akram and Mr. Justice S.A. Rehman on behalf of [Pakistan](#) and Mr. Justice C.C. Biswas and Mr. Justice B.K. Mukherjee on behalf on India.

The Commissions were set up by the end of June, 1947. Redcliffe arrived in India on July,8 1947. The two Commissions were assigned the responsibility of demarcating the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab and Bengal on the basis of the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims.

## **Unjust Demarcation of Boundaries**

India and [Pakistan](#) agreed to accept the award of the Boundary Commission and to take proper measures to enforce it. Redcliffe did not take part in the public sittings of the Commissions, in which arguments were presented by the Muslim League, the Congress, the Sikhs and other interested parties. He studied the record and proceedings of the meetings and held discussions with other members of the Commission. As expected the members of the Boundary Commissions were unable to reach agreement on the boundaries. Lord Redcliffe, as the Chairman, gave his award.

## **Division of Bengal and Calcutta Problem**

The Redcliffe award was unfair to [Pakistan](#) because it awarded many Muslim majority areas in the Punjab and Bengal to India. In Bengal, the great city of Calcutta carried immense importance. It was the capital of the province. Its only major port and the biggest industrial, commerce and educational centre. Being the centre of all

activities, Calcutta was the most developed area of the province. The entire development of Calcutta was mostly based on the toil of Muslim peasantry of Bengal. East Bengal produced most of the raw material which had to be sent to Calcutta because all the factories and mills were in or around Calcutta. Without Calcutta Eastern Bengal would prove to be a rural slum. For [Pakistan](#), separated by one thousand miles of Indian territory, the importance of sea communications and hence of Calcutta could not be ignored. For that very reasons the Congress leaders were determined to deny Calcutta to [Pakistan](#) and insisted on retaining it India. Mountbatten was in favour of giving Calcutta to India. Redcliffe, in accordance with the desires of Mountbatten, awarded Calcutta to India in spite of the Muslim claim to it.

Although the Muslims formed only a quarter of the population of Calcutta, but the hinterland on which the life of Calcutta depended was a Muslim majority area. Calcutta had been built mainly on the resources of East Bengal. [Pakistan](#), therefore, had a strong claim upon Calcutta and its environs. Mountbatten had entered into a secret agreement with the Congress leaders to get Calcutta for India.

### **Division of Punjab**

In case of Punjab the award was again partial and against [Pakistan](#). The award that Redcliffe gave in the Punjab chopped off a number of contiguous Muslim majority areas from [Pakistan](#). In case of India not a single non-Muslim area was taken away from her. In Gurdaspur district two contiguous Muslim majority tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala were given to India alongwith Pathankot tehsil to provide a link between India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Muslim majority tehsil Ajnala, in the Amritsar district was also handed over to India. In Jullundur district the Muslim majority areas of Zira and Ferozpur in the Ferozepur district, were also given to India. All of these areas were contiguous to the western Punjab.

# **The Objectives Resolution (1949)**

The Objectives Resolution was the first constitutional document that proved to be the 'foundation' of the constitutional developments in [Pakistan](#). It provided parameters and sublime principles to the legislators. It made the constitution-making process easy task setting some particular objectives before them that would be acceptable to the people of [Pakistan](#) who had suffered a lot under the Hindu-dominated majority. The Resolution was moved by Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of [Pakistan](#), and approved on March 12, 1949.

## **The Constituent Assembly (1947-54)**

The first Constituent Assembly came into existence under Indian Independence Act 1947. The elections were held in July 1946 to decide the destiny of the All India Muslim League (AIML)'s claim that it is the only representative party of the Indian Muslims that desire separate homeland, [Pakistan](#). The members from the districts that became part of [Pakistan](#) were declared members of the Constituent Assembly. The number of such members was 69. It increased to 79 after the 1947 when some states joined [Pakistan](#) and then increase in the population. There were two major parties, Muslim League and Congress in the Assembly at that time. This Assembly had dual functions to perform.

## **Features of the Objectives Resolution**

1. Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone.
2. The authority which He has delegated to the state of [Pakistan](#) through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust.
3. Constitution will be framed for sovereign, independent state of [Pakistan](#).
4. The state shall exercise its power through the representatives of the people.
5. Principles of Democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam will be fully observed.
6. Muslims shall be enabled to organize their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Quran and the Sunnah.
7. Minorities to have freedom to freely profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures.
8. Provisions for safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities, backward and depressed classes.
9. [Pakistan](#) shall be a Federation with autonomous units. State's sovereignty and territorial integrity will be protected.
10. People of [Pakistan](#) should prosper and attain their rightful place in the comity of nations and make contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.

## **Explanation and Importance**

The Resolution declared the sovereignty of God as the distinctive political philosophy. The Western democracy gives the notion that sovereignty lies in the people but this Resolution is important having the concept of the sovereignty of God. It clarified that people would utilize powers gifted by God so they would have to work within the limits prescribed by Him. The exercise of the powers is a sacred trust. The representatives of the people of [Pakistan](#) will manage the [affairs](#) under the universal ideology of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice with the spirit of an Islamic framework.

The Resolution pledged to give the due respect and rights to the minorities, backward and depressed classes in the benign society of [Pakistan](#). Their rights, interests, religion and culture were not confuted.

It's important that the Resolution promised the federating units for due powers, autonomy and territorial integrity.

## **Objections by Non-Muslims**

The major objection by the Non-Muslims was that the government was trying to mix the religion and politics that was against the spirit of democracy. The non-Muslims objected on the 'Sovereignty of Allah' and minorities' rights, saying it would promote inequality in the society. They were also of view that Shariah was not adequate for the modern time. They feared that it would encourage the religious extremists to work for the establishment of a 'theocratic state.'

## **Importance**

The Objectives Resolution is a basic and primary document of the constitutional history of [Pakistan](#). It is a framework that provides mechanism to achieve goals for a better life of the people of [Pakistan](#). It's important that it embraces centrality of Islam to polity sustaining their links with the pre-independence period. The AIML leaders were modernist Muslims not in favour of an orthodox religious state. Therefore, they selected the middle way abiding by the Islamic laws and the international democratic values. The Resolution remained 'Preamble of all the constitutions due to its importance.