



## CHAPTER 5

# The Muslim League

### Syllabus

#### The Muslim League

*Muslim League; Year of formation, Factors leading to the formation of the Muslim League and its objectives. The Lucknow Pact - 1916. Signatories of the Pact and its impact.*

### THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

The Hindus and the Muslims had lived together in India for centuries. They had developed some common ways of life. Since both the communities were exploited by the British, they fought together during the First War of Independence in 1857. Such a unity between the two communities posed a danger to British imperialism.

The Uprising of 1857 made the British realise that they had to divide the two communities in order to prolong their rule in India. They, therefore, tried to sow the seeds of discord between them to check the rising tide of nationalism. They encouraged the communal forces to wreck the National Movement from within. They dubbed the National Movement as a movement for establishing the 'Hindu Kingdom' in India and encouraged the Muslims to set up their own separate political organisation. It was the British policy of 'Divide and Rule' that led to the rise of communal trend and to the formation of the Muslim League in 1906.

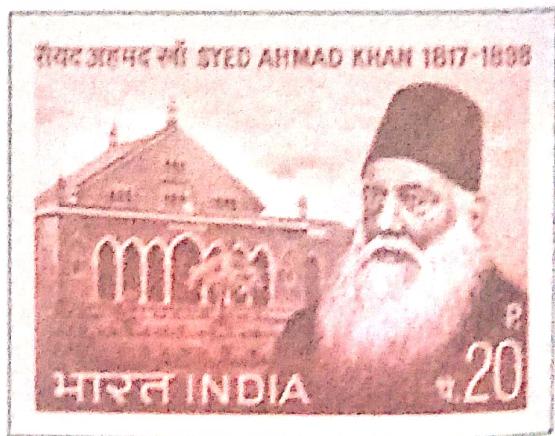
### FACTORS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The following factors were responsible for the formation of the Muslim League:

**1. Loss of Sovereignty by Mughal Rulers:** The British established their supremacy in India

after dethroning the Mughal rulers who were the followers of Islam. Therefore, the Muslims became bitter enemies of the British. They participated in the Wahabi Movement, aimed at ending British Domination of India. They also took part in the Uprising of 1857. This made the British view them with suspicion. The British government consciously discriminated against the Muslims, holding them responsible for the Uprising of 1857. However, after the 1870s, the British government changed its attitude and followed the policy of appeasing the Muslim majority in order to undermine the National Movement. It sowed the seeds of dissension between the two communities and encouraged separation and communal tendencies.

**2. British Policy of Divide and Rule:** As we have discussed above, after the First War of Independence in 1857, the British became apprehensive of the safety and stability of their empire in India. They saw the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims as a threat to them. Therefore to check the growth



■ A commemorative postage stamp issued in 1973

of a united national feeling in India and to encourage communal and separatist tendencies in Indian politics they decided to follow the policy of 'Divide and Rule'. They did so in the following manner:

- (i) In 1871 Lord Mayo's government adopted a resolution which made Urdu the medium of instruction for Muslims in primary and secondary schools and increased government aid to educational institutions run by the Muslims.
- (ii) They tried to create hatred among the Hindus and the Muslims by portraying Muslim rulers as plunderers, and Hindu rulers as cruel kings to their Muslim subjects.
- (iii) They tried to justify the Partition of Bengal by convincing the Muslims that Bengal was being partitioned to create a new Muslim majority province where the Hindus would not be able to subvert their interests.
- (iv) They tried to utilise the caste structure to turn the non-brahmins and the lower castes against high castes.
- (v) They treated Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as separate communities and accepted their communal leaders as authentic representatives of all their co-religionists.
- (vi) They tried to spread communal hatred through the Press, posters, literature and public platforms.

### 3. Relative Backwardness of the Muslim Community in Education, Trade and Industry:

The communal and separatist trend of thinking grew among the Muslims to some extent because of their relative backwardness in education, trade and industry.

- (i) The upper class Muslims comprising zamindars and aristocrats, during the first 70 years of the 19th century were anti-British. They were conservative and hostile to modern education. Because of this, the number of Muslims educated in western system of education remained small.
- (ii) The British government in India had consciously discriminated against the Muslims after 1858, holding them responsible for the Uprising of 1857. They

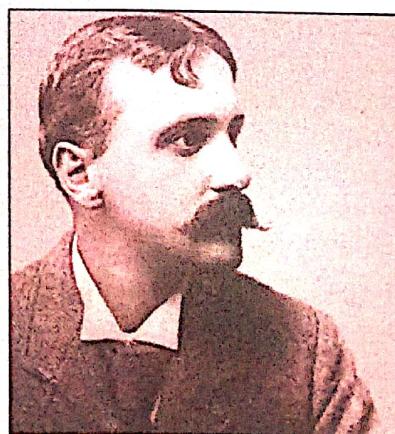
were discriminated in the recruitment to civil and military services.

- (iii) The Muslim community was not much involved in the growth of any organised industry. Here too they lagged behind.
- (iv) Some members of the Muslim community did not keep up with the modern trends in social and cultural spheres. This was because they were proud of their own literature and culture and did not adopt the Western system of education. Many Hindus, on the other hand, adopted the Western system of education. Since modern education was essential for entry into government service, the Muslims had the disadvantage in this respect.

In these circumstances, it was quite easy for the British officials to incite the Muslims against the Hindus.

**4. Role of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan:** Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was a great educationist and social reformer. He regarded Hindus and Muslims to be one *Quam* (nation). He founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh which had both Hindu and Muslim patrons. However, under the influence of Mr Theodore Beck, the British Principal of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental (MAO) College (Aligarh), in the 1880s, he gave up his earlier views and declared that the political interests of Hindus and Muslims were different.

When the Indian National Congress was founded, Sir Sayyid opposed it. He founded the United Indian Patriotic Association in 1888 mainly with a view to oppose the Congress. In this effort, he was supported by Mr. Beck. Beck's



■ Theodore Beck

idea was that Anglo-Muslim unity was possible, but Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible.

It was said that Sir Sayyid believed that since the Hindus formed the majority of the Indian population, they would dominate the Muslims in case of a withdrawal of the British rule. He felt that the continuance of British rule was a "guarantee for the welfare and progress of the community." Therefore, he declared that if the educated Muslims support the British, the latter would reward them with government jobs and other special favours.

**5. Erroneous Interpretation of History:** The manner in which Indian history was interpreted in those days contributed to the growth of communal thinking among the Hindus and the Muslims.

- (i) Some British and communal historians divided Indian history into the Hindu and the Muslim periods. The rule of Turks, Afghans and Mughals was called the *Muslim rule*, where the rulers were said to be the followers of Islam and their subjects, the followers of other religions. In the so-called *Hindu period*, Muslim rulers were dubbed as foreign invaders who had settled in India.
- (ii) The British and communal historians ignored the notion of a composite culture in India and tried to create a rift between the two communities. They failed to interpret that the diversity was primarily class-wise and region-wise and not religion-wise.
- (iii) Some communal historians highlighted the myth that Indian society and culture had reached great heights during the ancient period but was declining during the medieval period which was dominated by Mughal rulers. They did not give much importance to the contribution of the medieval period to the development of Indian economy, religion, art, literature, culture and society.
- (iv) The communal bias was propagated through poetry, drama, novels, short stories, newspapers, etc.

In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "*Communal harmony could not be permanently established in*

*our country so long as highly distorted versions of history were taught in her schools."*

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

**7. Economic Backwardness of the Country:** The economic backwardness of the country contributed to the growth of communalism in India. Due to the British colonial policies, India lacked modern industrial development; and there was acute unemployment among the educated youth. As a consequence, there was fierce competition among the youth to secure the few available jobs. This led the people to demand reservation in jobs on the basis of caste, creed or religion. The British used this opportunity to push further their policy of divide and rule and fan communal rivalry among the educated Indians on the question of jobs in government service. However, the unemployed people failed to realise that the British themselves were responsible for their economic backwardness.

## EVENTS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

**1. The Hindi-Urdu Controversy:** In the United Provinces (present Uttar Pradesh) Urdu was the court language and all the petitions to the offices and courts were submitted in Urdu. Some sections of the society protested against this practice. On April 8, 1900, the Government instructed that all petitions were to be submitted in Hindi, in Devanagri script, and the court summons and official announcements to be issued in Hindi as well as in Urdu. The Muslims resented this. The controversy continued for months and relations between the communities became worse.

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

**3. The Aligarh Politics:** Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk led the Aligarh Movement after the death of Sir Sayyid in 1898. The Aligarh Movement worked to instil into the minds of the Muslims a spirit of loyalty towards the British government and worked deliberately to keep the Muslims away from the main stream of Indian political life. When the Hindi-Urdu controversy raged in 1900, the Nawab was the Secretary of the M.A.O. College Trust. He criticised the Government Order granting equal status to Hindi and Urdu in UP. The Lt. Governor of UP, Macdonnel, was furious and he demanded that the Nawab should either resign from the Secretaryship of the Trust or separate himself from the agitation against the Government Order. Muslim leaders became angry. They suggested that a political organisation of the Muslims should be set up.

**4. Partition of Bengal (1905):** Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal into two provinces apparently on administrative grounds. However, the real purpose of the Partition of Bengal was to create a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims; and to check the rising tide of nationalism. The British won the support of the Muslims on the ground that the new province would have a Muslim-majority province. Muslims of East Bengal, led by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, welcomed the Partition.

**5. Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy, Lord Minto:** To create a possible opposition to the Congress by using the Muslims, the Viceroy, Lord Minto, appointed a committee (Arundale Committee) to work out an expansion of the Legislative Council. This spurred some

communal-minded Muslims to action. They decided to present an address to the Viceroy.

Archibald, the new principal of M.A.O. College, made the following suggestions on content of the Address: (i) the Address should begin with a proclamation of loyalty to the British rulers; (ii) there should be an expression of fear that the general system of elections would harm the interests of the Muslims, as they were in minority in the country and (iii) they should ask for some system of 'nomination' or 'representation on the basis of religious belief'.

An Address was prepared incorporating these suggestions. A delegation of 35 influential Muslims from all over the country, led by Agha Khan, head of the Ismaili Sect, met the Viceroy in Shimla on October 1, 1906 and put forward their demands which included the following:

- (i) Representation of Muslims in elected bodies on the basis of their political importance and not on their numerical strength.
- (ii) Separate electoral constituencies for the Muslims in the Provincial Council and the Imperial Legislative Council.
- (iii) Preference to be given to Muslims while nominating members of the Viceroy's Council.
- (iv) Reservation of seats for Muslims in the State services.
- (v) More State aid for promoting new Muslim universities.

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



■ Lord Minto

## FORMATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

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



■ Nawab Salimullah

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

## OBJECTIVES OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The objectives of the League were laid down as follows:

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

## IMPACT OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE ON THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The British welcomed the formation of the Muslim League. They supported the League to provide an opposition to the Congress. They won initially the support of the Muslims by asserting that the Muslim interests were different from those of the Hindus. Thus, the policies of the Muslim League to some extent weakened nationalist sentiments.

**League's Role in the Beginning:** The League had a separate entity. Initially it stood apart from the National Movement. It sought greater representation of Muslims in all services. As regards representation in Assemblies, it wanted more seats than its numerical representation warranted.

Its political activities were directed not so much against the foreign rulers as against the Congress. Its leaders, belonging to the upper class, had little in common with the Muslim masses; and they did not fight for the removal of their grievances.

**Government Support to the League:** With the help of Lord Minto, the Viceroy, the Muslim League secured its demand for separate electorates, i.e., the system of election to legislatures which divides voters on the basis of religion, caste or occupation. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 provided separate electorates for Muslim whereby seats were reserved for the Muslims from where Muslims could vote for the Muslim candidates.

The provision for separate electorate in the Morley-Minto Reforms was intentionally incorporated to please the Muslim League and create a rift between the Muslim League and the Congress.

**The Phase of Rapprochement:** From 1910 to 1913 new forces emerged in Muslim League politics and some of its leaders realised that rapprochement with the Congress was desirable. Several factors were responsible for this change in attitude: (i) Britain's hostility to Turkey in the Turko-Italian War (1911-12) and the Balkan Wars (1912-13) made a large section of Muslim leaders critical of British policies; (ii) the annulment of the Partition of Bengal in 1911 was seen as detrimental to the interests



■ The founding members of the All India Muslim League at Shah Bagh, Dacca (December, 1906).

of the Muslims in India; (iii) the younger section of emerging Muslim leaders disliked the loyalist politics of the Aligarh group and the leadership of big Nawabs and Zamindars; and (iv) some young scholars, influenced by the Deoband school of Muslim studies were inspired by nationalist sentiments. Among them the most prominent were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Habibur Rahman, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mazhar-ul-Haq.

**Congress and the League:** When the British Government acted against the Turkish interests and supported the cause of the Balkan countries, the Indian Muslims stood up and launched the Khilafat Movement against the British. The Congress cooperated with them and the Khilafat issue was included as one of the demands of the Non-cooperation Movement. As a result, a pact which is known as the *Lucknow Pact* was signed. The *Lucknow Pact* refers to the joint scheme of political reforms agreed to by both the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 regarding the structure of government in India and the relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims. According to this Pact, the Congress accepted the concept of communal electorate which subsequently added to the communal bitterness.

**Partition of the Country on Communal Lines:** The communal divide continued. In 1930 the idea of two nation states was born and in the 1940 session of the League at Lahore, Jinnah put forward his two-nation theory. Thus, despite a severe opposition from Gandhiji, the country

drifted towards the partition. The communal riots broke out in the country and in 1947, a separate country, Pakistan, came into existence.

### THE LUCKNOW PACT

The period during the First World War (1914-1919) was of intense nationalist political activity. The events during the War and the prevalent sentiments were responsible for the signing of the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League.

#### Circumstances Leading to the Lucknow Pact

**1. International Events:** During 1912 and 1913, Turkey's Ottoman Empire had to fight the Balkan powers. The British policy during the Balkan Wars was not sympathetic to Turkey. The Sultan of Turkey was regarded as the *Caliph* or the religious head of Muslims. Moreover, all the Muslim holy places were situated within the Turkish Empire. In the First World War, Britain was fighting against Turkey. This caused a wave of pro-Turkey and pro-Caliph or Khilafat sentiments amongst the Muslims. They felt that the British were pro-Christian and anti-Muslim. The change of attitude of the Muslims towards the British led the former to support the Congress in their efforts to gain self-government in India.

**2. National Events:** There were important national events that changed the attitude of the Muslim League. Firstly, the Partition of Bengal was annulled. Secondly, nationalist Muslims like Abul Kalam Azad and the Ali Brothers—

Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali—made use of this opportunity to spread nationalist ideas among the Muslims for mobilising public opinion in favour of self-government. Thirdly, Tilak was released from jail in 1914, after six years. Finally, under the 'Seditious Meetings Act,' some prominent Muslim leaders were arrested. This brought the Muslim League and the Congress closer.

**3. Changes in the Objectives of the Muslim League:** In the beginning the League had support for the British Government as one of its objectives. In 1913, the League had amended its Constitution to include, 'a system of self-government under the aegis of the British Crown' as the ideal of the Muslim League. Therefore, it agreed with the Congress to have a political goal for India.

The unity of interests and objectives opened the doors for renewed cooperation between the Congress and the Muslim League. Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak too played a significant role in bringing the two organisations together.

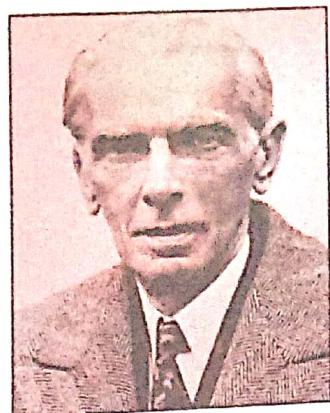
**4. A Compromise Between the Two Factions of the Congress:** Annie Besant tried to reunite the two wings of the Congress—the Early Nationalists and the Assertive Nationalists. Tilak rejoined the Congress in 1916 and played a major role in resolving differences between the Congress and the League.

#### TERMS OF THE LUCKNOW PACT

Efforts were made to bring the Congress and the Muslim League to reach an agreement on the scheme of political reforms in India. In 1915, both the Congress and the League held their sessions at Bombay (Mumbai). The Bombay session of the League was attended by Congress leaders. The leaders of both the parties forged a joint plan of post-war constitutional reforms.

#### Signatories of the Pact

In 1916, the Congress and the League again held simultaneous sessions at Lucknow. The joint scheme of political reforms was put forward and adopted by both parties in 1916. This agreement signed by the two parties is known as the *Lucknow Pact*. It was signed by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, respectively.



■ M. A. Jinnah



■ Bal Gangadhar Tilak

#### Clauses of Lucknow Pact

**1. Abolition of the India Council:** The India Council of the Secretary of State, operating from England, should be abolished. The Secretary of State for India was to be assisted by two Under-Secretaries, of whom one should be an Indian.

**2. Provincial Legislatures:** Four-fifths of the members of the Provincial Legislatures were to be directly elected and one-fifth to be nominated. The number of members in the provinces was laid down in the scheme. The number of Muslim members was laid down for each Province. They were to be elected through separate electorates. On the whole, the proportion of Muslim members was large, for example, 50 per cent in Punjab, 40 per cent in Bengal and 30 per cent in U.P.

**3. Minorities in Elected Bodies:** The minorities should have adequate separate representation in elected bodies.

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

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

**6. Powers of the Legislative Council:** All Bills passed by the Legislature were to be operative unless vetoed by the Governor-General in the Council. If the same Bill was passed again

by the Legislative Council within a year, the government was obliged to pass it. Extensive power was to be given to the legislature for control over financial matters.

**7. Autonomy in Provinces:** Provinces were to be autonomous in their respective spheres.

**8. Viceroy's Executive Council:** Half of the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council were to be Indians, elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

**9. Religious Interests:** No Legislative Council (Imperial or Provincial) was to proceed with any Bill or Resolution, affecting one or the other community, if three-fourths of the members of that community opposed it on the ground that it adversely affected their interests.

**10. Separation of Judiciary from Executive:** Executive Officers should not have judicial powers. Members of the judiciary in every Province were to be placed under the control of the highest court of that Province.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LUCKNOW PACT

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

**2. Unity Within the Congress:** The Lucknow Session and the signing of the Lucknow Pact brought about unity between the Assertive Nationalists and the Early Nationalists. After the Surat Session of 1907, both wings of the Congress were moving in different directions. They came together in 1916 and as a result, the Congress was strengthened. The Congress President of the Lucknow Session of 1916, Ambika Charan Majumdar rightly remarked, "If the united Congress was buried at Surat, it is reborn at Lucknow."

**3. Pressure on the Government:** The unity between the Congress and the League and between the Early Nationalists and the Assertive Nationalists became a threat to the

British Government of India. Until now the Government had been repressing the Nationalist Movement by using force. The Government now had no excuse for delaying political or constitutional reforms.

**4. Necessity to Pacify Indians:** As the First World War continued, the leaders of the Congress and the League impressed upon the British Government that their demands for Constitutional Reforms should not be rejected if they wished Indians to be loyal to the British.

The Government, therefore, felt it necessary to pacify the Indians by the Declaration of August 20, 1917 which promised a policy of gradual development of self-government institutions in India.

## Drawbacks of the Lucknow Pact

1. The Lucknow Pact did not involve the masses. It was confined only to educated and rich Hindus and Muslims.
2. The Lucknow Pact seemed to have laid stress on the separate interests of the Hindus and the Muslims and their separate political existence. The Congress made this apparent compromise for the sake of political unity. They thought that unity with the League would put more pressure on the British Government to grant political concessions.
3. By accepting separate electorates for Muslims, the Congress lost its secular character and paved the way for future communal tension.
4. The Pact provided for Muslim representation in the Council in excess of their proportion in the total population.
5. The Pact provided for a 'Communal Veto' in legislation, because no Legislature could proceed with any Bill if three-fourths of the members of a particular community opposed it.
6. The Lucknow Pact was a temporary truce between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Muslim League still remained a separate entity, with a communal outlook, advocating that the Muslims' political interests were separate from those of the Hindus.

## **CHAPTER AT A GLANCE**

## **Factors Leading to the Formation of the Muslim League**

Formation of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Association (1893) to promote support for the British and to prevent Muslims from participating in any political movement—Partition of Bengal (1905) on communal lines—assurance to the Muslim deputation by Lord Minto, the Viceroy in October 1906 that the political rights of the Muslims would be safeguarded—The Dacca Mohammedan Educational Conference accepted the proposal to form a central organisation for the Muslims—The Muslim League was established on December 30, 1906 under the Presidentship of Nawab Salimullah.

**Aims and Objectives of the Muslim League:** (i) To promote among the Muslims support for the British; (ii) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims; (iii) To present the needs and aspirations of the Muslims to the government; (iv) To prevent the hostility between the Muslims of India and other communities.

**Impact of the Muslim League on the National Movement:** (i) In the beginning the Muslim League stood apart from the National Movement, opposed the Anti-Partition Movement and the Swadeshi and Boycott Movements; (ii) Provision of separate electorates in the Morley-Minto Reforms; (iii) Change in the attitude of the Muslim League towards the Congress — *Lucknow Pact* (1916); (iv) The Muslim League raised the demand for Pakistan.

**The Lucknow Pact:** The joint scheme of political reforms agreed to by both the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916.

**Circumstances Leading to the Lucknow Pact:** (i) The change of attitude of the Muslims towards the Congress because of the pro-Turkey and pro-Caliph sentiments; (ii) The annulment of the Partition of Bengal in 1911; (iii) Change in the objectives of Muslim League which made it agree with the Congress to have a political goal for India; and (iv) A compromise between the Assertive Nationalists and the Early Nationalists.

**Clauses of the Lucknow Pact:** (i) Abolition of the Indian Council; (ii) Enlargement of the Provincial and Central Legislative Councils; (iii) Separate electorate for the Muslims; (iv) Adequate representation for minorities in elected bodies; (v) Limitations on the powers of Imperial Legislature (vi) Autonomy to the Provinces; (vii) Half of the Viceroy's Executive Council were to be Indians; (viii) No legislative Council was to proceed with any Bill which affected any community; (ix) Separation of the judiciary from the executive.

**Significance and Impact of the Lucknow Pact:** Unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and the unity between the two Congress factions. This unity pressurised the British to introduce reforms and for the development of self-government institutions in India.

**Drawbacks of the Lucknow Pact:** (i) did not involve masses; (ii) emphasised the separate political existence for Hindus and Muslims; (iii) Congress lost its secular character; (iv) provided for higher Muslim representation in the Council; (v) provided for a 'Communal Veto' in legislation; (vi) temporary truce; Congress and Muslim League remained separate.

## **EXERCISES**

## I. Multiple-Choice Questions

**A. Select the correct option.**

- 1.** Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan had started a reform movement among the Muslims called the \_\_\_\_\_ Movement.  
(a) Sufi                    (b) Aligarh                    (c) Jaipur                    (d) Wahabi

**2.** What were Sir Sayyid's initial views on 'Hindu-Muslim' unity?  
(a) He regarded them to be different entities  
(b) He regarded them to be one Quam (nation)

- (c) He believed that their interests were different  
(d) He regarded them to be two separate Quams (nations).
3. The First President of the Muslim League was \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) Shaukat Ali (b) Agha Khan (c) Sir Sayyid Ahmad (d) Nawab Salimullah
4. Who led the deputation to the Viceroy with a view to secure more political rights for Muslims?  
(a) Agha Khan (b) Nawab Salimullah (c) Archibald (d) Shaukat Ali.
5. Which of the following was NOT an objective of the Muslim League when it was formed?  
(a) To promote support for British government  
(b) To protect and advance political rights of Indian Muslims  
(c) To promote hostility between Indian Muslims and other communities  
(d) To represent the needs of Muslims in India to the British in mild and moderate language.
6. Which of the following is NOT true about the role of the Muslim League in the beginning?  
(a) It stood apart from the National Movement  
(b) It worked against the Congress  
(c) It focussed its action on the problems faced by the upper class  
(d) Its political activities were directed against the British.
7. Which of the following factors made leaders in the Muslim League realise that rapprochement with the Congress was desirable?  
(a) Britain's hostility to Turkey  
(b) Provision of separate electorate in the Morley-Minto Reforms  
(c) Two-nation Theory of Jinnah  
(d) Drain Theory of Dadabhai Naoroji.
8. Which two leaders were instrumental in the culmination of the Lucknow Pact?  
(a) Abul Kalam Azad and Shaukat Ali  
(b) Lala Lajpat Rai and Annie Besant  
(c) Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant  
(d) Nawab Salimullah and Archibald.
9. The Muslim League changed its objectives from 'support for the British Government' to \_\_\_\_\_ leading to the Lucknow Pact.  
(a) 'a system of self-government under Turkey'  
(b) 'a system of self-government like Britain'  
(c) 'a system of self-government under the aegis of the British Crown'  
(d) 'a system of self-government together with the Congress.'
10. Which of the following was a drawback of the Lucknow Pact?  
(a) Acknowledgement of separate political interests of Hindus and Muslims  
(b) Necessity to introduce reforms  
(c) Separation of the executive from the judiciary  
(d) Promotion of support to the British.
11. From the given list identify the statements which reflect the significance of the Lucknow Pact?  
(i) It brought about unity between the two factions in the Congress.  
(ii) It was confined only to the educated and rich Hindus and Muslims. It did not involve the masses.

- (iii) It seemed to have laid stress on the separate interests of the Hindus and the Muslims and their separate political existence.
- (iv) It provided for a 'Communal Veto' in legislation.
  - (a) (i), (ii) and (iii)
  - (b) (i) only
  - (c) All of the above
  - (d) None of the above

**B. Select the option that shows the correct relationship between Statements (I) and (II).**

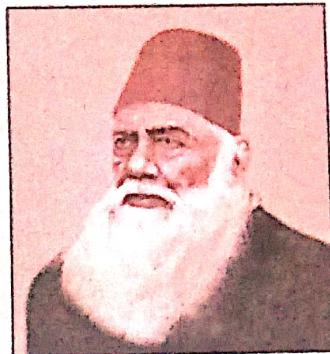
1. (I) In 1871, Lord Mayo's government adopted a resolution which made Urdu the medium of instruction for Muslims in primary and secondary schools.
  - (II) It was as an attempt to create rift between the Hindus and the Muslims.
    - (a) (II) contradicts (I)
    - (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
    - (c) (I) is true but (II) is false
    - (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
2. (I) The British and communal historians ignored the notion of a composite culture in India.
  - (II) They failed to recognise that the diversity in India was region-wise and caste-wise and not religion-wise.
    - (a) (II) contradicts (I)
    - (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
    - (c) (I) is true but (II) is false
    - (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
3. (I) The British wanted to prevent Muslims from participating in any political movement.
  - (II) The British opposed the formation of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental (M.A.O) Defence Association in 1893.
    - (a) (II) contradicts (I)
    - (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
    - (c) (I) is true but (II) is false
    - (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
4. (I) The success of the Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy Lord Minto motivated the Muslims to start a separate political organisation.
  - (II) The political activities of the Muslim League were directed not so much against the British as against the Congress.
    - (a) (II) contradicts (I)
    - (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
    - (c) (I) is true but (II) is false
    - (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.
5. (I) The Lucknow Pact brought about unity between the Hindus and the Muslims.
  - (II) The Lucknow Pact laid stress on the separate political existence for the Hindus and the Muslims.
    - (a) (II) contradicts (I)
    - (b) (II) is the reason for (I)
    - (c) (I) is true but (II) is false
    - (d) (I) and (II) are independent of each other.

**II. Short Answer Questions**

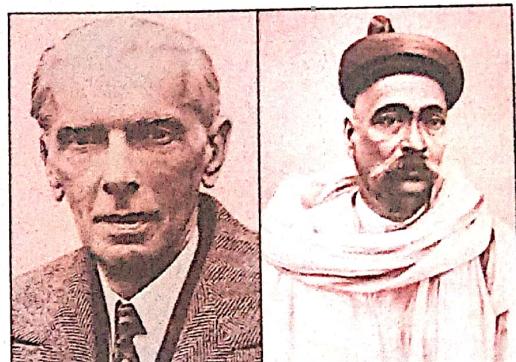
1. Why did the British treat the Muslims harshly immediately after the Uprising of 1857? Why did the British attitude towards the Muslims change in the later part of the 19th century?
2. How did the Hindi-Urdu controversy become an important factor in the formation of the Muslim League?
3. How did the relative backwardness of the Muslims in education, trade and industry foster communal feelings in India?
4. What promises were made by Lord Minto to the Muslim deputation led by Agha Khan in 1906? Why did the British imperialists encourage the formation of the Muslim League?
5. What is meant by Separate (Communal) Electorates?
6. What was the Lucknow Pact?

### III. Structured Questions

1. (a) Identify the person in the picture. What were his views regarding Hindu-Muslim unity?  
(b) What role did he play in the formation of the Muslim League?  
(c) State the impact of the Muslim League on the National Movement.



2. The growth of communalism in India was encouraged by the British authorities as well as certain trends in Indian society. In the light of this observation, explain:
  - (a) The Divide and Rule Policy of the British.
  - (b) Some actions of the Assertive Nationalists.
  - (c) The erroneous interpretation of Indian History.
3. (a) Identify the persons in the given picture. Which agreement for a joint scheme of political reforms was signed by these two persons? The agreement was signed post which international event?  
(b) Mention any three factors that led to the signing of this agreement.  
(c) State any two significant outcomes of this agreement.



### IV. Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS)

1. Realising the aims and objectives of the Muslim League when it was formed in 1906, do you think that more than the Muslim League, it was the British policy of Divide and Rule, that encouraged the communal forces to create a rift between the two communities in India?
2. Mahatma Gandhi said, "*Communal harmony could not be permanently established in our country so long as highly distorted versions of history were taught in her schools.*" State your views on this statement and justify it by giving examples.
3. Not many people are aware of the friendship built on mutual respect that was a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity of India—the friendship between Lokmanya Tilak and Mohammed Ali Jinnah. When Tilak, as the President of Home Rule League, was leaving for England to press for India's demand for Swaraj, Jinnah had proclaimed that there was no man more fitted to voice the opinions of Indians other than Tilak who had devoted his whole life to the cause of his country. Trace the events that led to Jinnah demanding Partition of the country and the establishment of Pakistan. The relationship between the two countries till date is a proof of the discord sowed by the British. What in your opinion, can be done to improve relations between the two countries?

