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#### DIVISION IN 1905

 Many saw the Bengal partition of 1905 as a calculated move to break the anti-colonial movement, which was particularly strong in Bengal, and to 'divide and rule' the Bengali-speaking population.

### RISE OF BENGALI NATIONALISM

- Opposition to the partition of Bengal in 1905 included:
  - The Swadeshi (own-country) movement involving the boycott of British goods, education, and administration and
  - promoting establishment of Indian-owned industries, national schools and development of village improvement schemes.



### RISE OF BENGALI NATIONALISM

More radical opponents took up violent protests. These created revolutionary heroes whom many in Bangladesh still remember as martyrs:

- >Khudiram Basu, attempted to assassinate British judge,
- ➤ 'Masterda' Surya Sen/ Shurja Kumar Sen known for organising an elaborate raid on the Chittagong armoury in 1930,
- ▶Pritilata Waddadar took part in Chittagong armoury raid.

- However, after 1905 'Muslims' and 'Hindus' became clear-cut political categories.
  - These categories increased in prominence in the politics of Bengal since then due to a number of factors.

- First impressive buildings built in the new capital Dhaka such as Governor's Residence and Curzon Hall provided career opportunity to educated Muslims.
- This was also the period when Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain or Begum Rokeya (1880-1932) promoted feminist ideologies and encouraged education for girls.



- Second the anti-division movement was led by the Indian National Congress (INC or All India Congress covered in the previous lecture) founded in 1885.
  - ➤ However, it was dominated by high-caste Hindus from Kolkata who promoted the movement by connecting it with Hindu revivalism, i.e., equating the Motherland with the goddess Kali and adopting the song Vande Mataram ('Mother, I Bow to Thee') as the movement's anthem.
- Muslims objected to this.

 Third – the Muslims in the East began to develop their own distinctive identity as a social-economic community, in distinction from their Hindu neighbours
 despite the fact that previously many Bengalis from both religions had favoured Bengali nationalism.

### FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE IN DHAKA

- Thus, the idea of a political party representing all Muslims became a possibility.
- At a meeting in Dhaka in 1906 a group of ashraf (they thought of themselves as aristocratic/noble/upper-class and of Arab, Persian, or Central Asian descent and guardians of authentic Islamic culture) politicians established the All-India Muslim League (later known as Muslim League).
- The party's main objective was to safeguard the political rights of Muslims.

### FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE IN DHAKA

- This new party began to counter the anti-division agitation and the party behind it, the Indian National Congress (INC).
- At first the league was encouraged by the British and was generally favourable to their rule, but the organisation adopted self-government for India as its goal in 1913.
- For several decades the league and its leaders, notably Mohammed Ali Jinnah, called for Hindu-Muslim unity in a united and independent India.

### COMMUNAL POLITICS

- Its appeal to the Muslim community not just in Bengal but all over India – was a harbinger of a new era of political mobilisation on the basis of religious community.
- Such politics in which Hindu and Muslim politicians participated in equal measure – came to be described as 'communal' politics or 'communalism'.



DEMAND FOR SEPARATE CONSTITUENCY

By 1916, the League and the INC agreed that separate constituencies should be established to protect communitarian interests.

This became law in 1919.

### COMMUNAL AWARD

- □ The Communal Award, announced by Ramsay MacDonald on 16 August 1932, ensured the retention of separate electorates for Muslims, Sikhs and Europeans.
- □ In 1932, Muslims got 119 reserved seats out of 250 in the legislature.

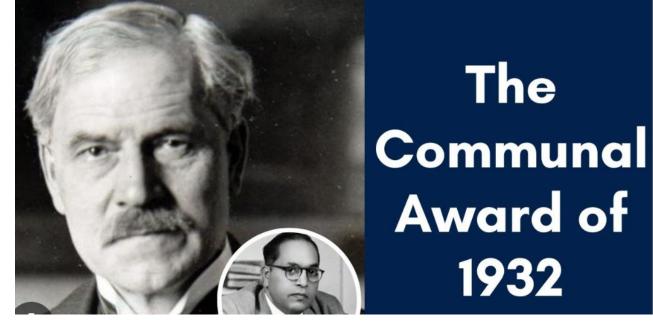


Table 1. The Communal Award in Bengal

Constituency	Number of seats
Muslims	117
Muslim women	2
General	70
Depressed classes	10 <sup>a</sup>
General women	2
European	11
European commerce	14
Indian commerce	5
Landholders	5
Universities	2
Labour	8
Anglo-Indians	3
Anglo-Indian women	1

<sup>\*</sup> Of the total number of 'General' seats, at least ten were to be reserved for the depressed

Source: N. N. Mitra (ed.), Indian Annual Register, July-December 1932, vol. II, p. 236.

### IMPACT OF COMMUNAL AWARD

- □It gave religious and marginalised communities a political platform and the opportunity to protect their rights and interests.
- □ However, it also contributed to the polarisation of politics along communal lines, which has implications for India's social fabric in the future.
- ☐ Hindu Bhadrolok were displeased because it decreased their power.

### MUSLIM STATE

- It was not until 1930-1940 that the Muslim League called for the formation of a Muslim state that would be separate from the projected independent country of India.
- The league wanted a separate nation for India's Muslims because it feared that an independent India would be dominated by Hindus.
- Jinnah and the Muslim League led the struggle for the partition of British India into separate Hindu and Muslim states, and after the formation of Pakistan in 1947 the league became Pakistan's dominant political party.
- In that year it was renamed the All Pakistan Muslim League.

# TWO-NATION THEORY

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### TWO-NATION THEORY

 Being installed in power through the separate electorate system, some Muslim leaders now began to think turning the beneficial separate electorate system into a separate nationalist thought called two-nation theory asserting that the Muslims of India formed a separate nation altogether historically, culturally, intellectually, and socially.

### SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN

- This idea of two-nation theory was first articulated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) who started the movement for Muslim self-awakening and identity.
- Sir Syed Ahmed discouraged the Indian Muslim community to join the band wagon of the Congress nationalist movement.
- He articulated that the Indian Muslims themselves formed a nation and in their own interest should not ally themselves with the Congress-led movements for self-rule.
- His idea found good reception from the colonial rulers, who needed allies to manage the growing Indian nationalist movement launched by the Congress.

### SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL - 1930

- Poet and philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal's presidential address at the Muslim League's conference in December 1930 laid the theoretical framework of the two-nation theory.
- He argued that Muslims and Hindus constituted two different nations in themselves and were incompatible.
- At this time, the congress rejected this theory and argued in favour of a united India, based on unity between different religious groups.

### MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH - 1940

- The concept was taken forward by Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the 1940s although initially he believed in Hindu-Muslim unity.
- Jinnah in 1940 declared at the Muslim League conference held at Lahore that

"Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature. To yoke [attach] together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state."

### TWO NATIONS THEORY

- "Two-Nation Theory" refers to the thesis that
  - Hindus and Muslims in India were two distinct communities
  - >that could not coexist within a single state
  - >without dominating and discriminating against the other or without constant conflict;
  - >it resulted in the 1947 Partition of India and Pakistan.



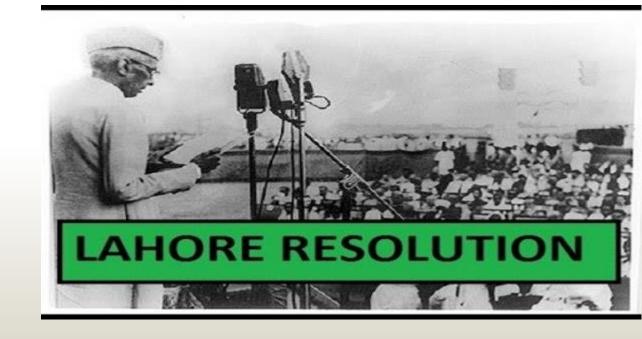
# LAHORE RESOLUTION 1940

- On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940, based on Muhammad Ali Jinnah's statements,
- ➤ Sher-e-Bangla A K Fazlul
  Huq, the Chief Minister of
  Bengal passed the resolution
  that soon became known as
  the "Lahore Resolution"

(and later known as the "Pakistan Resolution").

### LAHORE RESOLUTION

The Lahore Resolution was a formal statement, which sought the creation of a separate Muslim state.



### LAHORE RESOLUTION - MAIN MESSAGE

### **Main message of the Lahore Resolution:**

❖ That the areas where the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the Northwestern and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

Autonomous – having the freedom to govern itself; sovereign – possessing unrestricted power.

### IMPACT OF LAHORE RESOLUTION

- The Muslims of Bengal, who were searching for an identity throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, finally found it in the Lahore Resolution.
- The Lahore Resolution gave them a sense of nationhood.
- Henceforth the dominant theme in Muslim politics was not complaint against Hindu injustice, but a demand for separate political existence.

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