

Chapter 10

The Educational Movements

1. Sir Syed and Aligarh

The first Indian reaction to the failure of the 1857 uprising was the realization that it was not possible to dislodge British Rule by force of arms. The second was to seek the causes of British superiority, and the third was to prescribe modern education as the remedy for political decline. The quest for exploring non-military means of emancipation led to reform in religious thought and to the adoption of western scientific education.

The trail blazer was Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772–1833), who called for a reform of Hindu religion. He claimed he was returning Hinduism to ancient Vedic purity (just as the Muslim Revivalists aimed at restoring Islam to the purity of the early or Right-guided caliphate). In practice, Raja Ram Mohun Roy favoured belief in one god (monotheism), repeal of the caste system, the abolition of *sati* and child marriage, and recommended the remarriage of widows. He formed an organization called the *Brahmo Samaj* which, though influential in the intellectual circles of Bengal, caused it and the creed of Raja Ram Mohun Roy in general to be cast outside the pale of Hinduism. In truth, his creed came closer to Christianity and Islam than to Hinduism as it was practised. The Bengali intelligentsia was discerning and while it rejected the prescriptions of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, it heeded his advice to adopt western education and to qualify for service under the British.

The reaction of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) to the trauma of 1857 was similar to that of Ram Mohun Roy and ran into similar difficulties. Sir Syed tried to modernize Muslim belief. He sought a natural explanation for every phenomenon and denied the incidence of miracles recounted in the Holy Quran and Hadith. He said every law is according to nature and that there can be no contradiction between the work of God and the word of God. Every belief had to be subordinate to science. No wonder then that he too was branded a heretic. This was, in fact, also a great psychological reaction because, in his youth, Sir Syed had written a pamphlet to 'prove' that the sun revolved around the earth! In the midst of all these controversies, Sir Syed published a refutation of Sir William Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, a scurrilous attack on the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and moreover carried his polemics to the western side by subjecting the Bible to historical scrutiny. This represents the first aspect of Sir Syed's contribution.

The second aspect was political. He had saved British lives at Bijnor in 1857, therefore there was a hard core of Englishmen who paid attention to what he said. Sir Syed wrote a number of pamphlets and books, the most prominent among them being *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*, which he sent to the members of the British Parliament. To a great many, whose arrogance had increased by their success in 1857, this book, in itself constituted treason, but others, as reflective of 1857 as the Indians, gave it their serious attention.

There were two main strands in the writings of Sir Syed Ahmad: first, to explain that Muslim were not obliged, by their belief, to oppose British rule. In the second strand he maintained that the main cause of the 1857 uprising was the absolute lack of communication between the British

and the natives, between the rulers and the ruled. Sir Syed said that had there been any means of bringing Indian aspirations to the notice of the British, the 1857 War would not have erupted. The last observation, it is said, led Allen Octavio Hume (1829–1915), to lay the foundation of the Indian National Congress (1885) as a forum for forming Indian aspirations and airing them. However, Sir Syed emerged as the foremost critic of the Congress. It is important to recall the circumstances under which the Congress was founded: it had a British president (Hume) and the blessings of the British. Sir Syed could have been expected to go along with it, but he did not. As Aziz Ahmad has explained, at first Sir Syed remained silent, but he spoke out in 1887 when a Muslim, Badruddin Tyabji, was elected as the Congress President.

Earlier, Sir Syed had not taken a separatist stance, but in 1867, just ten years after the mutiny, a language controversy between Hindi and Urdu arose, when Hindus said Hindi should replace Urdu as the language of instruction and of the courts. Hindi was the language of the majority but the Muslim elite regarded Urdu as representative of the joint Indo-Muslim culture, therefore this demand came as a shock to them. Both an Indian and a Pakistani historian, Tara Chand and Farman Fatehpuri have concurred that the Muslim reaction to Hindi was conditioned by the fact that Hindi had not naturally evolved as a language; the British through Fort William College, Calcutta, patronised *Prem Sagar* by Laloo Lalji to create deliberately a Sanskritised version of Hindi which was different from the spoken language.

The result of this cultural shock was that Sir Syed, who had previously said that India was a bride with one Hindu eye and one Muslim eye, now said that Hindus and Muslims were separate nations. He said that if the British withdrew, Muslims would not share power with the Hindus but would lead a life of subjugation. With these presentiments Sir Syed opposed Muslim participation in the Indian National Congress. He forecast that despite being favoured by the British, the Congress was a political party and at some juncture it could come into conflict with the British; if the Muslims participated in it, they would again face punishment as they had after 1857. His fears were justified as even Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has written that Muslims suffered more than Hindus after 1857.

Sir Syed had the example of Raja Ram Mohun Roy before him, and knew full well that his own religious views were considered heretical, therefore he consciously sought to separate his religious outlook from his educational reforms. It was to this end that he inducted the services of Shibli Nomani (1857–1914) to teach Islamic studies at Aligarh.

Sir Syed's first venture was to open a school at Murabad, in 1858 just one year after the mutiny. Sir Syed had embarked on his career of imparting western education while the mutiny was still in the news. The next step was to establish a Translation Society at Ghazipur, in January 1864. Later it was renamed the Scientific Society because its purpose was to translate scientific literature into Urdu. It was in Aligarh that Sir Syed gave expression to his main ambition in education. In 1866 he founded the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* a magazine devoted to the cultural needs of Muslims having an English education. Also at Aligarh, Sir Syed started a primary school on 24 May 1875, Queen Victoria's birthday, and on 1 January 1877 the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, laid the foundation stone of the College. The All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference was founded at Aligarh in 1866, a society which held its sessions all over the country and was the means of spreading the spirit and the message of Aligarh to all corners of the country. It was the All-Indian Muslim Educational Conference (as it was later known) that proved to be the parent body of the All-India Muslim League in 1906.

It was twenty-two years after Sir Syed's death, in 1920, that Aligarh College was raised to the status of a university. Lord Macaulay, the great historian, had favoured the spread of western education in India, with English as the medium of instruction, but to get conservative Indians to accept this was quite another matter. Raja Mohan Roy persuaded the Hindus and Sir Syed Ahmad

Khan persuaded the Muslims. It was only due to their efforts that Hindus and Muslims began to demand from the British the fruits of a modern western education. Sir Syed held communal and class interests supreme and did not favour modern education being imparted to the lower classes. He also did not favour emancipation of Muslim women. These criticisms have substance, but if one considers the progress that western education made due to Sir Syed's efforts, one realizes the extent of Sir Syed's contribution to the Indo-Muslim Renaissance. Peter Hardy offers an objective appraisal of Sir Syed's movement:

What Aligarh did was to produce a class of Muslim leaders with a footing in both western and Islamic culture, at ease both in British and Muslim society and endowed with a consciousness of their claims to be the aristocracy of the country as much in British as in Mughal times.¹

It was this last-named trait which gave the Muslim community the morale necessary to voice the demand for Pakistan. The Quaid-i-Azam was to call the Muslim University, Aligarh, his arsenal. Two heads of the new Pakistani state, the first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan and the second president, Muhammad Ayub Khan, were graduates of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

Deoband

Sir Syed had been inspired not only by Lord Macaulay, but by Shah Waliullah as well. Sir Syed's mission was to preserve the future of the Muslim community. There were conservative elements, opposed to him, who were anxious to ensure the religious identity of the community, and the premier traditional institution where this need was nurtured was at the Darul Uloom at Deoband. Aligarh was considered loyal to the British, Deoband, hostile. Aligarh worked against the Congress, Deoband did not favour separatism. Aligarh and Deoband were to exercise profound influences on the Muslim mind from opposite directions.

Deoband lies in the Saharanpur district of United Provinces. The Darul Uloom (Seminary) began as a small *maktab*, (a primary school where the three R's are taught). It was founded on 30 May 1867 by Maulana Fazlur Rahman, the father of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, and Maulana Zulfiqar Ali, the father of Shaikh-ul-Hind, Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan. Later, the Darul Uloom was run by Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanotwi (1832–1880) and Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (1828–1905).

Since Aligarh was founded to further the material progress of the Muslims, the ulema of Deoband pointedly illustrated their reliance on the bounty of Allah by refusing to plan ahead, and therefore refused all grants and sources of fixed income. Neither the government nor rich patrons were allowed to contribute to the funding of the Darul Uloom. Apart from showing their reliance on God for their day to day sustenance, by refusing large grants they preserved their intellectual and ideological freedom. In spite of such strict screening of funds, the buildings of the seminary were completed in good time through small donations from the people. At the end of the first year, 78 students had enrolled. Today it is the largest seminary after the Al Azhar University in Cairo. It is a residential university and students from all over the world study there.

The seminary of Deoband follows essentially the syllabus of the Madrassa-i-Rahimia founded by the father of Shah Waliullah, where Shah Waliullah himself and his sons, Shah Abdul Aziz (1746–1824) and Shah Abdul Qadir had taught. The syllabus was consequently traditional, Arabic including prosody and rhetoric, logic, indirectly obtained from the Greeks, *Kalam* (religious discourse), jurisprudence, Quranic exegesis, Hadith and its subordinate disciplines and, somewhat surprisingly, *tibb* or traditional medicine. Urdu was the medium of instruction. The students were trained in very few vocations and the result was that the graduates of Deoband spread out all over

the country to seek positions in mosques and madrassas. It was this practice that made Deoband not the name of a seminary, but the name of a creed.

This creed was derived from the mujahidin, the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, Titu Mir and Haji Shariatullah. They forbade belief in the intercession of saints, and prescribed limits beyond which adulation of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) himself transgressed the concept of *tauhid* (or monotheism). Visiting the graves of saints and Sufis was forbidden as was *nazr* and *niaz* (religious food offerings) and of course *azadari* in Muharram was forbidden.

Maulana Qasim Nanotvi wrote a book, *Tasfiyya-al-Aqaid*, to counteract and refute the religious thought of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. In this work he asserted that reason was subordinate to Hadith. The Deobandis held that 'which God commands is good, rather than God commands what is good'.² The ulema of Deoband wrote tracts against Judaism, Christianity and Hinduism and carried out a jihad against Qadianis. On the political plane, the ulema of Deoband, especially Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, issued a *fatwa* that it was permissible to associate with the Congress under certain circumstances, but under no condition was it possible to cooperate with Aligarh. In the twentieth century Deoband continued its relations with Congress and opposed the Muslim League. This did not prevent the Congress government of independent India from closing down the Deoband seminary. The ban was brief, but it was a sad comment on the political stance of Deoband. Of the prominent ulema of Deoband, only Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani (1885–1949) was a supporter of the Pakistan Movement.

Madrasa Manzar-i-Islam, Barelvi

The Deobandis and Barelvis are the two major denominations of Sunni Islam in South Asia. The Deobandi persuasion was the successor of all the revivalist movements beginning with Shah Wahullah. Although Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, Titu Mir and Haji Shariatullah did not identify themselves with the creed or movement of Shaikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (1703–1792) there was nevertheless sufficient resemblance for the British to label all South Asian revivalist movements of Sunni Islam as Wahhabi, though it did not represent the majority of Sunni Muslims – who were shocked by the Wahhabi desecration of holy tombs in Madina and its attack on Karbala. To the Sunni Muslims with Sufi tendencies, who venerated Sufi saints and who flocked to the tombs of the Sufis, the revivalism of Deoband was sacrilege. They believed in offering *Fatihah* for the departed and believed in the intercession of saints and other holy personages for the salvation of their souls. Ever since Shah Ismail Shahid had published *Taqviat-ul-Iman* there had arisen a tendency to decentralize the love and veneration for the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in the revivalist creeds. To correct this, Maulana Ahmad Reza Khan of Barelvi (1856–1921) made his appearance. He founded the Madrasa Manzar-ul-Islam in his home town. Ahmad Reza Khan was a spellbinding orator and a good poet, writing *na'ats* in praise of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and other holy personages of Islam.

He believed in the *Qadiri Silsila* and believed that Shaikh Abdur Qadir Jilani was at the apex of spiritual authority, below the Holy Prophet (PBUH). Ahmad Reza Khan believed in the intermediary power of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the venerated Sufi saints. He had a high regard for the Syeds. Usha Sanyal sums up his mission:

In all he did or wrote, love of the Prophet was the motivating factor.³

Of all madrasa founders, Ahmad Reza Khan was the only one to expound the Two-Nation theory. This is contained in his book *Al-Hujjat al-Motmainna*. As such Ahmed Reza Khan can also be considered one of the spiritual founders of Pakistan.

Nadvat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow

There were many concerned dignitaries within the Muslim community who felt that Deoband and Aligarh represented two opposite poles; Deoband was concerned only with the hereafter, while Aligarh was concerned only with the worldly. They felt that a balance had to be struck and for this purpose, an institution which cared for both the spiritual and temporal concerns of the Muslims should be set up.

The proposal to found the Nadvat-ul-Ulema was floated in Kanpur by Maulana Muhammad Ali Mongeri in 1892. It received an impetus when Maulana Abdul Hye joined the Nadva and undertook a tour of Bareli and Fatehpur to seek support for this institution, and on 2 September 1898 Nadvat-ul-Ulema was transferred to Lucknow.

A new life was infused into the Nadva, when Shibli Nomani joined it after the death of Sir Syed. His celebrity shed lustre on Nadvat-ul-Ulema. Shibli Nomani had been a protégé of Sir Syed but, over the years, he felt that Sir Syed had become more loyalist and communal than the circumstances warranted. His background of traditional Arabic education and his exposure to modern education at Aligarh made him the most suitable person to head Nadvat-ul-Ulema, but this was only in theory. In practice, and in spite of the stated purpose of founding the Nadva, Shibli faced resistance from a group of his colleagues led by Safdar Yar Jung when he tried to introduce a minimum of English and science into the Nadva syllabus.

Later, when Maulvi Abdul Karim challenged Shibli's concept of *jihad* in an article, Shibli dismissed him from service. At this, a storm of protest was raised and Shibli had to leave the Nadva. When asked what the achievement of the Nadva had been, he replied that the production of a scholar like Syed Suleman Nadvi alone justified the establishment of the Nadva. However, Syed Suleman Nadvi was not alone; a galaxy of scholars like Riyasat Ali Nadvi, Najeeb Ashraf Nadvi, Abdul Hye Nadvi, Muzzafaruddin, and Abul Hasan Nadvi were among the ulema produced by the Nadva. They excelled in historiography, literary criticism and theology. Shibli's successor and official biographer, Maulana Syed Suleman Nadvi, was also a pupil of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, the renowned *alim* from Deoband. Due to his influence, the Nadva began to lean more towards Deoband than towards Aligarh. Shibli's impact on his first generation of disciples was limited, but he was able to influence considerably the second generation. This was no mean achievement.

Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam

The Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam was founded against the backdrop of Christian missionary activity in the Punjab. It was not a policy of the British Raj to convert the natives to Christianity, but missionaries, mostly European, were engaged in converting the poorer section of society. Another challenge came from the Arya Samaj who had made it their mission to reconvert to Hinduism the descendants of those who had converted to Islam. The Anjuman represented a beleaguered minority when it was formed. The initiative to found a society to support Islam and prevent conversion was taken by Qazi Khalifa Hameed ud Din, scion of a noble family of Lahore. The Anjuman was founded on 24 September 1884. The other office bearers were Maulvi Ghulam ullah Qasuri (Honorary Secretary) Munshi Chiragh Din and Munshi Pir Bakhsh (joint secretaries) and Munshi Abdur Rahim Khan (Treasurer).

By the end of December 1885, there were 600 members. Their office was set up in the Haveli of Sikander Khan. The Anjuman raised its funds in a novel manner; every member would put a handful of wheat flour in an earthern vessel every day. The volunteers would collect this flour and go from door to door selling the flour for one and a half rupees. In this way the Anjuman raised Rs 754 per month but spent only Rs 344.

There were four aims of the Anjuman as determined by the founders: to counter the propagation of Christian missionaries and Arya Samajists, to preserve Islamic values, to spread religious and modern education to the youth of the community, and to further social and cultural development. The last aim was taken very seriously. The Anjuman not only founded educational institutions for boys and girls but also for adults. It founded orphanages and shelters for women. It founded seven boys' schools, two girls' schools and also the famous Islamia College which became no less an 'arsenal' than Aligarh during the Pakistan Movement. Muslim politics in the Punjab took many turns, but it was the Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam which gave the Muslim cause its constant attention.

Only after the Anjuman had established its credentials by collecting funds from its own members, did the rulers of the Princely states, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Amir of Bahawalpur, the Nawabs of Bhopal and Rampur, start sending their contributions. King Habibullah of Afghanistan had the Habibiya Hall of Islamia College built. One feature of the Anjuman was to have its annual sessions presided over by literary luminaries such as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulana Shibli Nomani, and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. However, the most distinguished personage was Allama Iqbal. Allama Iqbal had stopped reciting at the *Mushairas*, but recited his long poems from 1903 onwards. The first such poem was *Nala-e-Yateem* (The Lament of an Orphan). Copies of Allama Iqbal's poems were sold on the spot, thereby generating more funds.

Other dignitaries who served the Anjuman as presidents were Sir Muhammad Shafi, Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir Abdul Qadir and Sir Fazli Husain. They ensured not only quality education for Muslims, but also performed social and political services when the political forces of Punjab such as the Unionist government, were hostile. It was the students of Islamia College who brought Jinnah safely to Minto Park in a procession for the historic Lahore Session, in the very tense atmosphere created by the Khaksars. It was in the grounds of Islamia College that Jinnah hoisted what was to become the national flag of Pakistan, and it was the students of Islamia College who canvassed for the votes which brought Punjab—the very province whose adherence was most vital to the creation of Pakistan—to the Muslim League. This was the institution that brought together the services of Allama Iqbal and Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Sindh Madrassa-tul-Islam, Karachi

Sindh was the first province to demand separation on the basis of its Muslim majority, and the first province to call for separate Hindu and Muslim federations. Sindh's assembly was the first to demand partition, and Sindh's premier institution, the Sindh Madrassa-tul-Islam, was the *alma mater* of the Founder of Pakistan. All these achievements were made possible by the founding of the Sindh Madrassa.

Sindh Madrassa owed its existence to the efforts and vision of a great benefactor, Hasan Ali Effendi (1830–1895). He conferred directly with Sir Syed when he went to Aligarh to admit his children. Sir Syed was impressed by this devoted man and advised him not to be content with founding a school but to aim at establishing a college and a university too. Hasan Ali Effendi also came into contact with Syed Amir Ali, and it was under the auspices of the National Muhammadi Association, that the Sindh Madrassa was formed.

Hasan Ali Effendi opened the Sindh Madrassa on 1 September 1865 and had it formally inaugurated by the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, on 14 November 1885. Not only did Sindh Madrassa spread education and political awareness throughout Sindh, it also produced the most illustrious students including the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Sir Ghulam Husayn Hidayatullah, Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon, Dr Umar Muhammad Daudpota, Dr I.I. Kazi and a host of other luminaries.

The Sindh Madrassa body, also founded, one after the other, the S.M. Science College, S.M. Arts and Commerce College and S.M. Law College, institutions which had luminaries among their faculty and students. Sindh was known as *Babul Islam*, the gate of Islam in India, and this gate was opened for the emancipation and the glory of Pakistan by the students of Sindh Madrassa ul Islam, Karachi.



1938 - The alumni of Sindh Madrassa demanding Pakistan.

Islamia College, Peshawar

Like the Punjab, the NWFP also had an association called the Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam that founded an institution which grew to be Islamia College, Peshawar. Over time it became the University of Peshawar. In 1890, Babu Haider Thakedar and Mian Abdul Karim set up the Anjuman. An Englishman, George Roos-Keppel (d.1919) collaborated with Nawab Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum and according to Sir Olaf Caroe:

Together they created the Islamia College, now grown into the University of Peshawar. That is their joint and visible monument, the tribute to their foresight and wisdom. No man who was not great, whose imagination did not soar, would have founded a great place of learning on the very margin of the cultivated land, overlooked by the black jaws of Khaibar, open maybe to raiders, on the very site of the furious battle between Akbar Khan and Hari Singh.⁴

This vision infused life into the intellectual and cultural body of the Pathans. In the 1940s, Islamia College had a very distinguished and effective principal, Sir Ian Dixon Scott, who later, as a member of the Viceroy's staff, was to contribute to the uplift of this institution. It is a matter of significance that the Founder of Pakistan chose Sindh Madrassa, Karachi, Islamia College, Peshawar, and Muslim University, Aligarh to bequeath his personal wealth in recognition of their contribution to the Pakistan Movement.

Notes

1. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge University Press, 1972, Reprint, New Delhi, 1988, p. 103.
2. Ibid. p. 171.
3. Usha Sanyal, 'Pir, Shaikh and Prophet' in T.N. Madan (ed.) *Muslim Communities of South Asia*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1995, p. 442.
4. Omid亏, *The Pathans*, London, Macmillan, 1965, p. 424.

Summary

The Educational Movements

1. Sir Syed and Aligarh

After 1857, the Indians concluded that it was not possible to remove the British Military. Also, they felt they should look for the causes of British superiority and thirdly they should prescribe modern education as the remedy for political decline. All this led to reform in religious thought and the adoption of western scientific education.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) called for a reform of the Hindu religion. He wanted a return to ancient Vedic purity, as the Muslims wished to reform to the purity of the early Caliphate.

Raja Raj Mohan Roy favoured Monotheism, a repeal of the caste system, the abolition of *sati* and child marriage, and recommended the remarriage of widows. His organization, the Brahmo Samaj, was outside the inner circle of Hinduism. He was closer to Christianity and Islam. The Bengali intelligentsia listened to his advice to adopt western education and qualify for service under the British.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's (1817–1899) reaction was similar. He tried to modernize Islam, to be realistic, and scientific. He too was branded a heretic.

He had saved British lives in 1857, so some Englishmen paid attention to him. In his writings he stressed that Muslims did not have to oppose British rule. He also said that the lack of communication between the British and the natives was the main cause of the 1857 uprising.

He was a critic of the Congress, with a British president and the blessings of the British.

In 1867, a controversy arose between Hindi and Urdu. The Hindus wanted Hindi to be made the medium of instruction and in the courts. Sir Syed began to now look upon Hindus and Muslims as separate nations.

He employed Shibli Nomani (1857–1914), to teach Islamic Studies at Aligarh.

In 1858 Sir Syed opened a school in Meerabad to impart western education to Muslims. In 1864, he established a Translation Society at Ghazipur.

In 1866, he founded the Aligarh Institute Gazette, then a primary school in 1875.

In 1877, the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, laid the foundations of the College. In 1866, the All-India Muhammadan Education Conference was founded at Aligarh, and spread the spirit and message of Aligarh all over India. Later it was known as the All-Indian Muslim Educational Conference, and became the parent body of the All-India Muslim League in 1906.

In 1920, twenty-two years after Sir Syed's death, Aligarh College became a University. Raja Mohan Roy persuaded the Hindus and Sir Syed persuaded the Muslims, to adopt western education, and English as the medium of instruction.

Sir Syed believed in communal and class interests, and did not want the lower classes to receive modern education. Nevertheless, Aligarh produced a class of Muslim Leaders with a footing in both western and Islamic Culture, conscious of their superiority.

The Qard-i-Azam called Aligarh University his 'arsenal'.

Deoband

Sir Syed was also inspired by Shah Waliullah. He wanted to preserve the future of the Muslim community.

Those who wished to ensure the religious identity of Muslims were based in the Darul Uloom at Deoband in the Saharanpur district of the United Provinces.

It began as a small maktab or primary school, founded in 1867 by Maulana Fazlur Rehman and Maulana Zulfiqar Ali.

The Ulema of Deoband refused all grants and sources of fixed income, believing in Allah's bounty. They were funded mainly by small donations from common people, and today it is the largest seminary after Cairo's Al-Azhar University.

Deoband follows the syllabus of the Madrassa-i-Rahmia founded by Shah Waliullah's father. It was traditional, and Urdu was the medium of instruction. The students were not vocationally trained and so found positions in mosques and madrassahs.

Its creed was derived from the Mujahideen, and therefore, they did not believe in the intercession of Saints, extreme adulation of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and Azadari in Muharram.

The Deobandis were openly hostile to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who favoured the Congress to a certain extent, and opposed the Muslim League.

The Barelvis

Maulana Ahmed Reza Khan of Barelvi (1856–1921) founded the Madrassa Manzar-ul-Islam in his home town. He was a great orator and wrote many *Na'ats*.

He followed the teachings of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, and believed in the great Sufis. He expounded the Two-nation theory and is considered one of the spiritual founders of Pakistan.

Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow

In 1898, this movement began as an attempt to strike a balance between the Deobandis and the Barelvis. When Shibli Nomani joined the movement, it gained great importance.

Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam

Founded in 1884 against the backdrop of Christian missionary activity in the Punjab, it was engaged in converting the poorer sections of society.

The Arya Samaj posed another challenge, whose mission was to reconvert to Hinduism the descendants of those who had converted to Islam.

The offices of the Anjuman were set up in the Haveli of Sikander Khan in Lahore, and raised money by selling flour, from door-to-door.

The Anjuman's aims were:

- 1) to counter Christian missionary and Arya Samaj propaganda;
- 2) to preserve Islamic Values;
- 3) to spread religious and modern education to the youth of the community;
- 4) social and cultural development.

It founded schools, adult educational centres, orphanages, shelters for women, and the famous

Islamia College, which was a second 'arsenal' during the Pakistan Movement.

Rulers of the princely states began to contribute to the Anjuman, as did the King of Afghanistan. Its annual sessions were presided over by important literary personages most of all by Allama

Iqbal. The Quaid-i-Azam hosted what was to become Pakistan's national flag in the grounds of Islamia College.

Sindh Madrassatul Islam, Karachi

Sindh was the first province to demand separation on the basis of its Muslim majority. The Sindh Madrassa was the Quaid-i-Azam's *alma mater*.

Hassan Ali Effendi (1830–1895), founded this institution in 1865, on the advice of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. It spread education and political awareness throughout Sindh and produced many illustrious students.

It also gradually founded the S. M. Science College, the S. M. Arts and Science College and S. M. Law College.

Islamia College, Peshawar

The NWFP also had its Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, which became Islamia College, Peshawar. Later it became the University of Peshawar. The Quaid-i-Azam bequeathed his personal wealth to this institution along with Aligarh University, in recognition of their contribution to the Pakistan Movement.

Questions

1. Describe the effects of modern scientific education on the progress of South Asia.
2. Detail the contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to the educational uplift of Muslims.
3. What was the role of Deoband in the awakening of the Indian Muslims?
4. Recount the contribution of Islamia College, Peshawar to the achievement of Pakistan.
5. Describe the role of Sindh Madrassa in shaping national politics.

Part III

The Resurgence of Muslim Political Forces

Chapter 11

The Political Aspects of the Aligarh Movement

Political activity began at the turn of the 20th century. When Urdu was curtailed, Muslims formed the Urdu Defence Association on 2 May 1900 at Aligarh. The next stage was the Partition of Bengal on 16 October 1905 at Calcutta, which led to violent Hindu protest. As a reaction, the conservative section of Muslims formed the Simla Deputation on 1 October 1906, while the radical element established the All-India Muslim League on 30 December 1906 at Dhaka.

The Muslim community of India had developed its centre at Aligarh in the aftermath of the 1857 uprising. Only two years after the death of their leader, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the Muslims of the United Provinces received a cultural setback with the introduction of Hindi by the British in 1900. Since the use of Urdu had been actually banned in Bihar, the U.P. Muslims were alarmed. Although Sir Syed had warned Muslims against political activity against the British, the resurgence of the Hindi-Urdu conflict forced the Muslims to disregard his advice: after all, it was the 1867 Hindi-Urdu conflict which had originally led Sir Syed to formulate his Two-Nation theory. Muslims began to organize themselves politically and to protest against the official decision. Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, the new Secretary of Aligarh College, organized the Urdu Defence Association on 2 May 1900.

Urdu had replaced Persian as the official language in 1837. Thirty years later the Hindi-Urdu conflict broke out. Four years later, on 7 November 1871 at Muzaffarpur, the Lt. Governor of Bihar, G. Campbell banned the use of Urdu in offices and schools. On 13 May 1872, the Muslims organized a public protest at Aligarh followed by a meeting on 18 August 1872 in Lucknow.

These activities invited the wrath of Sir Anthony McDonnell, the Lt. Governor of U.P. He had moved the Hindi resolution and, feeling that he had been defied, forced Mohsinul Mulk to resign

from the Urdu Defence Association. These measures politicalized the Muslims even more. In October 1901, a meeting of Muslim notables was called at the Lucknow residence of Hamid Ali Khan. It was here that the Mahomedan Political Association was formed.

The Partition of Bengal

The earliest associations that the Muslims had formed were in Calcutta. On 31 January 1856, the Mohammadan Association, with Fazlur Rahman as President and Mohammad Mazhar as Secretary was founded. The Mahomedan Literary Society was founded in 1863 by Nawab Abdul Latif. The first open political body was established in 1878 by Syed Amir Ali, called the National Mahomedan Association. It was in Bengal that the British had first established themselves, and built their own capital city, Calcutta, which led the rest of India in adopting western education, manners and fashions.

It should be noted that political activity as such was a British importation. The native rule for centuries had been autocratic; what passed for politics was intrigues and conspiracies. The democratic ideals of Europe came along with western education. Politics as a public activity began with the founding of the Indian National Congress with official encouragement by a British president, Allen Octavio Hume. But in 1905 Lord Curzon, the viceroy, was exasperated with the Congress.

Bengal was a large, thickly populated area and Calcutta had to administer not only British India but the Bengal Presidency itself. Lord Curzon, for reasons of facilitating administration, divided Bengal into two parts, West and East. To East Bengal was added Assam. Although both parts of Bengal were to be under British rule, the creation of a new province in the east led to sharp Hindu protest.

Bengal was a Muslim majority area but the Muslims seemed not to be aware of this, because in West Bengal, where Calcutta was located, there was a concentration of Hindus. Muslim rule under the Nawabs of Murshidabad practically ended in 1757 and in the 1857 upheaval the vestige of Muslim revivalist movements like those of Titu Mir and the Faraidi had been wiped out.

The reason why there was such a hue and cry was that West Bengal became predominantly Hindu and East Bengal predominantly Muslim. The Hindu reaction was visibly religious. The protest meeting on 16 October 1905, the day the partition took effect, was organized at the Kali temple. The protest was swiftly and efficiently arranged because the vested interests of the professional classes were in danger.

The professional classes in the main cities grew as the result of western education. These classes were led by lawyers. During the Hindi-Urdu controversy of 1900 it was noted that most of the leaders from both sides had been lawyers. Knowing the law of their masters they could plead for their clients in the courts and for their country in the assemblies. They had large incomes and an independent status, therefore they could afford to enter the political arena. Lawyers practised in the Chief Court in Calcutta which had its jurisdiction over all of Bengal, thus they had clients throughout Bengal.

Next came the doctors who were highly educated and, since they could cure a number of diseases that traditionally trained *hakims* or *veds* could not, they were highly regarded. Sometimes the doctor would be the only educated person in an entire village, therefore his opinion, even on political matters, carried weight. Third in line were the professors of Calcutta University. Though they were employed by the government and were not allowed to participate in political activities, they enjoyed an autonomous status and could influence students indirectly. When Sir Asutosh Mukherji became Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, he prescribed Lord Byron's poem *The Childe Harold* in the syllabus. This poem filled the students with revolutionary fervour.

Following partition, the new Muslim majority province of East Bengal and Assam threatened the wealth and influence of the professional classes. The new province would have a new chief court, a new medical college hospital and a new university, all located in Dhaka. The Calcutta lawyers would lose half their briefs, and the Dhaka lawyers would gain them along with the money and influence. The doctors of Calcutta would lose half their patients who would, for reasons of convenience and economy, seek doctors and hospitals closer at hand. Doctors from the region would have greater opportunities for education and practice. The university of Dhaka would cater to students not able to obtain admission in Calcutta, and teaching posts would go to local people.

Because of the lead the Hindus had in all three professions, all the new posts and opportunities would initially go to them. But they saw all the implications and looked ahead. Dominance in Calcutta, in undivided Bengal, seemed to them the more secure policy. The people of Bengal were united by language but divided by religion. At that juncture religion became the over riding sentiment, and the Kali temple in Calcutta became the starting point of agitation against partition.

The Indian National Congress, thoroughly disliked by Curzon, was still under the control of the moderates led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915). But a radical group supporting the protest sprang up led by Balgangadhar Tilak (1856–1920), and Lala Lajpat Rai (1865–1928).

Leaders of the Agitation

1. Surinder Nath Bannerjee (1848–1925)
2. Jatindra Mohan Tagore (1831–1908)
3. Narendra Nath Sen. (1843–1911)
4. Motilal Ghose (1847–1922)
5. Bipin Chandra Pal (1858–1932)

Very early in the term of the new province, its Lieutenant Governor, Sir Bampfylde Fuller (1854–1935), was forced to resign. He had been dealing with the agitation firmly and was widely considered pro-Muslim and was indeed looked up to by the Muslims whom the partition had benefited. Fuller had disaffiliated two schools in Serajgung because their students had taken part in the agitation. This was disallowed by Lord Minto (1847–1914) the new viceroy, and Fuller resigned. The Muslims of Bengal mourned the removal of Fuller just as the Muslims of UP had rejoiced over the retirement of McDonnell. It seems that, rather than adopting a policy of 'Divide and Rule', British functionaries were themselves divided into pro-Hindu and pro-Muslim groups. Fuller's resignation was seen with foreboding by Bengal Muslims. They had been encouraged by policy statements of the British that the partition of Bengal was a settled issue. Sir Bampfylde Fuller's resignation showed that this resolve could weaken.

The resolve was broken because the agitation was marked by violence. This violence was uninhibited, it was directed against the highest dignitaries and not confined to India. Sir Curzon Wyllie, Political Secretary to John Morely, Secretary of State, was killed in London on 1 July 1909. Two successive viceroys were attacked along with their wives, but survived. Lord and Lady Hardinge were attacked in Ahmadabad on 13 November 1909. After the partition was annulled, on 23 December 1912, Lord and Lady Hardinge were attacked in Delhi; Lord Hardinge survived but was severely injured.

In Bihar, a Public Prosecutor and a Deputy Superintendent of Police were assassinated. A judge in Muzaffarpur escaped when he was attacked but a European lady and her daughter were killed.

Trains and telegraph lines were a constant target of terrorism. Three attempts to derail trains were recorded and twelve attempts were made to bomb them.

As a result of these activities, two groups of Muslim politicians emerged. One, centred in Bengal, grateful for the creation of the Muslim province of East Bengal and Assam, was concerned to see that it was not undone. Another group, centred mostly in UP, realizing that the British, exasperated with the Hindus, might be sympathetic to their plight, decided to approach the Viceroy, Lord Minto at his summer residence at Simla.

The Simla Deputation

The Simla Deputation that called on the Viceroy Lord Minto, on 1 October 1906, was led by Sir Aga Khan III. The Aga Khan was chosen with the confidence that the British would listen to him. As Secretary of the Aligarh College, Mohsinul Mulk was the successor of Sir Syed and it was expected that the Muslim community would listen to him. Mohsinul Mulk had to incur a personal loan of Rs 2000 from Kings and Kings Company. The Memorial was drafted by Nawab Imadul Mulk (1844–1926) and was signed by 1,461,183 Muslims. The Deputation stressed that the Muslims were a large and distinct community in India and formed at least one-fifth of the total Indian population. They said their importance should not be measured only by their population, but by their cultural and historical role. They mentioned that Muslims had been the rulers of India barely a century before.

Their four demands were for separate electorates for Muslims, weightage, a larger share in government service, and the status of a university for Aligarh College.

In his reply, Lord Minto expressed profound sympathy for the Muslims especially their plea that their importance extended beyond their numbers. He mentioned that the partition of Bengal was a settled issue, although the Deputation did not directly mention this. He did not mention any other demand, for example giving more government and judicial posts to Muslims or elevating the Aligarh College to the status of a university.

Contrary to the general impression, Lord Minto did not accept any of the demands of the delegates. He was sympathetic but did not commit himself to any step whatsoever.



The Demands of the Simla Deputation

1. *Separate electorates.* This meant that Muslim voters would be registered separately from the Hindus and would vote only for Muslim candidates. The candidates could be independent or belong to any party.
2. *Weightage.* This meant that minorities would be given more representation than their population proportion. For example, the Muslims of UP were thirteen per cent of the population; they would get twenty per cent representation.
3. *Government and Judicial Service.* This was the most sought after employment. It brought handsome salaries, power, and influence in society at large. People adopted western education mainly to qualify for such posts. Appointments as judges were even more prestigious. Judges were supposed to judge impartially between the government and the people. They enjoyed an autonomous status which even English officers had to respect.
4. *Aligarh* was the nerve centre of the Muslim political revival. As long as the College was subordinate to a university for examinations and award of degrees, it could not freely prescribe its own syllabus or award post-graduate degrees. The College acquired university status in 1920.

The demands for separate electorates was based on practical considerations. The Muslims of Bengal, who comprised more than 50 per cent of Indian Muslims, had a little over 10 per cent representation in provincial councils.¹

The demand for separate electorates was not achieved at Simla, but was the means by which the demand for Pakistan was ultimately achieved. Two years later, on 27 November 1908, Lord Morely (1838–1923), the Secretary of State for India, suggested a new system for Muslim representation: reservation, but not separate electorates. Lord Minto did not object to the new scheme and the Muslims began to display anxiety. The Honorary Secretary of the Muslim League, Syed Hasan Bilgrami, commented that under Morely's scheme, all the Muslim votes of a constituency would be insufficient to elect the candidate of their choice. The reservation of seats would only ensure that the Hindus could elect any Muslim they nominated. When Muslims raised a storm of protest, Morely said in effect that there could be separate electorates but no weightage. Still later, after Syed Hasan Bilgrami and Syed Amir Ali had applied pressure, Morely conceded separate electorates at all levels. Bilgrami had argued on 23 February 1909 in Parliament, that separate electorates were already practised in some constituencies; the Muslims only wanted the law to be applied all over India. It was the deputation which met Morely on 23 February 1909 in London that made separate electorates a part of the constitution in 1909. [See chapter 12]

The Conspiracy Theory

It is often alleged that the Simla Deputation was a British conspiracy to subvert the movement for Indian Independence. The Simla Deputation was called by the Viceroy following the announcement of the acceptance of separate electorates which divided the Hindus and Muslims, it was alleged.

Fuller's departure caused discomfiture to Muslims. Mohsinul Mulk wrote to A.J. Archbold, Principal of Aligarh College to ask if Lord Minto would receive a delegation of Muslims. Archbold contacted the Viceroy's Secretary, Dunlop Smith, in Simla who, after using persuasion, replied to Mohsinul Mulk that a delegation would be welcome. Archbold's reply was quoted but Mohsinul Mulk's letter was suppressed to create an impression that the initiative came through Archbold. While insisting that a conspiracy existed, Peter Hardy wrote that, 'The members of the Simla Deputation knew in advance that they would not, to say the least, meet

with a hostile reception from Lord Minto, and that this preknowledge powerfully influenced the requests they made and the manner in which they made them'. Francis Robinson, on the other hand refutes this argument by observing that, 'Yet in October 1906 Minto promised and intended to promise nothing except sympathy'. The correspondence between Morely and Minto also confirms that the initiative had not come from the British, nor did the Muslims gain anything from sending this deputation. It has assumed importance only because it was seen as a step leading to the foundation of the Muslim League.

Note

1. R.A. Zakaria, *Muslims of India 1885–1905*, London University Thesis, 1948, p. 155.

Summary

The Political Aspects of Aligarh Movement

In 1900, when the use of Urdu was curtailed, Muslims formed the Urdu Defence Association at Aligarh.

- In 1905, the Partition of Bengal led to violent Hindu protest.
- In 1906, conservative Muslims formed the Simla Deputation, and in the same year radical Muslims established the All India Muslim League.
- The Simla Deputation demanded separate electorates and weightage for Muslim.

Questions

1. Describe the effects of the partition of Bengal. By whom and why was the partition opposed?
2. The professional classes of lawyers, doctors and professors had a vested interest in united Bengal. Explain.
3. Who were the leaders of the Simla Deputation? Why was it formed?
4. What were the demands presented by the Simla Deputation?
5. Explain the meaning of separate electorates.

Chapter 12

The Formation of the All-India Muslim League – 1906

Background

Political parties are the gift of British rule in India. Britain has a constitutional monarchy which means that the actual conduct of government is not carried out by the monarch but by elected members of parliament. When the British decided to introduce into India their own system of education they were also introducing their concept of democracy. They did not introduce their political practices and concepts because they had conquered India by force of arms and naturally wished to rule autocratically. In Britain, on the other hand, there were statesmen who forced the East India Company to act responsibly and respect the human rights of the conquered people. This can be illustrated by a brief summary of the Acts in the constitutional history of India on page 83. These were not constitutions in the normal sense, because a constitution contains the terms according to which a people wish to live together. Since these were imposed by foreign rulers these Acts did not have this feature. A constitution is also a law which is the basis of all other laws.

When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan analysed the causes of the ‘Indian Revolt’ of 1857, he stressed that the uprising took place because there was no communication, no contacts, between the British and Indian races. The only way known to the British for removing this barrier between the ruler and the ruled was parliamentary democracy run by political parties. People who shared similar opinions about public matters, came together and formed political parties. These parties participated in elections and sought votes on the basis of their programmes. Whichever party secured a majority in parliament formed the government. It was up to the people to retain or reject the party in power during the next elections.

The Indian National Congress

It was with the object to have representative institutions that the British actively sponsored the formation of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1885. Its first President was an Englishman, Allen Octavio Hume. Gokhale was later to admit that without British patronage, the Congress would not have been successful. The Bengal Councils Act which practically introduced the principle of self-government came seven years after the formation of the Congress, in 1892.

With British support and Indian participation, the Congress would have been the most natural means to attain self-government. This did come about, but not as fully as expected for two reasons.

Democracy Suitable to India

The first reason was that the British wished to transfer power gradually, not completely and not immediately. The second reason was that Sir Syed, who had himself advocated communication

between the British and the Indians, challenged the representative character of the Congress, saying that it did not represent the Muslims. In 1887, Sir Syed publicly asked Muslims not to join the Congress. Since the Hindi-Urdu conflict of 1867, he had asserted that Hindus and Muslims, were different nations. The Congress would represent the majority community, the Hindus; and Muslim representation would be by default as the Muslims were outnumbered four to one and were unable to secure adequate representation.

When Sir Syed told the Muslims not to join the Congress, he also discouraged them from joining or forming any political party. He explained that it was in the nature of political parties to confront the government sooner or later. Some Muslims, knowing that the British were themselves patronizing the Congress, found this hard to believe. But it was true, and within twenty years of its founding, Lord Curzon had become totally alienated from the Congress, so much so that the very concept of a political party became distasteful to the British. This is how it came about that the Congress, which was founded by the British, was seen by them as being hostile, while the All-India Muslim League, which was formed against the wishes of the government, came to be seen as pro-British.



The AIML at Shahbagh, Dhaka 30 December 1906.

Who founded the Muslim League?

It is generally assumed that the same leaders of the Simla Deputation also founded the All-India Muslim League (AIML). This is far from true. It was mentioned earlier that the conservative and extreme, section of Muslims led the Simla Deputation, while the radical, that is the more revolutionary led by Aga Khan III and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, and the radical section led by Nawabs Viqarul Mulk (1841–1917) and Saleemullah (1884–1915) were similar but not identical.

The Muslims of Bengal, led by Saleemullah, the Nawab of Dacca (now Dhaka) were concerned mainly that the partition of Bengal should not be undone. Sir Bampfylde Fuller's removal had sounded a warning bell and Bengali Muslims were apprehensive that the British might yield to violence. The leaders of the Simla Deputation had made no direct mention of Bengal's partition. The Muslims from minority provinces were concerned mostly with separate electorates. The

Nawab of Dhaka was not present in Simla and Sir Aga Khan was not present in Dhaka. The Aga Khan was of the opinion that the issue of forming a political party should be left to a future generation of Muslims. The annual session of the All India Muslim Education Conference was to be held at Dhaka in December. The Secretary of the Conference, Mohsinul Mulk, who was also the Secretary of the Simla Deputation, wrote an article in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* forbidding any political discussion at Dhaka. The delegates to the Muslim Educational Conference completely disregarded Mohsinul Mulk's article and founded the AIML at Dhaka on 30 December 1906. Nawab Viqarul Mulk presided. The British, who were averse to the creation of a new party, were given the excuse that if Muslim youth were not given a political party of their own, they would flock to the Congress. However, when the aims and objectives, rules and regulations of the party were being framed, the older generation gained the upper hand.

In retrospect, the anxiety or anger of the British over the formation of a new political party seems to have been somewhat exaggerated; but it seemed very real then. The aims and objects of the AIML were therefore expressed in terms of abject loyalty. No doubt, some members felt the need to placate the British so that the partition of Bengal would take place. For some, this may have been only a stratagem to overcome British disapproval by showing their loyalty. Both factions felt the need to show unity and the above stated objectives were adopted. Being pro-British was one criticism that the AIML faced, the other was that the party was an elite organization, not representative of the people. In 1906, this was quite true.

The main development following the foundation of the AIML was the passage of the Morely-Minto Reforms, or India Councils Act 1909 (for details, see The Constitutional History of India on p. 70). The demand for separate electorates was finally accepted in these Reforms. From the notes on the Simla Deputation, it is evident that Lord Minto had not actually accepted the Muslim demand, and that the Honorary Secretary of the Muslim League, Syed Hasan Bilgrami, had to struggle to have it accepted in London. In the end it took three years from the staging of the demand to its acceptance. In his presidential address to the first AIML session in Karachi in 1907, Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy (1845–1913) admitted that the Viceroy had made no commitment. Lord Minto himself wired Morely on 2 May 1909 that:

If interpreted literally that would involve separate Muslim electorates within the various electorates proposed.... This is manifestly impractical and has never been suggested.

Seven months later Morely wrote to Minto saying that his reply to the Simla Deputation had first raised the hopes of the Muslims. Perhaps it was the intention of the Viceroy to convey this impression but to offer nothing concrete.

Aims and Objectives of the All-India Muslim League (AIML) 1906

- To promote among *Musalmans* of India, the feeling of loyalty to the British Government and remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.
- To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the *Musalmans* of India and to represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- To prevent the rise among the *Musalmans* of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.

Aims and Objectives of the All-India Muslim League (AIML) 1906 (contd...)

Profile of the AIML

The membership of the All-India Muslim League was limited to 400 members. Members had to be over 25 years of age, as well as:

- literate in an Indian language,
- have an annual income of more than Rs 500,
- be able to pay Rs 25 as entry fees, and
- Rs 25 as an annual subscription.

Revised Aims and Objects of the AIML 1912

1. To maintain and promote among the people of India feelings of loyalty to the British Crown.
2. To protect and advance the political and other rights of the Muslims of India.
3. Without detriment to the pregoing objectives, to attain under the aegis of the British crown, a system self-government suitable to India through constitutional means.

Summary

The Formation of the All India Muslim League-1906

The British wished to transfer power to the Indians gradually.

The British wished to transfer power to the Indians gradually.

- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan challenged the representative character of the Congress, saying it did not represent the Muslims.
- In December 1906, the annual session of the All India Muslim Education Conference was to be held at Dhaka. The secretary of the Conference, Mohsin ul Mulk, who was also secretary of the Simla Deputation, forbade any political discussion at Dhaka. The delegates disregarded him and founded the All India Muslim League (AIML) at Dhaka on 30 December 1906.
- The British were extremely angry at the formation of this new party.
- The party was criticized for being pro-British, and for being an elite organization, that did not represent the people.
- The Morely-Minto Reforms or the India Councils Act 1909 was passed as a development following the foundation of the AIML. The separate electorate demand was accepted after a great struggle.

Questions

1. Describe the background to the foundation of the All-India Muslim League. What were its aims?
2. Explain British feelings about the Muslim League?
3. Why did the British encourage the formation of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League?
4. 'The Muslim League in 1906 was a party of the rich and privileged'. Comment.
5. Describe the influence of the Simla Deputation on the founding of the Muslim League.

Chapter 13

The Lucknow Pact 1916

The period from the Delhi Durbar in 1911 to the Nehru Report of 1928 is seen as one of Hindu-Muslim cooperation. The Lucknow Pact, the Khilafat Movement, the Delhi Muslim Proposals and the Simon Commission all came about during this period.

Delhi Durbar 1911

The King of England was the Emperor of India. For most of his Indian subjects however, he was a distant and awe inspiring figure. Only King George V visited India. He held court at Delhi. *Durbar* being the Indian word for Court, his presence was recalled as the Delhi Durbar.

King George V used this ceremonial occasion to make two announcements: that the partition of Bengal was annulled and that the capital would be shifted from Calcutta to Delhi. The British had repeatedly called the partition of Bengal a ‘settled issue’ but within six years it was undone. A common reaction was that the result of this reversal would be for Indians to think that agitation was the only way to change British decisions and that their just word was not reliable.

This was also the reaction of Indian Muslims. The partition of Bengal had so far been the only British decision which had benefited the Muslims. It was to uphold this decision that Dhaka was chosen as the venue for the formation of the All-India Muslim League (AIML). The announcement that the capital would be shifted to Delhi, the old Muslim capital, made no impression because it was considered to be an empty gesture.

Violence had forced the British to undo the partition of Bengal. This gave rise to a slogan, ‘No bombs, no boons’. The shock led Muslims to a major policy reconsideration. Fortunately there were some Muslim Congress-men for whom the independence of India was the primary goal, and communal safeguards were secondary. These politicians had previously refused to join the Muslim League, because they thought it pro-British. Most prominent of these leaders were Sir Wazir Hasan (1874–1947), Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar (1878–1931), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958) and Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948). These leaders helped Wazir Hasan, the Honorary Secretary of the Muslim League to change the party’s creed, transforming it from a loyalist to a revolutionary party..

These were far-reaching changes. Allegiance to the British Crown instead of the British government implied a vast constitutional difference. Allegiance to the British Crown meant that Indians would be self-governing like other dominions of the British Commonwealth such as Canada and Australia. The provision for self-government ‘suitable to India’ meant that a joint freedom struggle would still be based on separate electorates. Thus some difficulties remained in the way of Hindu-Muslim cooperation since not only Hindus but some prominent Muslim leaders including Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan had spoken against separate electorates. These leaders were able to create goodwill which enabled Hindu-Muslim cooperation to last from the Delhi Durbar in 1911 to the Nehru Report in 1928.

Lucknow Pact 1916

The era of Hindu-Muslim harmony overlapped with the duration of the First World War (1914–1918). This cooperation was formalized by a pact midway through the war which was to be the high point of Hindu-Muslim rapprochement. The leaders who effected it were Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Wazir Hasan on one side and Ambica Charan Mazumdar (1851–1922) and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920) on the other. The pact which was signed in Lucknow on 30 December 1916, provided for a joint struggle against British rule and attainment of representative government in India. The Congress, in view of the changed creed of the Muslim League, agreed to both separate electorates and weightage.

For the Congress it was an achievement that the Muslim League would be a partner and not a rival in the freedom struggle. For the Muslim League, Congress support for separate electorates and weightage was of equal importance. It is true that the British had finally accepted these demands under the Morely-Minto Reforms, but Congress support was more reassuring. The partition of Bengal and its annulment had shown that whatever the British gave, they could take back under Hindu pressure.

Within the Muslim community however, the Lucknow Pact did not enjoy equal popularity. In the Muslim majority provinces of the Punjab and Bengal it caused resentment.

There was a general agreement over separate electorates. We have seen how, despite being in a majority in Bengal, Muslims were not a majority in the Council. Weightage was also producing the same result. In the minority provinces of UP for example, Muslims constituted 14 per cent of the population, but were given 30 per cent representation. In Madras, Muslims made up less than 7 per cent of the population but were given 15 per cent representation. This enhancement did not bring any concrete benefits as the Muslims were a minority, and they remained a minority. In return the Bengali Muslims surrendered 25 per cent, and in Punjab 10 per cent of their entitlement. This reduced the Muslim majority to a minority and proved detrimental to the Muslims.

Weightage was tied to separate electorates, and separate electorates was desired by all Muslims. This disadvantage was not immediately apparent as the Congress agreed to extend this principle to the Punjab and Central Provinces where it had not been imposed by the British.

On the larger Indian stage, the Lucknow Pact actually marked a culmination and not a new beginning. By signing the Lucknow Pact, Jinnah was playing the role of 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity'. This phrase was first coined for Jinnah by Gopal Krishna Gokhale and given currency by Sarojini Naidu (1878–1949). Jinnah could play this role because, at that time, he enjoyed equal eminence in both the Congress and the Muslim League.

However, this phase did not last because a year earlier, in 1915, Gopal Krishna Gokhale had died and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) had returned to India. Gandhi was present in Lucknow when the Lucknow Pact was signed, but had 'no high opinion of it'. The Pact had the approval of Congress, but since it lacked endorsement by Gandhi, this instrument of Hindu-Muslim cooperation did not last long.

Summary

The Lucknow Pact 1916

The period from the Delhi Durbar in 1911 to the Nehru Report of 1928 is viewed as one of Hindu-Muslim Cooperation.

The Lucknow Pact, the Khilafat Movement, the Delhi Muslim Proposals and the Simon Commission all came about during this period.

Delhi Durbar 1911

In 1911, King George V visited India and held court at Delhi. Here he made two announcements:

- i) the Partition of Bengal was annulled and ii) the capital was to be re-located from Calcutta to Delhi.

The Partition had benefited the Muslims, and now many prominent Muslim leaders joined the League.

Lucknow Pact 1916

This was to be the high-point of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Quaid-i-Azam and Wazir Hasan on the one hand, and Ambica Charan Mazumdar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak on the other brought about this unity. The pact called for a joint struggle against British rule and attainment of representative government in India. The congress agreed to both separate electorates and weightage.

By signing this pact, the Quaid-i-Azam was playing the role of 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity'.

However, the return of Mohan Das Gandhi to India a year earlier, paved the way for a different Hindu attitude and the cooperation did not last long.

Questions

1. Why did the British annul the partition of Bengal in 1911?
2. Describe the role of Syed Wazir Hasan in changing the aims and objectives of the Muslim League.
3. Why did the Muslim League try to co-operate with the Congress Party?
4. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 marked the peak of Hindu-Muslim cooperation. Comment.
5. What was M.K. Gandhi's opinion of the Lucknow Pact?

Chapter 14

The Khilafat Movement 1918–1924

The Muslims of India had an emotional attachment to the Khilafat ('Caliphate' in English). Powerful Sultans were proud to receive investitures from the Caliphs of Cairo who were little more than prisoners of the Egyptian Sultan. In the twentieth century, this attachment took on a different aspect: the Muslims of India, deprived of power themselves, looked up to the Ottoman Caliphate as the only surviving symbol of Muslim glory.

For most of British rule in India, Britain and Turkey were allies. This partly helped to reconcile Muslims to British rule. During the First World War, there was a complete reversal of alliances; Turkey became an ally of Germany against Britain and when Germany lost the war, it was proposed that the Ottoman Caliphate be deprived of all its territories. This caused an uproar among the Indian Muslims, and when the Treaty of Sèvres was imposed, the protest became organised.

The Roles of Gandhi and Jinnah

The events in the Middle East caused some dramatic and permanent changes in Indian politics. Towards the end of the war, the British had badly needed Indian cooperation. Tilak and Jinnah withheld cooperation until the British allowed Indian soldiers to be commissioned into the army. Stanley Wolpert states that Gandhi frustrated them by offering the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford unconditional support. When the war ended, Gandhi joined the Muslim agitation over the Khilafat.

Jinnah, on the other hand, discouraged discussion of the Khilafat issue in the AIML Council but was overruled. Jinnah wrote to Gandhi, warning him against raising the religious sentiments of the masses, but Gandhi would not agree even though the religious sentiments would be those of Muslims and not Hindus. Above all, Jinnah wanted both the Congress and the Muslim League to concentrate on Indian issues. This caused him and the Muslim League to be sidelined exactly at the time when Hindu-Muslim unity was touching new heights.

The leaders of the Khilafat Movement, as a gesture of goodwill, agreed not to slaughter cows because cows are sacred to the Hindus. For the first time a large number of leaders, mostly from the ulema class, came forward to join the Khilafat Movement.

The Events

The Khilafat Committee was formed on 20 March 1919 in Bombay. As a follow-up, the All-India Khilafat Conference was founded on 23 November 1919, in Delhi, with 300 members. The following day, Gandhi was elected leader of the joint Hindu-Muslim Committee. On the same day, Hasrat Mohani moved a resolution calling for a progressive boycott of European goods. The resolution was passed by a majority, but was opposed by Gandhi personally.

Later, however, Gandhi supported the same resolution and started a Non-Cooperation Movement. First in Calcutta and then in the Nagpur Congress Session of 1920, a seven-point resolution was passed. When Jinnah opposed the resolution he was shouted down, and as a consequence he resigned from the Congress.



Maulana Shaukat Ali.



Maulana Mohammad Ali.

Non Cooperation

In principle, Jinnah supported some form of non-cooperation but was against extreme and impractical measures. He agreed with the provisions which called for surrendering titles given by the British, refusal to attend official *durbars* or to serve in Mesopotamia (Iraq). What he opposed was the boycott of schools, colleges, and law courts and the boycott of foreign goods. Jinnah said these measures would only harm Indians as they had no replacements for these goods and services.

The high point of the movement was the trial of the Ali Brothers at Khaliqdeena Hall in Karachi. After their arrest, and in front of thousands of their compatriots, their mother Bi Amman made her appearance, rallying women folk to join the movement.

The End of the Movement

This movement, because of its fervour, had a fair chance of success since the British had been weakened by the First World War, but the following external factors brought it to an end:

1. The Moplah's Uprising of August 1921:

Taking national liberation to mean social liberation, the Muslim Moplahs of Malabar set upon their Hindu landlords, killing and looting them. This damaged both Hindu-Muslim relations and Gandhi's creed of non-violence. However, leaders from both sides controlled the extent of the damage.

2. The Chauri Chaura Incident of 5 February 1923:

Police fired on unarmed protesters in the village of Chauri Chaura. In retaliation twenty-two policemen were rounded up and burnt to death. Terming this act as an end to non-violence, Gandhi called off his Non-Cooperation Movement leaving the Khilafat cause in the lurch.

3. The Abolition of the Caliphate—October 1924:

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey itself abolished the office of Caliph or Khalifa. One leader of the Khilafat Movement, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, agreed with the Turkish decision and advised Indian Muslims to leave Turkey to its own fate and to concentrate on matters closer to home. Thus, what Jinnah said at the beginning of the Khilafat Movement, Azad repeated at its end.

Results of the Movement

Among the negative results of the movement the greatest disaster was the Hijrat Movement when Maulana Jauhar asked Muslims to migrate to Afghanistan in February 1921, but Afghanistan closed its borders. Many Muslims who had sold their property cheaply were ruined while many others died.

Secondly, Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew and some other Khilafat leaders spoke out against the Lucknow Pact, saying that it was unnecessary since Hindu-Muslim amity would last forever. In this, they were joined by Hindu leaders. Thus separate electorates, the only political victory gained by the Muslims, became controversial.

Finally, the All-India Muslim League was weakened.

However, all the above negative aspects were counterbalanced by the experience gained in mass agitation: organising processions, conducting strikes and going to jail. Had such a cadre of experience not been available to the Muslim League in the years following 1940, the struggle for Pakistan would have been impossible.

The Leaders of the Khilafat Movement

1. Haji Jan Mohammad Chotani (1873–1932)
2. Maulana Abdul Bari (1878–1926)
3. Maulana Shaukat Ali (1873–1938)
4. Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar (1878–1931)
5. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958)
6. Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew (1888–1963)
7. Maulana Hasrat Mohani (1881–1951)

Summary

The Khilafat Movement 1918–1924

Indian Muslims had an emotional attachment to the Khilafat. They looked up to the Ottoman Caliphate as the only surviving symbol of Muslim glory.

After the First World War, the European powers proposed that the Ottomans should be deprived of their power, as it had been an ally of Germany. This caused an uproar among Indian Muslims.

Gandhi joined the Muslim agitation over the Khilafat. The Quaid-i-Azam discouraged discussion of the issue in the AIML Council and was overruled. He wrote to Gandhi warning him not to encourage religious sentiments, but Gandhi ignored him. The Quaid-i-Azam wanted Hindus and Muslims to concentrate on Indian issues.

The Events

In 1919, the Khilafat Committee was formed and then the All India Khilafat Conference. Gandhi was elected leader of the committee. Hasrat Mohani moved a resolution calling for a progressive

boycott of European goods – this was passed, but Gandhi opposed it. Later he supported it and started a Non-Cooperation Movement.

In 1920, a seven-point resolution was passed in the Congress Session at Nagpur which the Quaid-i-Azam opposed, and consequently resigned from the Congress.

Non-Cooperation

The Quaid supported some form of non-cooperation but was against extreme and impractical measures.

He agreed about surrendering titles given by the British, refusal to attend durbars or to serve in Iraq. He opposed the boycott of schools, colleges, and law courts, and of foreign goods. He felt Indians would be harmed by these boycotts as they had no replacements for these goods and services.

The high point of the movement was the trial of the Ali Brothers at Khaliqdeena Hall in Karachi.

The End of the Movement

Certain factors caused the movement to fail.

1. The Moplah's Uprising in 1921.

The Muslim Moplah's of Malabar set upon their Hindu landlords, looting and killing them.

2. The Chauri Chaura Incident 1923.

Police fired upon unarmed protesters in the village of Chauri Chaura. Twenty-two policemen were burnt to death by protesters. Gandhi called off his Non-Cooperation Movement, as he believed in non-violence. This left the Khilafat Movement in the lurch.

3. The Abolition of the Caliphate 1924.

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey abolished the office of the Caliph or *Khalifa*. Abul Kalam Azad supported this decision and urged Indians to leave Turkey to its own fate and concentrate on internal problems.

Results of the Movement

In 1921, the greatest disaster was the Hijrat Movement, when Maulana Jauhar urged Muslims to migrate to Afghanistan. Afghanistan closed its borders. Many Muslims who had sold their property cheaply were ruined, while many others died.

Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew and some other Khilafat leaders spoke out against the Lucknow Pact, calling it unnecessary. Many Hindus joined their stance, and this made the separate electorate issue controversial.

The AIML was weakened.

However, experience was gained in mass agitation, organizing of processions, conducting of strikes and going to jail. This cadre of experienced workers made the struggle for Pakistan possible.

Questions

1. Did Tilak side with Gandhi or Jinnah in cooperating with the British?
2. Why did Gandhi join the Khilafat Movement?
3. How did the Khilafat Movement influence political development?
4. Who were the leaders of the Khilafat Movement? Assess the role played by Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar in this movement.
5. How did the Khilafat Movement end?

Chapter 15

From Delhi Muslim Proposals to Quaid-i-Azam's Fourteen Points: 1927–1929

Delhi Muslim Proposals 1927

The Lucknow Pact had contained the first constitutional proposals put forward jointly by Hindus and Muslims. Since it was based on separate electorates, which had become controversial during the Khilafat Movement, a new constitutional formula was required to replace it. The Muslim League had lost its appeal by this time and the Congress had not fared much better. Srinavasa Iyengar, the Congress President found that his party had become ineffectual in the Indian Legislative Assembly. He approached Jinnah in the hope that cooperation between the two parties might speed up the process of liberation. Jinnah responded by convening a meeting of thirty Muslim notables on 20 March 1927 in Delhi. Briefly stated, the following proposals were formulated:

1. Sindh should be separated from Bombay and form a new province.
2. Reforms should be introduced in NWFP and Balochistan, making them full provinces.
3. Weightage for Hindu minorities in Muslim provinces should be equal to weightage given to Muslim minorities in Hindu provinces.
4. In the central legislature there should be a one-third representation of Muslims.

In return for these provisions Muslims would agree to joint electorates. A two-thirds majority being traditionally required for any constitutional amendment, a one-third majority at the centre was sufficient for safeguarding arrangements within the provinces.

These proposals presuppose a federal form of government in which the maximum number of subjects (e.g. finance, education etc.) would be vested in the provinces. In a unitary form of government, the centre would have overriding control of the provinces. Muslims wanted power concentrated in the provinces where they would have access to it rather than at the centre where they had no access. Hindus would have no serious objections because traditionally the key federal areas such as Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications would, for the time being, be controlled by the British. Six Muslim provinces, out of a total of thirteen where Muslims constituted one-fifth of the population, would be a very favourable arrangement.

Replacing separate electorates with joint electorates meant that the distribution of power between Hindus and Muslims would be aggregate and not watertight. It would provide a healthy atmosphere for the economic and cultural progress of Muslims. There was a feeling of relief when the Congress, in its 15 May Bombay session, accepted the Delhi Muslim Proposals. The Congress ratified its acceptance of the proposals in its 30 December 1927 Madras meeting. Apparently India was now securely set on the path to freedom. Only the absence of Gandhi from the Madras Congress provides a hint of what the future held.

Two factors impeded the culmination of this process of reconciliation. First was the opposition of the Mahasabha, the fundamentalist Hindu party. The Hindu Mahasabha had accepted only the renunciation of separate electorates and rejected all the other clauses of the proposals (23 March). However, those members of the Hindu Mahasabha who were also members of the Congress did not raise any objection in the Congress sessions.

The Congress was aware of this opposition, but guided by Iyengar and Motilal Nehru, it stayed firm. At one stage they even offered a concession not contained in the original proposals:

No bill or resolution on any communal matter would be passed or even considered if three fourths of the concerned community were opposed to it.

The Hindu Mahasabha carried out insidious propaganda against Motilal Nehru saying that he was a beef-eater. In the end, he had to yield to this propaganda.

The second factor was British opposition; the Simon Commission was appointed to supplant the new Congress–Muslim League proposals.

The Simon Commission 1927

A new constitution to replace the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms had been demanded by political parties and discussed within official circles well before the Delhi Muslim Proposals were formulated, yet the timing of the announcement on 8 November 1927, that an Indian Statutory Commission had been set up, was disruptive.

Statute means law passed by a legislature, and a statutory commission means a body set up by a statute. An Indian Statutory Commission was formed to review the prevailing Government of India Act 1919. It was due in 1929 but was advanced by two years. This commission was called the Simon Commission after its chairman Sir John Simon (1873–1954).

Since no Indian was included in the Commission, the majority of Indian leaders and parties boycotted its proceedings. An All-India Leaders Manifesto issued on 16 November 1927 plainly stated this position. Among the signatories of this manifesto were Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875–1949).

The Madras Congress of December 1927 took three interconnected decisions: (i) to ratify the Delhi Muslim Proposals (ii) to boycott the Simon Commission, and (iii) to set up an All-Parties Committee under Pandit Motilal Nehru to draft a constitution for India. All three steps were positive in nature and had they been acted upon in unison and harmony they would have led to a free and united India.

The All-India Muslim League, in contrast, was a house divided. Its president, Sir Mohammad Shafi (1869–1932) was in favour of cooperating with the Simon Commission, while its honorary secretary, Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, was firmly in favour of boycott. This caused a rift in the Muslim League on 11 December 1927. Sir Mohammad Shafi had with him as honorary secretary and associate secretary Allama Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Maulana Hasrat Mohani, both revolutionary poets, the latter of the fire-brand variety. This was a notable alliance since Hasrat looked down upon even Dominion Status and insisted on full independence. He was expected to side with Kitchlew, but sided with Shafi instead.

Kitchlew, the original honorary secretary, had with him as president first Sir Mohammad Yaqub (1879–1942) and then M.A. Jinnah. Sir Mohammad Shafi presided over the session of the Muslim League in Lahore from 30 December 1927 to 1 January 1928. Sir Mohammad Yaqub presided over his faction's session at Calcutta from 31 December 1927 to 1 January 1928.

The Simon Commission visited India twice; from February to March 1928 and (ii) October 1928 to April 1929. The members included Clement Attlee, the future prime minister of Britain

who saw for himself the intensity of the boycott when he landed in Bombay on 3 February 1928. Leaders from the Muslim aristocracy such as the Maharaja of Mahmudabad (1879–1931) and Sir Abdur Rahim (1867–1947) had become banner-carrying protesters shouting 'Simon Go Back'.

Why did the Muslim aristocracy of the Punjab side with the Simon Commission and go against the political mood of the country? To please their British masters? The answer is not that simple. The group, represented by Shafi, had advised the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, that the time was opportune to appoint a statutory commission and it was at this group's repeated insistence that the Simon Commission was kept all white.

The Shafi Group, as David Page has established, was supporting its own scheme, not its masters'. This faction influenced the Viceroy through Sir Malcolm Hailey (1872–1969) Governor of the Punjab. They took the stance that the induction of Indians in the Commission would encourage Indian representation in the central government in New Delhi while the Punjab Muslim aristocracy, having its leverage in the provincial power structure, was not willing to weaken it by having to defer to Indians at the centre instead of to the British. How they chose to clothe their objectives was to tell the viceroy that provincial administrations were closer to the Indian people than the central administration which the Viceroy governed.

Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State who had angered Jinnah by stating on 24 November 1927 that the induction of Indians would create divisions, did not himself believe in this argument. Unknown to the public, Lord Birkenhead had tried to convince, Lord Irwin of the folly of excluding Indians from the Commission, first as far back as August 1926 and then again in March 1927.

Jinnah, unaware of Birkenhead's actual opinion took his rebuff personally and undertook to produce an agreed constitution for the Indians, by the Indians. Jinnah was confident that since a basic constitutional agreement already existed under the Delhi Muslim Proposals all that the Congress and Muslim League would have to do was emphasize the details, to answer Birkenhead's challenge. For Jinnah, national pride came before personal prestige. He forgot his humiliation at the 1920 Nagpur Congress and preferred a split in the Muslim League to leaving the Congress in the lurch. In the meantime, while Jinnah led the agitation, Gandhi adopted a low profile.

When the recommendations of the Simon Commission were published, they were strongly biased towards empowering the provinces. The provinces would decide what form the federation would take at the centre. Against this background, the Simon Commission recommended that provincial boundaries be redrawn. Various objections were raised against the separation of Sindh and reforms in the NWFP and Balochistan.

The unkindest cut was the recommendation that at the centre, separate electorates be replaced progressively with proportional representation. In the Punjab, separate electorates which would ensure a Muslim majority were rejected. This naturally caused a chorus of protest led by Allama Iqbal. The Simon Commission's recommendations were never implemented and therefore it never served its constitutional purpose, but it served the political purpose of derailing the Hindu-Muslim freedom struggle.

The Nehru Report 1928

The Nehru Report was the first attempt by the Indians to frame a constitution for themselves. Previously they were limited to trying to influence or modify British imposed constitutions. In view of the challenge given by Lord Birkenhead, the 1927 Madras Congress appointed a committee under Pandit Motilal Nehru to frame a constitution. In the same session, his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had moved a resolution calling not for a dominion status but for complete independence. Gandhi considered this an extreme and impractical demand. It seems from the

direction the Nehru Committee took, that the younger Nehru was forcing the hand of both his mentor Gandhi and his father Motilal. According to David Page:

The determination of the author to face the problem and solve it, his condemnation of communal organizations for not wanting to change the existing structure of society, and his faith that in a free India political parties would be formed on an economic basis, all smack strongly of Jawaharlal and not his father.¹

This midway change in policy reflects a change in personalities. Motilal was harassed by Hindu Mahasabha propaganda, not Jawaharlal. He caused the committee to resile from the Delhi Muslim Proposals not due so much to communal considerations as to a liberal outlook which considered communal safeguards out of date.

Recommendations of the Nehru Report

According to the recommendations of the Nehru Report the new central governments were to control all departments without reserving any for the British. A governor general and a prime minister would be appointed by the king. A six member cabinet would be appointed by the governor general but recommended by the prime minister. This system would be repeated in the provinces with governors and chief ministers.

The new features were that (i) the cabinets would be responsible not to their appointing authorities but to their respective assemblies which (ii) would be elected by direct adult franchise.

The distribution of responsibilities between the centre and provinces suggested that the form of government would not be federal. This meant undercutting the very basis of the Delhi Muslim Proposals. As for the creation of new provinces, only conditional support was given to the separation of Sindh. Balochistan would have the same status as the NWFP, which would remain the same, lower than that of a full province, without governor or legislature.

Consideration of the Nehru Report

When the All-Parties Committee met at Lucknow on 28 August 1928, it was apparent that of all the safeguards for minorities that had earlier been agreed upon, not a trace remained. Jinnah suffered a blow when his close friend, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, and his closest disciple, M.C. Chagla, signed the Nehru Report. Abul Kalam Azad tried unsuccessfully in Calcutta to obtain a majority in favour of the Nehru Report from within the Muslim League.

At a larger All-Parties Conference, called on 22 December 1928, it was principally Jinnah who prevented the Muslim League from accepting the Nehru Report. As a politician Jinnah was an idealist but as a lawyer he was prudent. He was in favour of written guarantees not vague expressions of goodwill. Thus the era of Hindu-Muslim détente was over.

The Fourteen Points 1929

The efforts at Hindu-Muslim reconciliation which began with the Delhi Durbar in 1911 ended with the publication of the Nehru Report in 1928. The All-India Muslim League, which had split over co-operation with the Simon Commission, was reunited. The original body led by Sir Mohammad Shafi was for co-operation and against giving up separate electorates. The group led by Jinnah had been against co-operation with the Simon Commission and in favour of joint

electorates with some guarantees in exchange. Jinnah tried to move a three point amendment to the Nehru Report. The points were:

- (i) One-third representation of Muslims in the central assembly,
- (ii) Muslim majority in Bengal and the Punjab be maintained on the actual population ratio for ten years, and
- (iii) The provinces should have residuary powers which meant a federal and not a unitary scheme.

All three amendments were turned down by the All-Parties Conference even though they demanded considerably less than the Delhi Muslim Proposals. The reunited Muslim League, under Jinnah's leadership issued the Fourteen Points as the basis of any future constitution for India. The Delhi Muslim Proposals had been an alternative to separate electorates. The Fourteen Points emerged as the Delhi Muslim Proposals in addition to separate electorates. They were:

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 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, Mussalman 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 favour of joint electorate.
6. Any territorial re-distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the NWF 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 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 introduced in the NWF Province and Balochistan on the same footing as in other provinces.



Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah,

11. Provision 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.
12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the promotion and protection of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions 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 provision 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 States constituting the Indian Federation.

These demands formed the basis of negotiation by Muslims in the Round Table Conferences, but they were overshadowed by the demand of Allama Sir Mohammad Iqbal.

The Constitutional History of India

1. *Regulating Act 1773*: The East India Company was required to submit all material correspondence to the King's ministers.
2. *Pitt's India Act 1784*: Company affairs subordinated to a Board of Governors appointed by the Crown (6 members). This system of dual government, with more amendments in 1813, 1833 and 1853 continued till the Company's rule ended.
3. *An Act for the Better Government of India 1858*: It abolished the Company's rule and appointed a Secretary of State for India with a council of 15 members. The Governor General was given additional designation of Viceroy.
4. *Indian Councils Act of 1861*: A 5th member was added to the Viceroy's Council. Between 6 to 12 members were added to act as legislature. The portfolio system was introduced, and a measure of decentralization adopted. Indians were included in the Council and provinces were given legislative councils.
5. *Indian Councils Act of 1892*: Enlarged the Imperial and Provincial Councils memberships. Although direct elections were not the norm, the councils became more representative, as the chambers of commerce, university bodies, municipal bodies and district boards sent their nominees, though official majority was retained. The powers of criticism of the councils increased.
6. *Indian Councils Act 1909*: Morley-Minto Reforms. Central and provincial legislatures were enlarged, their functions extended and the principle of election was legally recognised. An official majority was maintained in the centre but not in provinces. separate electorates was ceded.
7. *The Government of India Act 1919*: (Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms) Central and provincial subjects were divided. Central subjects were foreign affairs, defense, communications, taxation. Provincial subjects being education, health, agriculture, law & order and justice. Bi-cameral legislature in the Centre. In the provinces there were two categories. Reserved subjects were under nominated members with no responsibility to the House whereas transferred subjects were under directly elected members. This was known as Dyarchy. separate electorates was extended to Sikh and Christian groups.
8. *Government of India Act 1935*: The federal Act was never carried out as the Congress, and Muslim League, and Princes opposed it. It sought to impose Dyarchy in the centre. However, it gave greater power to the provinces. Dyarchy was removed from the provinces, Assemblies replaced councils in the provinces. Burma was separated from India. Sindh was separated from Bombay and NWFP was given full provincial status with an Assembly.

Note

1. David Page, *Prelude to Partition*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 172.

Summary**From Delhi Muslim Proposals to Quaid-i-Azam's 14 Points: 1927–1929****Delhi Muslim Proposals 1927**

The Lucknow Pacts' separate electorates proposal had become controversial during the Khilafat Movement. A new formula was required. The Muslim League and Congress had both lost their appeal.

Muslims wanted power concentrated in the provinces, where they would have access to it. The key federal areas would be controlled by the British for the time being. Six Muslim provinces out of thirteen was a favourable arrangement.

This new arrangement meant that power between Hindus and Muslims would be distributed in an aggregate manner and would not be water tight.

This was a healthy situation for the Muslims, both economically and culturally. The Congress was satisfied with these proposals and India appeared to be securely set on the path to freedom. However, Gandhi was absent from the 30 December 1927 Congress meeting in Madras.

The Mahasabha, the fundamentalist Hindu party opposed this agreement and so did the British.

The Simon Commission 1927

Political parties were demanding a new constitution to replace the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The Simon Commission was an Indian Statutory Commission with Sir John Simon as its Chairman. No Indian was included; most Indian leaders and parties boycotted it; especially the Quaid-i-Azam and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapra.

The Simon Commission visited India twice in 1928 and 1929, with Clement Attlee, future Prime Minister of Great Britain, as a member.

The recommendations of the Simon Commission were strongly in favour of empowering the provinces.

The commission's recommendations were never implemented, but it succeeded in derailing the Hindu-Muslim freedom struggle.

The Nehru Report 1928

This was the first Indian attempt to frame a constitution. A committee was appointed under Pandit Motilal Nehru, and his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved a resolution calling for complete independence rather than dominion status. Gandhi felt this was extreme and impractical.

Recommendations of the Nehru Report

The new central government should control all departments without reserving any for the British. The King should appoint a governor general and a prime minister. A six member cabinet recommended by the prime minister would be appointed by the governor general. This system would be repeated in the provinces with governors and chief ministers. This would not be a federal form of government.

The 14 Points 1929

The AIML was now reunited. The Shafi group favoured cooperation, and was against giving up separate electorates. The Quaid-i-Azam tried to move a 3-point amendment to the Nehru Report.

All 3 amendments were turned down by the All Parties Conference.

The reunited Muslim League under the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership issued the 14 Points as the basis for any future Indian constitution.

These demands were taken to the Round Table Conference, but were overshadowed by Allama Iqbal's demands.

Questions

1. What were the Delhi Muslim Proposals of 1927?
2. What was the reaction of Congress to the Delhi Muslim Proposals?
3. Describe how the Simon Commission divided the Muslim League.
4. Describe the effects of the Nehru Report 1928.
5. Give a background to Jinnah's Fourteen Points.

Chapter 16

Allama Iqbal's Allahabad Address 1930: Iqbal and the Ideology of Pakistan

The most often quoted passage from Iqbal's presidential address to the 1930 Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League is:

I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me the final destiny of Muslims, at least of North India.

This is substantially as Pakistan emerged and how it presently exists. These words of Allama Iqbal promoted for the first time, from the platform of the All-India Muslim League, the idea of a separate Muslim State in India.

Two aspects need attention. Firstly, this address is not the sum total of Iqbal's contribution to the Pakistan Movement. Secondly, in this Allahabad address Iqbal was proposing both long-term and short-term solutions. The following passages from the Allahabad address also deserve to be considered:

The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory.

He went on to emphasize that his demand was 'actuated by a genuine desire for free development, which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India'. Iqbal further underlined that 'The problem of India is international, not national.'

This address is an important landmark in the Pakistan Movement but it should also be realized that Iqbal's entire life and work was a contribution to the Pakistan Movement. To begin with, Iqbal's poetry, both Urdu and Persian, struck the most responsive cord of Indo-Muslim consciousness. We cannot separate the message from the style in Iqbal's poetry as both were inspired by the same zeal. Apart from his poetry, Iqbal wrote a number of articles and essays intended to reform Muslim society and give it a clear political direction. In 1904, he wrote an article on National Life, pinpointing the aspects that needed reform. In 1909 he wrote on 'Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal'. In 1910, he addressed the students of Aligarh on their patriotic duty. In 1931, he delivered his lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* where he stated that the concept of Islam is bound up with Majesty, which has the State as its manifestation. Finally in his letter to M.A. Jinnah dated 21 June 1937, Iqbal wrote:

A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims.

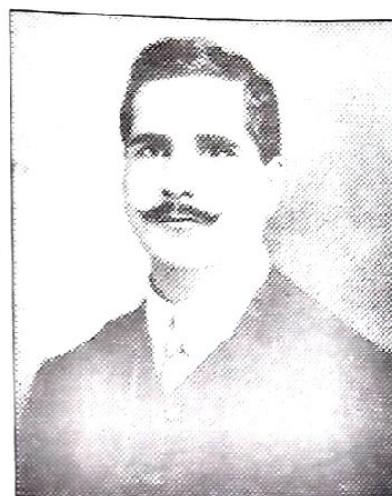
Why should not the Muslims of North-West and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination, just as other nations in India and outside India are?

Iqbal's Allahabad address has an added importance because it was a public statement from a representative platform. All the leaders of the Pakistan Movement, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and the Raja of Mahmudabad had publicly acknowledged the contribution of Iqbal even before Independence in 1947.

Iqbal and his Ideology

Shaikh Mohammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot on 9 November 1877. He was educated in his home town, Government College, Lahore, and Trinity College, Cambridge. He passed his Bar examinations from London, and obtained his PhD from Munich University. He became a professor at Government College and later practised law before the Punjab High Court. Iqbal was briefly Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League and a Member of the Punjab Legislative Council. He was knighted in 1922.

Iqbal earned international acclaim as a poet in both Urdu and Persian. Very few poets who have written on philosophic themes in a grand style like Iqbal have become a favourite of the masses. Iqbal died in Lahore on 21 April 1938 after having published poetic collections in Persian and Urdu, as well as prose-works in English. He was also a literary critic, having written a tract in English on the Indo-Persian poet Bedil Azimabadi.



Allama Iqbal.

The Philosophy of Allama Iqbal

The philosophy of Allama Iqbal is contained in both his Urdu and Persian poetry as well as in his English prose. It is very difficult to summarize his philosophy as it is very complex. However, the high points of his metaphysics have a bearing on his political thought.

1. The central concept of Iqbal's philosophy is *Khudi*. In English it can be translated as *Self* or *Ego*. Unlike its general meaning, *Khudi* in Iqbal's philosophy does not mean pride. It means *self awareness* and *loftiness of character*. Iqbal's concept of *Khudi* is partly a reaction to the traditional creeds where the *Self* is a mere delusion of the mind. In Islamic mysticism as well as Hindu and Buddhist philosophy, *self-negation* is the dominant trend.

Khudi is not merely personal, but is divided into three basic realities (a) *Unique Self*, that is God (b) *Creative Self*, that is man (c) and *Larger Self*, that is society. According to Iqbal, a harmonious working of man and society produces a durable human civilization, which fulfils the purpose of God.

2. It follows, as Iqbal stated in Allahabad, that religion is not the private affair of an individual,
3. For both science and religion the way to pure objectivity lies through the purification of experience.
4. Because Iqbal's concept of the larger self is social, he makes a distinction between spirituality—*Ruhaniyat* and monasticism—*Rahbaniat*.
5. The reconstruction of Muslim society is possible only through democracy.
6. An Islamic State is based on Social Contract; therefore, non-Muslims have nothing to fear in an Islamic State.

- The Philosophy of Allama Iqbal (contd...)**
7. Belief in Monotheism, the One-ness of God, brings about three values in human society; liberty, equality and stability.
 8. Iqbal's concept of Islam is bound up with Majesty (or power). If majesty is the objective of Islam, its manifestation is the State.
 9. God does not give different principles for different nations but chooses a certain nation and trains it spiritually to make it a model for other nations and thus gives universal rules for human society.
 10. The State is the territorial specification of Islam.
 11. Religious experience is a state of feeling with a cognitive aspect.
 12. Thought is not a principle which organises and integrates its material from the outside, but is a potency which is formative of the very being of its material.
 13. Iqbal holds that there are potential types of consciousness lying close to human consciousness. These have the ability of imparting life-giving and knowledge-giving experience. These concepts of consciousness, Iqbal derived from Mujaddid Alf Thani who describes three stages, *Ruh* or Soul, *Sirr-i-Khafi*, the lesser mystery and *Sirr-i-Ikhfa* the greater mystery. In this sense, it is possible that religion can become the source of a higher experience.
 14. In this manner, Islam is socially, morally and spiritually rewarding. This is why Iqbal stresses the need of cultural independence more than economic independence. This is the ideological aspect of Iqbal's demand for a separate Muslim State, different from the political aspect which was shaped by the attitude of the Hindu majority and British autocracy towards the Muslims as a minority.

Chaudhry Rahmat Ali

The word 'Pakistan' was coined by Chaudhry Rahmat Ali (1893–1952). He introduced this name in a pamphlet called *Now or Never* issued in London on 28 January 1933. Chaudhry Rahmat Ali explained the composition of the word in the following manner:

Pakistan is both a Persian and Urdu word. It is composed of letters taken from the names of all our homelands—'Indian' and 'Asian'. That is Punjab, Afghania (North-West Frontier Province) Kashmir, Iran, Sindh (including Kutch and Kathiawar) Tukharistan, Afghanistan and Balochistan. It means the land of the Paks—the spiritually pure and clean. It symbolizes the religious beliefs and ethnical stocks of our people and it stands for all the territorial constituents of our original Fatherland.

His pamphlet was launched from the platform of an association, *The Pakistan National Movement*, that he had founded the same year. Chaudhry Rahmat Ali urged Muslim delegates at the Round Table Conference (RTC) not to recognise the Indian Union. Jinnah had then called Pakistan an impossible dream.

The British Parliament and Hindu organizations took Chaudhry Rahmat Ali's proposal far more seriously than Jinnah had done. On the same day as *Now or Never* was issued, the British Parliament took notice of what it termed the testimonial of Chaudhry Rahmat Ali and his associates, and the following August, a Joint Parliamentary Select Committee queried a number of Muslim leaders about their views on a separate Muslim State.

The reaction of Hindu organizations was quite sharp. Mahr Chand Khanna of the Hindu Conference declared Rahmat Ali's proposal 'dangerous'. In 1935, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali published another pamphlet, calling for the separation of Pakistan, just as Burma was being separated from

India and by 1937 the *Encyclopedia of Islam* had featured Chaudhry Rahmat Ali and his scheme for Pakistan.

Chaudhry Rahmat Ali was a very sincere and devoted servant of the Muslim community. However, his scheme for Muslim separatism was impractical. Apart from Pakistan, in which he wished to include Lucknow, Delhi and Aligarh, he named the second entity 'Bang-i-Islam' comprising Bengal and Assam. This area at least had an overall Muslim majority. The third entity was to be Usmanistan, the domain of Usman Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad, who ruled over a Hindu majority state.

When Jinnah and the Muslim League accepted the 3 June Plan (see Chapter 22) Chaudhry Rahmat Ali broke out in invective. He accused Jinnah of shattering the foundations of Muslim nationhood and sabotaging the future of 100 million Muslims living in India. He called the creation of Pakistan 'the blackest and the bloodiest treachery in our history'.¹

Chaudhry Rahmat Ali has an indelible place in our history. His demand loomed so large in the Hindu and British imagination that even though the Lahore Resolution had not mentioned Pakistan by name, the press designated it as the 'Pakistan Resolution', and later M.A. Jinnah thanked them for this name. The disappointment that Chaudhry Rahmat Ali felt was severe but his outburst was most intemperate. Jinnah had not actively wanted a divided Punjab and Bengal, he had himself termed such a Pakistan, 'truncated and moth-eaten', but when an ideal solution is not forthcoming, the next best solution has to be accepted. Since Chaudhry Rahmat Ali was a very zealous votary of setting up a Muslim state, he was deeply disappointed that the Pakistan which emerged fell far short of the Pakistan he proposed. Still, he should be remembered with gratitude for giving Pakistan its name.

Note

1. Khalid Hasan, 'The Quaid's Detractor,' *The News International*, Karachi, 14 April 1998.

Summary

Iqbal and the Ideology of Pakistan

Iqbal was born in Sialkot on 9 November 1877.

- He was educated in Sialkot, Govt. College, Lahore and Trinity College, Cambridge.
- He passed his Bar examinations from London and obtained his Ph.D from Munich University.
- He was knighted in 1922.
- He earned international acclaim as a poet in both Urdu and Persian; and wrote on philosophic themes in a grand style, and also became a great favourite with the masses.
- He died in Lahore on 21 April 1938.

Iqbal's presidential address to the 1930 Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League spoke of the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan united in a single state. He felt that the final destiny of the Muslims of North India was self-government within or without the British Empire.

- This is how Pakistan presently exists. Iqbal's words promoted for the first time from the Muslim League platform, the idea of a separate Muslim State in India.
- This was not the sum total of Iqbal's concept of Pakistan, and here he was presenting long-term and short-term solutions.

- Iqbal's entire life and work were a contribution to the Pakistan Movement. His poetry expressed Indo-Muslim consciousness. He also wrote many articles and essays intended to reform Muslim society and give it political direction.

His Philosophy (See Box)

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali

The word 'Pakistan' was coined by Chaudhry Rehmat Ali (1893–1952) in a pamphlet called *Now or Never*, issued in London in 1933.

- The word is composed of letters taken from all Muslim homelands. It means the land of the spiritually clean.
- Ch. Rehmat Ali urged Muslim delegates at the Round Table Conference not to recognize the Indian Union.
- The British Parliament took this proposal very seriously, and Hindu organizations termed it 'dangerous'.
- Rahmat Ali's scheme was impractical, as it wished to include large sections of the subcontinent within the Muslim state. He was very hostile to the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League for accepting the 3 June Plan. However, the Quaid-i-Azam thanked him for giving Pakistan a name.

Questions

1. Give an account of the services of Allama Iqbal to the Muslim community.
2. What was the basic demand of Allama Iqbal in his 1930 Allahabad address?
3. Describe briefly the philosophy of Iqbal.
4. How did Iqbal shape the ideology of Pakistan?
5. Describe the political role of Chaudhry Rahmat Ali.

Chapter 17

The Round Table Conference: 1930–1932

RTC: First Session—21 November 1930 to 19 January 1931

The Round Table Conferences were held partially to support the Simon Commission, and partially to meet the objection that it contained no Indian members. A series of Round Table Conferences (RTCs) were held between 1930 to 1932. The first session was opened by King George V in London on 10 November 1930. A fifty-eight member Indian delegation led by Aga Khan III representing diverse interests, Muslims, liberals and the Chamber of Princes was present. Only the Congress, the largest political party of India, was absent. During this session, a Federal Structure Subcommittee was formed under Lord Sankey. The Communal question could not be resolved. Edward Thomson, on the prompting of some quarters he did not name, proposed that the communal question be submitted to the arbitration of three members, one Hindu, one Muslim and one British. Thomson also observed that the younger Muslims were not as communal as the older. This remark was resented by the Muslim delegates and this proposal found no favour.

At the conclusion of the first session, 19 January 1931, the British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald (1866–1937) made the commitment that if the Indian Legislature was formed on the basis of a federation, the British would recognise the principle that the executive would be responsible to the legislature. During this session, the Princes gave their assent to joining a federation.

Meanwhile in India, both the Congress and the Muslim League were voicing their demands. It was during this session that Sir Muhammad Iqbal delivered his Allahabad address. Motilal Nehru demanded full dominion status by 31 December 1931; his son Jawaharlal Nehru demanded full independence. On 5 April 1930 Gandhi broke the Salt Law, heralding another Civil Disobedience Movement.

RTC: Second Session—7 September to 1 December 1931

This session saw Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya as new delegates with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi as the sole representative of the Congress. Communal differences could not be resolved despite the initial conciliatory gestures of Gandhi. Liberals like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Vitthal Bhai Patel, Sir Srinavasa Shastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru were in favour of a settlement but Mahasabhaites like Madan Mohan Malaviya were not. At the first RTC session a formulation by M.A. Jinnah had been vetoed by M.R. Jaykar (1873–1959) of the Mahasabha party. Gandhi had to announce to Sir Muhammad Shafi on 8 October that his mediatory efforts had failed and that he had his limits. In this session the Princes withdrew their assent to join a Federation. The role of Jinnah was described as 'unique'. According to a British journal:

'The Hindus thought he was a Muslim communalist, the Muslims took him to be pro-Hindu, the princes deemed him to be too democratic, the British considered him to be a rabid extremist—with the result that he was everywhere but nowhere. None wanted him.'

This is a correct assessment and is also ironic because it was Jinnah who had originally written to Macdonald on 19 June 1929 that only a Conference of Indian delegates in London could break the political impasse. Since Jinnah was denied a leading role, the efforts of the Muslim delegate became ineffective. Allama Iqbal disagreed with Sir Akbar Hyderi during the RTC and on his return to India criticized the role of the Muslim delegates as well as the British Government.

The Depressed Classes (Untouchable Hindus), led by Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956), had asked for separate electorates like the Muslims. Gandhi asked the Muslim delegates to oppose this demand. The Muslims agreed to abide by any agreement reached between Gandhi and Ambedkar, but said that they could not reasonably oppose the extension of the same right they had claimed for themselves.

RTC: Third Session—17 November to 24 December 1932

This session of the Conference was almost inconsequential; only the White Paper embodying recommendations of all three sessions was of consequence. Gandhi and Jinnah were both absent. There was a change of Viceroy and Lord Willingdon, who had succeeded Lord Irwin, had Gandhi arrested. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was undone and the Congress started another Civil Disobedience Movement. Jinnah was not invited to this session because he had accused Lord Sankey, Chairman of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, of partiality. He explained that his insistence on the Fourteen Points were the reason for his exclusion from this RTC session.



Round Table Conference.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT 5 March 1931

Since the Congress was the largest political party in India, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin sought to break the deadlock. He released Mahatma Gandhi and for four days (17, 18, 19 and 27 February 1931) he held talks with him. The result of these talks were the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The Provisions of this Pact were that the British would:

Release all prisoners, withdraw notifications declaring certain associations unlawful, withdraw all prosecutions relating to non-violent offences; would allow Congress peaceful picketing to persuade people to buy only Indian goods.

The Congress would discontinue its Civil Disobedience Movement; and participate in the RTC.

The Communal Award 16 August 1932

The Communal Award issued by the British was the consequence of the failure of the Indian delegates to solve the problem themselves. The British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald had said, on the final day of the Second RTC session:

His Majesty's Government would have to settle for you, not only your problems of representation, but also to decide, as wisely and justly as possible, what checks and balances the constitution is to contain to protect minorities from an unrestricted and tyrannical use of the democratic principle expressing itself solely through majority power.

Macdonald followed this principle in the Award he announced. For Muslims both separate electorates and weightages were retained. However, this was not an unmixed blessing. In Hindu majority provinces, Hindus would retain their majority in their legislatures; but because of the weightage given to Muslims in Hindu majority provinces, the Muslim majority of Bengal and the Punjab was reduced to a minority. This was a carry over from the Lucknow Pact 1916 but it was generally harmful. The weightage given to Muslims did not reduce Hindus in any province to a minority, but in Punjab, where Muslims were 57 per cent, they were given 49 per cent representation. In Bengal, a 55 per cent Muslim population was given 48 per cent representation. However, in practical terms and indirectly, the Muslim majority was in force because they were elected through the special seats reserved for landlord, labour and university constituencies.

Sikhs were also given weightage, to which provision no community raised any serious objection. Under the Poona Pact this principle was first given to the Untouchables and then withdrawn.

The Poona Pact

Mahatma Gandhi had advocated for a long time, the rights of the Depressed Classes (Untouchables). When Ramsay Macdonald announced in his Communal Award, separate electorates for them, Gandhi was outraged. He said he was against statutory separation of the Depressed Classes. If the British emancipated them, Gandhi explained, the work of Hindu reformers would be undone. Gandhi undertook a fast unto death for the removal of this redressal. B.R. Ambedkar, in a meeting held at Poona, was forced to agree to Gandhi's terms which were double reservation of Untouchable seats, that is, a form of weightage, instead of separate electorates. When under this arrangement the Untouchables were defeated on each and every seat they contested during the Kanpur Municipal elections, Gandhi admitted that statutory separation of the Untouchables was fit 'punishment' for upper class selfishness. However, he did not withdraw his demand nor did he undertake a fast to undo the harm he had done to the Untouchables.

The White Paper 17 March 1933

As stated above, the White Paper contained the recommendations of all three sessions of the RTC. Most of them were embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 after much debate and deliberation. It was first considered by a Select Committee of the British Parliament made up of sixteen members from the House of Lords, and sixteen members from the House of Commons. There were in addition twenty assessors from British India and seven from the Princely States. Among them were five Muslims led by the Aga Khan. The Committee reported to Parliament on 22 November 1934. Its recommendations were approved by the House of Commons on 12 December, and the House of Lords on 18 December 1934. After a final reading, it received the Royal Assent on 4 August 1935.

Summary

The Round Table Conference 1930-32

RTC: First Session: Nov 1930-Jan 1931

- A 58 member Indian delegation led by the Aga Khan III represented diverse interests. King George V opened the first session. The Congress was absent. The Communal question could not be resolved.
- A 58 member Indian delegation led by the Aga Khan III represented diverse interests. King George V opened the first session. The Congress was absent. The Communal question could not be resolved.
 - The British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald (1866–1937), made the commitment that the British would recognize that the executive would be responsible to the legislature if the Indian legislature was formed as a federation.
 - In India the Congress and the Muslim League voiced various demands, including that of full dominion status by 31 December 1931; and also of full independence. Gandhi broke the Salt Law, thus beginning a major Civil Disobedience Movement.

RTC Second Session: September to Dec 1931

Allama Iqbal was a delegate to this session, as was Gandhi. Again communal differences could not be resolved. The Princes withdrew their agreement to join a federation. The Quaid-i-Azam's role was described as 'unique'—no one wanted him, and the Muslim delegates were not in agreement with one another.

RTC: Third Session Nov-Dec 1932

This session was almost meaningless; except for a White Paper embodying recommendations of all three sessions.

- Lord Willingdon was appointed the new Viceroy for India, who had Gandhi arrested. The Congress began another Civil Disobedience Movement.
- The Quaid-i-Azam was not invited to this session.

For Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931
Communal Award of 1932
The Poona Pact
The White Paper of 1933 } see box

Questions

1. Why were the Round Table Conferences held in London?
2. Was there any connection between the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference Sessions?
3. Describe Gandhi's attitude to the Untouchables.
4. Was the Poona Pact a source of emancipation for the Untouchables?
5. Describe briefly the 1932 Communal Award.

Chapter 18

The Government of India Act 1935

The constitutional history of India began with British rule. Before British rule, there were only monarchies under whom the rights or obligations of the subjects were not defined. When British rule began, there started a struggle between the unscrupulous and rapacious East India Company and the liberal and idealistic ruling classes of Britain. Even though the parties kept changing, the policy towards India remained contentious. Following the RTCs there began a tug of war, with the Congress demanding swift and complete transfer of power, and members of the British Conservative Party led by Winston Churchill, who were opposed to Home Rule in India. The British Labour Party sympathised with the Congress Party and joined it in its boycott of the third RTC. The Muslim League also wanted Home Rule but with safeguards so that the transfer of power would not simply result in a change of masters.

A constitution is normally the set of conditions according to which a people agree to live with each other, as well as the basic law, which is the source of all other laws. The various Acts of the British Parliament which determined how India was to be governed, was not a set of rules freely arrived at by the people, because the rules were imposed from above, by outsiders.

However, these Acts were constitutions in the sense that they were the basic law in India which became the source of subsequent legislation. Under both definitions a constitution determines the structure and nature of government and lays down how power is to be shared by the different segments of society. A constitution is easy to propose, and also easy to impose, if the concerned population is homogenous; that is, if the people follow one religion, belong to one race, speak one language and have a common culture. This was not the case in India. Apart from Hindus and Muslims, there were Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Buddhists and Jains, who were descended from Aryan, Dravidian, Mongol and aboriginal races. The variety in climate created a variety in culture, causing diversity in food, clothing, language, and the arts. These taken together made reaching a constitutional agreement a daunting task in India.

There was another entity, not normally found in other countries; this was the princely states. When the British conquered India, they annexed some territories, some rajas and nawabs holding territories ceded by them to the British under different treaties. This made them constitutionally the vassals of the British crown as all matters of defence, external affairs and communications were given under British control. In all other matters these rulers exercised freedom. Their subjects enjoyed even fewer human rights than the citizens of the British-ruled provinces. There were many princely states some as large as Kashmir and some as small as Porbandar. Half of the Indian population lived in these princely states. They were not contiguous, therefore they formed a Chamber of Princes to represent their interests collectively.

Under the Government of India (GOI) Act of 1935, the British wanted both the provinces and princely states to come together under a federation. The British themselves had a unitary form of government with one parliament and one government.

At the first RTC the princes had shown their willingness to join the federation, but later they changed their minds because of the fear of losing their wealth and privileges. Their fears were not unfounded. The Congress did not wish to join the federation because it preferred a unitary

system since the British were withholding most of the power. Liaquat Ali Khan explained the Muslim League's stand: 'Inadequate safeguards for the Muslims is an additional grievance of the Musalmans to other fundamental objections to the scheme (1935 Act) namely that it does not give any real power and control in vital matters to the Federal Legislature or the Minister that may be appointed'. The GOI Act 1935 had shifted dyarchy from the provinces to the centre. Some subjects were transferred to Indians who were responsible to their legislatures and some were reserved for British officials responsible to no one. This dyarchy had been introduced in the provinces through the GOI Act 1919 and had proved unpopular. It was proposed to remove dyarchy from the provinces and introduce it in the centre; therefore the Congress and Muslim League were willing to work on the provincial part of the 1935 Act but not on the federal part.

This decision had two consequences, one immediate and one long-term. The immediate consequence of the 1935 Act was that in 1937 elections were held for provincial legislatures, but not for the federal legislature (which had until then been held under the 1919 Act). The long-term consequence was, as H.V. Hodson states, that both India and Pakistan adopted the GOI Act of 1935 as their basic law before promulgating their respective constitutions.

While all parties condemned the federal part, the AIML led by M.A. Jinnah, expressed willingness to work 'the scheme of provincial autonomy for what it was worth.'

Therefore, elections were held only for provincial legislatures in 1937.

Main Features of Government of India Act 1935

(a) Federal Part:

Reserved federal executive was to be constituted of a governor general and a council of ministers. The following portfolios would be described as reserved: defence, foreign affairs, tribal area affairs and ecclesiastical affairs that is administration of Christian churches. Transferred were: education, finance, home, law, railways, commerce, industries and labour.

A bicameral legislature was proposed. The upper house known as the Council of State was to consist of 250 members. The lower house to be known as the House of Assembly was to consist of 375 members.

(b) Provincial Part:

Dyarchy was removed and a measure of autonomy was introduced; the governor except in the case of 'special responsibility', was to act on the advice of the elected chief minister.

Six provinces, i.e. Bengal, Bihar, Assam, UP, Bombay and Madras had bicameral legislatures. The upper house was known as the Legislative Council and the lower house was called the Legislative Assembly.

In the remaining five provinces only the lower house existed.

Three new provinces were created. NWFP was made a full-fledged province with a legislative assembly and a governor. The same condition applied to Sindh which was separated from Bombay, and Orissa which was separated from Bihar.

(c) A federal court was to be set up to decide disputes between the federal government and provincial governments.

(d) The Council of the Secretary of State (or India Council) was abolished.

Summary

The Government of India Act 1935

The constitutional history of India began with British rule, as before this there were only monarchies that did not define the rights and obligations of its subjects.

- When British rule began there was a struggle between the unscrupulous East India Company and the liberal British ruling class.
- Following the Round Table Conferences (RTCs), Congress began demanding a swift and complete transfer of power, while Britain's Conservative Party was opposed to Home Rule in India.
- The various Acts of the British Parliament determining how India was to be governed were imposed from above, by outsiders not arrived at by the people.
- Under the Government of India Act 1935, the British wanted the provinces and the princely states to come together under a federation.

1) Federal Part:

- The Reserved Federal Executive was to constitute a governor general, and a council of ministers.
- Defence, foreign affairs, tribal area affairs and ecclesiastical affairs were reserved.
- Transferred affairs were: education; finance, home, law, railways, commerce, industries and labour.
- There were to be two legislatures:
- The Council of State was the Upper House, with 250 members.
- The House of Assembly was the Lower House, with 375 members.

2) Provincial Part:

Some autonomy was introduced. The Governor was to act on the advice of the elected Chief Minister, except in the case of 'special responsibility'.

- Six Provinces: Bengal, Bihar, Assam, UP, Bombay and Madras had two legislatures: the Upper House and the Lower House.
- In the remaining five provinces there was only a Lower House.
- Three new provinces were created.
- NWFP was made a full fledged province with a legislative Assembly and a Governor.
- Sindh was separated from Bombay and organized in the same way as the NWFP.
- Orissa was separated from Bihar.

3) A Federal Court was set up to decide disputes between the Federal and Provincial Governments.

4) The India Council was abolished.

Questions

1. What is meant by dyarchy? Why did the British maintain it?
2. In what way did the GOI Act of 1935 differ from earlier Acts.
3. On what basis can the GOI Act of 1935 be called a constitution?
4. Explain why the federal part of the GOI Act of 1935 never came into operation.
5. Did the GOI Act 1935 bring independence closer?

Chapter 19

The 1937 Elections and Congress Rule

The 1937 elections were the first broad-based elections in which the representative status of political parties was tested. The tone of the campaign was set by Jawaharlal Nehru's statement that 'there were only two parties in India, the British and the Congress, all the others must line up'. To this the Quaid-i-Azam rejoined:

I refuse to line up with the Congress. There is a third party in this country and that is the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by any one.

(Calcutta, 8 January 1937)

However, when the elections were held, the Congress won and the Muslim League lost, though under separate electorates the Muslim League had to face only Muslim voters.

The Muslim League could win only 104 out of 489 Muslim seats. The position of the Muslim League was worst in the Muslim majority provinces. In NWFP, the pro-Congress *Khudai Khidmatgars* won by a large margin. In the Hindu majority provinces the Muslim League had a respectable win only in UP and Bombay. In UP out of 66 Muslim seats AIML won 27 and in Bombay, out of 30 Muslim seats it won 20.

The Congress had won less than half the general votes; 711 out of 1585, but its results were still better, and the distribution of seats allowed it to form the government in 7 out of 11 provinces in India.

Causes of the AIML failure

There were three main reasons for the defeat of the All-India Muslim League in the 1937 elections:

1. The Muslim League had suffered a setback during the Khilafat Movement. Since this was an emotional issue for the Muslims, they set aside political considerations and came out against the British, under the Congress. Muslims sidelined Jinnah and the Muslim League to join Gandhi and the Khilafat cause. Although the Khilafat could not be saved, this trend of bypassing the AIML could not be completely reversed.

2. Since elections were held only for provincial legislatures and provincial autonomy was the most attractive feature of the Government of India Act 1935, regional and provincial tendencies surfaced in Muslim parties. Even Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin, who was to become the second Governor General and second Prime Minister of Pakistan stated on 30 July 1936 that no All-India party could select proper candidates from rural areas.

Provincial parties like the Unionists in Punjab and the Muslim United Parties of Sindh, Bengal and Bihar were proving more popular.

3. The organization of a party, especially during elections, is the responsibility of the honorary secretary. On 12 April 1936, Liaquat Ali Khan was first elected Honorary Secretary of the AIML and on 11 November 1936 he resigned from the AIML Parliamentary Board, and stood as an

independent candidate. The combination of all these factors contributed to the defeat of the AIML in 1937.

Muslim League Expectations

The Congress had won sufficient seats in UP and Bombay to form a government, yet the AIML insisted that it should be included in the government and given representation in the cabinet. It did not believe that it would have to sit as the opposition. What was the basis for the Muslim League making this extraordinary demand which was particularly strong in the UP?

One reason was that the manifestos of the Congress and Muslim League in social and economic terms were compatible. The Congress wanted abolition of Zamindari. The Muslim League was not in favour of outright abolition but was strongly in favour of land reforms.

A second reason was that in UP, the Congress and Muslim League had a tacit understanding against the National Agriculturist Party, a party sponsored and favoured by the British and representing the landlord class. Fearing the influence of the Royal party, both Congress and Muslim League opposed it. This agreement lasted beyond the general elections. Rafi Ahmad Qidwai, the main Congress candidate in the Muslim list had lost the elections. He was elected in a by-election when the Muslim League agreed not to put up any candidate against him.

Thirdly, during the period between the elections and the assumption of ministries by the Congress, the Muslim League sided with the Congress and refused all British offers of ministries. The 1935 Act had vested special responsibility in the Governor according to which he could over-rule the ministry, therefore, the Congress, despite winning the elections, refused to assume office unless this condition was removed.

Meanwhile, a minority government backed by the British was formed by Nawab of Chatari. He offered ministries to Muslim League members including Liaquat Ali Khan. If the Muslim League had co-operated with the National Agriculturist Party, the Congress could have been made to sit as the opposition. However, the Muslim League refused all offers and Liaquat Ali Khan stated that to form a minority government, one not supported by the majority of members, was undemocratic, and in principle, the Muslim League would not support it. In expectation of having their members included in the UP cabinet, by the Congress, the Muslim League refused British offers to join the government. On refusal of the Congress to include them the Muslim League reacted with bitterness.

Muslims under Congress Rule

The Congress ministries alienated the Muslims of their provinces by their conduct. Some practices were symbolic; Muslims resented the singing of the song *Vande Mataram* taken from Bankim Chandar Chatterji's virulently anti-Muslim novel *Anand Math*. Moreover, Muslim schoolboys had to salute Gandhi's portrait and Hindi replaced Urdu in schools. Other features were far more threatening. In UP, Hindu-Muslim riots doubled in number. This was put down to Congress neglect or connivance because incidents of armed robbery had increased by 70 per cent and those of murder had gone up by 30 per cent, according to K.K. Aziz.

It must be recalled that because of separate electorates, Muslim League candidates had been defeated by Muslim voters, not Hindu voters. It was because of the Congress's attitude that the Muslims began to regret having caused the defeat of the Muslim League. The Muslim League published three reports about Congress misrule. The 'Pirpur Report' covered UP, the 'Sharif Report' covered Bihar, and the 'Fazlul Haq Report' covered the Congress rule in general.

Foreign writers called these reports Muslim League propaganda. It is not explained why Muslims should believe the propaganda of a party they had themselves recently rejected at the

polls. Moreover, recently published correspondence between Jinnah and Liaquat (2003) shows that both leaders were initially reluctant to blame the Congress. Only when the evidence mounted, did they blame the Congress.

Revival of the Muslim League

The Muslims, not only of minority provinces, but of majority provinces like Bengal and Punjab, came to the realization that if this was the behaviour of the Hindu majority while the British still controlled the central government, what would be their conduct if the British withdrew and the Congress controlled the centre as well?

AIML Lucknow Session: 15 to 18 October 1937

This meeting was organized by the Treasurer of the Muslim League, the Raja of Mahmudabad (1914–1973). Besides paying the expenses of the session from his own purse (Rs 30 lakhs), he toured the nearby districts of Agra and Muzaffarnagar inviting every Muslim to attend the session and led Jinnah's carriage procession when he arrived. It took the procession four hours to cover a distance of three miles. In his welcome address, the Raja of Mahmudabad stated 'We are here not to follow history, but to create it'.

The Muslim premiers of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, Sir Sikander Hyat, Fazlul Huq and Sir Muhammad Saadullah, attended the 1937 Lucknow Session. In their provinces they and their parties prevailed over the Muslim League, but now they closed ranks. They wanted the Muslim League, not the Congress to represent them at the centre. In early 1937, the Muslim League was in decline; in October 1937 it was resurgent and only because, as Jinnah said at the Lucknow Session 'the Congress have shown their hands that Hindustan is for the Hindus'.



Lucknow Session 1937: the Raja of Mahmudabad with M.A. Jinnah.

Day of Deliverance

The Second World War broke out on 3 September 1939. The same day, Lord Linlithgow announced that India was also at war. The Congress protested that they were not consulted. On 15 September 1939 the Congress said that India would not participate in the war unless the British accepted the principle of full and immediate independence for India. This the British refused but offered instead full dominion status at the end of the War. On 22 September the Congress resigned all its ministries.

Even after such a bitter experience, M.A. Jinnah first offered terms to the Congress rather than to the British. He asked for Muslim League-Congress coalitions in the provinces, an end to anti-Muslim moves and acceptance of the principle that no legislation affecting the Muslims would be passed unless two-thirds of Muslim members voted for it. Only when the Congress did not

respond did Jinnah go ahead with a programme to observe 22 December 1939, as a 'day of deliverance' from Congress rule.

At this juncture the Congress president, Jawaharlal Nehru, approached Jinnah saying that he had asked the British to express their war aims, agree to Indian independence and the right to frame its own constitution—'as the Muslim League has the same declared object there should be no difference of opinion about them'. Nehru expressed these sentiments when Congress Ministers had already resigned, and not when the ministries were being formed in 1937 or even when Jinnah had recently made an offer of co-operation.

On 22 December 1939, Muslims rejoiced over their deliverance and what is more, were joined by small non-Muslim parties as well. The Congress had made a strategic mistake by resigning. The British were relieved that they would be able to fight the war with Indian soldiers and resources but without any hindrance from the Congress. This gave an opening to the Muslim League to consolidate their political gains.

Summary

The 1937 Elections and Congress Rule

These were the first broad based elections which tested the representative status of political parties.

- The tone of the campaign was set by Jawaharlal Nehru, who said that India had two parties: the British and the Congress. 'The others must line up'.
- To this the Quaid-i-Azam replied: 'I refuse to line up with the Congress. There is a third party in this country and that is the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by any one.' (Calcutta, 8 January 1937).
- The Muslim League lost, when the elections were held, though under separate electorates the Muslim League faced only Muslim voters. The League won only 104 out of 489 Muslim Seats.
- The Congress won 711 out of 1585 general votes. It was able to form the government in 7 out of 11 provinces.

Causes of AIML failure

- 1) The AIML suffered a setback during the Khilafat Movement.
- 2) Regional and provincial tendencies surfaced in Muslim parties.
- 3) Liaquat Ali Khan stood as an independent candidate.

AIML Expectations

The AIML demanded representation in all the states where the Congress had a majority. Both parties had compatible manifestoes, especially regarding land reform.

Muslims under Congress Rule

Unfortunately, Congress ministries alienated the Muslims of their provinces in various ways.

1. Singing *Vande Mataram* which expressed anti-Muslim sentiments.
2. Saluting Gandhi's portrait in boy's schools.
3. Hindi replaced Urdu in Schools.

In the UP, Hindu-Muslim riots doubled in number.

Revival of the AIML

AIML Lucknow Session 1937

This was a grand occasion, financed by the Raja of Mahmudabad. The Quaid-i-Azam spoke out clearly by saying 'Hindustan is for the Hindus'.

Day of Deliverance

In September 1939, the Second World War broke out. The Viceroy announced that India was also at War. The Congress protested that they were not consulted, and said India would not participate unless the British accepted the principle of full and immediate independence for India.

- The British offered full dominion status at the end of the War.
- On 22 September 1939, the Congress resigned from all its ministries.
- The Quaid-i-Azam first offered terms to the Congress rather than to the British. He asked for League-Congress coalitions in the provinces, an end to anti-Muslim moves and acceptance of the necessity for two thirds Muslim majority voting for the passing of laws affecting Muslims.
- The Congress did not respond, so the Quaid-i-Azam declared 22 December 1939 as a 'day of deliverance' from Congress rule.
- Nehru then approached the Quaid-i-Azam with conciliatory gestures, but it was too late. The League was now able to consolidate its political gains.

Questions

1. Why were elections held only for provincial assemblies?
2. List three reasons why the Muslim League lost the 1937 elections.
3. Why did the Muslim League expect coalitions with Congress?
4. What were the three reports describing the conduct of the Congress governments in the provinces?
5. Why did the Muslim League observe a Day of Deliverance on 22 December 1939?