



PARTITION OF BRITISH INDIA: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES REVISITED

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There was political unity upto certain extent as there happened the Khilafat movement after the World War 1. The campaign of Khilafat movement ended in 1922 and then the communalism broke out resulting in mass destruction in the form of riots. There are instances when Muslims agitated in the form of withdrawal from the secular and nationalist politics and joined the league having the political motivation of saving own community interest. At the leadership level, the proportion of Muslims among delegates to the Congress party fell sharply, from 11% in 1921 to under 4% in 1923.²⁸ Later on there were communal riots as we see in United provinces, Major riots broke out in numerous cities, including 91 between 1923 and 1927 in Uttar Pradesh alone.

“Three waves of riots in Calcutta ... disturbances the same year in Dacca, Patna, Rawalpindi and Delhi; and no less than 91 communal outbreaks in U.P., the worst-affected province, between 1923 and 1927.”²⁹

The first elections for the provincial legislative councils under the Government of India Act 1935 were held in 1937. The Muslim League contested the elections to various legislative bodies but achieved moderate success out of the 485 reserved Muslim seats, the League could capture only 110 seats. Even in the Muslim-majority provinces of the Panjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Bengal and Sind the League was trounced by rival Muslim parties. The Congress party gained an absolute majority in Bombay, Madras, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces and was the largest single party in the NWFP. The Congress decided to accept office in July 1937. The Muslim League hoped to form coalition ministries with the Congress in provinces like Bengal, Assam and the Panjab and desired the Congress to take League ministers in U.P. and Bihar. The Congress, consistent with its principles and policies and being non-communal outlook and policies liberating of the country and amelioration of the condition of the masses advised Muslim League members to sign the Congress pledge and become its members, if they desired to accept responsibilities of office. Mr. Jinnah interpreted these moves of the Congress as a calculated policy against the league. He levelled 'sweeping and fantastic' allegations against the Congress ministries dubbed the Congress a Hindu organisation out to crush all minorities. He came to the conclusion that the Muslims could expect neither justice nor fairplay from the Congress ministries. In 1938 the Muslim League appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the Raja of Pipli to report on the oppressions of the Muslims in what it called "Hindu Congress Provinces". The Pipli Report fabricated cases of

²⁸ Brown, Judith M (1985). *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy*. Oxford University Press. p. 228

²⁹ Sumit Sarkar (1989) [First published 1983]. *Modern India: 1885–1947*. Macmillan. p. 233.

alleged horrible atrocities perpetrated on the Muslims by the Hindus. The Report also observed the conduct of the Congress Government seems to substantiate the theory that there is something like identity of purpose between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha... We Muslims feel that, notwithstanding the non-communal professions of the Congress and the desire of a few Congressmen to follow a truly national policy, a vast majority of the Congress members are Hindu who look forward, after many centuries of British and Muslim rule, to the re-establishment of a purely Hindu Raj" The general attitude towards the Congress was, "The Muslims think that no tyranny can be as great as the tyranny of a majority." The Muslim League observed a 'Day of Deliverance and Thanks-giving' when the Congress ministries resigned in October 1939 over the war issue. The Two-Nation Theory and the Pakistan Movement. The poet and political thinker Mohammad Iqbal is thought to be the originator of the idea of a separate Muslim State for the Indian Muslims and is believed to have given the necessary emotional content to the movement. Inspired the spirit of Pan-Islamism Iqbal declared at the Allahabad session of All India Muslim League held in 1930, "I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homeland is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement...I would like to see the Panjab, North- West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan 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 to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India." The idea of separate homeland for Muslims to be called Pakistan took a definite shape in the mind of a young under-graduate at Cambridge, Rahmat Ali. He visualized the Panjab, N.W.F.P. (also called Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan as the national home of the Indian Muslims and he coined the word Pakistan in 1933. The word Pakistan was formed by taking the initials of the first four and the last of fifth. Rahmat Ali maintained that the Hindus and Muslims were fundamentally distinct nations. He wrote, "Our religion, culture, history, tradition, literature, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of the Hindus. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles. They extend to the minute details of our lives. We Muslims and Hindus, do not inter-dine; we do not intermarry our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different." The most unequivocal declaration of the Hindus and Muslims as separate nationalities was made by M. A. Jinnah at the Lahore session of the League in March 1940, "They (Hindus and Muslims) are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures... Two yolk together, two such nations under a single State, one of a numerical minority and the other as a majority must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State." Demanding the partition of India, the Muslim League passed the resolution: "It is considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Moslems unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such

territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which Moslems are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.." This resolution did not specify the areas in the proposed state of Pakistan. In 1942 Jinnah explained to Professor Coupland that Pakistan would be "a Moslem State or States comprising NWFP, the Panjab, and Sind on the one side of India and Bengal on the other". He did not mention Baluchistan and Assam, nor did he claim Kashmir and Hyderabad. However, in a Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission on 12 May 1946, the Muslim League demanded "the six Muslim provinces (Panjab, NWFP, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal, Assam) shall be grouped together as one Group." Thus the Lahore session of the Muslim League gave it an ambition and a programme. Henceforth the demand for Pakistan became as much an article of faith for the Indian Muslims as their holy book, the Koran.

Rahmat Ali influenced the development of the idea of Pakistan much more deeply than has been acknowledged by historians. He not only invented a beautiful name for the country but also converted a large group of people to the concept of separation. He was also the first Muslim to present a detailed case for Indian Muslim nationhood. The main channel of his influence was the young student class, both in England and India. It felt the impact of his ideas and let him inspire its imagination. The founders and leaders of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation were all his followers. Some of them wrote a large number of articles in the Urdu papers of Lahore in favour of Rahmat Ali's Pakistan in 1937 and 1938, when the Muslim League had not yet made up its mind whether to ask for any kind of division or not. The word Pakistan was at this time in use in the Punjab, where both Hindus and Muslims employed it, but in different and opposite contexts. The Hindus used it as a synonym for communalism; Gulshan Rai's articles in the Civil and Military Gazette, when referring to Muslim communal feeling or reactionaryism, employed the term "Pakistani mentality". The Muslims, on the other hand, used it as a slogan that stood for freedom, separation, and the right of self-determination.³⁰

The Hindu Mahasabha. British imperial policies in India provided a congenial climate for the emergence, growth and popularity of communal organisations. A communal organisation though primarily organised to promote the interests of a particular community also indirectly promoted British imperial interests apart from serving the personal ambition of opportunistic leadership. This was not only true of the Hindu Mahasabha but also of the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and the All India Depressed Classes Federation. The genesis and early history of the Hindu Mahasabha are clouded in obscurity. In 1910 leading Hindus of Allahabad decided to organise an All-India Hindu Mahasabha. In 1911 the Panjab Hindu Mahasabha organised a Hindu Conference at Amritsar. The Hindu Mahasabha setup its headquarters at Hardwar and used to organise the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Conference at Hardwar on the occasion of important Hindu fairs. The communal riots particularly in the Malabar coast and Multan that followed the suspension of the first non cooperation movement in 1922 caused heavy losses to the Hindus both in human lives and properties. A section of the

³⁰ Origin and Development of the Idea of Pakistan Abridged Version of History of Partition of India , K.K.Aziz, publication Muslim Deeni Mahaz, 2016, Origin and development of idea of Pakistan, Page no. 135

Hindus decided to organise the Hindus in self-defence. Explaining the rationale of the Hindu Mahasabha, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya explained that the Mohmedeons and the Christians had been carrying on proselytizing activities for centuries; the majority of the Muslims of India were converts from Hinduism, he added. To check this process, it was necessary to organise a Hindu Mission. Malaviya further explained that as a countermove to the Muslim league putting forward exaggerated claims for Muslim representation in the elected bodies, it was necessary to organise the Hindus to get a fair deal for their community. Thus “shuddhi and sangthan” became the watchwords of the Hindu Mahasabha in the early years of its existence. Malviya also emphasised the socio-cultural mission of the Hindu Mahasabha. The Indian National Congress being a political organisation, Malviya added, it could not deal with social, cultural and non-political spheres. The Hindu Mahasabha was organised to remove the social abuses in Hindu societies like child marriage, casteism, untouchability etc. as such Malviya emphasised, that the Hindu Mahasabha did not in any way clash with the Congress but was planned to supplement and strengthen the Indian National Congress. The tall claims of the Hindu Mahasabha as a socio-cultural organisation were hardly less hypocritical than similar claims put up by the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and other communal organisations. Under the leadership of V. D. Savarkar who became the President of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1938 and was re-elected again and again, the Mahasabha developed a political programme. Sore at the Muslim appeasement policy of the Indian National Congress, Savarkar popularized the concept of Hindu Rashtra. Savarkar maintained that India was a land of Hindu having only one nation i.e. the Hindu nation. The Muslims must accept their position as a minority community in a single Indian State, of course being promised just treatment and equal political rights on the basis of 'one man, one vote.' On the question of a national language, Savarkar upheld that according to democratic practices the language of the majority must prevail. After the death of V. D. Savarkar, Dr. S. P. Mookerji became the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha and imparted it a more nationalist outlook. The Hindu Mahasabhas never gained that popularity with the Hindu Masses as the Muslim League did with the Muslims in India. All the same, against the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, it raised the slogan of Akhand Hindustan. The Hindu Mahasabha's propaganda of a Hindu race, Hindu culture, Hindu civilisation and Hindu Rashtra in India did harden the Muslim League's attitude and made it more suspicious and more determined to demand Pakistan. It must, however, be said, in all fairness that the Muslim League was determined to be the first ever communal organisation to come into existence; the communal poison proved infectious and the Hindu Mahasabha and other communal came into existence as a counterpoise to one another.³¹ Apparently in this method the communalism was taking place in every nook and corner of the nation. Initiated by the Muslim League for Muslim, other factions were also taking advantage of this opportunity to create their own groups.

³¹ A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, Growth of Communalism and partition of India, page no. 434-435-436

Chronology of the ideas of Pakistan-

1. 1858 - John Bright:
5 or 6 large presidencies with complete autonomy, ultimately becoming independent states.
2. 1867 - Sayyid Ahmad Khan:
Hindus and Muslims are two nations; they will never join together in anything.
3. 1877 - John Bright:
After British withdrawal India will have 5 to 6 great independent and sovereign states like those of Europe.
4. 1879- Jamaluddin "Afghani":
A Muslim Republic comprising Muslim Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Muslim-majority areas in north-west India.
5. 1883- Sayyid Ahmad Khan:
One of the two nations, Hindus and Muslims, must conquer the other; the two cannot remain equal.
6. 1883- Sayyid Ahmad Khan:
India contains many nationalities and is, therefore, unfit to have representative institutions.
7. 1883- W.S. Blunt:
Divide India into 2 parts: the north under a Muslim government and the south under a Hindu government.
8. 1887- Theodore Beck:
Muslims are a separate nation; majority rule is impossible; they will never agree to be ruled by the Hindu majority.
9. 1887- Sayyid Ahmad Khan:
Muslims will always be outvoted by the Hindus in the proportion of 1 to 4.
10. 1888- Sayyid Ahmad Khan:
India is not a nation and can never become one.
11. 1888- Sayyid Ahmad Khan:
The Congress has no right to speak on behalf of the Muslims.
12. 1888- Sayyid Ahmad Khan:
Muslims, by joining the Congress, will become the slaves of another nation.
13. 1888- Muharram Ali Chishti:
Muslims are a nation by themselves, and will not allow themselves to be dominated by another nation, the Hindus.
14. 1890- Abdul Halim Sharar:
Rearrange India into Hindu and Muslim districts to avoid communal riots.
15. 1904- Bhai Parmanand: Divide India on Hindu—Muslim lines.
16. 1905- Akbar Allahabadi:
India north of Jumna to be given to the Muslims.
17. 1907- Two Turkish Statesmen:
Sub-divide India into a Hindu India and a Muslim India.
18. 1911- Muhammad Ali:
No faith in a united India, but a marriage of convenience should

- be tried.
19. 1911- Muhammad Ali:
The problems of India are international, not national; Muslims could claim equality with the Hindus.
 20. 1911- Shaikh Zahur Ahmad:
Hindu-Muslim parity in all legislatures.
 21. 1912- Joseph Stalin:
India will, with the further course of bourgeois development, split up into innumerable nationalities.
 22. 1912- Bhai Parmanand:
In a free India Muslims will be pushed across the Indus river.
 23. 1914- Lovat Fraser:
Muslim north India may join with the rest of the Muslim world in the middle east.
 24. 1915- Rahmat Ali:
The north of India should be made into a Muslim State.
 25. 1917- Lord Curzon:
India will never be a single autonomous unit, or even a federation of autonomous states; disintegration is a good possibility.
 26. 1918- The Aga Khan:
A United States of India with fully autonomous provinces or of medium European selfgoverning states of the size states; the Punjab to be enlarged; Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP to make up one large Indus Province with Quetta as its capital; this Indian federation to be gradually expanded into a huge South Asian federation.
 27. 1919- Beni Prasad:
Some Muslims entertain an idea of an Islamic State in the northwest.
 28. 1921- Nadir Ali:
A partition of India as a method of settling the Hindu-Muslim problem.
 29. 1921- Hasrat Mohani:
A federal republic in which a set of Muslim provinces will balance another set of Hindu provinces.
 30. 1924- Obaidullah Sindhi:
India to be a federation of republics.
 31. 1924- Hasrat Mohani:
India to be a bi-communal federal state in which Hindu states and Muslim states will join under a Supreme National Government.
 32. 1924- Muhammad Ali:
Muslims are in a majority in an area stretching from Constantinople to Saharanpur (repeating Lovat Fraser).
 33. 1925- Muhammad Ali:
Muslims have no desire to rule over Hindu areas.
 34. 1925- Patrick Fagan:
Muslims will fight for their domination in north India.

35. 1925- Some teachers of Aligarh University
Muslim-ruled provinces to be a part of an Indian federation;
special centres for religious communities to be created.
36. 1928- Ashraf Ali Thanawi:
A separate Muslim state should be created in India.
37. 1928- Aga Khan:
India to be a loose alliance of Free States demarcated on the basis
of religion, nationality, race and language; Muslim provinces of
north and west may join together to make one free state.
38. 1928- All India Khilafat Conference:
Create a federation of free and united states of India with the
centre enjoying only those powers which have been given to it by
the constituent units.
39. 1928- Srinivasa Sastri:
Muslims are demanding the creation of autonomous Muslim
States along the north-west border of India.
40. 1929- All India Muslim Conference:
Create a federation with residuary powers vested in the provinces.
41. 1929- Zulfiqar Ali Khan;
Nationalism is based on religion; India cannot become one nation
until all Indians belong to one religion, which is impossible; the
Punjab and Bengal should be divided on religious lines; Muslims
should be given an area in the north where they are 80% of the
population, and another in the east with similar preponderance;
this is a demand for a separate country and homeland.
42. 1930- Muhammad Iqbal:
The Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan to be amalgamated into
a single state; this will bring to india an internal balance of power;
the creation of autonomous states is the only possible way to
secure a stable constitutional structure for India.
43. 1931- Round Table Conference
It is certainly possible that India might break up, first into a
Muslim and a Hindu India, and later into a number of national
states, as Europe did after the Renaissance and the Reformation.
44. 1931- Theodore Morison:
A Muslim national state in the north of India is possible, even
probable.
45. 1931- Lord Zetland:
A chain of Muslim provinces stretching across the north-west of
India will be a basis of great strength and influence to the Muslims
Generally.
46. 1931- Geoffrey Corbett:
Ambala division (minus Shimla district) to be separated from the
Punjab, the United Provinces to be divided into a Western
Province of Agra (which will take up Ambala division) and an
Eastern Province of Oudh.

47. 1932- Lord Irwin (Viceroy):
Foresees some division of India to settle the communal difficulty.
48. 1932- H.T. Lambrick:
India may be divided on religious lines.
49. 1932- John Coatman:
Muslims want to control north or at least northwestern India.
50. 1933- Rahmat Ali:
A homeland for the 30 million Muslims of the north-, west should be an independent Muslim state, consisting of the Punjab, NWFP, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan, to be called PAKISTAN.
51. 1939- Abdullah Haroon and A.M.Rashdi:
We want Pakistan.
52. 1939- "Baybak"
Muslims are a nation and should demand their own state.
53. 1939- A.S. Kheiri
Muslim-majority provinces and states should form a separate federation.
54. 1939- Liaquat Ali Khan:
Division of India is probable.
56. 1939- M. Nasim:
A division of India is the only solution of the Muslim problem.
57. 1939- Pakistan Association, Lahore:
We want a separate Muslim federation.
58. 1939- "A Punjabi":
India to be a confederation of three federations: Bengal, Hindustan (the north-west) and Hindu India; no exchange of population; the Punjab to be divided.
59. 1939- Stafford Cripps:
Some separation of Hindu and Muslim dominions may be necessary; partition would be a necessary part of a new Indian constitution.
60. 1940- Azad Subhani:
Create a Muslim state under a government to be called Hakumat-i-rabbani cited.
61. 1940- Afzal Huq Kashmiri:
Create a Muslim state under a government to be called Hakumat-i-Ilahiya.
62. 1940- Sayyid Rizwanullah:
Divide India into several states with some sort of a federal centre.
63. 1940- S.M. Akhtar;
Territorial separation is the last resort
64. 1940- C.R. Reddy
Create a confederation of sovereign provinces and states with a Composite confederal executive.