

A STUDY ON MUSLIM COMMUNALISM AND PARTITION OF INDIA

SIDDHARTH M

THEKKETHOTTATHIL, MUTTAMBALAM.
KOTTAYAM; PH-974777429

GROWTH OF MUSLIM COMMUNALISM AND THE PARTITION OF INDIA- A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS.

India is a country of various communities, It is famous for its religious toleration and secularism. India is considered as the birthplace of so many religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism etc. Besides that, it also embraces the foreign religions such as Islamism, Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism etc. But it's a fact that, this land of peaceful religious co-existence was divided into two as Indian Union and Pakistan, on the eve of its independence in 1947 on the basis of religion. This study aims to reveal the basic responsible factors which cause the growth of Muslim communalism in India which finally resulted in the partition of the country into two as the Indian Union and the Pakistan in 1947 August at the eve of India's Independence.

Communalism means a very fanatic and narrow feeling of a particular religion, race, caste or community which aims upon its own existence. It is really a hazard towards the integration and unity of a nation and it is really a threat towards the very solidarity of the nation . It always curtail the growth of national and progressive thinking, and the spirit of nationalism, which always resulted as a curse to the development of nation.

Hinduism was born and brought up in India, were as Islamism reached the land in the seventh century AD, soon after the death of Muhammad, the Great prophet of the religion. Later, Muslim community became an integral part and parcel of the country and a peaceful co-existence was existed in between the Hindus and Muslims of India for some extend.

From A D 1206 to 1857, India was under the Muslim Predomination. The Delhi Sulthans and the great Mughal dynasty ruled over the heart land of India. Though Delhi Sulthans commonly followed the Shariath laws and some sorts of discriminations followed by majority of Sulthans in Delhi Sulthanate, the rulers like Allaudhin Khalji and Muhammad Bin Thuglaq were more liberal in the case of religion. Hindus were appointed as Sulthan's governors and sometimes they appointed as the key position like the commanders by the thirteenth -fourteenth centuries. The

existed religious co-existence and harmony is evident from the fact that in 1325 AD, Sulthan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq issued a farmen enjoining that the protection be extended by all officers to Jain priests and he, himself took participation in Holi celebration which was a celebration of Hindus and he made consorts with Yogis of Hinduism¹. But this situation was changed after the consolidation of British power in India.

Condition of Indian Muslims at the initial stage of British imperialism.

The British were the successors of the Muslim rulers in India. It is true that, on the eve of British expansion in India, the Muslims enjoyed much higher status in the country and they were occupied in all places of profit, prestige and of influence. But this situation was snatched away by the British. The relationship between the British and Muslims were not at all cordial for a very long time since the establishment of British rule in India. The Muslims always feels that, the British had snatched the political power which was enjoyed by them for a long period of time. And when the rebellion of Wahabis² endangered the British rule in India, the situation became more and more worsened and the relationship between Indian Muslims and British became more complicated than ever before³.

The revolt of 1857 severed the situation. After the revolt, British deported the last Mughal emperor Bahaddur Shah Second out of the country. He was deported to Burma (modern Myanmar). And thus the city of Delhi was came under the British domination. The British also attempted to arouse a strong groups of Hindus against the Muslims during the period of revolt because they felt that the Muslims were trying to throw them out of India under the leadership of the Mughal emperor Bahaddur Shah Second .And it cannot be denied that the Hindus and Indian Muslims failed to develop their common grounds which would have enabled them to form one nation, even though they lived together in the country for the past centuries together. British took advantage of the situation. But when we made an impartial study, it is evident that the British were not the only responsible factor behind the emergence of communalism in India. The grievances of minority Muslims towards the majority Hindus and the educational backwardness of Muslim community during that time also added fuel to the flame of communalism in India. Likewise, the upper class Hindus were not ready ti considered Indian Muslims as their fellow beings during that time. It also caused an evident gap between Hindus and Muslims in India.

The British followed a policy of appeasement towards the Hindus in India ,prior to the revolt of 1857 A D. It is expressed through the permanent settlement of 1791 A.D, in which the Hindu tax collectors were elevated up to the positions of land holders, and help them to accumulate the wealth which would have gone to Indian Musalmen's under their own rule⁴. The English also believed that the revolt of 1857 A.D was a Muslim revolt to regain their power in India. Thus, mostly the Indian Muslims became the chief enemies of British in India and they then became

the chief victims of the British policy in India and they were neglected from all the fields of power and no concessions were enjoyed by them.

Condition of Indian Muslims after 1871 A.D

After the revolt of 1857 A.D, Hindus became the target of British animosity. Because by this time the Hindus, especially the middle class Hindus received western education. And by this time they were attracted towards the western ideas such as democracy, liberalism, equality, humanity etc by receiving the western education. Thus they gradually developed the spirit of nationalism and they started to challenge the British predominance of the country and it projected a great challenge and danger to the existence of British imperialism in India. Thus in such a situation, the British decided to support the Indian Muslims and thus made them as a weapon to use against the Hindus in India.

The changing policy of British in India towards the Hindus and Muslims of India was being evident from the year 1871 A.D, in which Sir William Hunter, one of the most influential English officer published his book entitled 'The Indian Musalman' in the very year. Through this book, he appealed to the British Indian government to bring about a change in their attitude towards the Muslims in India. He stressed "It was expedient now to take them (Muslims) into alliance rather than continue to antagonize them"⁵.

Role of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan

Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan is one of the most important national leader of Indian nationalism. He is also considered as the 'Father of Muslim communalism in India'. During the initial stage of his career as a national leader, and he was not a communalist. He was loyal to the British administration, like all the other early leaders of Indian National Congress. But later he was termed as a true leader of Indian Muslims. He laid the foundation for the consolidation of Muslim power in India. He started the Aligarh movement. He attempted to modernize the Muslims and encouraged them to acquire English Education. He attempted to convince the Muslims that their interest lay in being loyal to the British and on the other, pleaded with the British that the Muslims were not against their rule and they would become perfectly loyal to them. At the same time the British also became inclined to favour to the Indian Muslims. This helped Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's mission of bringing Indian Muslims and the British more and more closer to each other. Thus Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan did a very very useful job and role in bringing the British people in India and the Indian Muslims to come closer to each other. Thus he made an attempt to convince the Indian Muslims to receiving English Education, which is now termed as the necessity of the era itself. He made his people convince that the Indian Muslims only got development through the help if British in India. For the development of the community

as a whole, the people must receive education. Thus he attempted to convince the Indian Muslims of the desirability of getting English Education and being modernise themselves through education and remain loyal to the British in India.

Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan gave a very useful service in educating the Indian Muslims, then modernise them through education and thus westernised them. For upheld his message for receiving English Education to the masses he started a school for English medium at Ghazipur in 1864. Later he extended his activities through started a Scientific Society, The Anglo - Oriental College (later grew up as the Aligarh Muslim University), The Muhameden Educational conference, the Indian Patriotic Association, The Muhameden Defence Association of Upper India etc. All these agendas were to gave English Education to Indian Muslims and thus modernise him. But the weakest point of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan was his favour of communalism. He always think only about the benefits of his own community rather than the goodness of his nation. He was ready to sacrifices the interest of his country for the sake of the interest of his community. The activities of sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan made the Indian Muslims close enough to each other to the British authorities of India. Thus he became the most important personality who spread the message of communalism in the mindsets of Indian Muslims. Even though he started his career as a nationalist leader, he was marked in history as the most communal leader India had ever seen.

In the dawn of the emerging separate tendency, Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan played a very important role. It is true that he is one of the great social reformers and the great educationalist India had ever seen. But later he changed his policy and became more active in his conservative communal politics. He laid foundation for the Muslim communalism in the 1880s. And he and his politics became more and more pro-British during this time. And it is not a wonder that he opposed Indian National Congress which was formed in 1885 A.D. The Indian National Congress was the first national organization which upheld and promote nationalism and worked for the liberation of India. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan decided to oppose the Indian National Congress along with the support of Raja Shiva Prasad of Varanasi, who lead a movement which was too loyal to the British rule in India⁶.

In 1877 A.D, Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan started the Muhammeden Anglo - Oriental College, in Aligarh, which was later on called as the famous Aligarh Muslim University. The Principal of this institution was Mr. Theodore Beck. He also contributed much towards the growth of Muslim communalism in India. He was a strong supporter of William Hunter's view on the relationship between the British and the Indian Muslims. He also succeeded in sowing the seeds of Muslim communalism in the mind set of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and that of Indian Muslims.

Lord Curzon, who was the Governor General of British India also played a very major role in the history of the growth of Muslim communalism in India. He openly resorted to the anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim attitude in India⁷. The Indian National Congress, first national organization of India was formed in 1885 A.D. Indian National Congress was one of the most important organizations in India which prompted the spirit of nationalism throughout the country. Lord Curzon disliked the Indian National Congress for that purpose. In order to gain or receive the support of Muslims in India, he decided to divide the province of Bengal into two. At that time Bengal was the most important centre of Indian nationalism. By the partition process, the British aimed to divide the population of Bengal on the basis of religion and thus they easily implemented their policy of 'Divide and Rule'. By this partition of Bengal in 1905 A.D., the province of Bengal will be divided into two as Muslim dominated East Bengal (Today's Bangladesh) with Dacca as its capital and the Hindu dominated West Bengal with Calcutta as its capital. Though the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal, irrespective of their religion protested against the partition, Lord Curzon didn't get ready to cancel his decision of Partition of Bengal. And he gave a description that, 'the partition is for administrative convenience' which was totally wrong. Thus, by 1905 October 16, the partition came into being. Thus the first partition in the history of India on the basis of religion came into being. This was an open declaration of the 'Divide and Rule' policy of British in Indian soil. And it resulted in the reason behind the launching of the famous Swadeshi and Boycott movement in India. Later the partition was cancelled in 1911 A.D. at the time of Governor General Lord Harding. But the partition created a rift in the mind of the Bengali people which was uprooted in the communal thought.

In a word, it's a reality that the emergence and spread of the Muslim communalism and the communal politics which finally ended in the partition of the country itself was the result of the political conspiracy of the British Indian government, who ruled over India for several centuries. The history reveals that, before this the British was behind the formation of Indian National Congress, which formed in the year 1885. But here the calculations of British were failed. Because, the organization of Indian National Congress which was born and brought up under the British patronage later became the number one threat and enemy of British in Indian soil. At the time of the formation of Indian National Congress, the aim of the British government in India was to establish an organization which could suppress the arbitrary elements and proved to be a safety valve for the British Indian government in which the grievances of people in the case of British policies should be systematically expressed and it would not hurt the existence of British Indian government in the Indian soil. But after days of its establishment, the Indian National Congress, the very organization formed under the patronage of British decided to launch a national movement. The Indian National Congress soon developed as the first secular organization in India which had a national character. And people irrespective of religion and region became the members of Indian National Congress and they actively participated in the

agitations and protest movements led by Indian National Congress against the British administration in India. Thus, in this situation the British Indian government changed its attitude towards the Indian National Congress and they decided to inspired the Indian Muslims and thus easily separate themselves from the grip of Indian National Congress and established an organisation of their own The leaders of Muslim League speeches that, if in any case the British government leaves India, the Hindus of the nation would get the most luxurious and free life, where as the life of Indian Muslim would be in a very pathetic situation. They would always remained in a position of being afraid about the safety of their own life, wealth, religion and culture. Thus considered to be more and more faithfully and loyal should be the national duty of Indian Muslims. Thus from there onwards throughout the history of India freedom struggle the Indian Muslims always try to help and support the British Indian government of India in all the possible manners. Thus, they remained as the best supporters of the British Indian administration at all costs and they began to consider themselves as the army of British Indian government existed in and administrated the country.

The emergence of Hindu Communalism

By this time onwards the Hindu Communalism also being emerged. A category of Hindu money lenders, zamindars and the educated middle class professionals were responsible for this. They began to arouse the anti- Muslim sentiments in their mind and actions. They declared Urdu as the language of Muslims and they upheld Hindi as the Language of Hindus. Most of their activities are based upon the regions such as Uthar Pradesh, Bihar etc. Under their campaign, anti -cow slaughter propaganda was carried out by 1890s. This propoganda was primarily against the Muslims not against the British. Later this agitation adopted a communal turn and ofter it paved the way for serious communal riots in the region.

The history of Hindu communalism became more effective after the formation of the Punjab Hindhu Sabha in the year 1909. The main leaders of rhe organization were Lal Chand and U.N. Mukerji. They were very keen about the needs and rights of Hindus in India. They were anti-Muslims also. At the primary stage they were against the Indian National Congress. Because the Indian National Congress was an association which primarily aimed the unification of all Indians. Thus there was no discrimination on the basis of religion in the agenda of Indian National Congress. But the Punjab Hindu Sabha leaders condemned Indian National Congress for sacrificing the Hindu interest and for trying to unifying whole Indians. They condemned that the activities of Indian National Congress was to appease the Indian Muslims and thus they sacrifices the interest of Hindus in India. Lal Chand the leader of Punjab Hindu Sabha described the Indian National Congress in his booklet 'Self -Abnegation in Politics' as the 'self - inflicted misfortune' of Indian Hindus. Hindu communalism came into acquire an organized form in 1915

with the formation of the Hindu MahaSabha by Madan Mohan Malaviya. Again in 1925, Hindu communalism found another organized expression in the foundation of the Rastriya Swayamseva Sangh (RSS). The Hindu communalist echoed the Muslim communalists and accepted the two - nation theory of the All India Muslim League.

Thus the two communities , the Hindus and Muslims developed a narrow , self centered nationalism. Both the communities placed their communal agenda above to the national feelings. This situation was cleverly used by the British authorities in India and they followed the famous Divide and Rule policy in order to curtailing the strength of the Indians.

Formation of the All India Muslim League and the growth of communalism.

The All India Muslim League was formed in December 30, 1906. It was formed by gaining the encouragement from the part of British officers in India. The most important leaders of Muslims in India, such as, Agha Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka, and Nawab Mohsin-ul- Mulk⁸ etc took initiatives to established this organization, which has some communal agenda behind the formation itself. The All India Muslim League was primarily an anti - Congress, anti- national and an anti- Hindu organization. From the day of its formation itself, the All India Muslim League was against to Indian nationalism and ot always displayed a clear pro-British attitude in its functions and agenda.

The British policy of Divide and Rule was brought in very effectively in Indian scenario and Indian politics by the British Indian government from the beginning of the twentieth century. In the year 1906, a new scheme of constitutional reforms was under been proposed from the British part. Mr. Smith, the personal Secretary and the right hand of Lord Minto ,the then Governor General of British India suggested the Indian Muslims to send a special delegation to the Governor General of British India. Thus the Muslim delegates under the leadership of Sir Agha Khan met the then Governor General of British India , Lord Minto and sought the provisions for separate electorates for Indian Muslims and they also demanded for sought special privileges in the government services and some sorts of special privileges in the educational institutions for the Indian Muslims. Thus as a result of this, the communal electorates system was therefore, being introduced in the Government of India Act of 1909 which provided further more incentives to Muslim communalism and thus it termed as adding fuel to the burning flames of communalism. Thus it is very much clear that, it was a result of a very deliberate attempt of the British Indian rulers to encourage and brought up the roots of communalism in India, so that they can easily put forward their policy of Divide and Rule in the heart land of India.

The Muslim League was termed as a separate Muslim organisation of Indian Muslims which was the bitter enemy of Indian National Congress, the first national organisation of the country and

they themselves considered to be the saviour of the interest of the Indian Muslims. But in reality, it was the trick of the wicked British authorities in the India through which they succeeded in implementing their age old policy of Divide and Rule.

The leaders of Indian Muslims went to Shimla to meet then Governor General lord Minto and as per his guidelines they established the All Indian Muslim League, the first national organization for Indian Muslims. In 1908, in their Amritser session of Indian Union Muslim League, the leaders of Muslim League demanded more seats than they allowed till then. The Indian Muslims demanded for separate electorates and special weight age in the council, which lord Minto was inclined to consider sympathetically further widened the cleavage between the two communities - the Hindus and the Muslims. It was accepted by the British and it became law by the Government Of India Act of 1909. And it gave a great impetus to the growth of communalism in the Indian soil. And after this also Indian Union Muslim league continue their function in India. Most of their decisions and policies were against that of Indian National Congress.

The main three agendas of the Indian Union Muslim League was to creating a general feeling of devotion and confidence among the Indian Muslims towards the British administration prevailed in the country and thus being loyal towards the British government in India. The All India Muslim League also aimed to acquaint the English government with the demands of the Indian Muslims and thus to safeguards the feelings and policies and grievances of the Indian Muslims. The All India Muslim League at the dawn of its establishment aimed to bring about mutual co existence and to create out the harmony among the Indian Muslims and between the other major races which existed in the soil of India.

From 1906 to 1910 the party's central office remained at Aligarh, and was nothing more than an adjunct of its educational institution there. But later the head quarters of Indian Union Muslim League had been shifted to Lucknow in Uthar Pradesh and from this moment onwards the political activities of Indian Union Muslim League was increased.

By 1916 A.D, a joint session of both Indian National Congress and the Indian Union Muslim League was held in Lucknow and the famous Lucknow Pact was concluded between these two organization in the very session itself. And as per one of the provision of this pact, the Indian National Congress recognized the communal electorates system enjoyed by the Muslims in India. Thus by this it was really an controversial fact that the Indian National Congress also adopted the policy of appeasement towards Indian Union Muslim League.

The First World War was started in the year 1914 A.D. Though Indian Union Muslim League and Indian Muslims were in favor of British, they did not favor the British action in the first world war. Because Turkey were participated in world war against the British. The Khalifa, the

ruler of Turkey was considered as the spiritual leader of Muslims all over the world after the war Khalifa lost his power. Muslims all over the world feel worst in this and thus the Muslims all over the world started the Khilafat movement, in order to redress the grievances done to Khalifa by the British. Thus for a while, Indian Muslims and the British were on opposite sides to each other. Mahatma Gandhi considered it as an option to make both Indian National Congress and Indian Union Muslim League closer to each other and by this strengthens the Indian Nationalism. The great Non-Cooperation movement under Mahatma Gandhi was going on in the same time. Thus, for the first time in history of Indian Nationalism, the Indian National Congress and Indian Union Muslim League joined their hands together for the sake of national movement.

But this situation was also changed by 1921 A.D. onwards, when Mahatma Gandhi was arrested by the British police in connection with the Non-Cooperation movement. Gandhi was sentenced to jail for six years. It weakened the movement. Even though in 1921, Muslim League organised a session in Ahmedabad. But they did not pass any resolution in connection with Gandhi's arrest or to condemn the act of the British government. Thus some differences occurred in the cordial relationship between Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian Union Muslim League. Not only this, too many Hindu-Muslim riots occurred during this time throughout the country. The Malabar rebellion or the Moplah Rebellion in the South Indian state of Kerala was a serious issue in this concern. And thus again the communal thought was arising in between the Hindus and Muslims in the Indian soil.

In between 1922 - 1927 A.D. the nature of the Hindu and the Muslim movements in India became more and more militant in its nature. Throughout these days the Muslim League adopted the anti-Congress and the pro-British policy in their whole activities. It is evident from the non-cooperations of Indian Union Muslim League in anti-Simon Commission Movements and in the case of Nehru report prepared by Motilal Nehru, the leader of Indian National Congress.

Simon Commission reached in India in 1927, to probe into the functioning of the Government of India Act of 1919. As per the tentative ideas, the commission reached in India only by 1929, the tenth year of the Government of India Act of 1919. But the commission constituted early in 1927. And one of the causes of the early constitution of Simon Commission was that India was in the grip of a serious Hindu-Muslim communal riot during that time. And the British government felt that it should be a right, at time for presenting a dismal picture of Indian politics through the report of the Simon Commission. And the Indian National Congress and Hindu Mahasabha decided to boycott the Simon Commission and to reject the proposals of the commission. But a slight division was occurred in Muslim League on the issue. A majority of leaders under the able leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah was in favour of the protest

movements and decided to boycott the Simon commission and the proposals put forward by the Simon commission.

The then Secretary of state for India was Lord Birkenhead. He challenged Indian leaders twice to prepare and produce a constitution if they can. He also stated that the proposed constitution which is prepared by the Indian leaders must be acceptable to all the political parties in India. He was well aware about the political and social situation of India. He firmly believed that Indians will not unite together irrespective of their differences. Simply, he was of the firm opinion that the Indians, were so sharply divided among themselves on the basis of religion, caste and on the communal basis also. And it should be very impossible for them to unite together and to frame a constitution to the country. But Indian National Congress accepted the challenge and Motilal Nehru prepared a constitution. Before framing such a constitution he made talk with both Hindus and the Muslims. This report is known as the Nehru Report. As per one of the provisions of the Nehru Report framed by Motilal Nehru, he demanded that the 'Joint electorates were proposed throughout India. And the reservation of seats on the basis of population was proposed for the lower house at the center in case the Muslim community. It also proposed that in the North - Western Frontier Province seats were kept reserved for the non- Muslims while in the rest of provinces, seats were kept reserved for the Muslims on the basis of their population'. The Nehru Report also discarded the communal franchise and therefore, recommended the joint electorates system in elections to all Assemblies and the local bodies though it assured, every effort would be made for protecting the religious and cultural interest of the minorities. After drafting this report an All Parties conference was arranged in Calcutta and the Nehru Report was decided to place before the constitution to make discussions. The Muslim League and a section of Khilafat Committee members led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah participated in the All party conference as the representatives of Indian Muslims. Muhammad Ali Jinnah rejected the Nehru Report drafted by Motilal Nehru on the behalf of the Indian National Congress. He refused to accept the communal settlement proposed in the Nehru Report. Even though so many good and fruitful recommendations are there in the Nehru Report, Muhammad Ali Jinnah blindly refused it only on the basis of communal notion. Not only that, Muhammad Ali Jinnah proposed three amendments in which one was purely communal. That is, he argued that the Muslims should have enjoyed one third representation in the central legislature assembly. And the amendments put forward by Muhammad Ali Jinnah was how ever discarded and lost. Then he left the conference in protest and thus the Nehru Report, which was framed as the future constitution of India lost the support of Indian Muslims in its initial stage itself.

At a meeting of the Muslim League in Delhi on March 8, 1929, Muhammad Ali Jinnah announced his famous 'fourteen points' It is proposed so as a reaction against the Nehru Report of Motilal Nehru. As the Indian Union Muslim League and its leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah

rejected the Nehru Report, he maintained that no scheme for the future government of India would be acceptable to Muslims. By this he demanded that the Muslims should be given an adequate share in all gov services, he also demanded for the adequate safeguards should be provided for the protection of Muslim cultural, he also demanded that no cabinet should be formed without one third Muslim minister and also state that any future territorial redistribution should not affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and the North Western Frontier Province.

Thus all the demands in Muhammad Ali Jinnah's fourteen point are truly communal in nature and all of these demands should pave the way for future partition of India. All such demands keep a separatists tendency in between the two communities, the future two nations.

Simultaneously, the Hindu communalism also burn⁹. The Hindhu Maha Sabha promoted the anti-Muslim feeling in India also worsened the situation of communalism during this period of time.

Idea of Pakistan

During the early years of 1930s the separating tendency was became more and more powerful in its nature. Sir Muhammad Iqbal is considered as the 'father of the idea of Pakistan'. He declared it in the Allahabad session of All India Muslim League in 1930 A.D. There he declared about the formation of a consolidated the North-Western India and the final destiny of Muslims at least of a Muslim state in the North - Western part of India. During the same time, some Indian Muslim under graduate at the Cambridge university were inspired by the words of Sir Muhammed Iqbal. In 1933 A.D, their leader Rahmat Ali described in a magazine stlyled as 'Now Or Never' that the Indian Muslims need a separate nation which includes the provinces of Punjab, Kashmir, Sindh, Baluchistan and the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP). He also referred tothe establishment of an Osmanian province of Hyderabad and the Bang-i-Islam of Bengal and Assam. But his idea was not at all during this period of time.

Role of Muhammed Ali Jinnah

Muhammed Ali Jinnah is considered as the father of Pakistan formation movement. As a counter to the Nehru Report put forward by Motilal Nehru, Muhammed Ali Jinnah put up his 'fourteen point formula' and in this proposal he put forward a demand for the appointment of Muslim ministry at the one - third places in the central and provincial ministry. A communal agenda can be seen in all his demands. The Muslim League participated in all the round table conference held in London in 1930 -32 A.D. The Indian National Congress participated only in the second round table conference. In this stage also the aim of the British policies was to foster the spirit of

communalism in the Indian soil. They always encouraged the All India Muslim League in this regards.

Demand for Pakistan

Demand for Pakistan was put forward in the year 1940 A.D. at the Lahore session of the Indian Union Muslim League. In the same session, the All India Muslim League categorically put up its demand for a separate homeland for Indian Muslims. That is PAKISTAN.

In 1941 A.D., at the Madras session of All India Muslim League, its leader Muhammed Ali Jinnah put forward the demand that the aim of Indian Union Muslim League was to establish an independent state in the North Western Frontier Province and in the Eastern Province.

The August Offer of Lord Linlithgow and in the Cripps Mission of Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected by both the Indian National Congress and Indian Union Muslim League. The Indian National Congress started Quit India Movement on August 8, 1942. All the important leaders of Indian National Congress were imprisoned and Indian Union Muslim League opposed the Movement. The League considered it as an apt time for the propagation of Pakistan¹⁰. At the same time the idea of Pakistan was really welcomed by the English news paper like 'Dawn' and the Urdu news paper like 'Mansur', which is published from Delhi. Some of the Indian leaders like C. Rajagopalachary and Dr. B.R Ambedkar were also in favour of the formation of Pakistan.

The C R Formula

The British always had encouraged the Muslims throughout the time of Indian National movement. It is, the patronage and the support of British was the most important fuel behind the formation of the All India Muslim League. From then onwards, the Muslim League and the muslim community always extended its warm support and encouragements to the Muslim League. The British always gave preference to the demands of the All India Muslim League. In the 'August offer' put forward by the then Governor General Lord Linlithgow assured the Indian Union Muslim League that in the case of any understanding with the Indian National Congress, the interest of Indian Muslims would be safeguarded.

The Cripps Mission of 1942 openly accepted the demands for Pakistan which was put forward by the All India Muslim League. This was an open declaration of the Divide and Rule policy of British government in the Indian scenario. Gradually the settlement reached in between the Indian Union Muslim League and the Indian National Congress was made by the British as a pre-condition of the independence of India. A few leaders of Indian National Congress also felt it as a necessary. The important Congress men in this regard included C. Rajagopalachary who realised it as far back as 1944, and in that way there evolved a formula which was famous as the

'C.R Formula' to bring about a peaceful settlement in between the Indian National Congress and the Indian Union Muslim League. It is a reality that he had the full support and approval of Mahatma Gandhi, which he always declared that he has.

This C.R Formula included the provisions which make the partition more faster. It state that the Muslim League should endorse the Indian National Congress's demands for independence and cooperate with un the formation of the provisional interim government which is meant only for the period of power transitional period. The another provision state that after the end of second world war, a commission should be appointed to fixed and demarcate the boundaries of the Muslim dominated districts in the North Western Frontier Province and in the North Eastern part of India. The formula also demanded that the plebiscite must be conducted among the people of these districts shall been decided the issues of separation from India bu plebiscite. This formula also talk about the transfer of population and about the mutual agreements which shall be entered into between two governments in the eve of Partition for jointly safeguarding the Defence, commerce, communication etc.

Mahatma Gandhi who approached Muhammad Ali Jinnah for a settlement on the basis of this C.R Formula in the September 1944. But Muhammad Ali Jinnah rejected this demand of Mahatma Gandhi. He state that the type of Pakistan offered to the All India Muslim League was not able to accept at any cost or in any circumstances. He state that the proposed Pakistan through the C.R. Formula was really a ' maimed, mutilated and a moth - eaten' Pakistan which he would not accept in any circumstances. But as a contradiction to the situation, this action seriously complicated the Indian politics of future days in a very serious manner. Thus the C.R Formula put forward by the initiative of C.R Formula failed to achieve anything fruitfully. Un another way, when Mahatma Gandhi, the then leader of Indian National Congress approached Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of Muslim League for a settlement between the Indian National Congress and the Indian Union Muslim League. Thus, this situation increased the importance if Muhammad Ali Jinnah and it made him more adamant in getting his demands accepted. It, thus, encouraged the communal politics of the All India Muslim League in a serious manner.

By 14th June,1945 the wavell plan was announced. This plan was arranged and offered as an interim arrangement. One of the most important feature of this plan was the formation of an interim government in centre with the very equal representation of both the Hindus and the Indian Muslims. A conference was held at Simla in connection with the Wavell plan. But the Simla conference was an utterly failed one.

The General election in India was followed by the failure of Simla plan. In these general elections in India gave an overwhelming majority to the Indian National Congress. The Indian

National Congress was able to capture almost all the General seats and they were able to capture some seats reserved for Indian Muslims. Thus the election helped Indian National Congress to raise their prestige as the national party which is most popular in India. Besides Indian National Congress, the Indian Union Muslim League also achieved great success in the case of concerning Muslim seats. It captured an out 446 Muslim seats out of the total 495 Muslim seats. In Punjab region, the Unionist, who was considered as a real threat to Muslims in that region, won and captured only 10 seats. It was only in the North Western Frontier Province region, the calculations of Indian Union Muslim League becomes miscalculated one. Here the Indian Union Muslim League were failed to capture the Muslim seats itself. There the party named as 'Khudai Khidmatgars', the party of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his followers (Khan Brothers) became victorious and they were able to defeat the Indian Union Muslim League and to capture the Muslim seats in the North Western Frontier Province, which was a Muslim dominated region. On the other side, the Indian National Congress formed a ministries in seven provinces, as they got majority seats in these respective areas of seven provinces. The Unionist Party formulated its own government in Punjab province with the warm support of Indian National Congress and some other small parties. Like that the Khudai Kidmatagar formed their own government in the North Western Frontier Province as they got majority there. And the Indian Union Muslim League established their own ministries only in two provinces, where they got majority. The two provinces in which the Muslim League formed their ministries was the Bengal and the Sindh, where they got the majority seats.

In March, 1946 the Cabinet Mission visited India. The mission put its plan in May 1946. At first, both the Indian National Congress and the Indian Union Muslim League accepted the demands put forward by the Cabinet Mission. But later Indian Union Muslim League rejected the proposal and they refused to join or take part in the interim government formed as per the plan proposed by the Cabinet Mission. The cabinet mission plan was described by Mahatma Gandhi as 'the best plan ever put up by the British government under the then circumstances in India. Certainly, the cabinet mission plan, which was proposed by the British had its own certain merits. Because in common it directly rejected the demands for Pakistan. But when a cross checked analysis conducted it is clear that it accepted the demands for Pakistan through the back door. Thus once again the British Indian government reveals its true nature of Divide and Rule policy, which was made by them practical throughout their period of existence in India.

On the very day in which the interim government resigned the All India Muslim League celebrated the day as the 'Direct Action Day' (August 16, 1946). This celebration was followed by the wide spread Hindu - Muslim riots in India. The communal riots were continued in India and it followed and resulted in the serious loss of life and property in India. Lakh of people, both the Hindus and the Muslims irrespective of religion, lost their life, wealth etc and they suffered a lot.

By February 1947 the British government announced its final decision to leave India by June 1948. At the same time, Lord Mountbatten from England reached India to find a solution to this burning problem of communalism and the plan of divide India on the basis of religion.

On March 17, 1947 the All India Muslim League celebrated the 'Pakistan Day'. As usual, it also resulted in the large scale wide spreaded massacres, lootings and burnings etc. In this special situation the Indian national leaders such as Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru realised the futility of opposing the demand of Pakistan by the All India Muslim League. Thus Mr V.P. Menon drafted a proposal for the partition of India. British government gave its consent to the partition of the country. Thus by 1947 A.D, the Indian Independence Act was passed and India was divided into two independent nations, namely the Indian Union and Pakistan.

It is clear that the communalism in India was not born and brought up in a fine morning. It was gradually developed in the Indian soil over a period of two centuries. The egoistic policies of both Hindus and Indian Muslims and the communal Divide and Rule policy of the British Indian Government made the partition of India inevitable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar. *From Plassey To Partition : A History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2004.
2. Bhalerao, Nirmal, Desai, S S M. *Economic History of India*. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1996.
3. Chandra, Bipan. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009. Print
4. Chandra, Bipan. *India's Struggle for Independence 1885 – 1947*. New Delhi, Penguin Books, 1989.
5. Habib, Irfan. *Medieval India – A study of Civilisation*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2008.
6. Khurana, K L. *History of India (1526 -1967 A.D)*. Agra: LNA Publication.
7. Mahajan, V.D. *Modern Indian History from 1707 to the Present day (British rule in India and after)* New delhi, S. Chand and Company Publication, 1993.
8. Mathew, Jijo. *A Text book on Modern India*. Thiruvananthapuram: Unicorn Publication, 2015.
9. Reddy, K Krishna. *Indian History*. New Delhi: Mc Graw Hill Educational (India) Pvt. Ltd.
10. Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India, 1885-1947*. Macmillan Publication, 1983.
11. Sen, S.N. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi :New Age International Private Limited, 1997.
12. Sharma LP, *Indian National Movement*. Agra: LNA Publication, 2010.