

ASSIGNMENT #4

Q- Minto Morley Reform was a "tool of change" in the political system of India. Discuss it with special reference to demands of Simla Deputation. Also discuss how "The Simla Deputation, 1906 laid foundation for the creation of Pakistan. Substantiate your view point with solid arguments.

(1) INTRODUCTION

Minto Morley Reforms also known as the Indian Councils Act of 1909, were a series of reforms introduced by the British government to give more representation to Indians in the legislative process.

This act was aimed at providing some degree of self governance to Indians, but it was also a tool used by the British to maintain their control over India.

The Simla deputation was one of the major factors that paved way for Minto-Morley Reforms. This delegation played a significant role in creation of Pakistan.

Below given is the complete discussion and analysis of how Minto Morley Reforms were a tool of change in the political system of Pakistan, and how Simla deputation laid the foundation for creation of Pakistan.

(2) HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Minto-Morley Reforms was a prime result of two of the major events in Indian Subcontinent.

- 1- Simla deputation (1906)
- 2- Formation of All India Muslim League (1906)

2.1 (A) SIMLA DEPUTATION

Simla Deputation was a delegation of Muslim leaders led by Sir Agha Khan that met with Viceroy of India,

Lord Minto, in 1906, to demand political representation for Muslims in the Indian legislative process. The Muslims put forth the following demands in front of the Governor-General:

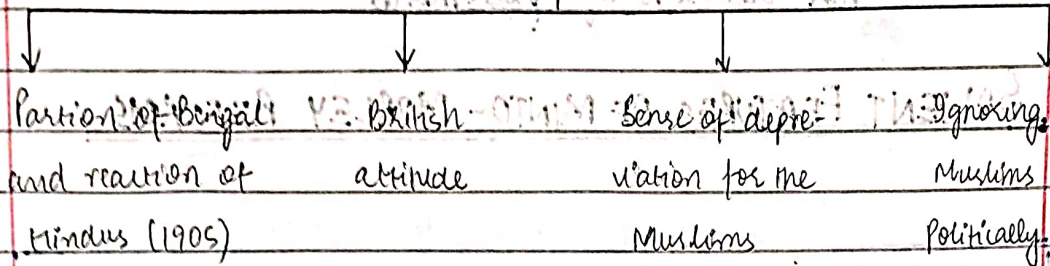
| Demand | Description |
|--|---|
| (i) Separate Electorate System | Muslims should be given the right of vote under separate electorate system. |
| (ii) Representation in Imperial Legislative Council | The Muslims should be given representation on the Imperial Legislative Council in view of their population. |
| (iii) Preference of Electoral system | Electoral system should be given preference over the nomination system. |
| (iv) Share in Cadres | The Muslims should be given their due share in the gazetted and non-gazetted cadres according to specific position. |
| (v) Appointment as Judges | Muslims should be appointed as Judges on the high courts as well as chief courts. |
| (vi) Reserved seats | Seats should be reserved for Muslims on the senates and syndicates of various universities. |
| (vii) Financial help & support | Financial help should be given for setting up a Muslim university. |
| (viii) Representation in Executive Council of Gov. General | The Muslims should be given representation on the Executive Council of Governor-General. |

A positive response was observed by Lord Minto who claimed to deputations that so long as he was associated with the country's administration, the Muslims are assured that their national and political rights are preserved.

2.2(B) FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

Muslim League was established in 1906 in Dhaka. Following factors played an important role in its formation

Factors contributing in formation of All India Muslim League



2.2.1 Objectives of Muslim League

Due to above factors, the Muslims who had been oppressed by British-Hindu cooperation became active and came to realm of common thinking. Following objectives were observed by the Muslim League:

- (i) To develop the feelings of loyalty towards British government
- (ii) To look after political interests of the Muslims
- (iii) To bring about better understanding between Muslims and other communi

(3) MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS (1909)

The Minto Morley reforms were a significant step towards the constitutional development of India under British rule. They aimed to increase the participation of Indians in governance of India.

According to Lord Minto, the secret of welfare state lay in the continuation of British Raj over India and that was only possible by the participation of Indians in government affairs. He categorically stated that he has nothing to do with reforms if they directly or indirectly led to establishment of a parliamentary system in India. He said:

'We have distinctly maintained that representative government in its western sense is totally inapplicable to the Indian

empire; we have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our councils but not creation of parliaments.

3.1 SALIENT FEATURES OF MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS

The Minto Morley Reforms had the following main features :-

| Features | Description |
|--|---|
| (i) Additional members increased | The members of Executive Council were increased to 60; out of which 23 were non-official. |
| (ii) Separate electorate for Muslims | The Muslims were given the right of separate electorate. |
| (iii) Increased powers of members of ILC | The powers of the members of Imperial Legislative Council were enhanced to discuss budget and more ^{affluent} resolutions. |
| (iv) Right to ask supplementary Questions | The members unlike before, were now given the right of asking supplementary questions. |
| (v) Power of Council President | The Council President was authorised to disallow the debate over any part of resolution. |
| (vi) Executive Councils of Madras, Bombay and Bengal | The number of members of Executive Council of Madras, Bombay and Bengal was increased to four. |
| (vii) Entry into Viceroy Executive Council | An Indian ^{for first time,} S.P. Sinha was included in Viceroy's executive council although the step was brutally criticized in England. |

3.2 MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS AS A TOOL OF CHANGE

The Minto Morley Reforms introduced several changes in the political system of India including :

- Expansion of legislative Councils
- Introduction of indirect elections.
- Establishment of system of communal representation

The reforms were seen as a tool of change by some Indian political leaders, who believed that they would pave the way for further political reforms and eventually lead to Indian self-government. It comprises of two major components:

a) Expansion of Indian Legislative Council

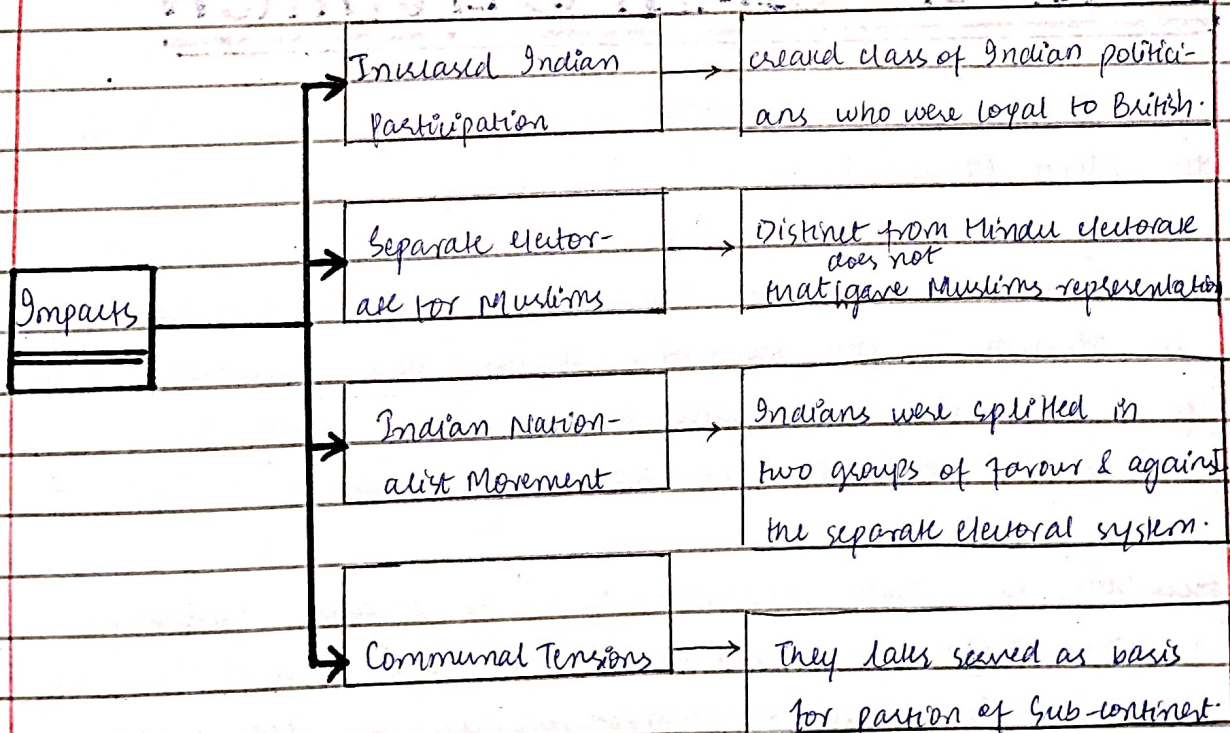
This reform gave Indians more say in the legislative process and it was seen as a step towards Indian self government

b) Tool of British to maintain power over India

- The act gave the viceroy the power to veto any decision made by council, which meant that the British still had the ultimate control over legislative process.
- Also, the act did not give Indians the right to vote. The British government was still in control of the appointment of members to the council.

(4) IMPACTS

The Montagu-Mansfield Reforms had several impacts on the political system of India that are summarized in the following chart



A number of scholars had cited the importance of Minto Morley reforms and their role as a tool of change in the history of subcontinent.

o) David Arnold, a historian and author of "Gandhi: A Life" writes:

"The Minto Morley Reforms of 1909 can be seen as a turning point in the history of Indian constitutional development. It marked the first time that the Indian political demands for greater representation in government were acknowledged and acted upon by the British government."

o) Sumit Sarkar, the writer of "Modern India: 1885-1947" writes:

"The Minto Morley Reforms by creating a larger and more diverse Indian electorate gave a new dimension to Indian politics. It increased the pace of political mobilization and brought new and previously excluded social groups into political process."

(5) ROLE OF SIMLA DEPUTATION

The Simla deputation played a significant role in shaping the Minto Morley Reforms.

(a) Firstly, their demands for separate electorates and reserved seats for Muslims in the legislative councils were included in the final legislation. This ensured that Muslims would have a voice in the political system and could protect their interests.

(b) Secondly, the Simla Deputation helped to convince Lord Minto and the British government of the need for increased Indian representation in the legislative councils. This led to the creation of new councils at the provincial level and increased membership in the existing councils.

(c) Furthermore, Simla deputation helped to set the stage for broader movement for Indian self rule and independence. The demands for political representation and protection of Muslim interests echoed the broader demands of Indian political leaders for greater autonomy and a greater voice in the political system.

In short, Simla deputation played a crucial role in securing Muslims interests in Indian political system through Minto-Morley reforms. Rajmohan Gandhi has written:

"The Simla deputation was a turning point in the history of Indian nationalism. It marked the emergence of a separate Muslim identity and demands for representation and protection of Muslim interests in the political system. The Minto Morley reforms were a direct response to these demands and reflected the changing nature of Indian politics." (Part: A Life)

(6) SIMLA DEPUTATION - BASIS OF CREATION OF PAKISTAN

The demands of the Simla Deputation and the establishment of separate electorates for Muslims were significant factors that contributed to the foundation of Pakistan.

Following major steps were taken in regards to Simla deputation that later became key factors for establishment of Pakistan.

(1) Demand for separate Electorate

As demanded by the Simla deputation, separate electorate policy was the prime concept presented to Lord Minto. This demand was accepted by the British government and led to creation of separate electorates for Muslims under the Government of India

Act of 1909. This allowed Muslims to elect their own representatives and ensure their interests were protected.

(2) Recognition of Muslim Identity

The Simla deputation was the first time that Muslim leaders had come together to present a united front and demand recognition of their identity. The memorandum presented to Lord Minto emphasized that Muslims were a separate nation with their own distinct culture, language and traditions. This recognition of Muslim identity laid the foundation for the Two Nation Theory, which stated that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations with irreconcilable differences.

(3) Formation of the All India Muslim League

The Simla Deputation played a significant role in the formation of the All India Muslim League in 1906. The delegation consisted of several prominent Muslim leaders who went on to become the founding members of the Muslim League. The Muslim League became the primary political vehicle for Muslims in India and played a crucial role in the demand for a separate Muslim state.

(4) Importance of Lahore Resolution

The Lahore Resolution passed by the Muslim League in 1940, called for the creation of a separate Muslim state in India. This demand for a separate state was rooted in the Simla Deputation's demand for separate electorates and recognition of Muslim identity. The Lahore Resolution is considered to be a significant milestone in the demand for Pakistan and laid the foundation for the creation of the country in 1947.

Indeed, Simla deputation was one of the initial steps taken to recognize Muslims as a separate nation with unique interests and rights. Aysha Jalal, the famous Pakistani historian writes:

"The Simla deputation marked a turning point in Muslim politics. It gave a new direction to the demands of the Muslim minority and set the stage for the Pakistan Movement."

(7) CONCLUSION

The demand for Pakistan was based on the idea that Muslims needed a separate homeland where they could live according to their own cultural and religious values. This demand was the major motive of Simla deputation and was fuelled by the policy of separate electorates for Muslims, which created a separate Muslim identity in India.

In a nutshell, the demands of Simla deputation & the establishment of separate electorates for Muslims were significant factors that contributed to the foundation of Pakistan. Moreover, the Minto Morley reforms proved a significant step towards Indian self governance, their effectiveness as a tool of change in the Indian political system is debatable. Ian Talbot, quotes:

"The Minto Morley Reforms and the Simla Deputation were critical in the emergence of a distinct Muslim identity in India and laid the foundation for the demand for a separate Muslim state."

(Extracted from: "Pakistan: A Modern History")

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ASSIGNMENT # 5

Critically Examine Congress Ministries of 1937. How far it is correct to suggest that it paved way for the separate Muslim homeland in India?

(1) INTRODUCTION

The Congress ministries of 1937 were formed after the Indian National Congress (INC) won the provincial elections held under the Government of India Act 1935.

The Congress ministries of 1937 were a significant political development in the history of India and paved way for the separate homeland for Indian Muslims. The formation of these ministries gave a new ideology to Muslims of subcontinent and gave them a clue that Hindus are their foe not friends as they considered earlier.

Congress ministries introduced many policies and reforms majority of which were against the Muslim interests and rights. Below discussed are the reforms introduced by the Congress ministries and the role they played in shaping the concept of separate homeland for Muslims.

(2) HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It all started when elections were held in India for the first time in 1937 under the Government of India Act 1935. Both major parties All India Muslim League and Congress participated in these elections with a slight difference in their manifestos. Prof. Coupland, a historian, after studying both manifestos states that:

"To all appearances the social policy it [the League] advocated was much the same as the Congress policy."

The Congress fought these elections with money, material resources and ^{with} the Hindu demigod Gandhi's influence to its best interests. On the other hand, AIML did not have

capitalists for financial support neither had any effective propaganda machinery to counter Congress in any way. It had only one newspaper, The Star of India to face the onslaught of Congress Media.

As a result of these factors, Congress earned significant success in the elections by securing 71 seats out of total 1585 provincial seats and gained ministries in majority of the provinces.

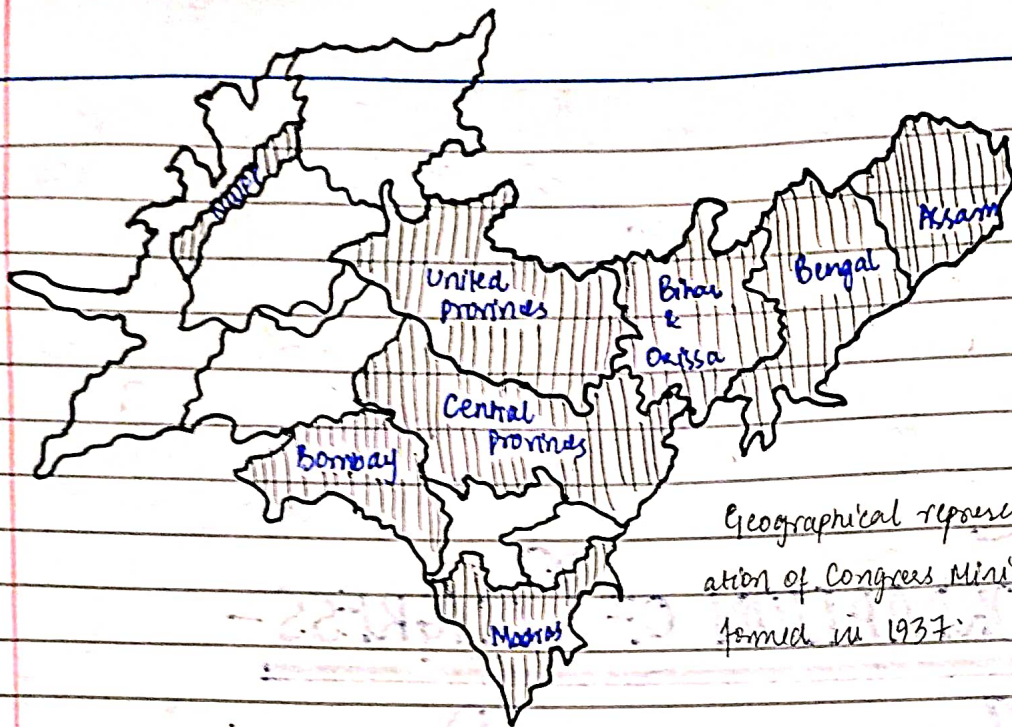
(3) FORMATION OF CONGRESS -

MINISTRIES IN PROVINCES

Congress Ministries were formed in the following provinces of British India.

| Name | Description |
|----------------------------|---|
| (1) Madras Presidency | Under the leadership of C. Raj Gopalachari, which include present day Tamil Nadu, Kerala Andhra Pradesh and Southwestern Karnataka. |
| (2) United Provinces (UP) | Formed under the leadership of Govind Ballabh which include present day Uttarakhand & Uttar Pradesh. |
| (3) Bombay | Under the leadership of B. G. Kher, includes present day Maharashtra and Gujrat. |
| (4) Bihar and Orissa | Formed under the leadership of Krishna Kant Singh and Harekrushna Mehta. |
| (5) Bengal and Assam | Formed under leadership of Gopinath Bordoloi |
| (6) Central provinces (CP) | Headed by Bavisankar Shukla - present day Madhya Pradesh. |
| (7) NWFP | Lead by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan - present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Pakistan. |

Table showing the provinces where the Congress Ministries formed under the respective leaders.



Geographical representation of Congress Ministries formed in 1937.

(4) POLICIES OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Following policies and steps were taken by Congress ministries during their reign and reaction of Muslim were observed accordingly.

4.1- Dissolution of AIML in U.P

The president of Congress, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote letter to Muslim League ~~and~~ stating to join Government only if they accept the demands of Congress i.e. the Muslim League party should cease to exist in U.P, existing members of AIML should become part of Congress, League Parliamentary Board shall be dissolved and other such unjustified demands that could threat the representation of Muslims in Government.

Reaction of Muslims

It was totally unacceptable by the Muslim League to follow and agree to those demands. The aim was to forecast power of Muslim League in UP where it was very strong and ultimately to erase the impact of Muslim League all over India. These conditions made the Congress intentions very clear to Muslims and they were refused by Quaid-e-Azam outrightly. The Urdu biweekly ^aMadina (Bijnor) that supported Congress was

"The Hindus developed a misconception that the sun of Hindu Raj was now in ascendance, therefore they should treat the Muslims like the rulers do."

4.2. Congress Flag and Bande Matram as National Symbols

After coming into power, Congress took two solely Hindu favoured steps. They declared

- Tricolor (Flag) → as the national flag.
- Bande Matram (poem) → as the national anthem.

Both these steps were a clear indication that India belongs to Hindus only. Furthermore, Bande Matram that was extracted from the novel Anand Math written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was ^{declared} the national anthem. It was without any doubt a heap of malicious propaganda against Muslims. Since the novel revolves around the life of a militant Hindu who decides to fight against the Muslim rulers as a defender of his faith.

Reaction of Muslims

Quaid-e-Azam condemned Bande Matram as a war song against the Muslims. He declared ^{that} it smacked blasphemy. Commenting on Band-e-Matram, a non-political magazine, 'Hisnayati-e-Islami' wrote: "We disagree with this song only because being Muslims, we believe that it is by no means appropriate for Muslims to sing it. The reason is that the views expressed in it are quite contrary to Islamic beliefs."

4.3. Wardha Educational Scheme

Another vicious scheme introduced by Congress was a report known as 'Wardha Educational Scheme'. The real purpose of this scheme was to brain wash the Muslim youth by infusing in them the ideology and theory of One Nation in place of Two Nation Theory. It aimed to infuse Muslim minds with

- the supremacy of Hindu religion and culture by ~~purposely~~ ~~what?~~ - 3/1
- o- Inculcation of spirit of nationalism.
 - o- Ahimsa (non-violence) concept in context of Hindu domination
 - o- Teaching of music as compulsory.

Reaction

All political and non-political parties of Muslims declared Wardha scheme as harmful and unacceptable. AIML at a meeting of its working committee with Quaid-e-Azam as chair rejected this scheme outrightly. In a resolution adopted on the occasion, it was clearly stated that:

"The scheme was repugnant to the sentiments, ideology and religion and its real purpose was to destroy Muslim cultural heritage."

4- Vidya Mandir Scheme

A more or less similar scheme to Wardha Educational scheme was introduced in C.P. and Bihar under the name of Vidya Mandir. The scheme involved the establishment of government schools and colleges that would provide education in the vernacular language rather than in English. It meant that the Muslim students were forced to study Urdu or Marathi language.

Reaction

The Muslims rejected this scheme and resisted it strongly due to following main reasons:

- o- It's very name was unacceptable to Muslims.
 - o- All members of the syllabus committee were non-Muslims.
 - o- There was no mentioning of Islamic education system and no education was given according to Muslim heritage & culture.
- Moulvi Abdul Haq wrote a letter to Gandhi stating the conditions of schools under this scheme when a representative of his Anjuman told: "Most of the Muslims and the Hindu students were offering prayers in front of the statue of the goddess Saraswati with hands clapped before school hours."

Threat to

4.5. Urdu Language

During its two years, Congress tried its best to eliminate and destroy Urdu language. The then President of Congress Subash Chandra Bose joined the chorus declaring that only Hindi could be common language. The imposition of Hindi in Devanagiri was also implemented as the official language for administrative purposes. It was no doubt a move to impose North Indian culture and language on the rest of the country. Pandit Nehru stated:

"The national movement could gain great strength through Hindi language."

Reaction

The goals of eliminating Urdu were never ^{achieved} ~~gained~~ by Congress due to combine efforts of Muslim leaders like Moulvi Abdul Haq (also known as Baba-i-Urdu), Quaid-e-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan & even Raja of Mahmudabad. Quaid-e-Azam, in his speech at New Delhi said:

"The forcible imposition of Hindi was a death knell for Urdu."

(5) INQUIRY REPORTS

The two major reports were commissioned by the British government in response to communal tensions b/w Hindus and Muslims during the Congress Ministries of 1937-1939 in British India.

- (i) Pirpur Report
- (ii) Shareef Report.

(a) Pirpur Report :-

Chairman: Raja Sayyid Mohamimad Mehdi of Pirpur.

Motive: In response to communal riots in Uttar Pradesh.

Location: Pirpur.

Components of Report: Comprised of Three portions such that

- 1) 1st portion → made general review of communal problem.
- 2) 2nd portion → encompassed Congress policies & their details.
- 3) 3rd portion → dealt with complaints of Muslim inhabitants.

(b) Shareef Report :-

- Also known as United Provinces Disturbances Inquiry Committee.

Chairman: S.M. Shareef.

Motive: In response to communal riots in UP.

Location: Binas

Components: Comprised of three components:-

- 1st portion → presented deep insight into duplicity of Congress.
- 2nd portion → " dichotomy b/w its principles and practices
- 3rd portion → dilated upon facts of suppression & oppression.

(6) DAY OF DELIVERENCE

The Congress Ministries in India resigned in 1939 to protest against the British government's decision to involve India in World War II. On this occasion, Quaid-e-Azam expressed his heartfelt satisfaction in a statement in which he appealed to Muslims to celebrate the end of Congress ministries as a Day of Deliverence on October 22, 1939.

(7) IMPACTS OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

The Congress Ministries put forth the realities of their thinking and ideology in front of Muslims. It affected them greatly.

Following are the impacts that Congress Ministries had on Muslims & Muslim League.

(i) Arouse sense of insecurity

Congress arouse a sense of insecurity in Muslims and forced the leaders like Maulvi Fazl Haq, Sir Sikandar Hayat, Sir Saadullah to join Muslim League.

(ii) Treiter of Hindu Government

Congress Ministries in the two year span gave a clear cut of treiter of what they believe and how they will treat Muslims if given hold over entire India.

(iii) Disillusioned Muslims

The Muslims who were in illusions of living together peacefully with Hindus, came out of their fantasies and came across the harsh realities of Hindus.

(iv) Boost to Muslim Nationalism

It gave boost to Muslim nationalism by uniting them under the banner of Muslim League - their sole representation.

(v) Uni-Nationalism claim of Congress

It destroyed the claim of Congress about Uni-nationalism as Muslims & Hindus were two major groups formed in subcontinent with different religion, culture and traditions.

(vi) Recognition of Jinnah as Muslim leader

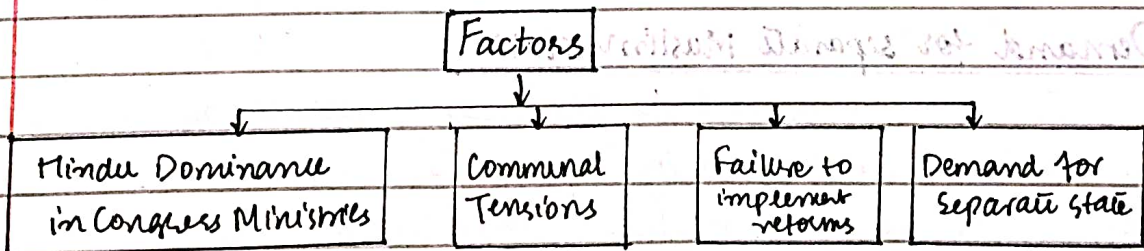
The entire scenario played an important role in recognizing Jinnah as one of the most influential and empowering leader of Muslims - (Slogan of Quaid-e-Azam by Mian Ferozuddin in 1936 session of A.I.M.L.)

(vii) Separate electorate demand.

The demand for a separate electorate became popular that later became basis of partition in 1940 resolution.

(8) FACTORS LEADING TO CREATION OF SEPARATE HOMELAND FOR MUSLIMS

The tenure of Congress Ministries was marked by several factors that ultimately paved way for creation of a separate homeland for Muslims in subcontinent.



8-1) Hindu Dominance in Congress Ministries

One of the key factors that led to demand for separate homeland for Muslims was the Hindu dominance in Congress ministries. Muslim leaders felt that they were being marginalized and their interests were not being represented adequately.

According to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a prominent Indian politician:-

"The Congress ministries were Hindu governments in everything but name. The Muslims felt they had been reduced to the position of second-class citizens."

8.2- Communal Tensions

The Communal Tensions between Hindus and Muslims during the Congress ministries further aggravated the situation. The Congress leaders failed to address the concerns of Muslim community, which led to several riots and clashes. The British historian Ayesha Jalal writes:

"The Hindu Muslim conflict had taken on a new and dangerous dimension during this period."

8.3- Failure to Implement Reforms

The ministries also failed to implement the promised reforms such as land reforms which were critical for socio-economic upliftment of Muslim community.

"The Congress ministries were unable to implement the land reforms that were so essential for Muslim peasantry."

(Christopher Bayly).

8.4- Demand for separate Muslim state

The failure of Congress ministries to address the concerns of the Muslim community ultimately led to the demand for a separate Muslim state. Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah argued that Muslims were a separate nation and needed a separate homeland to protect their interests. Quaid-e-Azam said:

"We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and

nomenclature, sense of values and propagation, legal laws and moral codes, customs and callendes, history and traditions and aptitudes and ambitions."

(9) CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Congress ministries of 1937, although a significant step towards self-rule, failed to address the ^{cern} concerns of Muslim community, ultimately paving the way for the demand of separate Muslim state. The communal tensions, the failure to implement reforms and the Hindu dominance in the Congress ministries created an environment that gave rise to demand for a separate country for Muslims.

"The experience of the Congress ministries only served to reinforce the perception among Muslims that their interests could only be safeguarded by a separate state."

(Ayesha Jalal).