

## **Pakistan Movement**

(1857-1947)

### **War of Independence 1857:**

In 1857, Muslims of the sub-continent initiated a *War of Independence* also known as *Mutiny* against British Raj under the leadership of last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. The British forces captured the Red Fort by entering through Lahore Gate and arrested Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, who tried to flee away along with two Queens and three sons. Later, the Military court ordered his exile to Rangoon (now Yangon), Myanmar. On November 7, 1862, Bahadur Shah Zafar died in Rangoon and was buried there. From here, the struggle for independence of Muslims commenced and its major events are discussed below one-by-one.

### **Partition of Bengal (October 1905)**

The British government re-constituted the provinces of Bengal and Assam to form two provinces – Western Bengal, and Eastern Bengal and Assam – because of administrative problems as Bengal was too big a province for one governor to administer. Incidentally, Western Bengal became the Hindu majority province, and the Eastern Bengal and Assam became a Muslim majority province. The Hindus started the Swadeshi Movement against this partition, especially against the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam because it became another Muslim majority province. This factor aroused the Muslims all over British India and made them conscious enough to start their own separate political party which was established in the next year. Ultimately, the British Government bowed down before the Swadeshi Movement and reunited both provinces by ending the partition in 1911.

### **Simla Deputation and Formation of All-India Muslim League:**

A delegation of 35 prominent Muslim leaders from all over the subcontinent headed by Sir Aga Khan III met the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla and presented the Muslim demands that the Muslims were a distinct community with additional interests of their own, which were not shared by other communities. Due to this Muslims have been suffering and they had not been adequately represented. In reply, Lord Minto assured the Muslims that their political rights and interests as a community would be safeguarded in the coming electoral representation. Therefore, the Muslim leaders formed a political party *All India Muslim League in Dhaka on December 30, 1906*.

the objectives of AIML were;

1. To inculcate amongst Muslims the feeling of loyalty towards British government
2. To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims in sub-continent through a legitimate representation before the government
3. To prevent the growth of ill-will between Muslims and other nationalities without compromising its objectives

## **Minto-Morley Reforms 1909:**

Minto-Morely reforms were constitutional reforms that increased the number of seats in the provincial councils and introduced the practice of both direct and indirect voting. For Muslims, it introduced a separate electorate means a specific representation of Muslims in the provincial councils. Morely comprehended the fact that by making Muslims seats dependent on Hindu votes would have worsened the communal differences. This representation of Muslims was continuously opposed by Congress which denounced the reform by labelling it a discriminatory practice towards other populations. Only once, did Congress agree to retain the reforms during the Lucknow Pact of 1916.

## **The Lucknow Pact 1916:**

Prime objective of AIML was to revive and strengthen ties with the British government. However, the annulment of the partition of Bengal and aggressive action of the European powers against the Ottoman empire convinced AIML leadership to collaborate with Hindus against the British rule. In the ninth session of AIML a joint scheme of reforms, concurrently prepared by the Congress and Muslim League Committees, was approved which decided that a “complete self-government in India” should be established on the basis of Lucknow Pact which was adopted by the Muslim League and the Congress. This joint scheme known as the Lucknow Pact approved the scheme of democracy based on separate scheme of electorates for the Muslims and other minorities. But this Pact proved a short-lived affair because of dominance of M. K. Gandhi in the Congress’ politics in 1920.

## **The Khilafat Movement 1919-1924:**

The Lucknow/ Pact proved that educated middle-class Muslims and Hindus could come together and find a peaceful solution to their constitutional and political issues. This unity reached its highest point during the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements. Led by Ali Brothers, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali, the Muslims of South Asia started the important Khilafat Movement after World War I. Their goal was to protect the Ottoman Empire from being divided into smaller parts.

The Ali Brothers in September 1921 had a significant impact on the Kat Movement. However, Gandhi, who was using the movement to push for India's self-rule, withdrew his support for the Muslim cause after the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922. He blamed the national volunteers for the murder of 21 policemen, and decided to end the entire movement. In 1924, Mustafa Kamal and his supporters in Turkey were gaining power and they announced the end of the This was a major setback for the Indian khilafatists who had been advocating Turlery and the khilafat. Over time, people's enthusiasm waned and the Khilafat Clemence and Committee lost their influence, eventually becoming inactive.

## **Emergence of the Agenda of Separate Homeland**

### **Simon Commission 1927:**

As the situation evolved, the Muslims also adjusted their approach. In a gathering of the Muslim League in Lahore in 1924, led by M.A. Jinnah, they put forth new demands for constitutional protections. They wanted to ensure that their majority status in Punjab and Bengal would be preserved. They also sought the separation of Sindh from Bombay and the establishment of Balochistan as a distinct province. Additionally, they called for constitutional reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

To advance these demands, a faction of the All-India Muslim League led by Sir Muhammad Shafi decided to work with the Statutory Commission. This commission was sent by the British government in 1927 and chaired by Sir John Simon to examine India's constitutional future. On the other hand, another faction of the Muslim League, led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, chose to boycott the Simon Commission due to its all-white composition. Instead, they collaborated with the Nehru Committee to develop a constitution for India.

### **Nehru Report 1928: A Response to Simon Commission**

The Nehru Report was a response to a challenge given by Lord Birkenhead to Indians. He claimed that only British people were capable of finding a solution to India's constitutional problem because Indians couldn't agree on it. The report, published in August 1928, made the divide between Hindus and Muslims permanent. It suggested a government system where the majority would have the most power and recommended removing Muslim electorates. Here's a summary of the Nehru Report's main points:

- India should be given the status of a dominion on a unity basis with a parliamentary form of Government.
- Residuary powers should be vested in the center.
- There should be no separate electorates or weightage for minorities. It should be substituted by adults and universal franchise.
- No seats should be reserved for Muslims except at the center and in the province where they were in minority.
- The Report contained: "A minority must remain minority whether any seats are reserved for it or not.
- Muslims could enjoy one-fourth representation in the Center Legislature The NWFP should be given full provincial status and Sindh should be taken away from Bombay and made a separate province. It suggested the creation of a new Canarse-speaking province in South India.
- Hindi would be the official language of India.
- The Report tried to show by detailed examination of the distribution of the Muslim population in the various districts of Punjab and Bengal that Muslims without reservation of seats could certainly expect to have elected minorities at least in proportion to their numbers in these provinces.

## **Jinnah's Fourteen Points (1929)**

During a gathering of the All-India Muslim League council in Delhi on March 28, 1929, members from both the Shafi League and Jinnah League were present. Quaid-i-Azam, the leader of the Muslim League, criticized the Nehru Report, calling it a document that favored Hindus. However, he believed that merely rejecting the report wasn't enough. So, he proposed an alternative plan specifically representing Muslim interests. It was during this meeting that Quaid-e-Azam introduced his well-known Fourteen Points.

### **Jinnah's Points**

1. The form of the future constitution should be Federal system with residuary powers vested in the provinces
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislative in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principles of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality
4. In the Central Legislature, the Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
- 5 Representation of communal groups by separate electorates, provided that it would be open to any community to opt out of separate electorate in favour of joint electorate
6. No territorial redistribution should in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty, i.e., Liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution shall be passed in any legislative or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill.
9. Sind should be separated from Bombay as a separate province.
10. Reforms in North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.
- 11 Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the services of the state and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institution and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the state and by local self- governing bodies
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.

14. No change in the Constitution by the Central Legislature without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation

## **Pitching of Idea of Pakistan (Allahabad 1930)**

### Presidential Address of Allam Iqbal

Many leaders and thinkers which understood the Hindu-Muslim issue suggested the idea of separating Muslim India. However, the greatest poet-philosopher of Muslim India Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1677-1938), during his speech as the president at the yearly gathering of the All-India Muslim League in Allahabad in December 1930 in powerful words proposed the idea of establishing a separate Muslim state, at least in the regions where Muslims were the majority, such northwest. Later on, in his letters with Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Allama Muhammad Iqbal expanded his proposal for a Muslim state to include the Muslim majority areas in the northeast as well. Three years after his speech in Allahabad, a group of Muslim students at Cambridge, led by Chaudhry Rahmat All, published a pamphlet called Now or Never In that pamphlet, they named the proposed Muslim state as Pakistan by combining letters from the names of Muslim majority regions. However, very few people, even among the Muslims, supported this idea at that time. It took around ten years for the Muslims to fully accept and support the demand for a separate homeland.

## **Round Table Conferences (1930-1932)**

### **RTC: 1 Session (12 November 1930 to 19 January 1931)**

The Round Table Conferences were organized for two purposes to support the Simon Commission and to address the objection that it lacked Indian members. These conferences took place between 1930 and 1932. The first session was inaugurated by King George V in London on November 12, 1930. A delegation of 58 Indian members, led by Aga Khan III and representing various interests such as Muslims, liberals, and the Chamber of Princes, attended the conferences. However, the Congress party, which was the largest political party in India, did not participate. During this session, a subcommittee called the Federal Structure Subcommittee was formed under Lord Sankey. They couldn't find a solution to the communal issue. Edward Thomson proposed that the communal question be resolved through the arbitration of three members-one Hindu, one Muslim, and one British-but this proposal did not receive support and offended the Muslim delegates. At the end of the first session, on January 19, 1931, the British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald made a commitment that if an Indian Legislature was formed based on a federation, the British government would recognize that the executive should be accountable to the legislature.

### **RTC: 2nd Session (7 September to 01 December 1931)**

In this meeting, there were new representatives like Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi being the only representative from the Congress. Despite Gandhi's initial attempts to reconcile differences, the conflicts between

different religious groups could not be resolved. During the first session, a proposal by M.A. Jinnah was rejected by M.R. Jaykar from the Mahasabha party. On October 8, Gandhi had to admit to Sir Muhammad Shafi that his attempts to mediate had failed and that he had limitations. In this meeting, the Princes decided to withdraw their agreement to join a Federation.

Jinnah wrote to Macdonald on June 19, 1929, suggesting that only a conference of Indian representatives in London could resolve the political deadlock. However, since Jinnah was not given a prominent role, the efforts of the Muslim representatives became ineffective. Allama Iqbal disagreed with Sir Akbar Hyderi during the RTC (Round Table Conference) and, upon returning to India, criticized the role of the Muslim representatives as well as the British Government. The Depressed Classes, led by Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, who were considered "Untouchable Hindus," had also requested separate electorates like the Muslims. Gandhi asked the Muslim representatives to oppose this demand. The Muslims agreed to accept any agreement reached between Gandhi and Ambedkar but stated that they couldn't reasonably oppose extending the same right they had fought for themselves.

### **RTC: 3rd Session (17 November to 24 December 1932)**

This particular session of the Conference didn't hold much importance. The real significance lay in the White Paper that contained recommendations from all three sessions. Neither Gandhi nor Jinnah attended this session. Gandhi was arrested. The agreement between Gandhi and Irwin, known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, was broken, and the Congress party initiated another Civil Disobedience Movement. Jinnah was not invited to this session because he had accused Lord Sankey, the Chairman of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, of being biased.

### **Muslim League Annual Session of 1940**

When World War II started in September 1939, the Viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow, declared India's participation in the war without consulting the provincial governments. In response, Jinnah, the leader of the All-India Muslim League, called for a general session of the party in Lahore in 1940. The purpose was to discuss the current circumstances and analyze the reasons for the Muslim League's defeat in the Indian general election of 1937 in some Muslim-majority provinces. The Muslim League's annual session took place from March 22-24, 1940, at Minto Park in Lahore, and it became a significant event.

During this session a resolution is known as the Lahore Resolution or a resolution of a separate homeland for the subcontinent. The resolution proposed the establishment of an independent Muslim subcontinental people in the majority. This resolution rejected the idea of a state in regions where Muslims called for the formation of an independent Muslim state of united India and instead gave Sindh, and Baluchistan in the northwest, as well as Bengal and Assam in the northeast. The resolution became a part of the All-India Muslim League's constitution in 1941. Based on this resolution, in 1946, the Muslim League decided to pursue the creation of a single state for Muslims rather than two. The demand for Pakistan had a strong appeal to Muslims of all backgrounds. It evoked memories of their glorious past and promised a brighter future. As a result, from different perspectives immediately embraced this demand.