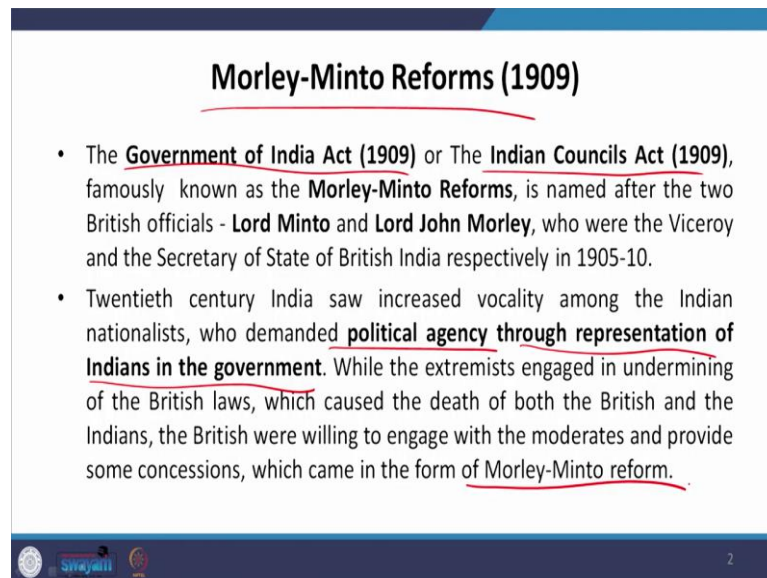


Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema
Prof. Sarbani Banerjee
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Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee

Lecture - 02
History of the Partition of India- II

Good morning and welcome to my second lecture for the course, Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. I am Dr. Sarbani Banerjee from the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Roorkee. So, for the first class we talked about the moderates and the extremists, and now for today's lecture we are going to discuss the different British policies that added up to and led to the Partition, the cracking of the subcontinent. (Refer Slide Time: 00:58)



Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

- The Government of India Act (1909) or The Indian Councils Act (1909), famously known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, is named after the two British officials - Lord Minto and Lord John Morley, who were the Viceroy and the Secretary of State of British India respectively in 1905-10.
- Twentieth century India saw increased vocalicity among the Indian nationalists, who demanded political agency through representation of Indians in the government. While the extremists engaged in undermining of the British laws, which caused the death of both the British and the Indians, the British were willing to engage with the moderates and provide some concessions, which came in the form of Morley-Minto reform.

So, first we are going to talk about Morley-Minto reforms. The Government of India Act in 1909 which is also known as the Indian Councils Act; it was famously known as the Morley-Minto reforms, and it was named after the two British officials, Lord Minto and Lord John Morley, who were the Viceroy and the Secretary of State of British India respectively during the period between 1905 and 1910.

So, why this reform? We are going to take a look at the background. Twentieth century India saw increased vocalicity - with the formation of INC we see that towards the end of nineteenth century and at the beginning of twentieth century, there were vociferous protests that were resulting from the Indians exposure to western education, and they are

becoming conscious about the unfairness that the British policies already had and so, there were demands at different levels.

The different leaders of INC were demanding for political agency through representation of the Indians in the government. That was the central demand. On the other hand, the Extremists engaged in undermining of the British laws, which caused the death of both the British and the Indians through violent physical confrontation.

And this was certainly something that the rulers, the Raj was looking to avoid. And so, as a way of avoiding confrontation, the British were willing to engage with, to agree to some of the demands made by the Moderates, and they were prepared to provide with certain concessions, which came in the form of Morley-Minto reform. They were acquiescing basically to some of the demands made by the Moderates, as a way of escaping or avoiding confrontation with the Extremists.

So, we see that although queen Victoria had proclaimed that all Indians be treated equally, this was hardly translated into reality, as the British authorities were in practice not ready to espouse the Indians, the colonized as equal to themselves.

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Morley-Minto Reforms (1909): Background

- Although Queen Victoria had proclaimed that all Indians would be treated equally, this was hardly translated into reality, as the British authorities were not prepared to accept the Indians as equal partners. Only a few Indians could avail this opportunity.
- Lord Curzon had carried out the Partition of Bengal in 1905. This had led to a massive uprising in Bengal. Consequently, the British authorities understood the need for some reforms in the governance of India.
- The Indian National Congress (INC) was active demonstrating for more reforms and self-governance of Indians. While the earlier Congress leaders were moderates who believed in non-violent methods, the extremist leaders were afterwards on the rise and they believed in more aggressive methods.
- INC demanded home rule for the first time in 1906.
- Gopal Krishna Gokhale met Lord John Morley in England to emphasize the need for reforms.
- Shimla Deputation: A group of elite Muslims led by Aga Khan met Lord Minto in 1906 and placed their demand for a separate electorate for the Muslims.

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Only a few extremely elite and educated Indians could avail and enjoy such opportunity of being an equal to the colonizer.

[So, Lord Curzon] We already talked about the 1905 Partition of Bengal, which was a premonition and at that time at least the upper echelons from different parts of Indian society could already imagine that in a few decades' time, the country is going to be partitioned beyond any redemption. It would be a permanent process – the dismembering of the subcontinent.

So, 1905 was a first step towards that. Lord Curzon had carried it out. It had led to a massive uprising in Bengal, and consequently the British authorities realized the need for some reforms at the level of governance. Hence Morley-Minto reforms were proposed. The Indian National Congress was actively demonstrating for more reforms and self-governance of Indians.

While the earlier Congress leaders were Moderates, who believed in non-violent methods, afterwards we see that the Extremist leaders were on the rise and they were resorting to more aggressive means. The INC demanded home rule for the first time in 1906. Gopal Krishna Gokhale met Lord John Morley in England to emphasize the needs for reforms, and then in Shimla Deputation we see a group of elite Muslims led by Aga Khan met Lord Minto in 1906 and they placed their demand for a separate electorate for the Muslims.

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Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

- John Morley was a member of the Liberal government, and he wanted to make positive changes in India's governance.
- In the light of increasing Extremism, the Moderates set forth certain demands before the British government. As a way of placating these demands, Morley-Minto reform was introduced.
- This Act was responsible for creating executive councils in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal, and introducing separate electorates for the Muslims.
- Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and United Provinces – 50 members each
- Legislative Councils of Punjab, Burma and Assam – 30 members each
- As a result of this reform, the number of additional members of the **Central Legislative Council** was increased from **16 to 60**. (Total= 60+9 executives).

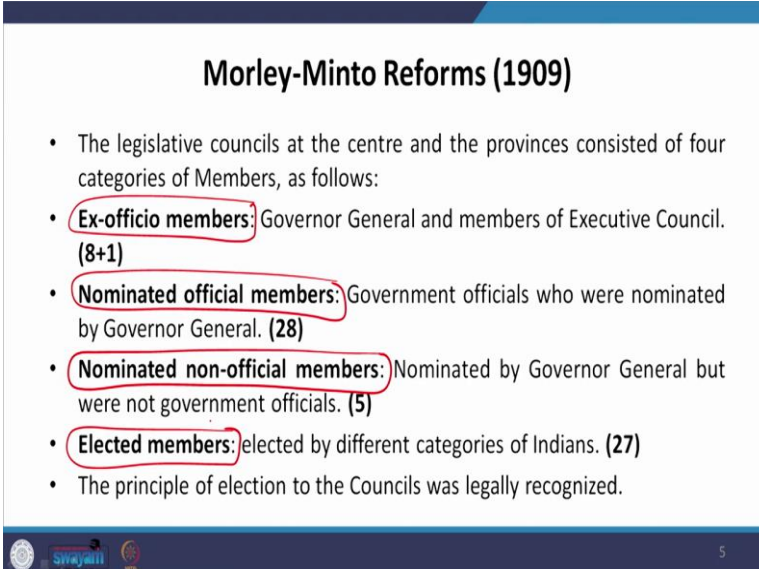
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So, it is with the Morley-Minto reform that we will see that the question of separate electorate arises for the first time. John Morley was a member of the Liberal government and he wanted to make positive changes in India's governance. In the light of increasing extremism, the Moderates set forth certain demands before the British government and as a way of placating these demands, Morley-Minto reform was introduced.

This act was responsible for creating executive councils in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal, and it introduced separate electorates for the Muslims. So, the question of, like I said, a separate communal identity comes from here, and a lot of critics such as Ayesha Jalal see this as the first perception of a divided existence being sown inside the head of the Indians.

So, they do not remain Indians, but they go on to become a Muslim Indian or a Hindu Indian for the first time. The self-perception actually changes with such reforms. Legislative councils of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and United Provinces would have 50 members each; Legislative Councils of Punjab, Burma and Assam would have 30 members each; and as a result of this reform, the number of additional members of the Central Legislative Council was increased from 16 to 60.

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Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

- The legislative councils at the centre and the provinces consisted of four categories of Members, as follows:
- **Ex-officio members:** Governor General and members of Executive Council. (8+1)
- **Nominated official members:** Government officials who were nominated by Governor General. (28)
- **Nominated non-official members:** Nominated by Governor General but were not government officials. (5)
- **Elected members:** elected by different categories of Indians. (27)
- The principle of election to the Councils was legally recognized.

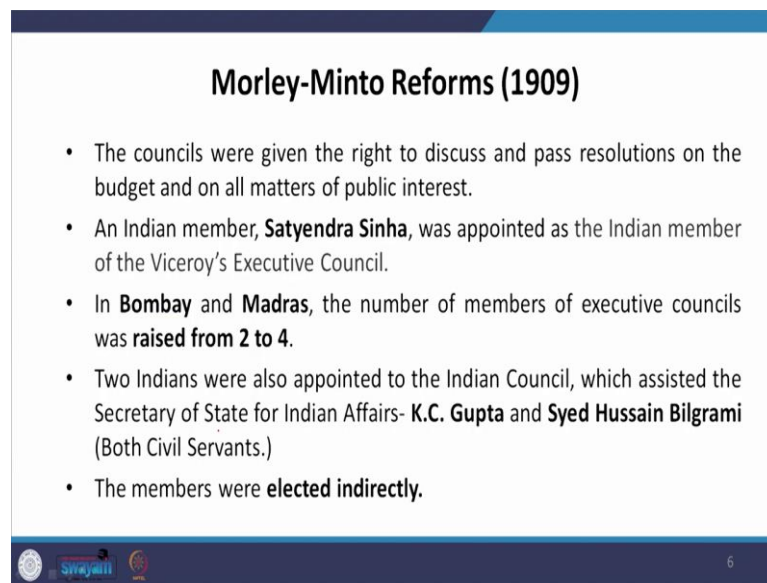
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The Legislative Councils at the Center and the provinces consisted of four categories of members. The Ex-officio members, which comprised the Governor General and

members of Executive Council. Then the nominated official members – it comprised government officials who were nominated by Governor-General.

Then the third category would be nominated non-official members; it comprised members nominated by Governor-General, but those who were not government officials. And finally, the elected members – those who were elected by different categories of Indians. The principle of election to the Councils was legally recognized.

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Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

- The councils were given the right to discuss and pass resolutions on the budget and on all matters of public interest.
- An Indian member, **Satyendra Sinha**, was appointed as the Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
- In **Bombay** and **Madras**, the number of members of executive councils was **raised from 2 to 4**.
- Two Indians were also appointed to the Indian Council, which assisted the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs- **K.C. Gupta** and **Syed Hussain Bilgrami** (Both Civil Servants.)
- The members were **elected indirectly**.

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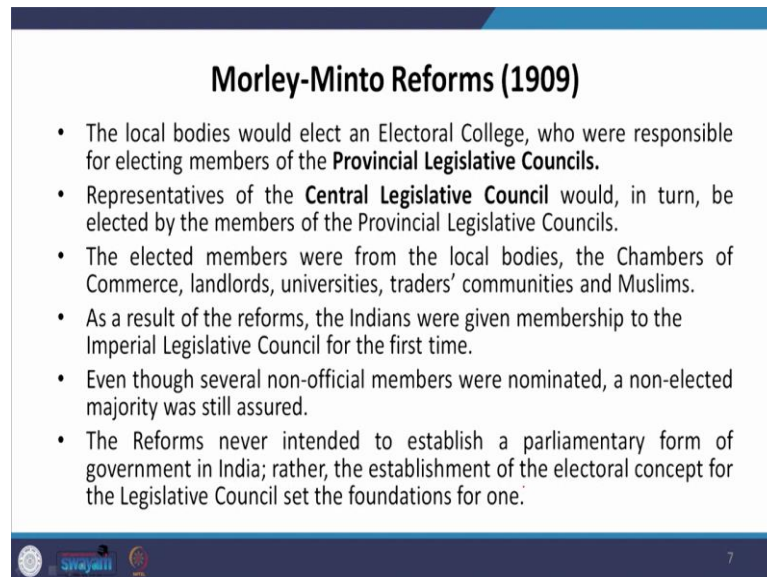
The Councils were given the right to discuss and pass resolutions on the budget and on all matters of public interest. An Indian member, Satyendra Sinha, was appointed as the Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In Bombay and Madras, the number of members of executive councils was raised from 2 to 4.

So, we see that Morley-Minto Reforms is doing two things. Its increasing the representations of Indians in general, but also dividing Indians in terms of smaller identities. And this actually will become more magnified with the policies that follow. Two Indians were also appointed to the Indian Council that assisted the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs. They were K. C. Gupta and Syed Hussain Bilgrami, both of whom were civil servants.

So, we see a political agency by the Indians, Indians that were informed, educated and informed Indians. The members were elected indirectly under these reforms. The local


bodies would elect an Electoral College that was responsible for electing the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils. Next, representations of the Central Legislative Council would be elected, in turn, by the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

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Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

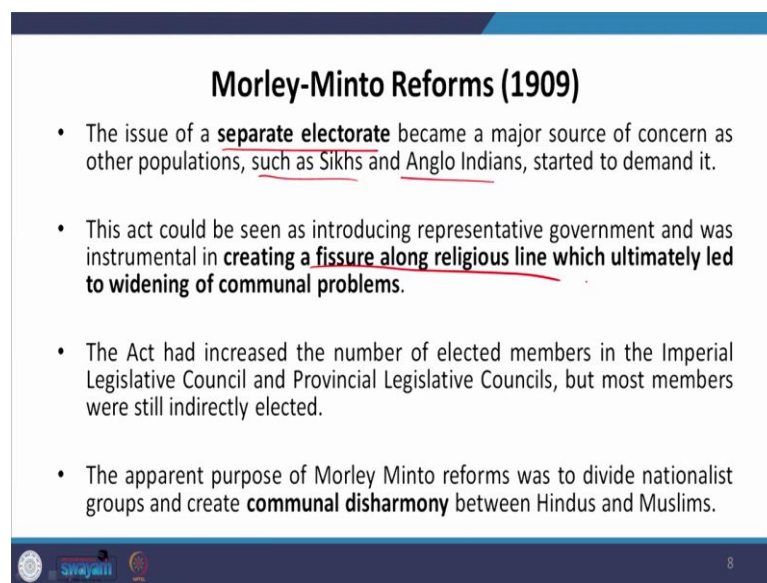
- The local bodies would elect an Electoral College, who were responsible for electing members of the **Provincial Legislative Councils**.
- Representatives of the **Central Legislative Council** would, in turn, be elected by the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils.
- The elected members were from the local bodies, the Chambers of Commerce, landlords, universities, traders' communities and Muslims.
- As a result of the reforms, the Indians were given membership to the Imperial Legislative Council for the first time.
- Even though several non-official members were nominated, a non-elected majority was still assured.
- The Reforms never intended to establish a parliamentary form of government in India; rather, the establishment of the electoral concept for the Legislative Council set the foundations for one.

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These elected members were from the local bodies, the Chambers of Commerce, landlords, universities, traders' communities and Muslims. So, we see that all these divisions in identities, different electorates would later be formed. So, we see all these minor and fine divisive lines emerging and of course, the separate identity of the Muslim as a community.

As a result of the Morley-Minto reforms the Indians were given membership to the Imperial Legislative Council for the first time. Although several non-official members were nominated, a non-elected majority was still assured. The reform never intended to establish a parliamentary form of government in India. Nevertheless, the establishment of the electoral concept for the Legislative Council set the foundations of such a parliamentary form.

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Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

- The issue of a **separate electorate** became a major source of concern as other populations, such as Sikhs and Anglo Indians, started to demand it.
- This act could be seen as introducing representative government and was instrumental in **creating a fissure along religious line which ultimately led to widening of communal problems.**
- The Act had increased the number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Councils, but most members were still indirectly elected.
- The apparent purpose of Morley Minto reforms was to divide nationalist groups and create **communal disharmony** between Hindus and Muslims.

So, we see that as a result of the Morley-Minto reform, the issue of a separate electorate becomes a major issue of concern and it's the first step. Now that the Muslims have been able to push their demand for a separate electorate, other populations, other communities such as the Sikhs, the Anglo Indians also start to demand it. So, the fissures become deeper and deeper and this is the first step towards it.

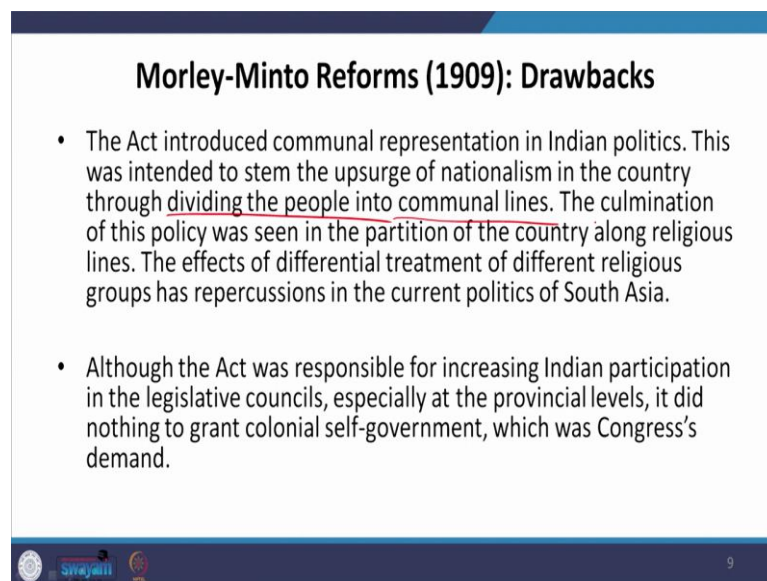
This act could be seen as introducing representative government. Government in terms of one's communal belonging and so, it was instrumental in creating, like I have already stated, creating a fissure along religious line, which ultimately led to a widening of gaps

between the different communities and problems beyond resolution. The act had increased the number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Councils, but most members were still indirectly elected.

The apparent purpose of Morley-Minto reforms was to divide the nationalist groups. Natives were gaining representation, but also divisive representation. It was creating communal disharmony between especially two major groups, the Hindus and the Muslims, and that is where this dyadic relationship that never went away from the South Asian context emerged for the first time. So, the act introduced communal representation in Indian politics. This was intended to stem the upsurge of nationalism in the country.

So, if the Indians were actually fighting towards a unified goal, a single goal, it would be much more amplified and it could be achieved sooner. The degree of success would be astounding. So, it was important to divide and rule – something that I had mentioned at the outset, at the beginning of my lecture 1.

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Morley-Minto Reforms (1909): Drawbacks

- The Act introduced communal representation in Indian politics. This was intended to stem the upsurge of nationalism in the country through dividing the people into communal lines. The culmination of this policy was seen in the partition of the country along religious lines. The effects of differential treatment of different religious groups has repercussions in the current politics of South Asia.
- Although the Act was responsible for increasing Indian participation in the legislative councils, especially at the provincial levels, it did nothing to grant colonial self-government, which was Congress's demand.

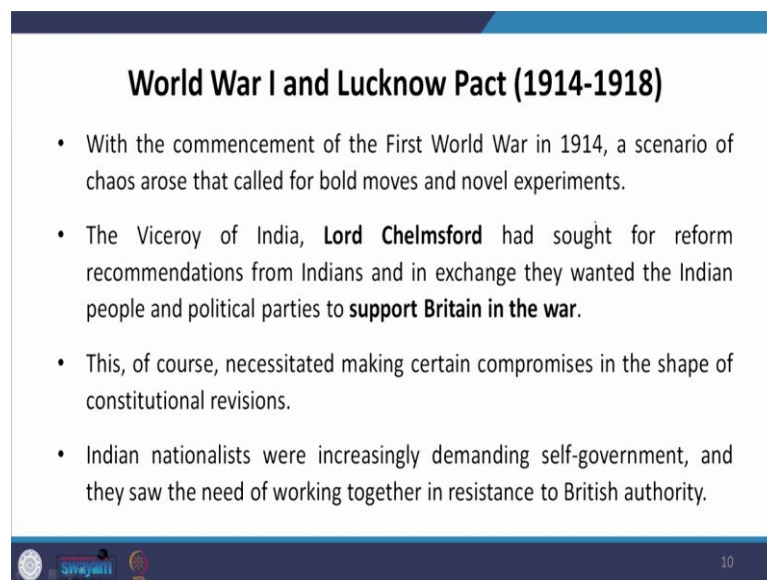
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So, dividing the Indian people was very important into communal lines. The culmination of this policy was seen in the Partition of the country along religious lines. The effect of differential treatment of different religious groups still has its repercussions. So, these reforms that were made at the turn of twentieth century keep coming back to haunt the South Asian postcolonial nations even till date. They are very much visible and present in the current politics of South Asia.

Although the act was responsible for increasing Indian participation in the Legislative Councils, especially in the Provincial councils, it did not in reality grant colonial self-government which Congress was originally demanding. So, it increased representation without really offering or granting self-rule. So, after we have talked about the drawbacks of the Morley-Minto reforms we will next move to World War 1 and the Lucknow Pact.




The period being between 1914 and 1918. So, with the commencement of the World War 1 in 1914, a scenario of complete chaos and disorder, and it called for bold moves and novel experiments.

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World War I and Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

- With the commencement of the First World War in 1914, a scenario of chaos arose that called for bold moves and novel experiments.
- The Viceroy of India, **Lord Chelmsford** had sought for reform recommendations from Indians and in exchange they wanted the Indian people and political parties to **support Britain in the war**.
- This, of course, necessitated making certain compromises in the shape of constitutional revisions.
- Indian nationalists were increasingly demanding self-government, and they saw the need of working together in resistance to British authority.

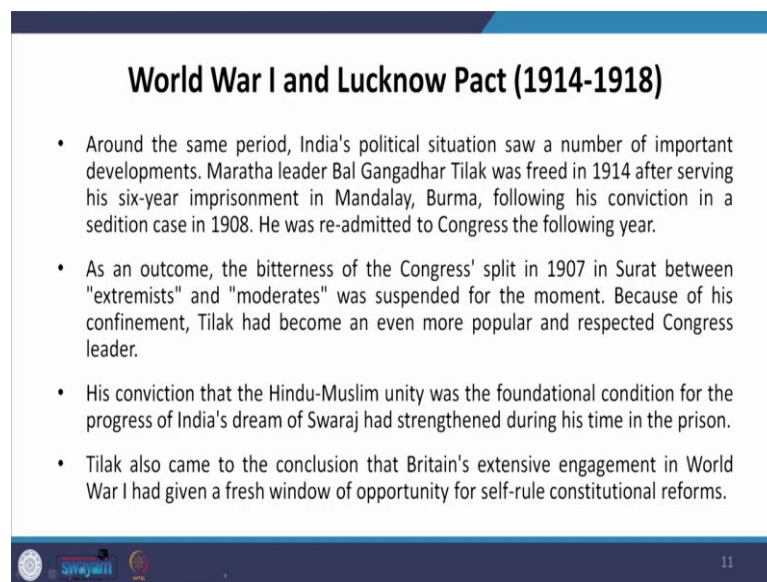
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So, Lord Chelmsford who was the Viceroy of India at that time sought for reform recommendations. He sought recommendations from Indians regarding how reformations can be brought about. In exchange, Chelmsford wanted the Indian people and the political parties to support Britain in the war.

Put more simply, they would bring reformations in Indian administrative policies, and in exchange, the Indians would have to fight for Britain in the war. That was the deal that Lord Chelmsford was trying to make as a Viceroy with the Indian leaders, nationalist leaders. This of course, entailed making certain compromises in the shape of constitutional revisions that Chelmsford was agreeing to consider at that point in order to win Indian's support.

The Indian nationalists were increasingly demanding self-government. They wanted to exploit this opportunity. They saw the need of working together in resistance of British authority. Around the same period India's political situation saw a number of important developments. For example, Maratha leader and an extremist, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was freed in 1914 after serving six years in the prison.

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World War I and Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

- Around the same period, India's political situation saw a number of important developments. Maratha leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak was freed in 1914 after serving his six-year imprisonment in Mandalay, Burma, following his conviction in a sedition case in 1908. He was re-admitted to Congress the following year.
- As an outcome, the bitterness of the Congress' split in 1907 in Surat between "extremists" and "moderates" was suspended for the moment. Because of his confinement, Tilak had become an even more popular and respected Congress leader.
- His conviction that the Hindu-Muslim unity was the foundational condition for the progress of India's dream of Swaraj had strengthened during his time in the prison.
- Tilak also came to the conclusion that Britain's extensive engagement in World War I had given a fresh window of opportunity for self-rule constitutional reforms.

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Bal Gangadhar Tilak was imprisoned for six years in Mandalay, Burma after his conviction in a sedition case in 1908, and he after he was released he was readmitted to Congress in the following year. So, we see that in 1907, there was a bitter split in

Congress between the Extremists and the Moderates, but such split was suspended for the time being.

Because of his confinement, Tilak had become an even more popular and respected Congress leader and he had made his comeback to INC. His conviction was that the Hindu-Muslim unity was the foundational condition for the progress of India's dream of Swaraj. Just harkening back his famous statement that "Swaraj is my birth-right and I will have it."

So, this was the only way of strengthening the dream and the idea of Swaraj. Only through Hindu-Muslim unity could Swaraj be achieved and he had realized this while spending time in the prison. Tilak also came to the conclusion that the British's extensive engagement in the World War I had given a fresh window of opportunity for self-rule and constitutional reforms.

So, if we look at what Lucknow Pact was about – it was an agreement made in December 1916 by the Indian National Congress that was headed by the Maratha leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the All India Muslim League led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. So, it was adopted by the Congress at its Lucknow session on December 29th and by the League on December 31st, 1916.

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Lucknow Pact (December 1916): At a Glance

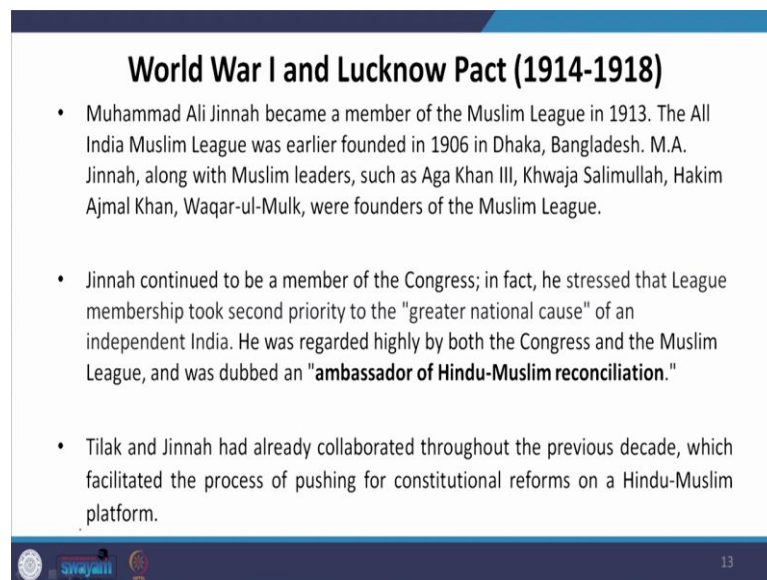
- **Lucknow Pact**, (December 1916) was an agreement made by the Indian National Congress headed by Maratha leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the All-India Muslim League led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah.
- It was adopted by the Congress at its Lucknow session on December 29 and by the League on December 31, 1916.
- The meeting at Lucknow marked the reunion of the moderate and radical wings of the Congress.
- The pact dealt both with the structure of the government of India and with the relation of the Hindu and Muslim communities.

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The meeting at Lucknow marked the reunion of the Moderate and the radical wings of the Congress. Like we have already discussed in the earlier slide, for the time being the split that had earlier happened in 1907 in Surat between the Extremists and the Moderates was suspended. They were walking together towards a common goal now, which is home rule.

So, the meeting at Lucknow marked the union of the moderate and the radical wings of the Congress and the pact dealt both with the structure of the Government of India as well as with the relation between the Hindu and the Muslim communities.

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World War I and Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

- Muhammad Ali Jinnah became a member of the Muslim League in 1913. The All India Muslim League was earlier founded in 1906 in Dhaka, Bangladesh. M.A. Jinnah, along with Muslim leaders, such as Aga Khan III, Khwaja Salimullah, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Waqar-ul-Mulk, were founders of the Muslim League.
- Jinnah continued to be a member of the Congress; in fact, he stressed that League membership took second priority to the "greater national cause" of an independent India. He was regarded highly by both the Congress and the Muslim League, and was dubbed an "**ambassador of Hindu-Muslim reconciliation.**"
- Tilak and Jinnah had already collaborated throughout the previous decade, which facilitated the process of pushing for constitutional reforms on a Hindu-Muslim platform.

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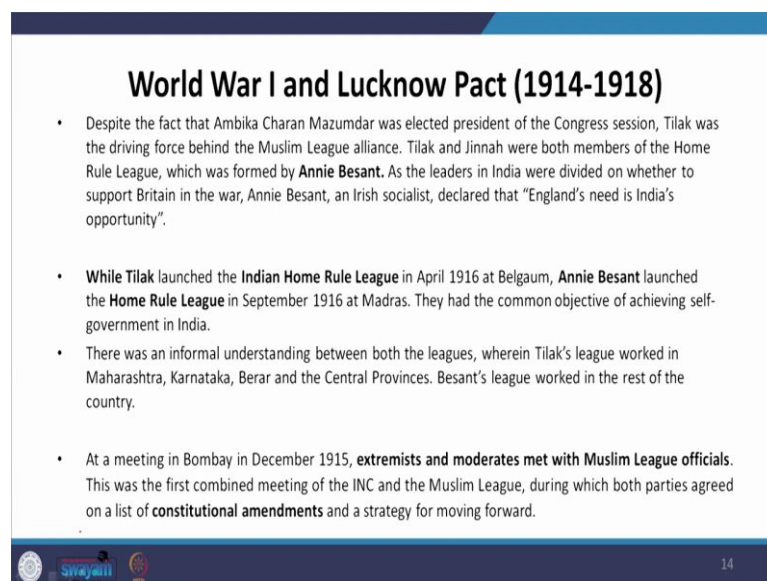
Muhammad Ali Jinnah became a member of the Muslim League in 1913. Earlier, he was one of the leaders among other Muslim leaders, such as Aga Khan III, Khwaja Salimullah, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Waqar-ul-Mulk, who all contributed to the foundation of Muslim League in 1906 in Dhaka Bangladesh... Dhaka, which is now a part of Bangladesh.

So, we see that M. A. Jinnah became a member of the Muslim League only in 1913. He had been a member of the Congress and he continued to remain a member of the Congress. In fact, he stressed famously that League membership was a second priority to him and his main focus was the greater national cause of an independent India.

So, till that time we see that Jinnah's priority is independence of India, the anti-colonial struggles, that he was a leader in these movements and his communal identity took a back seat at that time. So, he was regarded in fact highly by both the Congress and the Muslim League, and was dubbed as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim reconciliation. Tilak and Jinnah had already collaborated throughout the previous decade, which facilitated the process of pushing for constitutional reforms on a Hindu-Muslim platform.

So, we see that Tilak and Jinnah were collaborating towards the single goal of achieving self-governance.

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World War I and Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

- Despite the fact that Ambika Charan Mazumdar was elected president of the Congress session, Tilak was the driving force behind the Muslim League alliance. Tilak and Jinnah were both members of the Home Rule League, which was formed by **Annie Besant**. As the leaders in India were divided on whether to support Britain in the war, Annie Besant, an Irish socialist, declared that "England's need is India's opportunity".
- While **Tilak** launched the **Indian Home Rule League** in April 1916 at Belgaum, **Annie Besant** launched the **Home Rule League** in September 1916 at Madras. They had the common objective of achieving self-government in India.
- There was an informal understanding between both the leagues, wherein Tilak's league worked in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Berar and the Central Provinces. Besant's league worked in the rest of the country.
- At a meeting in Bombay in December 1915, **extremists and moderates met with Muslim League officials**. This was the first combined meeting of the INC and the Muslim League, during which both parties agreed on a list of **constitutional amendments** and a strategy for moving forward.

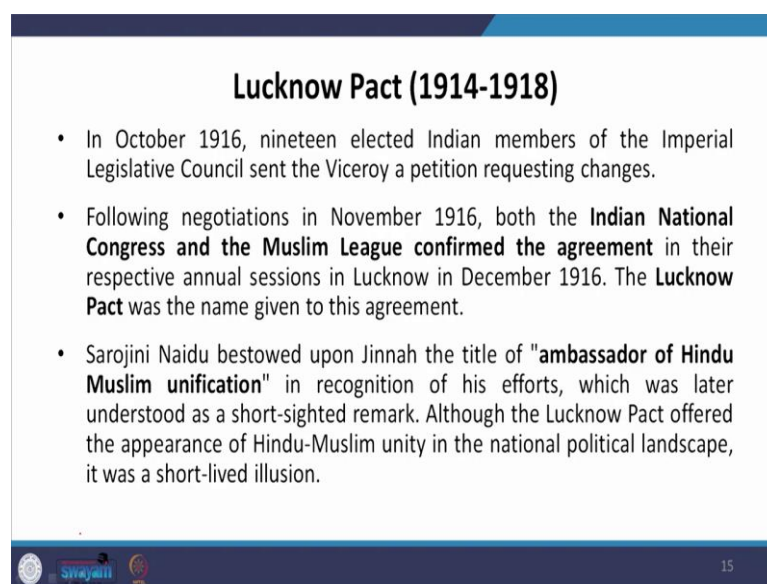
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So, despite the fact that at that time the elected president of the Congress session was someone called Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Tilak was the driving force behind the Muslim League alliance. Tilak and Jinnah were both members of the Home Rule League and this Home Rule League had another very important and a very influential figure in it. It was formed by someone called Annie Besant.

Annie Besant was an Irish socialist, who declared that England's need is India's opportunity. So, she was actually goading the Indians to use the situation the emergency situation ah entailed by World War I get the best out of it. So, while Tilak launched the Indian Home Rule League in April 1916 at Belgaum, Annie Besant launched the Home Rule League in 1916 at Madras. They had this common objective of achieving self-governance in India.

At the meeting in Bombay, the Extremists and the Moderates met with the Muslim League officials, and this was the first combined meeting of the INC and the Muslim League, during which both parties agreed on a list of constitutional amendments and a strategy for moving forward. So, we see that in October 1916, nineteen elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council sent the Viceroy a petition and requested for a number of changes.

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Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

- In October 1916, nineteen elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council sent the Viceroy a petition requesting changes.
- Following negotiations in November 1916, both the **Indian National Congress and the Muslim League confirmed the agreement** in their respective annual sessions in Lucknow in December 1916. The **Lucknow Pact** was the name given to this agreement.
- Sarojini Naidu bestowed upon Jinnah the title of "**ambassador of Hindu Muslim unification**" in recognition of his efforts, which was later understood as a short-sighted remark. Although the Lucknow Pact offered the appearance of Hindu-Muslim unity in the national political landscape, it was a short-lived illusion.

Following negotiations in November 1916, both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League confirmed the agreement in their respective council sessions in Lucknow

in December 1916, and the pact that was signed. The agreement was later known as the Lucknow Pact. Sarojini Naidu bestowed upon Jinnah the title of ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unification as a way of recognizing his efforts; however, this was later understood as a very short-sighted remark.

Although the Lucknow Pact offered the appearance of Hindu-Muslim unity in the national political landscape, it was only a very short-lived and in fact, a very flimsy illusion. So, we see that at the time when Lucknow Pact is signed, the government began to communalize

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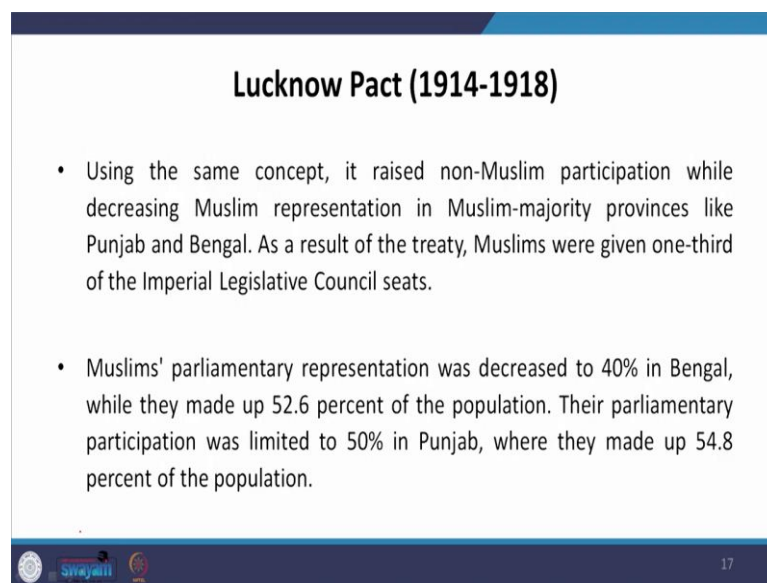
Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

- This was the time when the government began to communalize matters, particularly the question of representation, demonstrating that Hindus and Muslims in India are two distinct people with separate needs.
- However, this alliance was beneficial to the Muslim League since it served as a face for Muslim masses despite the fact that it did not have a consolidated Muslim base.
- The Lucknow Pact's main achievement was that the Congress and the Muslim League agreed on separate representation for Muslims in Imperial/Provincial Legislatures where they were in the minority, giving them more weight than their population would merit.

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the Indian matters, particularly the question of representation, demonstrating that Hindus and Muslims in India are two distinct people that have very separate needs. However, this alliance was beneficial to the Muslim League.

Since the Lucknow Pact serve as a face for Muslim masses despite the fact that it did not have any consolidated Muslim base or Muslim following at that point, the pact's main achievement was that the Congress and the Muslim League had agreed on separate representation for Muslims in Imperial and Provincial Legislatures, where they were in the minority which gave more weight to the Muslims than their population would merit. (Refer Slide Time: 25:59)



Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

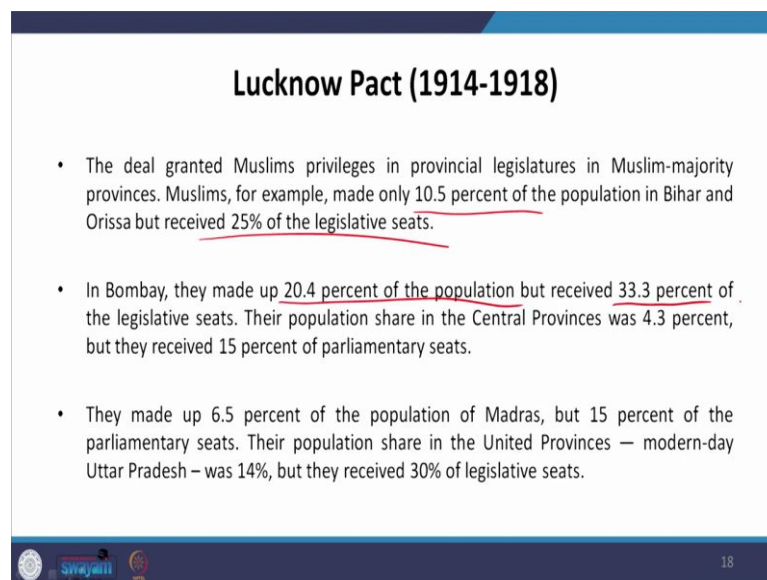
- Using the same concept, it raised non-Muslim participation while decreasing Muslim representation in Muslim-majority provinces like Punjab and Bengal. As a result of the treaty, Muslims were given one-third of the Imperial Legislative Council seats.
- Muslims' parliamentary representation was decreased to 40% in Bengal, while they made up 52.6 percent of the population. Their parliamentary participation was limited to 50% in Punjab, where they made up 54.8 percent of the population.

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So, by the same logic, the pact raised the non-Muslim participation while decreasing Muslim representation in Muslim-majority provinces such as Punjab and Bengal. As a result of this treaty, the Muslims were given one third of the Imperial Legislative Council seats. The Muslims' parliamentary representation was decreased to 40 percent in Bengal, while they made up to 52.6 percent of the population.


In the same way, the parliamentary participation was limited to 50 percent in Punjab, whereas in Punjab they made up 54.8 percent of the population. So, the deal granted the Muslims privileges in Provincial Legislatures, in Muslim majority provinces. Muslims, for example, made only 10.5 percent of the population in Bihar and Orissa, but received 25 percent of the legislative seats.

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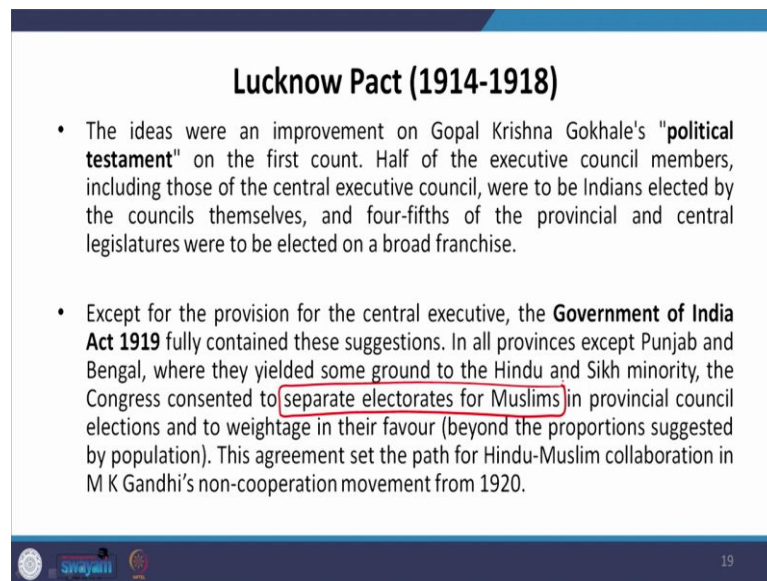
Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

- The deal granted Muslims privileges in provincial legislatures in Muslim-majority provinces. Muslims, for example, made only 10.5 percent of the population in Bihar and Orissa but received 25% of the legislative seats.
- In Bombay, they made up 20.4 percent of the population but received 33.3 percent of the legislative seats. Their population share in the Central Provinces was 4.3 percent, but they received 15 percent of parliamentary seats.
- They made up 6.5 percent of the population of Madras, but 15 percent of the parliamentary seats. Their population share in the United Provinces — modern-day Uttar Pradesh — was 14%, but they received 30% of legislative seats.

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In Bombay, they made up 20.4 percent of the population, but received 33.3 percent of the legislative seats. Their population share in the Central Province was 4.3 percent; however, they received 15 percent of parliamentary seats. Further they made up 6.5 percent of the population of Madras, but 15 percent of the parliamentary seats. Their population share in the United Provinces, which is today's Uttar Pradesh was 14 percent, but they received 30 percent of the legislative seats.

So, these ideas were an improvement on Gokhale's political testament on the first count. (Refer Slide Time: 28:13)



Lucknow Pact (1914-1918)

- The ideas were an improvement on Gopal Krishna Gokhale's "**political testament**" on the first count. Half of the executive council members, including those of the central executive council, were to be Indians elected by the councils themselves, and four-fifths of the provincial and central legislatures were to be elected on a broad franchise.
- Except for the provision for the central executive, the **Government of India Act 1919** fully contained these suggestions. In all provinces except Punjab and Bengal, where they yielded some ground to the Hindu and Sikh minority, the Congress consented to separate electorates for Muslims in provincial council elections and to weightage in their favour (beyond the proportions suggested by population). This agreement set the path for Hindu-Muslim collaboration in M K Gandhi's non-cooperation movement from 1920.

So, half of the Executive Council members, which included those of the Central Executive Council, were to be Indians elected by the councils themselves and four-fifths of the Provincial and Central Legislatures were to be elected on a broad franchisee.

Except for the provision for the Central Executive, the Government of India Act, 1919 fully contained all these suggestions. In all provinces except Punjab and Bengal where they yielded some ground to the Hindu and Sikh minority, the Congress consented to separate electorate for Muslims.

So, this is something that becomes, you know, a permanent part of these policies, a major clause, and this never goes away – a separate identity for the Muslims – and then we understand and this is the beginning for the League to afterwards claim in the ensuing decades that the Muslim are a separate nation and so, from here emerges the Two-Nation theory.

The seed of sectarianism is sown at this level. Separate electorates for Muslims in Provincial Council elections and weightage in their favour, weightage beyond the proportions suggested by the population. So the weightage and the population of the Muslims would not always, you know, correspond... there would be no correspondence between the two. This agreement set the path for the Hindu Muslim collaboration in M. K. Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement from 1920.

So, offering a separate electorate to the Muslims was initially seen as a way of including or it was a way of tying the different communities towards a common goal, such as their participation in a very important movement – M. K. Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement from 1920, but later on it would also be used for divisive aims. So, with this we come to the conclusion of our second lecture and I will meet you again for our third lecture.

Thank you so much.