

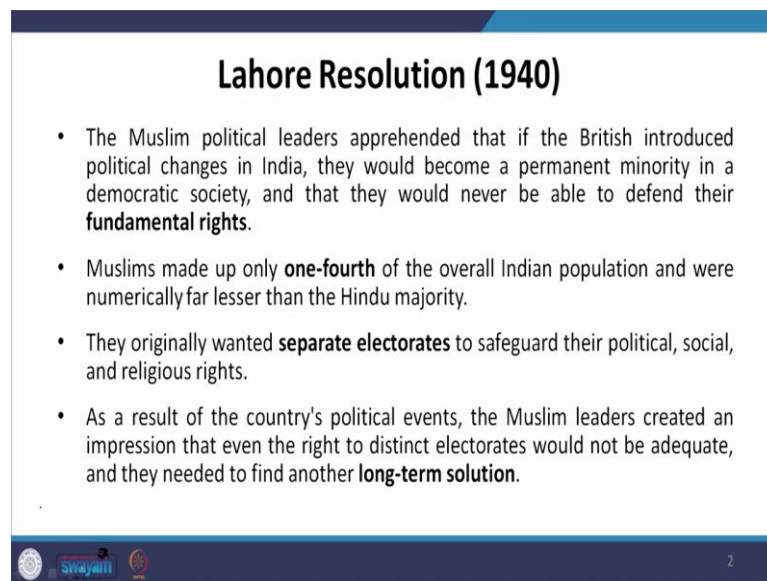
Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema
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Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee

Lecture - 04
History of the Partition of India - IV

Good morning and welcome to my lecture four for the course Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. Right now, we are discussing about the History of the Partition of India. Without understanding the history we cannot appreciate the artworks, right?

So, let us glance through the remaining chapters that we are yet to discuss, and which actually precipitated and led to the cracking up of the subcontinent. It is dismembering into two different nations and later, three nations that we have today - India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

So, today we are going to talk about Lahore Resolution that actually took place in 1940. (Refer Slide Time: 01:16)



Lahore Resolution (1940)

- The Muslim political leaders apprehended that if the British introduced political changes in India, they would become a permanent minority in a democratic society, and that they would never be able to defend their **fundamental rights**.
- Muslims made up only **one-fourth** of the overall Indian population and were numerically far lesser than the Hindu majority.
- They originally wanted **separate electorates** to safeguard their political, social, and religious rights.
- As a result of the country's political events, the Muslim leaders created an impression that even the right to distinct electorates would not be adequate, and they needed to find another **long-term solution**.

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The Muslim political leaders apprehended that if the British introduced political changes in India, then they would become a permanent minority in a democratic society and that they would never be able to defend their fundamental rights.

So, the question of becoming minority and protecting the rights for the Muslims actually emerged, and this once again was not actually coming from the grassroots or from the

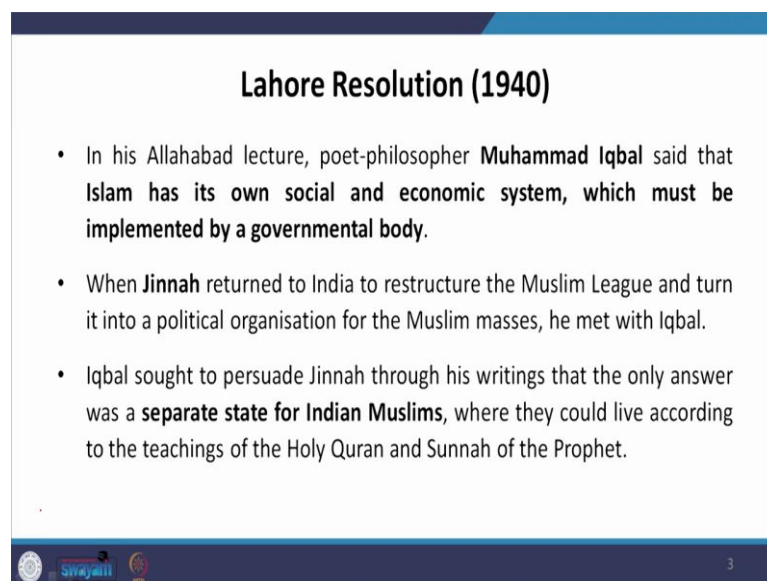
common masses of Muslims; this was an idea that first arrived at the level of Muslim political caucus. So, Muslims at that time made up only one-fourth of the overall population of India and so, they were numerically speaking ... far lesser than the Hindu majority.

They originally wanted separate electorates, which we saw in the different awards or the different policies, like the the Morley-Minto Policy and the Montagu-Chelmsford Act. And, then we have talked about the Ramsay MacDonald Award. Through all these policies, the question of separate electorate was coming up in a more prominent way, and it began with the Muslim separate electorate.

And, then it went on to become a separate electorate for the Anglo Indians, the Christians, the Sikhs and so forth, the backward classes, the women. Then with the Poona Pact, the Dalits actually became stakeholder in the political arena. So, coming back to the Muslims, they originally wanted separate electorates to safeguard their political, social and religious rights.

As a result of the country's political events, the Muslim leaders created an impression that even the right to distinct electorates would not protect the needs or the demands of the Muslims. They emergently need to find another long-term solution, right.

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Lahore Resolution (1940)

- In his Allahabad lecture, poet-philosopher **Muhammad Iqbal** said that **Islam has its own social and economic system, which must be implemented by a governmental body.**
- When **Jinnah** returned to India to restructure the Muslim League and turn it into a political organisation for the Muslim masses, he met with Iqbal.
- Iqbal sought to persuade Jinnah through his writings that the only answer was a **separate state for Indian Muslims**, where they could live according to the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet.

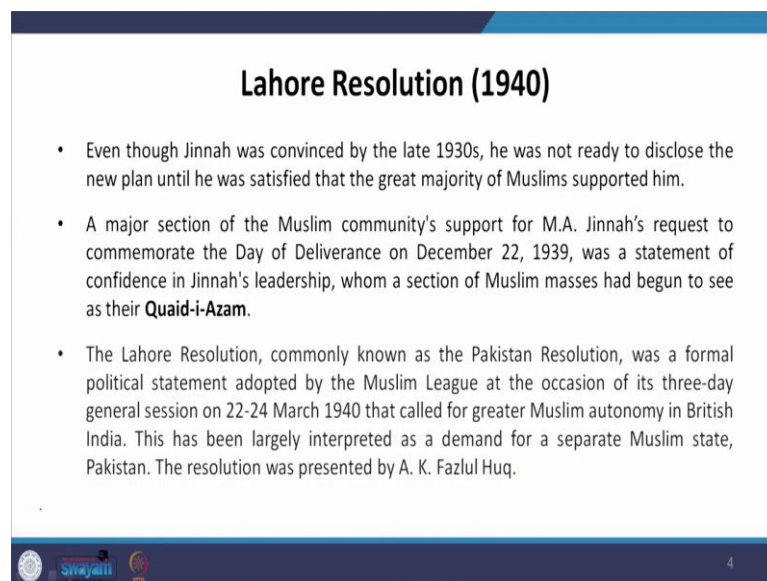
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So, in his Allahabad lecture, we see poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal, the same poet that had composed the famous patriotic song, "Saare Jahan Se Achha". So, Iqbal said that Islam has its own social and economic system, which must be implemented by a separate governmental body.

So, when Jinnah returned to India to restructure the Muslim league and turn it into a political organization for the Muslim masses, he met with Iqbal. Initially, Jinnah was not sure, but Iqbal sought to persuade Jinnah through his writings that the only answer to the protection of the Muslims' minority rights...the right to practice and follow their own style of life freely and fearlessly would be possible only through separation.


You know having a separate state for the Indian Muslims, where they could live according to the teachings of the Holy Qu'ran and Sunnah of the prophet.

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Lahore Resolution (1940)

- Even though Jinnah was convinced by the late 1930s, he was not ready to disclose the new plan until he was satisfied that the great majority of Muslims supported him.
- A major section of the Muslim community's support for M.A. Jinnah's request to commemorate the Day of Deliverance on December 22, 1939, was a statement of confidence in Jinnah's leadership, whom a section of Muslim masses had begun to see as their **Quaid-i-Azam**.
- The Lahore Resolution, commonly known as the Pakistan Resolution, was a formal political statement adopted by the Muslim League at the occasion of its three-day general session on 22-24 March 1940 that called for greater Muslim autonomy in British India. This has been largely interpreted as a demand for a separate Muslim state, Pakistan. The resolution was presented by A. K. Fazlul Huq.

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So, even though Jinnah was convinced by the late 1930s, he was not ready to disclose what his new plan was until he was satisfied that the majority of Muslims would support him.

However, it still remains contested whether Jinnah was supported by a majority of Muslims. The Muslims themselves, the Indian Muslims or Muslims from the South-Asian region cannot be homogenized necessarily. We see different opinions regarding the future of post-independent India actually come up from different Muslim sections.

The Bengali Muslims, for example, want something very different from what Jinnah is proposing and the conflict as a result arises from the 1950s through the 60s. And finally, there is a new nation-state called Bangladesh after the Liberation War in 1971.

So, a major section of the Muslim community's support for M. A. Jinnah's request to commemorate the Day of Deliverance on December 22, 1939 was a statement of confidence in Jinnah's leadership, whom a section of Muslim masses had begun to see as their Quaid-i-Azam, their leader.

The Lahore Resolution commonly known as the Pakistan Resolution was a formal political statement adopted by the Muslim League at the occasion of its three-day general session between 22nd and 24th of March 1940, which called for greater Muslim autonomy in British India. This has been largely interpreted as a demand for a separate Muslim state.

And in fact, we see that Lahore Resolution very smoothly transitions to the Two-nation theory and from there on, there is no looking backward, there is no going back to the concept of a unified India. This resolution was presented by A. K. Fazlul Huq.

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Lahore Resolution (1940)

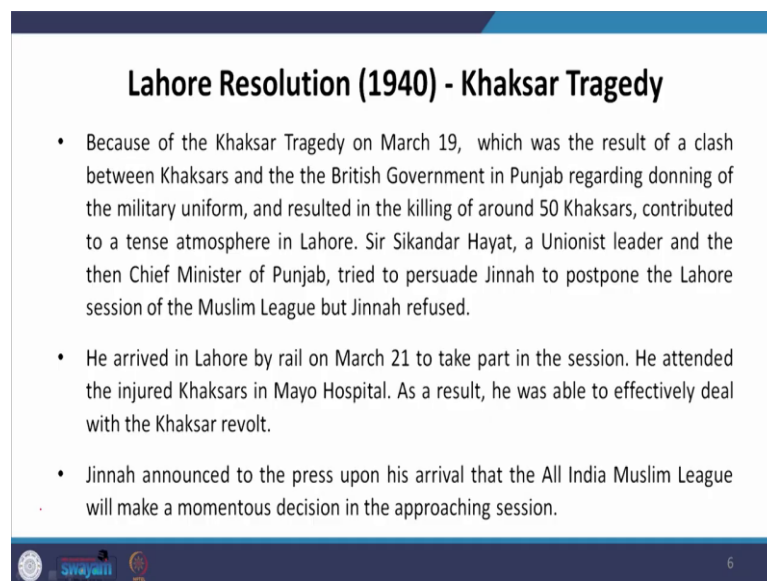
- Jinnah called for the 27th annual session of the **All India Muslim League** to be held from **March 22 - 24, 1940** at Lahore.
- **Sir Shah Nawaz Khan** of Mamdot was appointed as the welcome committee's chairman, while **Mian Bashir Ahmad** was appointed as the session's secretary.
- The session was attended by prominent leaders such as Chaudhry Khaliqz zam, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, A.K. Fazlul Haq, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Abdullah Haroon, Qazi Muhammad Isa, I.I. Chundrigar, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Abdul Hashim, and Malik Barkat Ali.

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The session was attended by prominent leaders, which included Chaudhry Khaliqzama, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, A. K. Fazlul Haq, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Abdullah Haroon, Qazi Muhammad Isa, I. I. Chundrigar, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Khawaja Nazimuddin, Abdul Hashim and Malik Barkat Ali.

In the meantime something had happened, it is another historic event that happens in Lahore. It is a clash between the Khaksars and the British government regarding donning of the military uniform. We know this as the Khaksar Tragedy on March 19, 1940; it was a result of a clash between the Khaksars and the British government in Punjab regarding wearing of the military uniform.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - Khaksar Tragedy

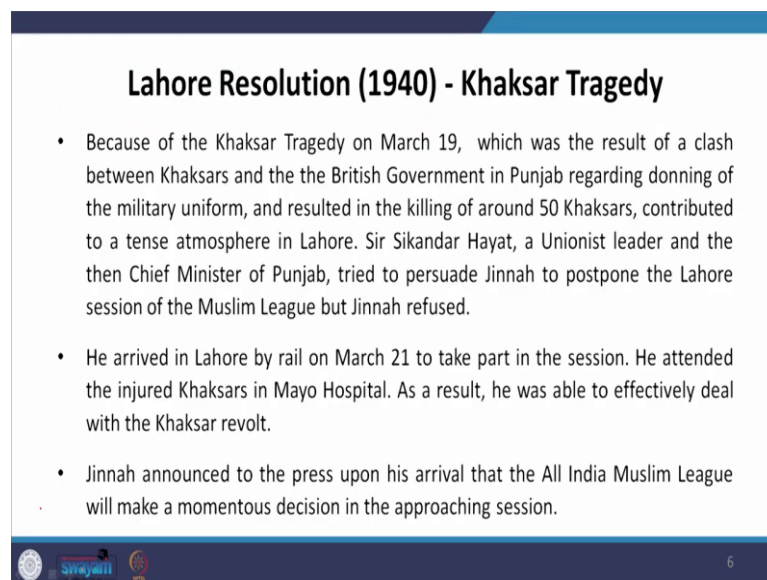
- Because of the Khaksar Tragedy on March 19, which was the result of a clash between Khaksars and the the British Government in Punjab regarding donning of the military uniform, and resulted in the killing of around 50 Khaksars, contributed to a tense atmosphere in Lahore. Sir Sikandar Hayat, a Unionist leader and the then Chief Minister of Punjab, tried to persuade Jinnah to postpone the Lahore session of the Muslim League but Jinnah refused.
- He arrived in Lahore by rail on March 21 to take part in the session. He attended the injured Khaksars in Mayo Hospital. As a result, he was able to effectively deal with the Khaksar revolt.
- Jinnah announced to the press upon his arrival that the All India Muslim League will make a momentous decision in the approaching session.

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And, the Khaksars were actually refrained from wearing the uniform by the British government, but they continued to wear it. It resulted in the killing of around 50 Khaksars and injuring of many more. The clash between the British officials and the Khaksars contributed to a tense atmosphere in Lahore.


So, Sir Sikandar Hayat, who was a Unionist leader and the then Chief Minister of Punjab, actually tried to pursue Jinnah to postpone the Lahore session of the Muslim League because of Khaksar tragedy; Jinnah insisted that he convened the session. So, Jinnah arrived in Lahore by rail on March 21st to take part in the session. He attended the injured Khaksars in Mayo Hospital. So, he was a diplomat, he knew how to actually maintain his public image.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - Khaksar Tragedy

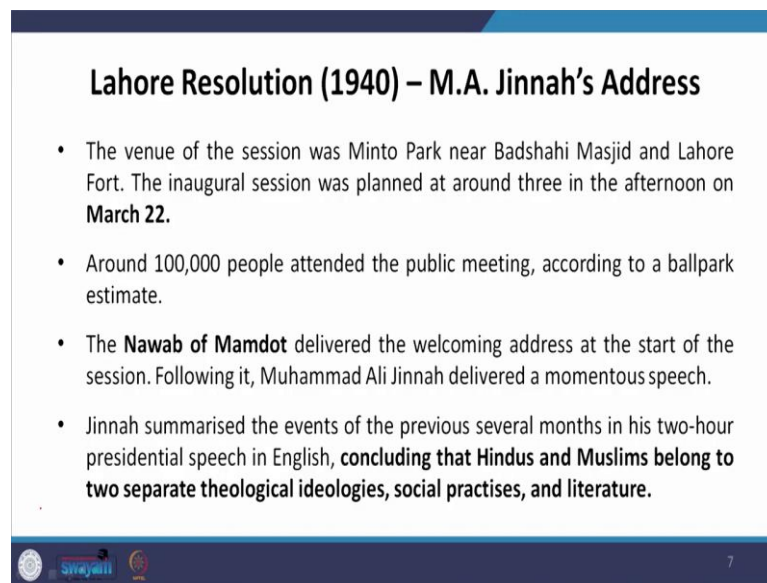
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He did attend the Khaksars and so, he was able to effectively deal with the Khaksar revolt and yet deliver in his Lahore session. Jinnah announced to the press that the All Indian Muslim League will make a very important decision, a momentous decision in this approaching session. So, he really wanted, he put his heart and soul into this session and wanted it to become a success.

He did not want to postpone it...I have already explained, right.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) – M.A. Jinnah's Address

- The venue of the session was Minto Park near Badshahi Masjid and Lahore Fort. The inaugural session was planned at around three in the afternoon on **March 22**.
- Around 100,000 people attended the public meeting, according to a ballpark estimate.
- The **Nawab of Mamdot** delivered the welcoming address at the start of the session. Following it, Muhammad Ali Jinnah delivered a momentous speech.
- Jinnah summarised the events of the previous several months in his two-hour presidential speech in English, **concluding that Hindus and Muslims belong to two separate theological ideologies, social practises, and literature.**

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So, the venue of this session was Minto Park near Badshahi Masjid and Lahore Fort. The inaugural session was planned around three in the afternoon on March 22nd. So, history witnesses that around 100,000 people attended the public meeting, according to a ballpark estimate.

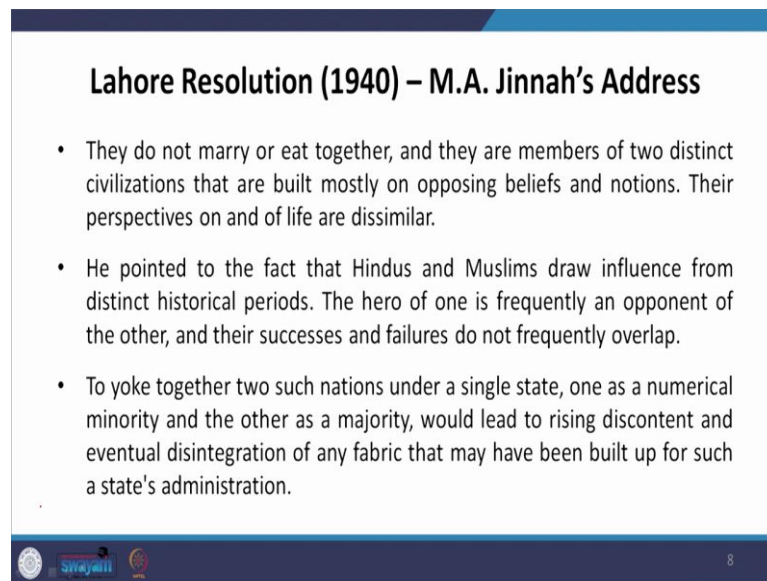
The Nawab of Mamdot delivered the welcoming address as at the start of the session. And following that M. A. Jinnah actually delivered a speech that riveted the audience. Jinnah in this address actually summarised the events of the previous several months, what the development in the independent struggle was looking like according to the Muslim leader.

So, in his two-hour presidential speech in English, he concluded that the Hindus and the Muslims belong to two separate theological schools or ideologies, two different stands. They actually subscribe to different social practices. And, they can identify with very

different literary works or very different literature; they draw their inspirations and influences from very different sources of history, artworks and socio-cultural practices.

Jinnah would emphasize that the Hindus and the Muslims, for example, do not marry and eat together and that they are members of two distinct civilizations; they are built mostly on opposing beliefs and notions.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) – M.A. Jinnah's Address

- They do not marry or eat together, and they are members of two distinct civilizations that are built mostly on opposing beliefs and notions. Their perspectives on and of life are dissimilar.
- He pointed to the fact that Hindus and Muslims draw influence from distinct historical periods. The hero of one is frequently an opponent of the other, and their successes and failures do not frequently overlap.
- To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, would lead to rising discontent and eventual disintegration of any fabric that may have been built up for such a state's administration.

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So, their perspectives of life are very dissimilar, which implied that if they co-existed, it would lead to frequent clashes and conflicts.

This was how he was arriving at his Two-nation theory through the Lahore Resolution. So, Jinnah pointed to the fact that Hindus and Muslims actually draw influence from very distinct historical periods, the hero of one literature or one worldview, one philosophy, one way of life is frequently seen as an opponent by the other.

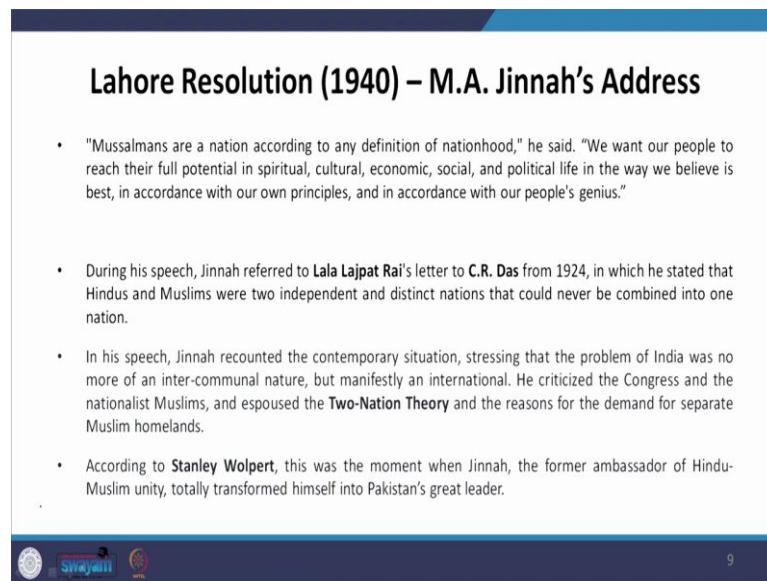
They harbor very different value systems and their successes and failures very often do not overlap. So, in such circumstances to yoke together two such nations within the umbrella of one nation, would be very very difficult. And, then he also pointed out that the Muslims within that single umbrella would become a numerical minority, whereas the Hindus would remain a majority.

And, it could lead to a rising discontent and eventual disintegration of any fabric that may be built up for such a state's administration. This is actually just going back to the

theorists. I would harken back my introductory lecture, where I mentioned a number of theorists that also actually legitimized partition of every such country; if they lived together they would actually experience continuous civil wars, ethnic wars.

Jinnah was of the same opinion that rather than have continuous ethnic wars, civil wars, there be two separate nations.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) – M.A. Jinnah's Address

- "Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of nationhood," he said. "We want our people to reach their full potential in spiritual, cultural, economic, social, and political life in the way we believe is best, in accordance with our own principles, and in accordance with our people's genius."
- During his speech, Jinnah referred to **Lala Lajpat Rai's** letter to **C.R. Das** from 1924, in which he stated that Hindus and Muslims were two independent and distinct nations that could never be combined into one nation.
- In his speech, Jinnah recounted the contemporary situation, stressing that the problem of India was no more of an inter-communal nature, but manifestly an international. He criticized the Congress and the nationalist Muslims, and espoused the **Two-Nation Theory** and the reasons for the demand for separate Muslim homelands.
- According to **Stanley Wolpert**, this was the moment when Jinnah, the former ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, totally transformed himself into Pakistan's great leader.

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And, to quote Jinnah he says that "Mussalmans are a a nation according to any definition of nationhood. We want our people to reach their full potential in spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in the way we believe is best, in accordance with our own principles and in accordance with our people's genius".

During his speech, he is actually making a reference to Lala Lajpat Rai's letter to Chittaranjan Das from 1924, where the former, that is Lala Lajpat Rai states that the Hindus and the Muslims are two independent and distinct nations that could never be combined into one. So, he is actually very cleverly corroborating what he wants with some statements made previously by some of the Hindu leaders.

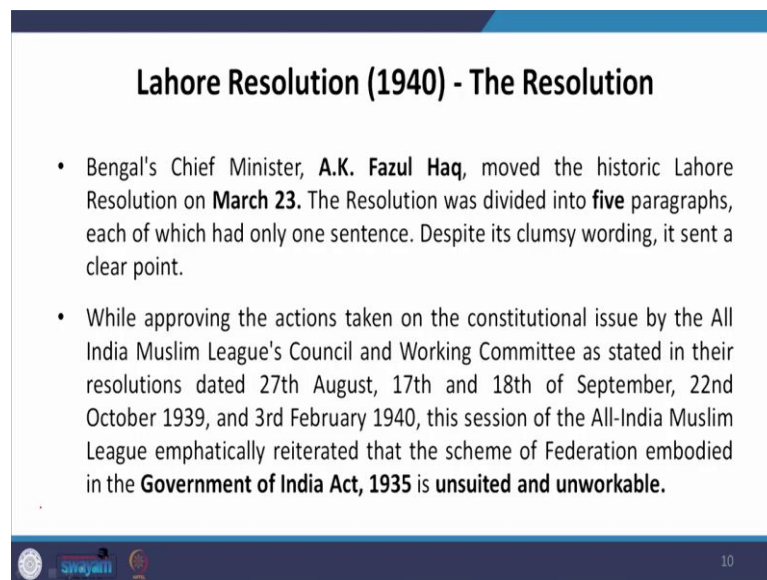
So, he is representing his speech in a way we see in Lahore Resolution as though the Two-Nation Theory is also supported by some of the major Congress leaders. So, in his speech, Jinnah recounted the contemporary situation and stressed that the problem of

India was no more of an inter-communal nature, but it has manifestly taken on an international... it has become international in dimension.

The gravity of the problem is no longer ah that of a localized South-Asian stature, it has become more than that. So, he criticized the Congress and the nationalist Muslims and thereby espoused what we know as the Two-nation theory and the reasons for the demand for separate Muslim homelands.

So, Stanley Wolpert would read that this was the moment when Jinnah, formerly well-known as the ambassador and formerly appreciated as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, totally transformed himself into Pakistan's great leader.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - The Resolution

- Bengal's Chief Minister, **A.K. Fazul Haq**, moved the historic Lahore Resolution on **March 23**. The Resolution was divided into **five** paragraphs, each of which had only one sentence. Despite its clumsy wording, it sent a clear point.
- While approving the actions taken on the constitutional issue by the All India Muslim League's Council and Working Committee as stated in their resolutions dated 27th August, 17th and 18th of September, 22nd October 1939, and 3rd February 1940, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterated that the scheme of Federation embodied in the **Government of India Act, 1935** is **unsuited and unworkable**.

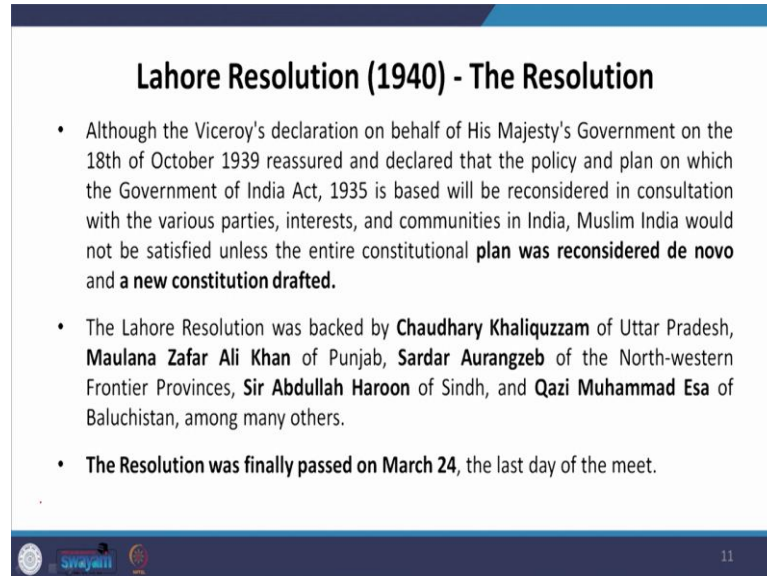
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So, when we look at the resolution, we see that Bengal's Chief Minister A. K. Fazlul Haq had moved this historic Lahore Resolution on March 23. The resolution was divided into five different paragraphs and each of them had only one sentence. Despite its clumsy wording, it had sent out a very clear message.

While approving the actions taken on the constitutional issue by the All India Muslim League's Council and the Working Committee as stated in the resolutions earlier dated 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and on 22nd of October 1939 as well as on the 3rd of February 1940, this particular session of the All India Muslim League emphasized and reiterated that the scheme of federation proposed and embodied in the

Government of India Act, 1935 was completely unsuited and unworkable. That is, for the Muslim section of India, for the Indian Muslims,

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - The Resolution

- Although the Viceroy's declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government on the 18th of October 1939 reassured and declared that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935 is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests, and communities in India, Muslim India would not be satisfied unless the entire constitutional **plan was reconsidered de novo** and **a new constitution drafted**.
- The Lahore Resolution was backed by **Chaudhary Khaliqz zam** of Uttar Pradesh, **Maulana Zafar Ali Khan** of Punjab, **Sardar Aurangzeb** of the North-western Frontier Provinces, **Sir Abdullah Haroon** of Sindh, and **Qazi Muhammad Esa** of Baluchistan, among many others.
- **The Resolution was finally passed on March 24**, the last day of the meet.

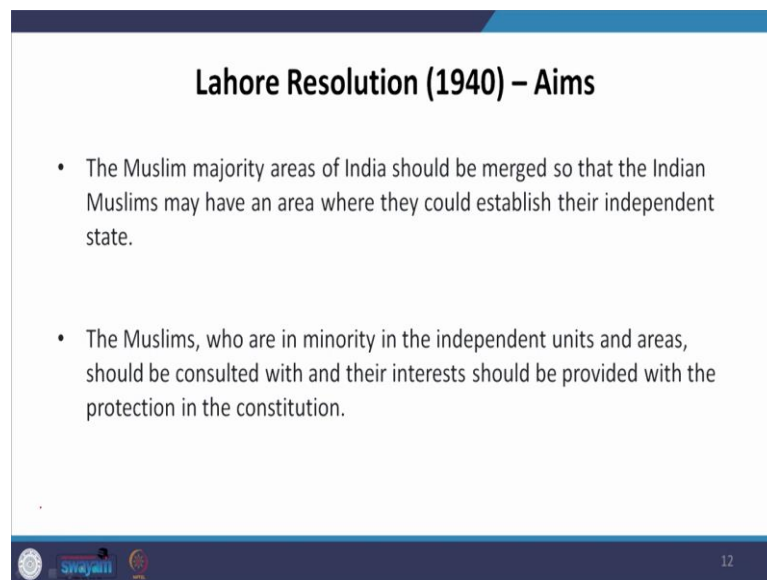
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although the Viceroy's declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government on the 18th of October 1939 reassured and declared that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act 1935 is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, the different interests and the different communities that are existent in India, Muslim India would not be satisfied unless the entire constitutional plan was actually reconsidered de novo and a new constitution drafted.

So, the Muslim leaders actually stated that the constitution as such is untenable, it either be re-drafted and reconsidered from the scratch or the Muslims would, under the auspices of the prominent leaders, go for a separate nation-state altogether.

The Lahore Resolution was backed by members, such as Chaudhary Khaliqzaman of Uttar Pradesh, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan of Punjab, Sardar Aurangzeb of the North Western Frontier Provinces, Sir Abdullah Haroon of Sindh, and Qazi Muhammad Esa of Baluchistan, among many others. The Resolution was finally passed on March 24th, which was the last day of the meet.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) – Aims

- The Muslim majority areas of India should be merged so that the Indian Muslims may have an area where they could establish their independent state.
- The Muslims, who are in minority in the independent units and areas, should be consulted with and their interests should be provided with the protection in the constitution.

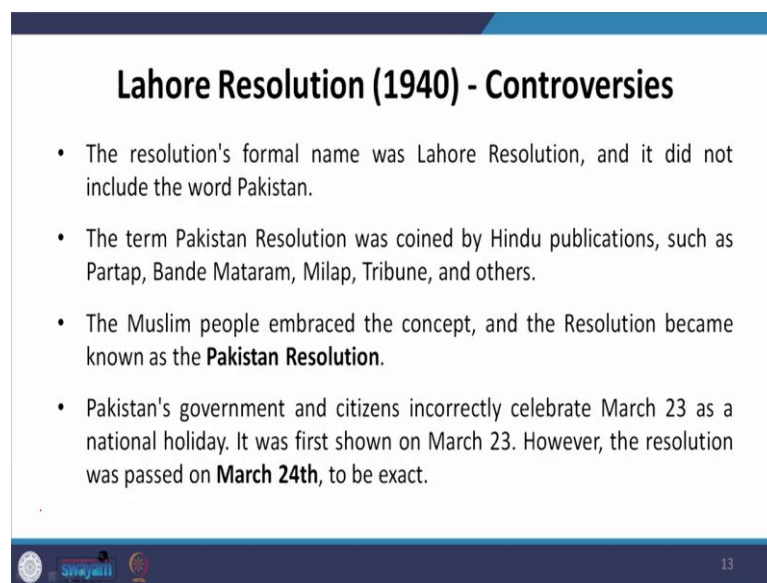
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So, the aims to begin with were not for two nations, we have to understand that. But these aims actually paved the path for a Two-nation theory. They very smoothly transition to a Two-nation theory. So, the basic aims at a glance if we look were: (a) the

Muslim majority areas of India be merged so that the Indian Muslims may have an area where they can establish their own independent state,

and (b) the Muslims who are in minority in the independent units and areas should be consulted with and their interests be taken into consideration and be protected within the frame of the constitution. They should be able to voice their own interests and protect themselves through the constitutional laws. So, let us now look at the controversies centering the Lahore Resolution.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - Controversies

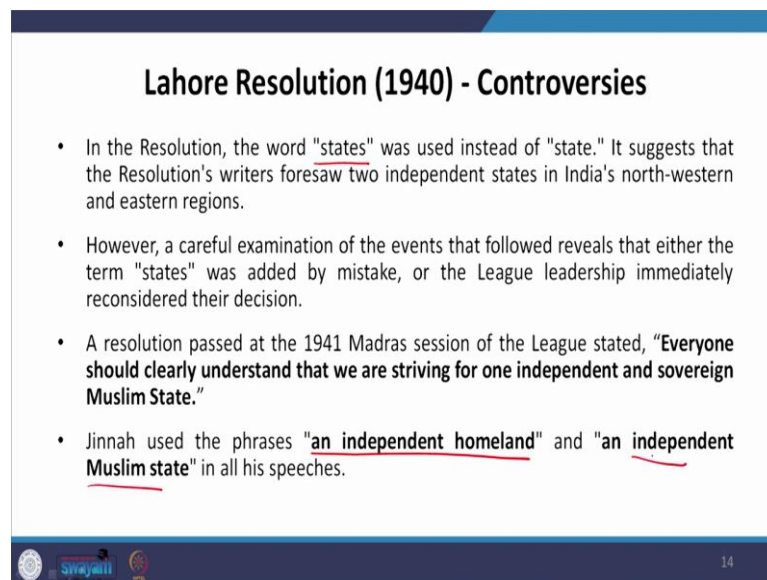
- The resolution's formal name was Lahore Resolution, and it did not include the word Pakistan.
- The term Pakistan Resolution was coined by Hindu publications, such as Partap, Bande Mataram, Milap, Tribune, and others.
- The Muslim people embraced the concept, and the Resolution became known as the **Pakistan Resolution**.
- Pakistan's government and citizens incorrectly celebrate March 23 as a national holiday. It was first shown on March 23. However, the resolution was passed on **March 24th**, to be exact.

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The resolution's formal name was Lahore Resolution, and it did not include the word Pakistan. This term Pakistan Resolution was coined ironically by the Hindu publications, such as Partap, Bande Mataram, Milap, Tribune, among others. The Muslim people, however... their reaction was to embrace such a concept and so, the resolution went on to be known as the Pakistan Resolution.

The Pakistan's government and citizens incorrectly celebrate March 23rd as a national holiday. The resolution was first shown on March 23rd; however, the resolution was passed actually on March 24th to be exact.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - Controversies

- In the Resolution, the word "states" was used instead of "state." It suggests that the Resolution's writers foresaw two independent states in India's north-western and eastern regions.
- However, a careful examination of the events that followed reveals that either the term "states" was added by mistake, or the League leadership immediately reconsidered their decision.
- A resolution passed at the 1941 Madras session of the League stated, "**Everyone should clearly understand that we are striving for one independent and sovereign Muslim State.**"
- Jinnah used the phrases "an independent homeland" and "an independent Muslim state" in all his speeches.

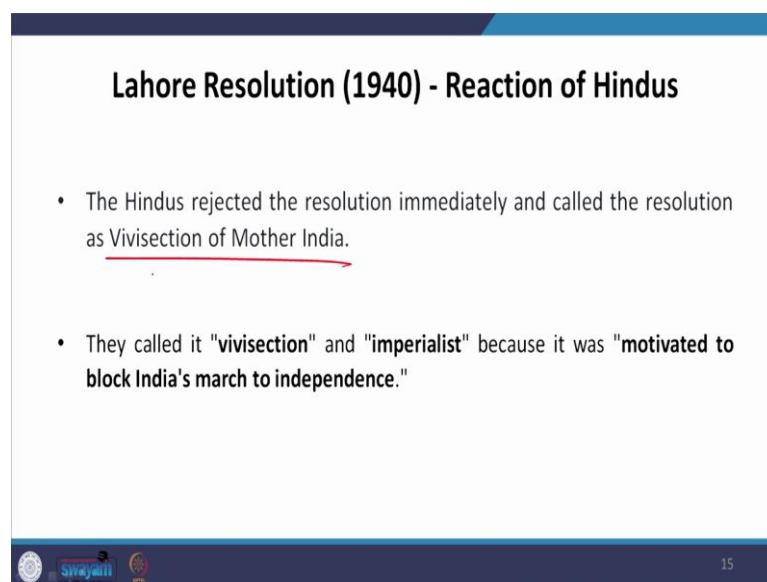
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So, when we look at the different controversies around this resolution, one of the controversies centers the word "states", the word "states" was used instead of "state". And, it suggests that the resolution's writers foresaw two independent states in India's north-western and eastern regions.

However, when one carefully examines the course of events that followed, one understands that the term "states" was added inadvertently and the League leadership must have reconsidered their decision afterwards. So, the resolution passed at the 1941 Madras session of the League actually stated, and I quote, "Everyone should clearly understand that we are striving for one independent and sovereign Muslim state".

Jinnah used the phrases "independent homeland" and "an independent Muslim state" in all his speeches... that the protection of minority rights, separate electorate, voicing of the minority's demands within the frame of constitution are all actually precipitating to and adding up to a separate homeland, a separate Muslim state.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - Reaction of Hindus

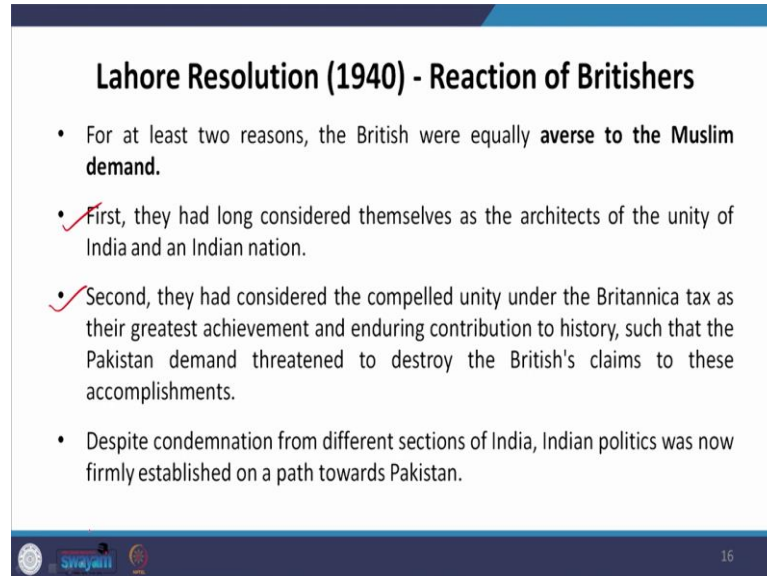
- The Hindus rejected the resolution immediately and called the resolution as Vivisection of Mother India.
- They called it "**vivisection**" and "**imperialist**" because it was "**motivated to block India's march to independence.**"

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Now, we look at the reaction of the other sections towards Lahore Resolution. The Hindus outrightly rejected such a resolution and they called it as the Vivisection of Mother India. It was called as "vivisection" and as, you know, full of "imperialist"


ambitions because such a resolution as the Hindus saw it, was "motivated to block India's march to independence."

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - Reaction of Britishers

- For at least two reasons, the British were equally **averse to the Muslim demand**.
- ✓ First, they had long considered themselves as the architects of the unity of India and an Indian nation.
- ✓ Second, they had considered the compelled unity under the Britannica tax as their greatest achievement and enduring contribution to history, such that the Pakistan demand threatened to destroy the British's claims to these accomplishments.
- Despite condemnation from different sections of India, Indian politics was now firmly established on a path towards Pakistan.

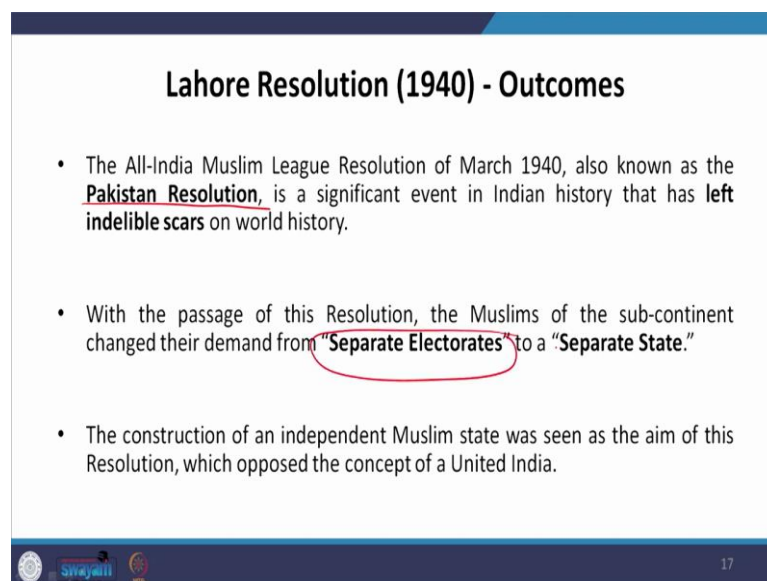
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Now, when we look at the reaction of the Britishers, we see that at least for two reasons the Britishers were also equally averse to the Muslim demand. Firstly, they had long considered themselves...they claimed accolades for the unity of India and for giving India the shape of a nation, a modern nation. So, it was to their credit, they were the architects of a unified India and that credit would actually go if India is dismembered.

So, this is the first reason why Britishers were not really happy with the Partition. Secondly, we see that the Britishers had considered the compelled unity under the Britannic attacks as their greatest achievement and an enduring contribution to history, such that Pakistan demand would threaten to destroy the Britisher's claim to a unique accomplishment.

There are condemnations from different quarters in India by the colonizers, by the Hindu sects, but Indian politics was now firmly established on the path towards Pakistan.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - Outcomes

- The All-India Muslim League Resolution of March 1940, also known as the Pakistan Resolution, is a significant event in Indian history that has left **indelible scars** on world history.
- With the passage of this Resolution, the Muslims of the sub-continent changed their demand from "**Separate Electorates**" to a "**Separate State**."
- The construction of an independent Muslim state was seen as the aim of this Resolution, which opposed the concept of a United India.

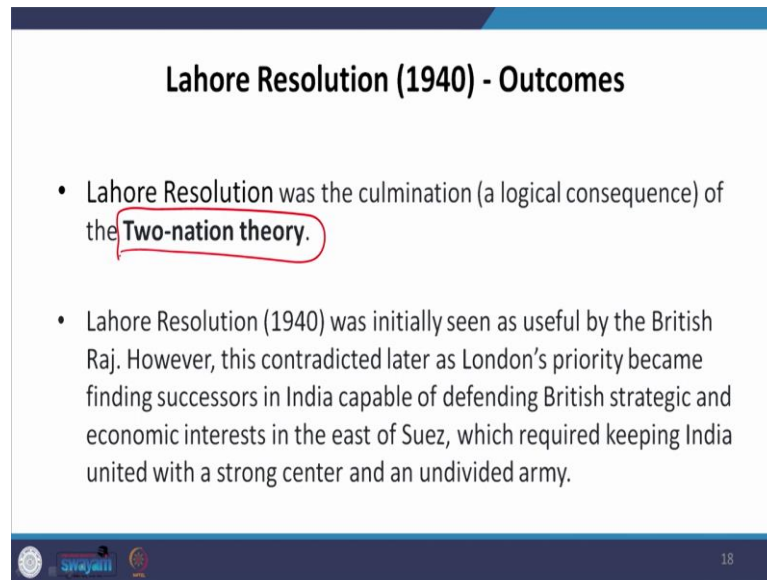
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So, what are the results of Lahore Resolution? The All India Muslim League Resolution of March 1940, also came to be known as Pakistan Resolution, becomes a significant turning point, a new milestone and a new event in Indian history that has left indelible scars on world history.

With the passage of this resolution, the Muslims of the sub-continent change their demand from "Separate Electorate" to a "Separate State" altogether. The construction of


an independent Muslim state was seen as the aim of this resolution, which was opposed to the concept of a united India. So, Lahore Resolution was the culmination and the logical consequence of the Two-nation theory.

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Lahore Resolution (1940) - Outcomes

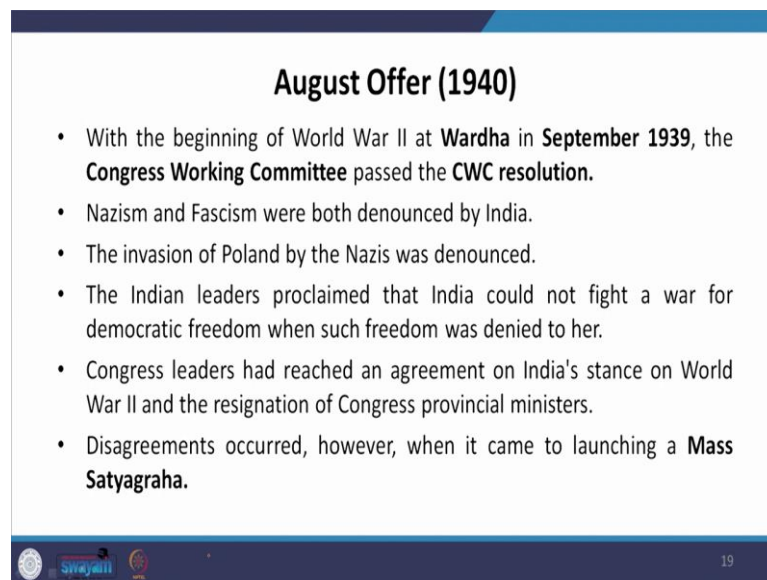
- Lahore Resolution was the culmination (a logical consequence) of the **Two-nation theory**.
- Lahore Resolution (1940) was initially seen as useful by the British Raj. However, this contradicted later as London's priority became finding successors in India capable of defending British strategic and economic interests in the east of Suez, which required keeping India united with a strong center and an undivided army.

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Critics also say that this was initially seen as useful by the British Raj. However, this contradicted later, this conflicted with the Britisher's interests as London's priority became finding successors in India that are capable of defending British strategic and economic interests in the east of Suez. And, in order to protect the British interests, they wanted successors in India and that required, that entailed keeping India united with a strong center and an undivided army.

So, a lot of critics actually point out that it was in the Britisher's interest to not partition India. Now, from Lahore Resolution we are going to move to August Offer, also happened in 1940.

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August Offer (1940)

- With the beginning of World War II at **Wardha** in **September 1939**, the **Congress Working Committee** passed the **CWC resolution**.
- Nazism and Fascism were both denounced by India.
- The invasion of Poland by the Nazis was denounced.
- The Indian leaders proclaimed that India could not fight a war for democratic freedom when such freedom was denied to her.
- Congress leaders had reached an agreement on India's stance on World War II and the resignation of Congress provincial ministers.
- Disagreements occurred, however, when it came to launching a **Mass Satyagraha**.

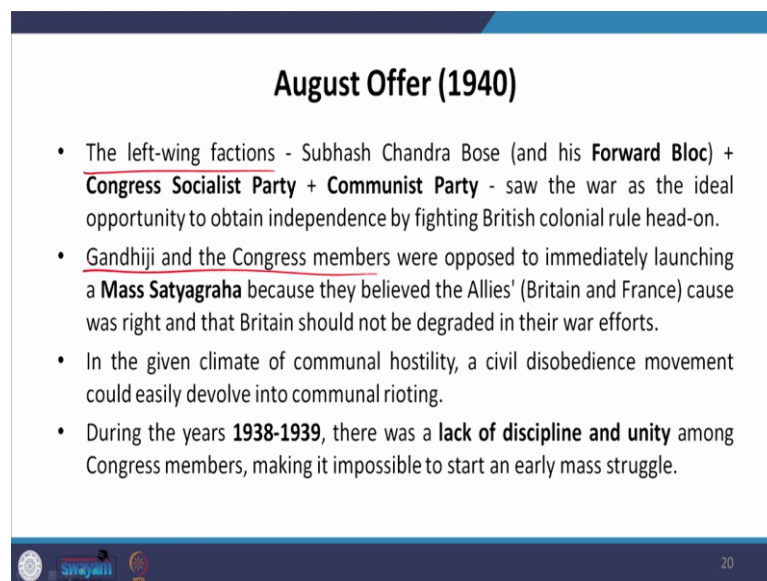
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With the beginning of World War II at Wardha in September 1939, the Congress Working Committee passed the CWC resolution. Indian leader's position was very clear. They denounced both Nazism and Fascism.

The invasion of Poland by the Nazis was criticized. And, the Indian leaders proclaimed at that point that India cannot take a side and fight a war for democratic freedom, when such a freedom was denied to her. In the first place, Congress leaders had reached an agreement on India's stance on World War II and the resignation of Congress provincial ministers.

So, disagreements started cropping up. However, when it came to launching a Mass Satyagraha... So, we see that disagreements actually crop up when there is the question of launching a mass Satyagraha.

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August Offer (1940)

- The left-wing factions - Subhash Chandra Bose (and his **Forward Bloc**) + **Congress Socialist Party** + **Communist Party** - saw the war as the ideal opportunity to obtain independence by fighting British colonial rule head-on.
- Gandhiji and the Congress members were opposed to immediately launching a **Mass Satyagraha** because they believed the Allies' (Britain and France) cause was right and that Britain should not be degraded in their war efforts.
- In the given climate of communal hostility, a civil disobedience movement could easily devolve into communal rioting.
- During the years **1938-1939**, there was a **lack of discipline and unity** among Congress members, making it impossible to start an early mass struggle.

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On the one hand, we have the different Left factions comprising Subhash Chandra Bose's Forward Bloc;

then the Congress Socialist Party and added to them the Communist Party. All of these political factions saw the war as an ideal situation that could facilitate the process of India's independence, that could enable and strengthen their claim for independence through fighting British colonial rulers head-on.

So, they saw this vulnerable situation as an opportunity that needed to be utilized, the Left wing and the Left wing factions, that is. Now, Gandhiji and the Congress members were opposed to immediately launching a Mass Satyagraha, because they believed that the allies, that is the Britain and France's cause was correct and that Britain should not be discouraged or degraded in their war efforts.

So, we see that on the one hand, we have the left wing factions, on the other hand, we have Gandhiji along with the his Congress following. And, in this given climate of communal hostility, a civil disobedience movement could easily devolve into communal rioting. That is what M. K. Gandhi actually thought at that point. So, he was not in favor of a mass Satyagraha.

During the years between 1938 and 1939, there was a lack of discipline and unity among the Congress members. They were taking different positions, they were assuming different positions and making it impossible thereby to start an early mass struggle in a unified fashion.

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August Offer (1940)

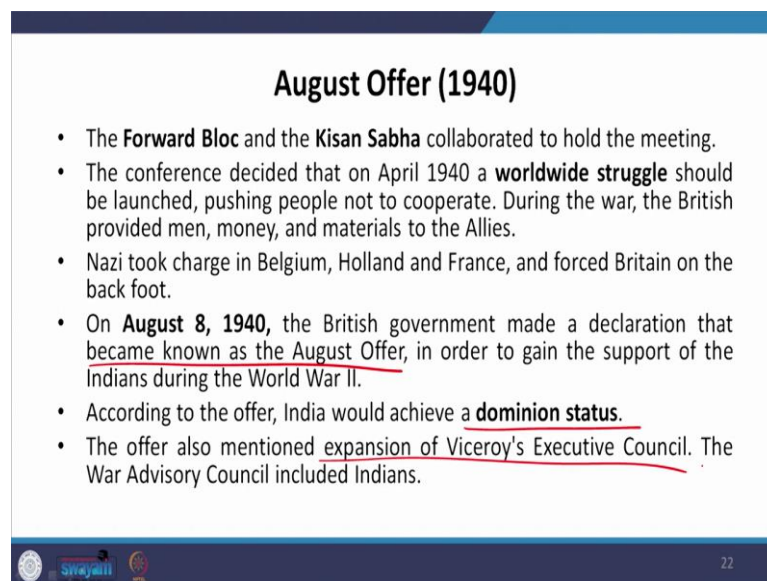
- **Ramgarh Session** of the Congress was held on **March 1940**, under the Presidentship of **Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad**.
- **"Nothing short of complete independence can be acceptable by the people,"** declared the **Congress Working Committee**.
- Civil disobedience will be launched **"as soon as the Congress organization is deemed fit for the purpose or if circumstances so shape themselves as to provoke a crisis,"** announced the agreement.
- **Subhas Chandra Bose** convened an 'Anti-Compromise Conference' in Ramgarh, Bihar, in March 1940.

In the Ramgarh Session of the Congress which was held in March 1940, we see there is Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad who is the president of this session. And, the Congress Working Committee declares that nothing short of complete independence can be acceptable by the people.

So, for the Ramgarh Session of the Congress which was held in March 1940 under the Presidentship of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, we see that CWC states that nothing short of complete independence can be acceptable by the people, and civil disobedience would be launched as soon as the Congress organization is deemed fit for the purpose or if circumstances so shape themselves as to provoke a crisis.

And, we see that in Ramgarh Bihar, Subhash Chandra Bose actually convened an 'Anti-Compromise Conference' in March 1940.

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August Offer (1940)

- The **Forward Bloc** and the **Kisan Sabha** collaborated to hold the meeting.
- The conference decided that on April 1940 a **worldwide struggle** should be launched, pushing people not to cooperate. During the war, the British provided men, money, and materials to the Allies.
- Nazi took charge in Belgium, Holland and France, and forced Britain on the back foot.
- On **August 8, 1940**, the British government made a declaration that became known as the August Offer, in order to gain the support of the Indians during the World War II.
- According to the offer, India would achieve a dominion status.
- The offer also mentioned expansion of Viceroy's Executive Council. The War Advisory Council included Indians.

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The Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sabha collaborated to hold the meeting. The meeting for anti-compromise conference decided that in April 1940 a worldwide struggle should be launched that push people not to cooperate.

And, during this war the British provided money, men and materials to the allies. In the meantime, we see that the Nazis are taking charge in Belgium, in Holland and France and they forced Britain on a back foot. By August 8, 1940, the British government had

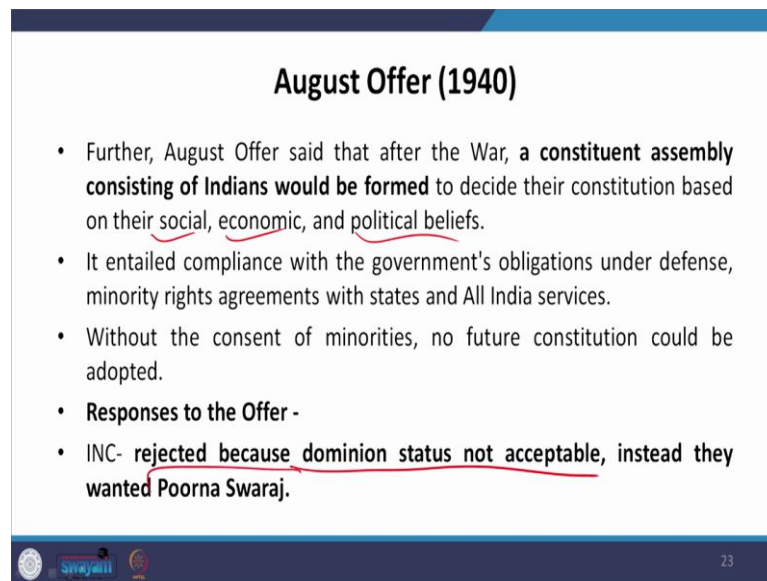
made a declaration that had become known as the August Offer, as a way of gaining the support of the Indians during the World War II.

In World War II, Britain's position becomes increasingly more precarious and so they seek India's support, India being one of its... in fact, its largest asset. So, according to the August Offer, India could achieve its dominion status...now there is a bargain. If India supports Britain for World War II, it could achieve its dominion status in exchange.

The offer also mentions expansion of... so, one is the dominion status that is offered by the August Offer; the second is expansion of Viceroy's Executive Council. And, now the War Advisory Council would include Indians which actually proposed a greater further more agency ah to the Indians in Indian affairs.

So, we see that further, August Offer says that after World War II, a Constituent Assembly comprising Indians would be formed to decide their constitution based on their own social, economic and political beliefs.

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August Offer (1940)

- Further, August Offer said that after the War, a **constituent assembly consisting of Indians would be formed** to decide their constitution based on their social, economic, and political beliefs.
- It entailed compliance with the government's obligations under defense, minority rights agreements with states and All India services.
- Without the consent of minorities, no future constitution could be adopted.
- **Responses to the Offer -**
- INC- rejected because dominion status not acceptable, instead they wanted Poorna Swaraj.

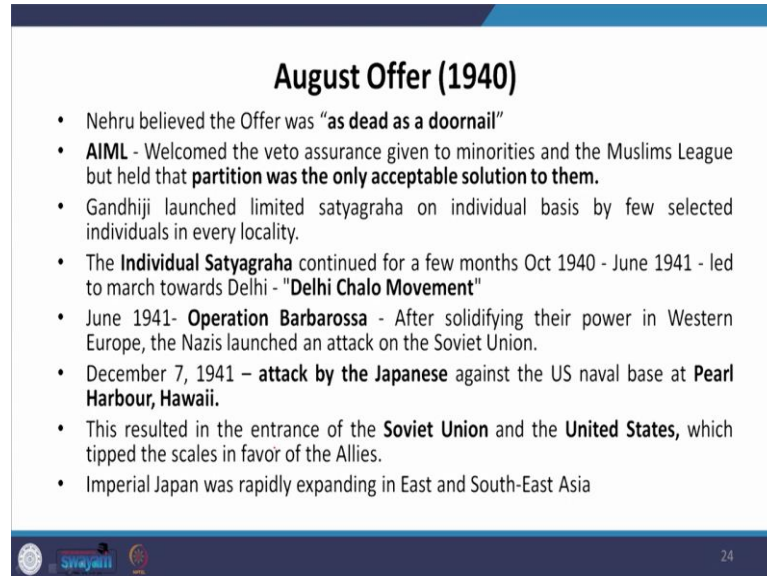
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So it entailed, the August Offer entailed compliance with the government's obligations under defense, minority rights agreements with states and in all India services.

Without the consent of minorities, it stated, no future constitution could be adopted. However, the response to the August Offer by INC was rejection, because dominion


status was not acceptable by the Congress at that point. Instead, they were looking for Poorna Swaraj.

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August Offer (1940)

- Nehru believed the Offer was “as dead as a doornail”
- **AIML** - Welcomed the veto assurance given to minorities and the Muslims League but held that **partition was the only acceptable solution to them.**
- Gandhiji launched limited satyagraha on individual basis by few selected individuals in every locality.
- The **Individual Satyagraha** continued for a few months Oct 1940 - June 1941 - led to march towards Delhi - “**Delhi Chalo Movement**”
- June 1941- **Operation Barbarossa** - After solidifying their power in Western Europe, the Nazis launched an attack on the Soviet Union.
- December 7, 1941 – **attack by the Japanese** against the US naval base at **Pearl Harbour, Hawaii.**
- This resulted in the entrance of the **Soviet Union** and the **United States**, which tipped the scales in favor of the Allies.
- Imperial Japan was rapidly expanding in East and South-East Asia

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Jawaharlal Nehru would believe that August Offer was as dead as a doornail.

Similarly, All India Muslim League... however, we see All India Muslim League welcome the veto assurance given to minorities and to the Muslim league, but they held that partition was the only acceptable solution for the Muslim's right. So, on the one hand INC was looking for Poorna Swaraj, on the other AIML was looking for partition and a separate nation.


Gandhiji launched limited Satyagraha on individual basis by few selected individuals in every locality. So, we have the individual Satyagraha being continued for several months between October 1940 and June 1941. People were marching towards Delhi, there was the prevalent cry for struggle, freedom struggle. This is associated mainly with Subhash Chandra Bose's "Delhi Chalo" Movement.

In June 1941, there was Operation Barbarossa. After solidifying their power in Western Europe, the Nazis actually launched an attack on the Soviet Union. By December 7 1941, there was the attack by the Japanese against the US naval base at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii. We see there are all these different larger historical events that actually play an important role in deciding the fate of post-independent India.

All these resulted in the entrance of the Soviet Union and the United States in this scenario, which tipped the scales in the favor of the allies. Imperial Japan was rapidly expanding in East and South-East Asia. So, the position of Britain was further vitiated.
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August Offer (1940)

- Meanwhile in India the government released Congress leaders who were imprisoned for Individual Satyagraha.
- The British government desperately wanted to secure Congress cooperation and save the British territories in India in the face of aggression by Imperial Japan.
- The CWC (now controlled by Congress veterans like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and C. Rajagopalachari) passed a resolution offering to cooperate with the British government in the defense of India, if -
 - full independence must be given right after the war
 - substance of power was transferred immediately
- At this point Gandhiji designated Nehru as his chosen political successor

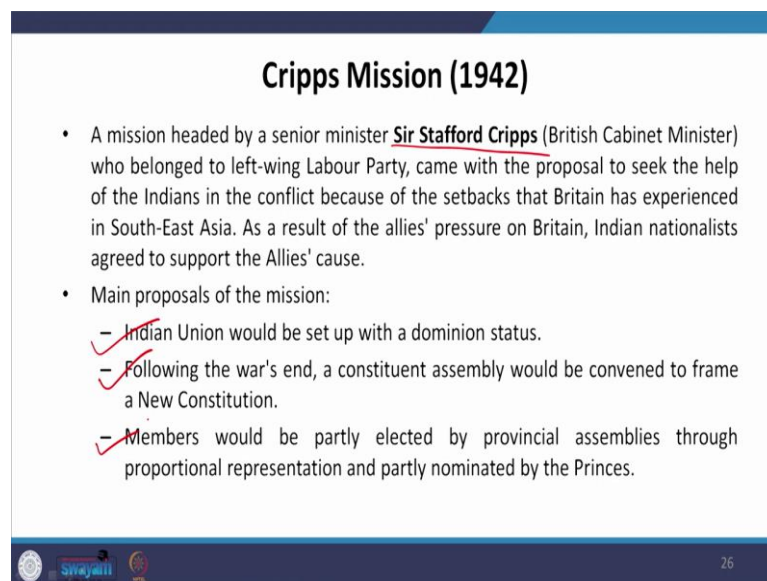
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Meanwhile, in India the government released Congress leaders who were imprisoned for individual Satyagraha. So, the British Raj was willing to concede. The British government desperately wanted to secure Congress cooperation and save the British territories in India in the face of aggression that it faced from imperial Japan.

So, the Congress Working Committee now controlled by veteran leaders, such as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and C. Rajagopalachari, actually passed a resolution offering to cooperate with the British government provided and they actually kept a few conditions: full independence must be given right after the war and then substance of power was transferred immediately to the Indians.

And, at this point Gandhiji actually designated Nehru as his chosen political successor. And so, we see that this also leaves an impact among the Muslim masses. They see that the leadership of an independent India would go to a Hindu and not to a Muslim, which further hardened their position for a separate nation.

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Cripps Mission (1942)

- A mission headed by a senior minister Sir Stafford Cripps (British Cabinet Minister) who belonged to left-wing Labour Party, came with the proposal to seek the help of the Indians in the conflict because of the setbacks that Britain has experienced in South-East Asia. As a result of the allies' pressure on Britain, Indian nationalists agreed to support the Allies' cause.
- Main proposals of the mission:
 - Indian Union would be set up with a dominion status.
 - Following the war's end, a constituent assembly would be convened to frame a New Constitution.
 - Members would be partly elected by provincial assemblies through proportional representation and partly nominated by the Princes.

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Next, we talk about Cripps Mission, Cripps Mission was headed by a senior minister called Sir Stafford Cripps who was a British Cabinet Minister and belonged to Left Wing Labour Party. He came with the proposal to seek the help of the Indians in the conflict because of the setbacks that Britain had experienced in South-East Asia. As a result of the allies' pressure on Britain, Indian nationalists agreed to support the allies' cause.

The main proposals of Cripps Mission included Indian Union would be set up with a dominion status. And, then following the war's end a Constituent Assembly be convened to frame India's new Constitution as in a free state. And, then members would be partly elected by Provincial Assemblies through proportional representation, and partly dominated by the Princes.

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Cripps Mission (1942)

- Any province that refuses to join the Union could have a separate constitution and form a separate union.
- Defense of India would remain in British hands. Governor-general's powers would remain intact.
- ❖ INC leaders **objected** to the proposal because -
 - The **dominion status** was unacceptable to INC, they demanded **Poorna Swaraj**
 - States were represented by nominees rather than elected representatives.
 - The provinces had the right to **separate**.
 - There would be no instant transfer of power, and the **Governor General was still supreme.**

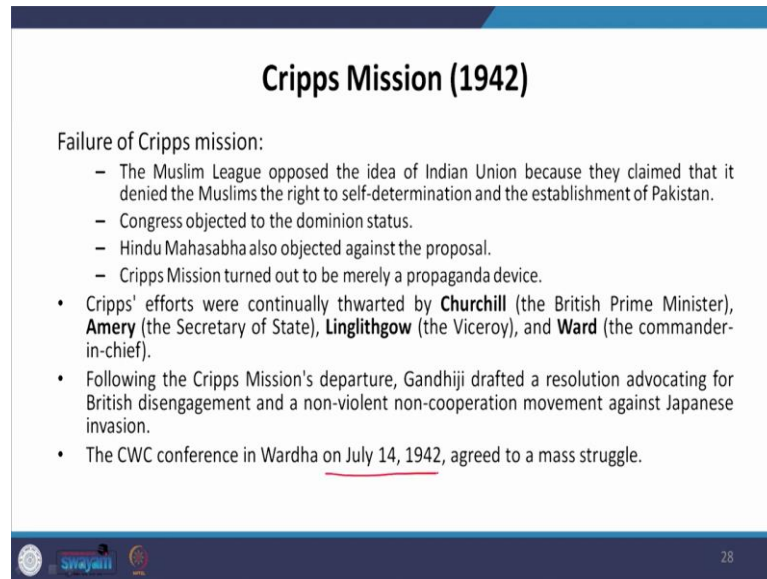
Further, Cripps Mission says that any province that refuses to join the Union could have a separate constitution and form its separate union. Defense of India would remain in the hands of the British and the Governor-general's power would remain intact. So, Cripps Mission actually wanted to hold on to some power and agency in India while declaring it as independent.

Indian National Congress leaders objected to the proposal because the dominion status was unacceptable and they were sticking to the Poorna Swaraj, demand for Poorna Swaraj. States were represented by nominees rather than elected representatives, and the

provinces had the right to separate. These were not acceptable. There would be no instant transfer of power and the Governor General was still deemed supreme.

These were all the setbacks that they [INC] identified in Cripps Mission and so, they rejected it, the Congressmen rejected it.

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Cripps Mission (1942)

Failure of Cripps mission:

- The Muslim League opposed the idea of Indian Union because they claimed that it denied the Muslims the right to self-determination and the establishment of Pakistan.
- Congress objected to the dominion status.
- Hindu Mahasabha also objected against the proposal.
- Cripps Mission turned out to be merely a propaganda device.

- Cripps' efforts were continually thwarted by **Churchill** (the British Prime Minister), **Amery** (the Secretary of State), **Linglithgow** (the Viceroy), and **Ward** (the commander-in-chief).
- Following the Cripps Mission's departure, Gandhiji drafted a resolution advocating for British disengagement and a non-violent non-cooperation movement against Japanese invasion.
- The CWC conference in Wardha on July 14, 1942, agreed to a mass struggle.

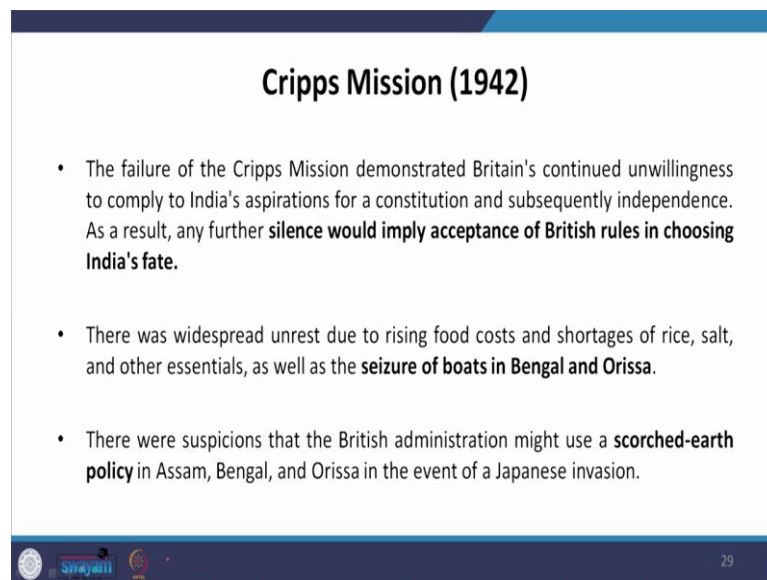
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So, the failure of Cripps Mission...if we look at that...the Muslim League opposed the idea of Indian Union, because they claimed that it denied the Muslim the right to self-determination and establishing of Pakistan. Similarly, Congress objected to the dominion status. For different reasons, neither all India Muslim League nor Indian National Congress were actually happy with Cripps Mission.

Hindu Mahasabha also rejected... they also objected against the proposal. So, Cripps Mission as one sees turns out to be a mere propaganda device. And, Cripps' efforts were continually thwarted by the British Prime Minister Churchill and the Secretary of State Amery as well as the Viceroy Lingshgow and the Commander-in-Chief, Ward; all of them are constantly thwarting Cripps efforts.

So, following the Cripps Missions' departure, Gandhiji drafted resolution which advocated for Britisher's disengagement and a non-violent, non-cooperation movement against Japanese invasion. The Congress Working Committee conference in Wardha on July 14, 1942 agreed to a mass struggle.

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Cripps Mission (1942)

- The failure of the Cripps Mission demonstrated Britain's continued unwillingness to comply to India's aspirations for a constitution and subsequently independence. As a result, any further **silence would imply acceptance of British rules in choosing India's fate.**
- There was widespread unrest due to rising food costs and shortages of rice, salt, and other essentials, as well as the **seizure of boats in Bengal and Orissa.**
- There were suspicions that the British administration might use a **scorched-earth policy** in Assam, Bengal, and Orissa in the event of a Japanese invasion.

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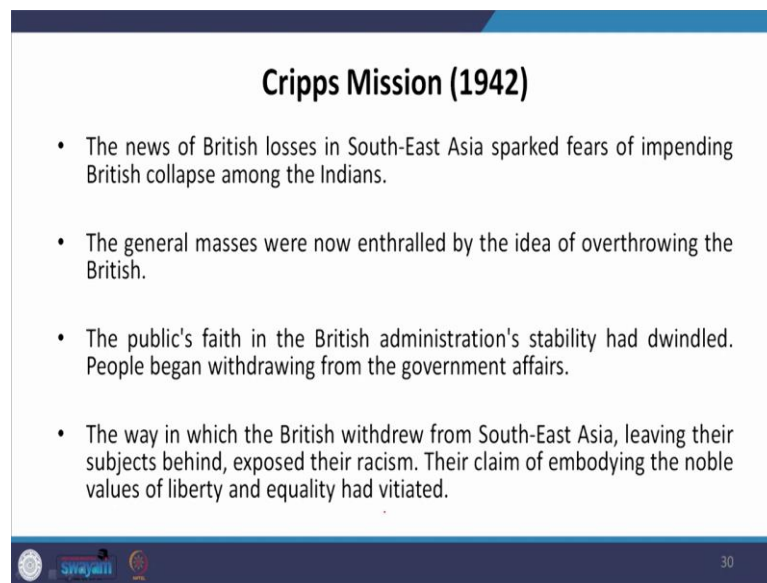
So, the failure of the Cripps Mission demonstrated Britain's continued reluctance to comply to India's aspirations for a constitution and subsequent freedom.

As a result, any further silence would imply acceptance of British rules in choosing India's fate. There was widespread unrest as a result of rising food costs and shortages of

essentials, such as rice and salt as well as the seizure of boats in Bengal and Odisha. We will talk more about the Great Bengal Famine in 1943, in our ensuing lecture.

There were suspicions that the British administration might use a scorched earth policy, which they actually did during the 1943 famine. It was considered as a man-made famine, whose architect was Winston Churchill. And, this scorched earth policy would be used in Assam, Bengal and Odisha in the event of a Japanese invasion.

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Cripps Mission (1942)

- The news of British losses in South-East Asia sparked fears of impending British collapse among the Indians.
- The general masses were now enthralled by the idea of overthrowing the British.
- The public's faith in the British administration's stability had dwindled. People began withdrawing from the government affairs.
- The way in which the British withdrew from South-East Asia, leaving their subjects behind, exposed their racism. Their claim of embodying the noble values of liberty and equality had vitiated.

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The news of British losses in South-East Asia sparked fears of impending British collapse among the Indians. The general masses were now enthralled by the idea of overthrowing the British. The public's faith in the British administration's stability had actually dwindled and people had begun to withdraw from government affairs.

The way in which the British withdrew from South-East Asia, leaving their subjects behind were enough to expose their racism. And, their claim of embodying lofty ideals of liberty and equality were hurt. All these values faced a setback because of the Britisher's racist attitude at that point. And so, I think I have to stop the lecture today at this point. I will meet you again with another series of lectures; the lecture 5 on the same topic, History of Partition.

Thank you so much.