

CREATION OF PAKISTAN

Ms. Shakila Noor Sindhu*

*Asst. Prof., Political Science, Forman Christian University Lahore, Pakistan

sindhushakila@gmail.com shakilasindhu@fccollege.edu.pk

Abstract

Creation of a country is not an ordinary situation. But creation of Pakistan is an exception in the world history. This is one of the most debated topics in the subcontinent's socioeconomic, literature, art and political realm. Scores of researchers have investigated this extraordinary historical development in a diversity of perspectives and paradigms. Variety of exogenous and endogenous factors and a range of variables that acted, reacted and interacted among each other are evaluated. Following are the few of the contradicting and contesting narratives that are often used to explain and conclude the division of British India. 1) WWII led to exceptional circumstances that drove British to divide subcontinent. 2) Hindus created Pakistan like Lala Lajpat Rai had proposed the partition in 1920s to keep Hindustan a peaceful land for Hindus. 3) The unscrupulous attitude of Hindu leadership and the atrocities of the Congress Ministries paved the way of partition. 4) Allama Iqbal's dreams and Ch. Rehmat Ali's Now or Never motivated the Muslims of the subcontinent to parting their ways. 5) Pakistan was a creation of the British mind. 6) Pakistan was the result of strenuous efforts of Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

These different scholarships are neither absolute truths, nor an utter deception, but a language of political discourse. This paper will adopt a postmodernist approach to re-search and appraise the above stated hypothesis. This is a qualitative and descriptive research and secondary data is used to carry out this project. Subsequent questions are used in this paper.

1. To explore and investigate both the domestic and international circumstances that led to the creation of Pakistan.

2. To evaluate the role of leadership in dividing British India.

3. To investigate the ideological standings of different actors of the subcontinent

Time period and variables: 1935 to 1947 is the time slot selected to evaluate the above stated questions. Based on these questions three variables, i) Events ii) Leadership and iii) ideology are chosen to carry out this project;

All these variables, events, leadership and ideology were intertwined and contributed in the creation of Pakistan. There was no one point formula that can be made responsible for the division of India. Different factors bestowed for this unique incident in the history. Of course the pressure of marginality and absorption played as a fear factor among the Muslims. But, it goes without saying that Hindus and Muslims were different from each other and the British styled political system fanned these differences and drifted them towards opposite directions. Their cultural, linguistic dissimilarities were stirred up. The same concepts

emerged on the political horizon of British India with totally different meanings, like freedom, self-rule, representation, and justice. A long series of events happened both at the national and international level, cultivated a peculiar environment that was nurtured by the leaders of British India and further shaped by the ideology of the participants, eventually divided British India into two sovereign states India and Pakistan.

Keywords Pakistan, British India, freedom, leadership, ideology, WW-II, exploitation, communalism , imperialism, colonization

Introduction

Creation of a country is not an ordinary situation. But creation of Pakistan is an exception in the world history. This is one of the most debated topics in the subcontinent's socioeconomic, literature, art and political realm. Scores of researchers have investigated this extraordinary historical development in a diversity of perspectives and paradigms. Variety of exogenous and endogenous factors and a range of variables that acted, reacted and interacted among each other are evaluated. Following are the few of the contradicting and contesting narratives that are often used to explain and conclude the division of British India.

WWII led to exceptional circumstances that drove British to divide subcontinent.

Hindus created Pakistan like Lala Lajpat Rai had proposed the partition in 1920s to keep Hindustan a peaceful land for Hindus.

The unscrupulous attitude of Hindu leadership and the atrocities of the Congress Ministries paved the way of partition.

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These different scholarships are neither absolute truths, nor an utter deception, but a language of political discourse. This paper will adopt a postmodernist approach to re-research and appraise the above stated hypothesis. This is a qualitative and descriptive research and secondary data is used to carry out this project. The proposal is built upon the selected works of Dr. S. Qalbi-i-Abid (1999), Abdul Hamid (1967), V.P Menon (1957), Ayesha Jalal (1994), Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan (1969), B.R. Nanda (2010), Jamil Uddin Ahmad (1964) and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (1978). This research will contrast and develop their work to furnish a synthesized politico-cultural approach to understand the conceptual jargon.

Problem Statement

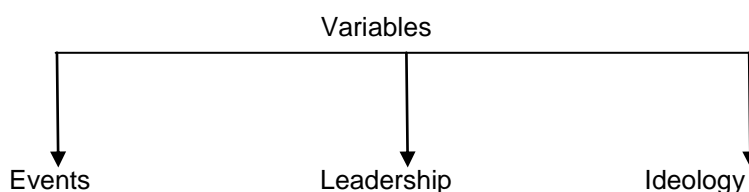
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Time Period and Research Variables

1935 to 1947 is the time slot selected to evaluate the above stated questions. Based on these questions, the following three variables are selected to carry out this project;



Events

The Roundtable conferences (1930-1933) failed to achieve something concrete. However, upon the recommendations and suggestions made during these conferences, efforts were started to draft a constitution for British India. A constitution named the Government of India Act 1935 was launched and implemented in July 1935. This was comprised of two major parts. Part-I was about the federation structure

and part-II was about the provincial autonomy although limited one. Part-I never been implemented in British India. Ayesha Jalal (1994) says this Act was an attempt to introduce the Western Democratic model in India without compromising on the position of the British. The application of this Model on one side ruined the liberal pluralistic traditions of Indian politics. On the other hand all the western concepts like complete self-rule (Purna Sewraj), freedom or independence, elections and representations all went through new interpretations and conclusions in British India. Impressions like communalism, distinct ideologies, and alienation were echoed quite loudly in Hindustan on a regular basis.

The first important event that triggered dozens of other events was elections held in February, March 1937 and formulation of Congress Ministries being a winning party. According to Abdul Hamid (1967) Congress swept these elections because it was the only organized group in India. It was well reached among the masses and financially comfortable. The opposition parties were in bleak conditions in comparison to the Congress in all the terms, including their organizing abilities, financial positions and bonding with the masses. Mr. Jaswant Singh (2009) while describing the condition of Muslim League in 1935/36 shares that it was a party of upper stratum Muslims. This group wanted to serve the cause of general Muslim community as long as it is not affecting their positions in socio-political and economic realms. The party's annual sessions or other functions were organized in an elaborated manner. The big halls, amplified decorations and participation only through invitations kept it aloof from the ground realities. He quotes the example the party was hardly seen during Khilaphat Movement days (1914-1922). This opportunity could have been utilized to make it a mass party or pan-Muslim party in India. But Muslim League missed the boat. Therefore, it could be defined more as a leisure club, but not a political party, forget about national political party of Muslims in British India.

When the elections were in the air, according to Abdul Hamid (1967) 'Muslim League was dead than alive'. The Congress to the contrary was in a process of reaching out to the people to strengthen their vote bank by presenting their secular and nationalistic agenda. At the same time it was busy in networking with other political parties and groups, including Jamit-UL-Ulema-I-Hind, The Momin Conference, The Ahrara, the Muslim Unity Board, Muslim League, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan's Khudai Khidmatgar, and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar who was a Dalit leader. They knew Western styled democracy is nothing but counting the numbers. If they alone could not make it, they have to have allies to build a support structure. In order to materialize their success they were not leaving any stone unturned.

The Congress won elections not as it was anticipated, but more than their expectations. This was a turning point in the history. The next step was to form the government and run the state affairs as it normally happens in a democratic process. However, the Congress was in a bargaining mood with the British. Although the party had been agreed to contest elections under the Act of 1935 but now they were not willing to get along with it. The new agenda of the party was to curtail the powers of the Governors. The desire of power accumulation was hampering Congress to take the charge. Although the Muslim League could not emerge as a powerful rival but there was a fairly large group of Muslims who had won elections from other political platforms. The apprehension was that a powerful opposition may restrain congress to follow up its plans. If the conflict between the government and opposition remained unsolved the Governor might use special powers. Therefore, it was important to take preemptive measures and receive a guarantee that Governor must not use special powers and responsibilities in either case. (Jamil-uddin- Ahmad, 1968).

The leaders of Congress wanted to tailor the Act of 1935 according to their desires. For them the Act was an 'inadequate, anti-democratic and anti-national' constitution. (Abdul Hamid, 1967, see also Waheed-Uz-Zaman, 1985) The party wanted to make sure that Governor would not exercise his special powers and responsibilities during the tenure of Congress. Although the British authorities were upset on this cropped up situation but they wanted to accommodate the winning party. The British government was not willing to give an impression that they had failed to draft a constitution that is acceptable to all the political parties in British India. The secretary of India and the Governor General made regular assurance to the Congress that special powers would not be used against the popularly elected government. The Congress assumed power in July 1937 and served India until the end of 1939. The new objective of the ruling party was 'to wreck the constitution from within'. This was a different face of Congress. The victory was a point from where British and Congress started changing their positions.

Congress had adopted a different approach towards their pre-elections formal and informal allies. They collaborated with other parties in those provinces where they could not earn majority. However, the

provinces where they were in the majority they absolutely ignored other groups. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote in his biography, *India Wins Freedom* (1978) that rejecting the cooperation offer from Muslim League in UP was a mistake by Congress. Had they been accepted, Muslim League would have lost its identity. Jawaharlal's decision allowed this week, unorganized and loose group to revitalize itself as a political party. Mr. Jinnah made a practical and effective use of this situation. He motivated, mobilized and transformed the Muslims into one nation. The elections of 1936-37 influenced and stirred the variety of dynamics in British India Politics. It unveiled the desire of the majority to see India ruled by one political party and the potential of the minority to assert its position by uniting itself and keeping its identity.

The working of Congress ministries was a new chapter in the history of British India. Congress introduced *Band-e-Mataram* as an anthem in its government led provinces and kept insisting to make it a national song. This song was taken from a Bengali novel *Anand Mmutha* (*Abbey of Bliss*) written by a Bengali novelist Bunkim Chander Chatterji in 1882. The recitation of the song was made mandatory before starting the work of government/legislature. It was made compulsory in schools as well. The Muslims had resentment against this policy. The song was against the religious belief of the Muslims. For example the stanza four says, "Thou art Durga, Lady and Queen, with her hands that strike and her sword of sheen, Thou art Lakshmi lotus throne..." (<http://islamicvoice.com/September2006/Controversy/>). These words equate the country with goddess Durga and Lakshmi and insist that it should arise and save us. This is exactly opposite the concept of *Tuheed* (oneness of Allah) in Islam.

Muslim children were forced to follow the Hindu rituals in schools including worshipping Mr. Gandhi's portrait. They were asked to dress up in Hindu manner. Deliberately the music was played before the mosques during the prayer timings. The instances of victimization against the Muslims are on record. Dr. Abdul Hamid (1967) quotes in his book, *'Muslim Separatism in India'*, "Dr. Khare, the ex-premier of Central Province revealed in a press interview that his cabinet had vigorously opposed the confirmation as district officer of the only Muslim civilian in the province for no other reason than that he was a Muslim". Mohammad Amin Zubari writes in his book *'Siasiyat-i-Millia'* that during Congress regime Muslims were accused even for those crimes that they had never committed. Chief Justice Nagpur high court while giving a very outspoken judgment described the situation. The police, the magistracy, judiciary, ministers and Congress notables have collaborated and managing to send innocent persons to gallows for the only reason that they are Muslims.

The government failed to address the concerns and conflicts between the two main stream groups –Muslims and Hindus. Discriminating and oppressive policies made Congress rule unpopular among the minorities. The series of riots kept triggering and deteriorating the social profile of British India. Jalal (1994) writes that Congress proved incapable to aggregate and validates people's feeling. Its inability to represent the plural society and diverse culture worked as a siren call to the minorities in India. Rather the haughty attitude made people feel alienated and annihilated.

The Muslim League under Jinnah's leadership grew as an active political party and a true representative of Muslims. It formed a committee, under the chairmanship of Raja Syed Muhammad Mahdi of Pirpur, to research and documents the workings of Congress. This document is known as "Pirpur Report". Other reports concerning Muslim grievances in Congress ran provinces were A. K. Fazlul Haque's "Muslim sufferings under Congress rule", and "The Shareef Report". All these reports have revealed the level of atrocities Congress government and its allies had put against the Muslims of British India. The circumstances had made the Muslim community conscious about their future. The question was can they survive if Western styled democracy imposed on them and the government is based on injustice and prejudice.

Another important event was the deep involvement of British government in WW-II. Although Muslim League did not come out openly in support of the government's war efforts, but it did not also oppose it: The Muslim Ministries of Bengal and Punjab, in fact, announced an unconditional support. However, the Congress wanted to settle the term and conditions before offering any support to the government. The Viceroy Linlithgow suspected that Congress wants to take advantage of British difficulties. Dr. Syed Qalb-i-Abid has quoted Ram Gopal's statement that Quaid-i-Azam disapproved to exploit the British government in this crisis situation. He condemned Congress as well for attempting exploitative measures.

A striking incident took place in the middle of the November 1939 when Congress resigned. The objective was to pressurize the British government for independence of India. But what they could not foresee was that

they will lose their bargaining power. Linlithgow's attitude changed towards congress after this event. He did not need the support of parliamentary government to do something. This was direct rule of viceroy now. The British generally believed that Congress is against fascism and will probably take no move against them, but Congress had given a call for Civil Disobedience. The Congress resignation was a sign of a rift between the British and the Congress leadership.

The Congress's self ousting from power changed the political scenario. Now the obvious choice for the viceroy was the second leading party. This was important as well. Mr. Jaswant Singh (2009) narrates that the viceroy was familiar with the past. His hunch was that if he missed out the opportunity to divide these two majored political parties, Congress and Muslim League, they may get together again as they had done during 1857 and Khalaphat Movement (1919-1924). This could have added more worries for the Raj. Therefore, it was important to nip the evil in the bud. The clear inclination of the British government towards Muslim leadership influenced the balance of power at national level. Jinnah himself had admitted that Congress resignation had changed his position. He was now considered at par with Gandhi.

Lucy Chester writes in 'The Partition 1947- Drawing the Indo Pakistan Boundary.' Various historians and imperialists and nationalists are of the view that Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 played a decisive role in the future partition of British India. These reforms were an opportunity to increase the Indian participation in the political realm. The very idea of separate electorate introduced change in socio-political life of Indians. They found themselves in a new situation, the majority and minority. Politicians make the most of this situation. They played the religious cards without understanding the impact of these cards on the social fiber of British India. Bipsi Sidhwa, Shiv Kumar, Amrita Pretum and many more have discussed this aspect of partition in their works.

WW II was another decisive event that shaped the future history of the world. It launched and speeded up the process of decolonization. The countries who partook in the war either allies or axis all suffered a lot. Since the war was fought on the European continent and tolled millions of lives. It destroyed infrastructure and ruined businesses. Now the challenges before the participants were to rebuild, restart and restore infrastructure, business and hope. Meeting the targets required stronger commitment, more time, high energy and resource management. Therefore, the first priority was Britain and not the colonies that were already siphoned off and were emerging as haunting liabilities. David Pierce in his article "Decolonization and the collapse of the British Empire" writes that domestic ground realities did not let Britain with any choice except granting India freedom. (<http://www.studentpulse.com/articles/5/decolonization-and-the-collapse-of-the-british-empire>). Tony Judt delineate in his 'Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945 (2005) that the Japanese desire of building empire was another factor that drove England to revisit its imperialist policies. Japan already had invaded a British colony, Burma now Myanmar in Asia in 1943 and was aggressively knocking out Southeast Asian countries. Given this situation, keeping India as a British colony means inviting a new war. This was absolutely against the national interest of the Britain.

By considering the limitations of Britain, reviewing the international environment and sensing that India is no more a free ride, Lord Clement Attlee, The Prime Minister of Britain made a speech to the House of Commons in March 15, 1946 "India is today in a state of great tension and this is indeed a critical moment... It is a time emphatically for very definite and clear action... Let us all realize that whatever the difficulties, whatever the divisions may be, there is this underlying demand among all the Indian peoples... Is it any wonder that today she claims – as a nation of 400,000,000 (4 billion) people that has twice sent her sons to die for freedom – that she should herself have freedom to decide her own destiny? My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavors to help her to attain that freedom as speedily and fully as possible." This statement was a clear indication of the British mind. But, we must not forget that it was the only possible choice British could have made in the given situation. This was neither a curtesy to someone, nor a generosity of the colonial master, but an unbreakable obstruction to maintain the status quo.

Leadership

The leadership role is equally important to track the circumstances that led to the creation of Pakistan. Congress Ministries followed some unprecedented traits. Abdul Hamid (1967) while describing the Congress behavior in post election scenario maintained. Congress had initiated a process of collaboration with other groups and parties. But, this process was instigated only in the provinces where the party was unable to maintain majority. All those provinces where they had earned majority, they totally ignored everyone. Rather

claimed that these are undemocratic moves and Congress supports and believes in democracy. Therefore, ideologically they do not believe, they need to have someone in the cabinet that is not from their party. It is like as if the Labor party won elections in England and offer ministries to Conservative party or vice versa.

Congress leadership in the post election era was not willing to collaborate with the Muslim League. Partly because they feel this is against their secular stance. They have people from almost all the religions and sects as members in their party including Muslims. They represent everybody in India. But this was a wrong perception and inappropriate position of the Leadership. They were secular, and nationalist, even before elections. Yet they were doing networking and trying to have maximum groups and parties as their allies. Had they not been comprehended and acknowledged that British India is a plural society and deeply diverse, they had not launched any such campaign? This would have been sufficient to satisfy their ego that they are representing people from all walks of life and religions in British India. According to Jaswant Singh Congress used 'Mullahs and Green Flags' in bye-election. However, the post election scenario unwrapped a new package of Congress Leadership. The unexpectedly favorable results of the elections change the behavior of an avowedly nationalist party into an autocratic political organization. It was now not interested in collaborating with Muslim League or any other party but in absorbing them. Gandhi during an interview stated that 'there is only one party in India that can deliver good to the people and that is the Congress and that was the Congress. I will not accept any other party, except Congress and that is the Congress and that was the Congress. I will not accept any other party, except Congress.'

William Roger Louis in 'More Adventure with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture in Britain' (1998) delineates the behaviors of political leadership after 1937 elections. Roger Louis presents the statement of Mr. Nehru 'there are only two forces in India today, British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism as represented by Congress. The rest must line up, and those who are not with are against us'. Mr. Jinnah in response to this statement of Mr. Nehru said, there is a third party 'Muslims'.

In United Province Congress outrightly rejected the cooperation with Muslims and Muslim League in the legislature. Muslim League felt the alienation and powerlessness despite being the part of the House. Many questions arose during this period. What is the future of Muslims who are not the part of Congress? If the Congress won majority with the support of Hindus what is the future of the Muslim community? They may not be able to get elected in the first stage. What even if they got elected? What role they can play in the legislature? Sitting in opposition without being effective is of what use in the long run? Congress will ally them only when they need numbers. What even if they are the member of the Hindu majority cabinet in Congress government? Still, they will be in the minority? Will they be ever in parity or majority with this Western style of democracy?

Not including the Muslim League or Muslims in the decision making process was an imprudent move of the Congress leadership. This deepened the communal identities in India. Muslims become conscious as a separate community without any political prospects. This was parting the ways and a step towards independent Pakistan. V.P. Menon wrote in his *Transfer of Power in India* (1957) that Congress's decision to make homogenous ministries made the Muslims of India conscious and sensitive about their future in India.

The intolerant behavior of leadership weakened the chances of collaboration. The lack of confidence, insecurities and impatient manners alienated the followers. Things and situations change. The change always brings challenges. Challenges are both the problems and opportunities. They are tests of leadership qualities. How a leader is accomplishing and exploring those challenges and opportunities determines the graph of success. The Congress being a largest and experienced party could have used this opportunity to promote a plural culture and accommodate the concerns of other political parties.

The Muslims had been disenchanted with the Congress party and Congress Leadership. The Muslim League leadership played the situation well. Mohammad Ali Jinnah learned the practical aspect of politics. He and his Muslim League had participated in elections as idealist group and now they were exposed to the appalling realities. This was an opportunity for them to revisit their strategy and fixed the problems that barred their success and the possible toll they may have to pay if they could not wake up now.

Jinnah not only proved himself a sole spokesman, but also a sole savior of the Muslims in British India. B. R. Nanda (2010) quotes the letter of Viceroy Lord Linlithgow that he sent to Zetland the secretary of state for India about his meeting with Jinnah. The Viceroy, Linlithgow said, 'I do not frankly see any deep confidence in him, and I suspect that he is one of those political leaders who can play a personal hand, but no other, and

whose permanent control on the allegiance of their followers is frequently open to question'. This was 1937 but just a few more years proved that viceroy's judgment was shallow. Things had gone through a tremendous change. Jinnah emerged as the central figure of Muslims at the national level soon.

The history proves that in March 1940; the time of Pakistan Resolution Jinnah had an unquestioned support of almost all prominent leaders of Muslim of India. The resolution was a demand for a separate homeland for the Muslim of British India. This was a clear message that Muslims had no trust in Congress and its government. Sikandar Hayat Khan, Premier of Punjab and Fazl-ul-Haq Premier of Bengal who never were in allegiance with Jinnah supported Jinnah unconditionally. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq was the one who presented this Pakistan Resolution. This was an unexpected move for Viceroy Lord Linlithgow. His reading about Mohammad Ali Jinnah proved erroneous.

This was the time when Congress tried to seek better relations with Muslim League. The same Congress that believed that Muslim league follows medieval concepts and fear complexes. It had failed to realize that nation state was now an outdated approach and the real issues are economic in nature. Shashi Tharoor, (2003) narrates an incident in his book. He says once Nehru wrote a letter to his old friend Khaliqzaman and asked 'why should I accept it (The Muslim League) as the representatives of Muslims when I know it represents only the handful of Muslims at the top who deliberately seeks refuge in the name of religion to avoid discussing mass problems'. However, now the Congress leadership was analyzing that Jinnah had become a consensus leader of the Muslims. They were willing to explore some options to devise a common strategy to avoid any crisis. However, the situation had become so complex. The communal differences had sharpened. The Congress had lost its legitimacy and popularity among the majority of Muslims especially after Congress ministries experiences.

B.R. Nanda writes in Road to Pakistan: The life and Times of Muhammad Ali Jinnah 'Unlike the Viceroy and the Congress leadership, Jinnah did not seem to be worried about the threat posed by the aggressive totalitarian powers to democratic nations in Europe and even in India which was a part of the British Empire. Jinnah's speeches and writings in the months immediately preceding the war did not betray any concern at the worsening of the international situation. His eyes were focused on Indian Politics; his one point program was to checkmate the Congress; it was as if the real threat to India and the world did not emanate from Hitler, Mussolini and other fascists but from Gandhi, Nehru and the Congress. Jinnah was perhaps the only important political leader in India who welcomed the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. As he recalled later (in 1945): "There was going to be a deal between Mr. Gandhi and Linlithgow. Providence helped us. The war which nobody welcomes proved to be a blessing in disguise.'

Lord Louis Mountbatten was another important person who contributed in the partition process. He was according to H.V. Hodson was 'born and bred out-giving, energetic, bold friendly and open.' He was the last Viceroy of British India and a successor of Lord Wavel. Lousy Chester narrates that Mountbatten joined in February 1947. He was entrusted with the task of settling Indian issues. However, he very quickly sensed that rapprochement between the leading parties of India was simply not possible. Although he was given a time frame of June 1948 but he hastened the process and finished the decolonization of India by August 15, 1947.

Hodson says in 'Earl Mountbatten's Roll in The Partition of India', Mountbatten was into the spiral of difficult circumstances. British India was blanketed with communal riots, the leading political parties were extremely skeptical about each other, the police and civil servants were losing their control on public. The army was again divided into communal factions. Congress was adamant that it is the only political party of India and representing all sorts of groups in India. The British government should hand over the powers to Congress and grant India freedom from imperialist claws. However, the Muslim League was not ready to accept any solution except the division of British India into two separate states. Britain on the other hand was craving to withdraw from their onerous Indian responsibilities as promptly as possible.

A boundary commission was formulated and Radcliffe was appointed the Chair of this commission. Radcliffe reached India on July 8, 1947 and was told that the process of partition has to be finished by August 15, 1947. He protested, but the top leadership, including Mountbatten, Nehru and Jinnah all remained firm in their decision. So almost all these top leaders were in favor of dividing British India and made some conscious and unconscious efforts to accelerate the division of India.

Ideology

The Muslim League and Congress had many similarities. Both the political parties were headed by lawyers and had Muslims in their ranks. They had the same agenda for several years to set India free from British colonial rule. They were together in Lakhnow pact (1916), Khalaphat movement (1919-1922), Sewdeshi movement and Civil Disobedience. However, gradually they emerged as two distinctive forces. The Western style political system culminated and sharpened their dissimilarities. They surfaced with different conceptualization and conclusions on the same issues, for example, freedom of India, self-rule, representation and democracy. The Congress believed, freedom of India is freedom from the British imperialism. Nevertheless, it wanted to continue with British political system in independent India. This system had contrived communalism in India and caused dissatisfaction among the majority of Indians. The objective of longing for this Western styled democracy was to keep in power in the new set up. The Congress is being predominantly a Hindu political party and India is a home of Hindu majority could guarantee an unquestioned power in future India.

Conversely, The Muslim League had a different connotation for these concepts. The Muslim League's leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah was not agreed with these statements of Congress. He was of the view that freedom is not only freedom from British but also freedom of the exploited majority of British India. Purna Swaraj or complete self-rule does not mean the Congress rule.

The Indian Muslims were a nation, entitled to exercise their right of self determination and to establish a homeland for them where they could work out their destiny according to their own ideas of Islamic culture and polity. Allama Muhammad Iqbal in 1930 favored the creation of a Muslim India within India. Others such as Rehmat Ali in 1933 advocated the total separation of Muslim India from the rest of India and the creation of new Muslim state (Pakistan). The results of the 1937 elections came as great shock and surprise to the communally minded Muslims. They showed that Muslims are weak, divided and disorganized.

Differences between the two communities were there otherwise Congress might have not devised a strategy to take Ulemas with them or negotiate with Muslim League before elections. Molana Azad might have not reached to a prominent position in Congress and Congress might have not to be worried to launch a program to reach door to door to convince and stimulate Muslim voters to support Congress. They initiated this program after elections when they realized that Muslim voters had rejected Muslim candidates with Congress tickets. All these moves on the part of Congress were a clear message that communal diversity was there in British India. Congress might be claiming to represent all but that was not a fact. At that time it did not appear to be formidable; but as events were to show ten years later, it was the beginning of the end of United India

Dr. S. Qalb-i-Abid (1999) has very delicately elaborated the differences of the two nations in India. He has quoted Sardar Patel, who in a letter to friend accepts that Muslim do not want to say their prayers behind Azad. I suspect he can secure Muslim votes to be elected as the member of the legislature. This delineate that Muslims of India had got conscious about their identity and were not willing to support someone who is damaging the identity and cause of the Muslim community.

Conclusion

Hindus and Muslims were different and are different from each other. But to be different is not a crime. The whole nature is a beautiful contrast of differences. This is in fact the plurality that is responsible for the symmetry and survival of the Universe. These two communities remained unchanged under Sultanates and Mughals. Even Jalal ud Din Akkbar's Din-e-Elahi policy could not transform them into one nation.

Through centuries the people of India had evolved a culture of pluralism. The question is what had happened from 1857 to 1947 that both the nations reached to a conclusion, they cannot live together anymore? The answer is 'imperialism'. Imperialism was the real disease that siphoning off the wealth, resources and pluralistic culture of India. The beauty of its diversity was plundered and demoralized. Imperialism had weakened the people in the name of contrived democracy, education and religion. The leaders proved a tool to materialize the big plan of imperialist powers.

India was moved from a participatory system of its own to majoritarian rule of colonial master. This destroyed the whole profile that was woven in hundreds of years. It built the mistrust and agony among the people against each other. The team of native leaders both periodic and permanent (political and civil) was trained

as the successors of colonial masters. They could not revive the culture of plurality and trust among the people of India ever again. Had these leaders behaved maturely and accepted the plurality of India the story of 1936/37 elections and its impact would have been much different. They could not figure out that what they are practicing is 'majority rule' and not a 'participatory democracy'.

In fact these were not the events, leadership and ideology that shaped the future history of India. This was the imperialism that shaped the leaders' mind and working style. This was imperialism that controlled the events and shaped a new ideology. All these factors were intertwined and contributed towards hatred and mistrust among the sons of the soil. In fact the people and leaders of India were shouldering the 'white man's burden' in their limited capacities.

The system that was tried to introduce in British India was a system of exploitation. This system fanned differences of two groups and managed to drift them towards opposite directions. Their cultural, linguistic dissimilarities were stirred up. The Western system's concepts emerged with totally different meanings in British India, like freedom, self-rule, representation, and justice had different meaning before Hindus and Muslims.

All these factors left the two communities with no choice except to separate from each other. Separation was the only possible solution in the given environments. The pressure of marginality and absorption played as a fear factor among the Muslims. Non pluralistic behavior of Congress leadership during Congress Ministries was sufficient to anticipate the future of Muslim's in India. But the story does not end here. The post independence scenario was the continuity of pre-independence imperialistic arrangements.

All those countries that emerged from the ashes of subcontinent believe, they have inherited democracy from their ex-colonial masters. But unfortunately they could not understand that democracy was a prohibited fruit for them. They never practiced it ever in British India. What they have inherited is mistrust and hatred for each other. They have inherited oblivious of their people. These countries are housing the majority of poor of the world but they are spending millions on weapons. The education, health, housing and capacity building of their people are their least priorities. It is their mistrust on each other that has made them handicapped of positive and optimist thinking. Their education systems are still managing to disenchant their people from their countries. The people and governments of these countries have found further reasons to divide themselves. This could be ethnicity, language, religion, race sectarian or gender divide. They are still in a smokescreen where they cannot see, Scotland, and Wales despite all their peculiar characteristics and distinct identities are the part of Britain. Europe since WW-II has never entered into a war against each other. Americans have transformed themselves from heterogeneity to homogeneity. Democracy is integrating these nations and widening the choice of their people. Than what is wrong with our system or behavior? Why it is the other way round in our countries? Is it the real independence or we have entered form formal to informal colonization and imperialism.

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