



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

**BOSCO MODEL UNITED NATIONS
2018**



**ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
STUDY GUIDE**



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

AGENDA

FORMATION OF A SEPARATE
MUSLIM NATION WHILE
ATTAINING INDEPENDENCE FROM
THE BRITISH RAJ



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

CHAIRPERSON'S ADDRESS

Greetings delegates!

Over the years on the Kolkata Model United Nations circuit, we've seen a variety of committees discussing Independence- all from an Indian perspective. We at Bosco Model United Nations 2018 present to you the All India Muslim League of 1945 to help you fill in the shoes of the politicians and diplomats across the border. The Muslim League was created as a dream by a group of elite Indian Muslims in 1906, with little idea of the disruptive force it would become 4 decades down the line. The League must now occupy the vacuum left by the once-mighty British, but there are Satyagrahi detractors out there to beat us to the task.

The time has come for the Muslim League to embrace its opportunity to strike at the majority's nerve centre. Freedom cannot be achieved or kept by spinning of Charkhas. The margin for error is negligible, the mistakes of 1937 must not be repeated. A single misplaced mandate, a single logical failure can ensure the loss of our birthright of Pakistan and result in the failure of the very reason the League was created.

A two State India is no longer a mere demand - it is a reality, a mandatory necessity, that is to be fought for by the Muslims of India.

Peace, prayers, petitions have had their time. Victory has no other alternate option - it must be made a reality, and this reality will be realised only through the effectiveness of this committee.

We'd take this opportunity to introduce the Executive Board of the All India Muslim League. Your Chairperson, Krishnam Dhoot, is a twelfth grade Commerce student who also happens to be the President of the MUN and Debate Group of Don Bosco School, Park Circus. He has keen interest in present day Indian politics and sees himself as the Finance Minister of the nation in the future. Krishnam aspires to pursue



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

Economics from SRCC, one of the elitest college of India. Having unconditional love for Zlatan Ibrahimovic his loyalty towards a particular football club changes as tides in a river. Krishnam is always found studying, irrespective of where he is, working hard to make it to his dream university (DU), SRCC.

Your Vice-Chairperson, Chirag Bothra, is also a twelfth grade Commerce student who loves memes (especially political) from the bottom of his heart, and the very fact that he is able to use Spanish quotes everywhere shows his deep admiration for Narcos in general and Escobar in particular. He has keen interest in world politics and aspires to pursue Economics in future. This "gem" of a person excels when it comes to comebacks and going against the political and the media scenario of the country. Chirag is mostly found partying with his best friends or participating in business events around the city.

Your Director, Keshav Todi, is an eleventh grade Commerce student who has keen interest in Accounts and aspires to be India's wealthiest business tycoon. He never forgets to wear his luck wherever he goes (probably one of the reasons why he excels in any debate he goes to). He has unconditional love for capitalism, which is clearly visible in his speeches and conversations. He is approachable and one of the biggest 'asset' to this committee.

Your Rapporteur, Debayan Chakraborty, is not very new to the MUN Circuit. At a young age he has been able to achieve what many of his seniors have tried to over the years. He is currently in Class 10 and aspires to pursue medical science. Being a very dedicated and hard-working person, he also happens to be one of the most well researched members of the Executive Board.

Regards,

Krishnam Dhoot,

President, All India Muslim League.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

Introduction to the committee and the agenda (background for the All India Muslim League) –

".... The problem in India is not of an inter communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such" –

Muhammad Ali Jinnah (historic sitting of the All India Muslim League, 1940)

The leadership of the congress in the last decade (1930 -1940) has been responsible for alienating the Muslims of India. This was consistently shown and established by the fact that the congress rule in six provinces of India in word , action or political deeds showed that the Muslims cannot expect any show of justice or fair-play at their hands. The constitutional maladies with which India suffered at that point of time may be defined as symptoms of a disease inherit from party politics. Without diagnosing the disease understanding of the symptoms are not possible. The diagnosis stands as follows –

"The British are using India as a political play ground, the Congress despite of all its deeds and statements remains as a de-facto slave of the British. Through analysis it has been understood that the Muslims of India cannot be happy under a congress rule despite of its secular mandate and for its dreams to be achieved the league needs to revert to Sir Syed's views on a two-state policy – A Hindu , A Muslim".

The Muslim League stands a political body in 1945 that is quite looked upon by favour by the British, and to curb the growing power of the Congress and the Hindutva ideology, the two state ideology is not a standard requirement, it is the necessity, the need of the hour. For the Muslim League to emerge successful, it needs to judiciously use the relations with the British as well as the Congress.

At the 1937 provincial elections, the Muslim league was at its best performance and also to gain the support of the British in fulfilling their demands, the Muslim League supported Governor General Linlithgow's act of declaration of war on behalf of India in the Second World War.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

Thus the committee must aim at creating provisions from the British for their territorial integrity comprising the areas of Baluchistan, Sind, NWFP, and Kashmir to prevent the feeling of Hindu domination and fear arising in the Islamists. Convincing the British into an anti congress motive and supportive towards the league would be the key.

The All India Muslim League arose as a political organisation from the grounds of the literary movements carried out by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan at the Aligarh Muslim University. The main objective of the AIML was to create a separate Muslim majority independent or sub-independent (under the British rule) Islamic electorate and to publicise the ideals and the beliefs that were to be placed forth by the Muslims of Undivided India. Its original and primitive goal was to define and advance the Indian Muslims Civic rights along with the protection of the upper and the middle class Islamic gentry.

A major reformation after the 1930s helped to re-establish the goal of the party as a “two separate nation theory” – based on the lines of the belief of the famous Muslim philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal. The main political viewpoint continued to be the fact of uniting the four province of North Western India supported by the rationale of a two state theory. The Muslim League also silently established itself on the lines of an anti-Congress doctrine. The diplomatic struggle of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the political methods adopted by the leaders played a major role in the world war days in the 1940s and was a driving force behind the partition of India plan. After the 1945 elections, the Muslim League despite winning a vast array of seats was also still unsuccessful in establishing its political control in all Muslim dominated areas.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

THE LAHORE RESOLUTION (1940)

The Lahore resolution was a resolution that was and still continues to be one of the most under-rated endeavours but considering the fact that it was the first and the basis of the political bedrock for a two nation theory, it deserves better. The Lahore resolution was prepared as a mandate by twenty-five members of the working committee of the Muslim League, from the 22nd to 24th March, 1940. This was the first resolution to ask for a greater Muslim autonomy within British India; however the Lahore resolution was widely interpreted as a call for an autonomous Muslim state of Pakistan.

The venue of the session was Minto Park near Badshahi Masjid and Lahore Fort. According to a rough estimate around 100,000 attended the public meeting. In the beginning of the session, the welcome address was presented by the Nawab of Mamdot. This was followed by the historical speech of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The Quaid in his two hours presidential address in English narrated the events that took place in the past few months and concluded,

"Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together, and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations that are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state."

He further claimed, "Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nationhood. We wish our people to develop to the fullest spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people”.

During his speech the Quaid quoted the letter written by Lala Lajpat Rai in 1924 to C.R. Das in which he clearly mentioned that the Hindus and the Muslims were two separate and distinct nations which could never be merged into a single nation. When Malik Barkat Ali claimed that Lala Lajpat Rai was a “**Nationalist Hindu leader**”, Quaid responded, “**No Hindu can be a nationalist. Every Hindu is a Hindu first and last.**”

On March 23, A.K. Fazul Haq, the Chief Minister of Bengal, moved the historical Lahore Resolution. The Resolution consisted of five paragraphs and each paragraph was only one sentence long. Although clumsily worded, it delivered a clear message. The resolution declared:

“While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty’s Government is reassuring in so far as it declares 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 will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguard shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary"

Besides many others, the Resolution was seconded by Chaudhary Khaliqz zam from UP, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from Punjab, Sardar Aurangzeb from the N.W.F.P, Sir Abdullah Haroon from Sindh, and Qazi Muhammad Esa from Baluchistan. Those who seconded the resolution, in their speeches declared the occasion as a historic one. The Resolution was eventually passed on the last day of the moot, i.e. March 24.

The name **Pakistan** was not used in the resolution and the official name of the resolution was Lahore Resolution. It was the Hindu newspapers including Partap, Bande Matram, Milap, Tribune etc., who ironically coined the name Pakistan Resolution. However, the idea was appreciated by the Muslim masses and the Resolution is more known as Pakistan Resolution. A Resolution passed at the 1941 Madras session of



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

the League stated, **“Everyone should clearly understand that we are striving for one independent and sovereign Muslim State.”** In all the speeches that Quaid delivered, he also used the word **“an independent homeland”** or **“an independent Muslim state”**.

The Hindu reaction was, of course, quick, bitter and malicious. They called the “Pakistan” demand **“anti-national.”** They characterized it as **“vivisection; above all, they denounced it as imperialist – inspired to obstruct India’s march to freedom.”** In denouncing the demand outright, they, however, missed the central fact of the Indian political situation; the astonishingly tremendous response of the Pakistan demand had elicited from the Muslim masses. They also failed to take cognizance of the fact that a hundred million Muslims were now supremely conscious of their distinct nationhood and were prepared to stake everything to actualize their self-perceived destiny – the creation of an independent Muslim state in the sub-continent.

The British were equally hostile to the Muslim demand for at least two important reasons. First, they had long considered themselves as the architects of the unity of India and of an Indian nation. Second, they had long regarded the super-imposed unity under tax Britannica as their greatest achievement and lasting contribution in history. And the Pakistan demand threatened to undo these presumed achievements on which the British had long prided. However, despite the Hindu denunciation and the British alarm, the course of Muslim, indeed Indian, politics was from now on firmly set towards Pakistan.

The All India Muslim League Resolution of March 1940, commonly known as the Pakistan Resolution, is undoubtedly the most important event that changed the course of Indian history and left deep marks on the world history. With the passage of this Resolution, the Muslims of the sub-continent changed their demand from “Separate Electorates” to a “Separate State.” This Resolution rejected the idea of a United India and the creation of an independent Muslim state was set as their ultimate goal. It gave new energy and courage to the Muslims of the region who gathered around Quaid-i-Azam from the platform of the Muslim League to struggle for their freedom. The dynamic leadership of



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

the Quaid and the commitment and devotion of the followers made it possible for them to achieve an independent state within seven years of their struggle, and that too when the odds were against them.

AUGUST OFFER (1940)

In order to win over the sympathies of the Indian masses and political parties during the war, His Majesty's Government issued a White Paper on August 8, 1940. The document, which later on is known as the August Offer in history books, promised for the establishment of an independent Indian Constituent Assembly with completely indigenous representation and a power to frame the future constitution of the country. The offer also provided the option for the extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Simultaneously, the August Offer talked about the rights of minorities, especially Muslims as it declared that the majority community will not be given the veto power and full weight would be given to the views of minorities in making of the Constitution. However, the document made it clear that all the promises will be fulfilled after the conclusion of the war and that too if all the communities and political parties would help the British in their war efforts.

In order to discuss the August Offer, Quaid-i-Azam held meetings with the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, on August 12 and 14. This was followed by the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee on September 1 and 2. The Committee appreciated the clauses of the offer in which the British agreed to accept that no future constitution will be recognized by the Government without the approval and consent of the minority communities. However, the committee showed its reservations on issues like the composition of the Executive Council and the vagueness of the War Advisory Council. The working Committee also made it clear that no formula was accepted to the party which was against the spirit of the Lahore Resolution in which clearly declared that the Muslims of India were a nation by themselves and they alone were the final judges and arbiters of their own future destiny. The Indian National Congress also opposed the offer and their president, Abul Kalam Azad, even refused to discuss the formula with the Viceroy.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

CRIPPS MISSION (1942)

The British were alarmed at the successive victories of Japan during 1940s. When Burma was turned into a battle field and the war reached the Indian borders, the British started feeling more concerned about the future of India. Situation in the country was further complicated as the Congress wanted to take advantage of the situation by accelerating their efforts in their struggle for independence. Moreover the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League were widening fast and visibly there was no chance to bring both the parties on a common agenda. In these circumstances, the British Government sent a mission to India in 1942 under Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, in order to achieve Hindu-Muslim consensus on some constitutional arrangement and to convince the Indians to postpone their struggle till the end of the Second World War. Sir Stafford Cripps was from the left wing of the British Labour Party, a form traditionally soft to Indian self rule respecting the prospects for an independent India. He was also a member of the war cabinet of Winston Churchill and had long been responsible for the Indian independence bloc.

Cripps arrived in Delhi on March 22, 1942 and had series of meetings with the leading Indian politicians including Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, Quaid-i-Azam, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, A. K. Fazlul Haq, Dr. Ambedkar, V.D. Savarkar and Tej Bhadur Sappru etc. In the meetings Cripps tried to plead his case before these political leaders and tried to convince them to accept his following proposals:

1. During the course of the war, the British would retain their hold on India. Once the war finished, India would be granted dominion status with complete external and internal autonomy. It would however, be associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown.
2. At the end of the war, a Constituent Assembly would be set up with the power to frame the future constitution of India. The members of the assembly were to be elected on the basis of proportional representation by the provincial assemblies. Princely



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

States would also be given representation in the Constituent Assembly.

3. The provinces not agreeing to the new constitution would have the right to keep itself out of the proposed Union. Such provinces would also be entitled to create their own separate Union. The British government would also invite them to join the commonwealth.
4. During the war an interim government comprising of different parties of India would be constituted. However, defence and external affairs would be the sole responsibility of the viceroy

Quaid-i-Azam considered these proposals as “unsatisfactory” and was of the view that the acceptance of the Cripps proposals would **“take the Muslims to the gallows.”** He said that the proposals have **“aroused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions, especially with reference to Pakistan Scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India. We will, therefore, endeavour that the principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the Document should be conceded in unequivocal terms.”** The Quaid, however, was happy to know that in the Cripps proposals, at least the British Government had agreed in principle to the Muslim League’s demand of the partition of India. Yet, Quaid-i-Azam wanted the British Government and Cripps to thoroughly amend the proposals to make them acceptable for the Muslim League.

Actually Quaid-i-Azam and other Muslim League leaders were convinced that Cripps was a traditional supporter of Congress and thus could not present an objective solution to the problem. On the arrival of Cripps, Quaid-i-Azam made it clear that he was a friend of Congress and would only support the Congress’ interests. Congress leaders themselves accepted that Cripps was their man. On his first visit to India, Cripps in fact attended the meetings of the Congress Working Committee. He also visited Gandhi and was so much impressed by him that he wore white khadi suit. He openly ridiculed the Muslim League’s demand for Pakistan when he said, **“we cannot deny 25 crore Hindus desire of United India only because 9 crore Muslims oppose it.”** In fact the proposals Cripps presented were mainly consisted of the ideas which were discussed in a meeting between Nehru and Cripps in 1938.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

The mission was a constructive negotiating pathway between the nationalistic congress leaders speaking on behalf of the Hindu population of India and Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League speaking on behalf of the Muslim population in India .The Cripps mission was predominantly framed from a British perspective, with the sole goal of making the Indians loyal to the British war efforts in return of Election Provisions and Dominion Status that is establishment as a new nation.Sir Cripps discussed the policies which he had framed with the Indian Leaders and also published them .successively the Indian national congress had moved on into the quit India movement , thus refusing to cooperate with the war efforts of the British and therefore during the period of the war almost the entire congress leadership was behind the bars.

The mission failed because of 3 primary reasons:

1. Gandhi's refusal to the proposal almost withdrew congress support entirely from the Cripps mission and the Muslim league was against it from the very beginning.
2. The original terms of the treaty were changed by sir Stafford Cripps and in reality no provisions were made for a change in political power head.
3. The secretary of the state for India and the viceroy secretly tried to cancel and sabotage the mission.

GANDHI – JINNAH TALKS (1944)

The passing of the Resolution on 23rd March by the All India Muslim League at its Lahore session created a serious situation for the Congress leadership. Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi wrote in Harijan on 6th April 1940, **"I admit that the step taken by the Muslim League at Lahore creates a baffling situation...the Two Nations theory is an untruth. The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are the**



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation, as soon as they converted". C. Rajagopalachari, a liberal congress leader, who had to resign from the Congress because of his views, however, realised the necessity for Hindu-Muslim reconciliation as a pre-requisite for the attainment of independence. On 23rd April 1942, Rajagopalachari addressed a small gathering of his old Congress supporters in the Madras legislature and had a resolution passed for submission to the All India Congress committee, recommending the acceptance of partition in principle.

On 2nd May 1942, he mooted his proposal on Pakistan in the AICC at Allahabad, which stated, "**...it has become necessary to choose the lesser evil and acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation.**" The proposal was rejected by 120 to 15 votes. Rajaji did not give up hope, but kept on negotiating with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad All Jinnah during April 1944, when Gandhi and other Congress leaders were in jail. The correspondence was released to the press on 9th July 1944, and contained what came to be known as the "Rajaji Formula". It was intended to form the basis of the talks between Jinnah and Gandhi for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. Rajaji declared that he had already obtained Gandhi's approval for the formula.

Jinnah placed the formula before the Working Committee of the Muslim League on 30th July 1944, but personally considered it unsatisfactory. He told the committee that Mr. Gandhi is offering a "**shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan.**" Though, in his private capacity Jinnah expressed his pleasure at Gandhi's acceptance at least of "the principle of Pakistan."

Meanwhile Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, leader of the Khaksar Movement also addressed letters to Jinnah and Gandhi urging them to meet to discuss the Hindu-Muslim problem. Gandhi took the initiative and wrote to Jinnah, "**Let us meet whenever you wish, do not disappoint me.**" The Muslim League Council meeting at Lahore invested Jinnah with full powers to negotiate with Gandhi on its behalf Jinnah accepted the offer and suggested a meeting between the two and offering his residence at Bombay as venue for discussion.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

It is worthwhile noting that while Jinnah had full powers to negotiate on behalf of the Muslim League, Gandhi was undertaking this enterprise on his own behalf without the official sanction of the Congress. Many members of the Congress expressed disapproval at Gandhi's move. The Mahasabha young men shouted anti-Pakistan slogans at Gandhi's prayer meeting at Panchgani. The meeting took place between the two leaders at Bombay from 9th September to 27th September. They met almost daily, and sometimes even twice in a day. On 27th September, Jinnah announced the termination of talks after the failure of the two leaders to reach an agreement saying, "**We trust that this is not the final end of our effort.**" While Gandhi commented, "**the breakdown is only so-called. It is an adjournment sine die.**"

The discussion as well as the correspondence can be divided into three distinct stages. The first stage when Jinnah asked Gandhi for clarification of various points in the Rajaji formula. The second stage started when Gandhi, on account of obvious difficulties, shunted the Rajaji formula, and attempted to apply his mind to the Lahore Resolution. Eventually Gandhi made some new proposals and after this the final breakdown took place.

An analysis of the correspondence clearly shows that the talk failed because Gandhi simply refused to accept the Lahore Resolution as interpreted by Jinnah. He did not believe in the two nation theory which was the fundamental basis of the Muslims' demand, and totally rejected the Muslims right of self-determination. On 4th October Jinnah in a press conference at Bombay said, "**In one breath Gandhi agrees to the principle of division and in the next he makes proposals which go to destroy the very foundation on which the division is claimed by Muslim India.**"

On one hand Gandhi wanted a League-Congress agreement, and on the other denied the League's representative character and authority to speak on behalf of the Muslims of India. In his letter of 25th September 1944, Jinnah summed up Gandhi's attitude to the Lahore Resolution, thus "**You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of Lahore Resolution: 1) You did not accept that the Muslims of India are a nation. 2) You do not accept that the Muslims have an**



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

inherent right of self-determination. 3) You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right. 4) You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely, Sindh, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier provinces, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam subject to territorial adjustments."

Gandhi wanted that first the people of India should oust the British with their joint action. When India was free then by mutual settlement and agreement two separate states could be created. Jinnah was not prepared to trust the words of Gandhi or the Congress. He said separation must come first and then matters of common interest between the two states would be settled by a treaty.

The majority of the Hindus, especially the Mahasabhaits received the news of the breakdown of these talks with utmost relief and joy, for they were anxious lest their leader should commit him to the 'vivisection of Mother India'. It was the Muslims who were most bitterly disappointed when the talks failed.

Matlubul Hasan Saiyid has stated, "Gandhi's circuitous argumentation, shifting from Rajagopalacharia's formula to Lahore Resolution of the League and then back again and then over again to League Resolution, punctuating the discussions by his own suggestions and those of others whom he did not claim to represent, had made the breakdown of the these talks inevitable."

Jinnah had called this breakdown unfortunate. Dr. Tara Chand gives the following reason for the break down, 'A perusal of the letters exchanged shows that the two parties came very near to one another. What prevented them from concluding a settlement was not the apparent differences between their standpoints, but the distrust and fear which, lay behind the spoken and written word.'

Gandhi's apparent purpose in holding these talks seemed to be to discredit the Muslim League and to appear before the Muslims as a friend doing all he could to concede to their demands, while in fact he was merely weaving a deceptive web of words to fool the public and



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

to impose upon the Lahore Resolution a meaning quite different to what was intended by the framers of the resolution.- The failure of these talks, on the other hand, enhanced the prestige of the Quaid and he was able to consolidate his position as the leader of the Indian Muslims.

Complete Overview on the Congress – Muslim League Relations

The Indian National Congress was already a completely developed organisation in the 1906 when the Muslim League was formed by a group of Muslim individuals in Dacca. The Muslim League was built on a completely separate bedrock of thought. They believed in the Aligarh thought system, mainly propagating a three-way process promoting faith towards the British (unlimited in faith but limited in character). The original objective and the mission that the Muslim League was entrusted with was direct and complete opposition to the beliefs of the Congress. At that point of time, the Morley–Minto reforms were under continuous construction and the basic and primary demand which was placed by the Muslim League was that it wanted a separate and independent electorate for the Muslims to place forth their demands and requirements exclusively with consideration of the reservation. There was a continuous opposition by the Congress to this demand of the Muslim League and they continued with their demands of having a single unified electorate for entire India. This opposition continued in India till the Council Act of 1919. Hence, the principal demand of the Muslim League of a separate electorate was officially directed and enforced. This clearly indicated the fierceness of the battle that was to wage in the years to come.

The period following it saw increasing collaborations between the two bodies due to the continuation of the reforms of the Lucknow pact and decisions on home rule. Both were equally concerned about the disrespect that was caused to the Turkish rulers and the Khilafat Movement during the First World War, which was flooded with a series



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

of insignificant and small scaled conflicts between the Muslim League and the Congress. In compliances with the demands placed forth, Motilal Nehru called for the all parties meet in February 1928. There were multiple fights arising in either conference with Muhammad Ali Jinnah emerging as an eminent spokesperson for the cause of the Muslims. The congress and the Muslim league continued to engage in regular fights with each other especially on the demands of the proportional representation which was increased to one-third of the total representation. At this point of time, Gandhi wrote a secret letter to Muhammad Ali Jinnah stating that he wanted a one to one discussion on the Hindu-Muslim affairs and he wanted the Muslim league to rescind some of its demands. Jinnah's reply echoed the voices of Muslims all over the country:

"you are wrong if you think that the Muslims can be imposed upon". From 1938 onwards the demands of the Muslim league were becoming aggressive.

During the 1940's the rift between the congress and the Muslim league was complete as Muhammad Ali Jinnah had announced a formal partition of India. He announced that the problems in India were not inter communal in nature but instead were of an international religious nature and must be treated as such.

The Hindus were trying to create "Hindustan" in literal aspects and were attempting to force Hinduism upon the Muslims. Jinnah's popularity dwindled across the country with his only faithful supporters being from Muslim majority regions.

Thus one vital point to be kept in mind for the members of the Muslim League in the 1945 elections was that they needed to create considerable impact upon the Muslim minority areas along with the Muslim majority areas in order to prove to the British and the Congress that they are capable of self rule.

Since its inception in 1906, the relations between the All India Muslim League and the Indian National congress had undergone a series of phases in its relations. It was occasionally cooperative and mostly



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

hostile. This committee begins from a point where the two parties are completely divided by their intellectual and political ideas and frameworks. The INC openly condemned and criticized the declaration of war on behalf of India by Viceroy Linlithgow.

At the same point of time, the Muslim League realized that the only way to get into a respectable position in India and to have their demands fulfilled was to gain the support of the British. The Muslim League intentionally decided to remain silent on this matter. Angering the British in any matter would mean a serious blow to their future prospects and also could result in the complete destruction of their dreams. Therefore silently, the Muslim League utilized this effort to rise in the favour of the British and take the upper hand. Although the Muslim League was continuously having a growing influence on certain sectors, the appeal to the masses for the election was more for the congress.

The Muslim League was to be constructive in their election mandate and therefore, their votes needed to be influential in their 1945 elections. This is the last opportunity offered to the Muslim League. **It is to decide whether we live as a united country with two different backgrounds and faiths and create the ground for a future civil war or we live peacefully in a separate country –Pakistan?** To make itself influential the Muslim league needed to counter the Congress strategically and ensure a political stronghold not only in Muslim majority areas but also in Muslim minority areas.

WAVELL PLAN (1945)

In October 1943 the British Government decided to replace Lord Linlithgow with Lord Wavell as the Viceroy of India. Before assuming the charge, Wavell worked as the Chief of Indian army and thus had quite an understanding of the Indian situation. Right after assuming charge as Viceroy, Wavell's most important task was to present a formula for the solution of the Indian problem which was acceptable for both the



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

Congress and the Muslim League. After doing his basic homework, in May 1945 he visited London and discussed his suggestions with the British Government. The London talks resulted in the formulation of a definite plan of action that was officially made public simultaneously on June 14, 1945 by L.S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons and by Wavell in a broadcast speech delivered from Delhi. The plan, commonly known as Wavell Plan presented the following proposals:

1. If all the Indian political parties would help the British in the war then the British Government would introduce Constitutional Reforms in India after the war.
2. Viceroy's Executive Council would be immediately reconstituted and the number of its members would be increased.
3. In that Council there would be equal representation of high class Hindus and the Muslims.
4. Other minorities including low-caste Hindus, Shudders and Sikhs would be given representation in the Council.
5. All the members of the Council, except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would be Indians.
6. An Indian would be appointed as the member of Foreign Affairs in the Council. However, a British Commissioner would be appointed to look after the matters relating to the trade.
7. Defence of India was to be in the hands of a British authority till Power was transferred to the Indian hands
8. Viceroy would convene a meeting of the Indian politician including the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League so that they could nominate the names of the members of the new Council.
9. If this plan were approved for the Central Government then same type of popular ministries comprising of the political leaders would be formed in all the provinces.
10. None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudice the essential form of the future permanent Constitution of India



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

In order to discuss the proposal with the Indian leaders, Wavell summoned a conference in Simla on June 25, 1945.

SIMLA CONFERENCE (1945)

Being a military commander Lord Wavell possessed great administrative experience. When he took over as Viceroy, the tide of the Second World War was turning in favour of the allies. Lord Wavell declared that British Government wanted to see India as an independent and prosperous country. When the war ended in August 1945, Viceroy Lord Wavell decided to hold a political conference to which he invited Muslim League and Congress representatives. The conference began in Simla on June 24, 1945 and lasted till July 14, 1945.

The Viceroy proposed an Interim Central Government in which all the portfolios except that of war would be given to Indians. There was to be parity of representation between Muslims and caste Hindus. There was a deadlock over the Muslim League's demand that all five Muslim members of the Executive Council should be the nominees of the Muslim League. The Viceroy was of the opinion that four members should be taken from the Muslim League while the fifth member should be a Punjabi Muslim who did not belong to the Muslim League. The Viceroy's insistence on having a non-leaguer in the Executive Council was in accordance with the advice given by British and Hindu officials to support Khizar Hayat Tiwana in his stand against Muslim League. Khizar Hayat Tiwana, Chief Minister of Punjab, had demanded that one seat of the Executive Council, out of Muslim quota, should be given to his Unionist Party which was happily accepted by the Viceroy. The Congress also supported Khizar Hayat in his stand against Muslim League. The Congress denied Muslim League's claim of being the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. Quaid-i-Azam took a strong stand on these two issues and the conference failed to achieve anything and finally ended on 14th July 1945.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

While the plan proposed immediate changes to the composition of the Executive Council it did not contain any guarantee of independence, nor did it contain any mention of a future constituent assembly or any proposals for the division of power between the various parties of India.

MUSLIM LEAGUE NATIONAL GUARD

The Muslim league national guard was one of the highly criticised organs of the Muslim League, which was a dominant quasi-military organization. This organization had strong political and military connections and over the years of the Pakistan movement have been criticised badly by the Indian National Congress mainly due to its aggressive nature. However this organization secretly came to the rescue of Muslim League and achieved multiple targets which diplomacy failed to achieve.

The Muslim League was revived in 1944 by the Muslim League committee of Action. This organization revamped in all territories of India. In the British province of Bengal, Husein S. Suhrawardy one of the main promulgators for the sake of a separate nation, during the inauguration of a multi-purpose all Islamic training station at Faridpur stated that all that would achieve successful training they would fight for the cause of independence of Pakistan and would also save its integrity from enemy attacks and would conduct covert missions as and when required. Abdul Monem Khan, an aggressive Muslim nationalist organized the Muslim League National Guard at Myemensingh with 100,000 soldiers and became the head of the district. The process of recruitment and training has started in Assam. Arsad Ali has been appointed as the Commander-in-Chief at a meeting in the Assam Provincial Muslim League held at Sheikhghat in Sylhet on 1st October, 1944. Ali has been vested with the authority to recruit new volunteers all the way through the province. He recruited former soldiers of Indian National Army into the ranks of the Muslim



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

League National Guard. At the inauguration of a training centre in Faridpur, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy stated that the recruits trained at the centre would operate as the soldiers for the achievement of Pakistan and would protect the Muslims from enemy attacks.

The Muslim League National Guard has a strong base in Amritsar, Punjab. The base has strength of 10,000 soldiers.

National Guard consists of highly trained Muslim army officials who've served in the World War II as a member of the Bengal and the Assam-Sylhet regiment. They are told to carry green uniform, maintain a distinct identification card with the sign of the President of Muslim League wear green caps and also carry green caps.

The Coalition Government declared the Muslim National League Guard as an illegal and unlawful organization. The soldiers of this organization are considered a threat to the state and are not tolerated by the British administration.

They have their weapon supply through Shaukat Hayat Khan and Khurshid Anwar, who have strong contacts with the British, replenishing their stocks always with better ammunition, including hand grenades of F2 order and high velocity propelled guns.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1945 AND 1946

Elections will be held in British India during the month of December in 1945 to elect the representatives for the central legislative assembly and as well as the council of state. The Viceroy of India lord Wavell announced that elections in the Central and the State Legislatures will be conducted over a planned period of time, the dates being decided by the British Commission from December 1945 to January 1946.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

ELECTION STRATEGIES AND PLANS TO BE KEPT IN MIND FOR THE 1945 ELECTIONS FOR THE CENTRAL AND STATE LEGISLATURES

1945 is the last chance for the Muslims to establish their complete supremacy over the Muslim majority areas. The series of steps that can be followed by the Muslim League irrespective of the consequences were as follows:

1. It is well understood in the pre election days that Punjab is to be the centre for the electorate missions and a battleground. The local political sphere is dominated by the Unionist Party and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. Therefore the complete prospect of the Muslim League in order to gain supremacy is to get the upper hand and get an overwhelming majority over the provinces and seats held by the Unionist Party.
2. By this time the Muslim League has developed a completely anti Congress mandate and doctrine. Thus the success of its election campaign would be measured by how effectively the Muslim league could alienate the supporters of the Congress and reducing its scope for winning primarily in the Muslim dominated areas. The Muslim League is expected to take a gradual step by eliminating Congress completely from the competitive sphere by causing a sense of religious fear among the Hindus.
3. Dedicate the pirs completely to their cause. They can be used as a perfect shield as they dominate the religious landscape. Providing the League with a chance to win the elections easily.
4. The League's primary aim is to foster a Muslim brethren unity under a singular political head but they also need to better exploit the *biradari* network and primordial tribe loyalties.
5. The Muslim League has to exploit the slump and the extreme shortage of food and money caused in various regions of India as a result of the Second World War.



BOSCO MUN 2018

1ST-3RD AUGUST 2018

Freeze Date- 16TH August 1945

Members of Muslim League, Pakistan is not only a practicable goal but only goal if you want to save Islam from complete annihilation in this country. We have yet to go a long way. Pakistan is there but we have to take it. It is easier to achieve freedom than to keep it. We have to prepare ourselves. Make yourselves strong; prepare your people in education, trade, industries, commerce and defense. The problems before us will be how to maintain internal security and ward off external aggression. Freedom cannot be achieved or kept by the spinning of charkhas. We should be prepared to fight and defend our homes and ideals we cherish. 'Pakistan' is the only way to restore lasting peace and happiness to the country. The realisation of Pakistan is in your hands.