

# Language and Politics in Modern South Asia:

15

A Comparative Study of the Policies of the All-India Muslim  
League and the Indian National Congress in  
British India



By

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For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
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# CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation of Samina Zafar is accepted in its present form by the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, as satisfying the Dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my individual research and it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.



Samina Zafar

## DEDICATION

TO ALL THOSE

*who taught me to read, discern, comprehend, absorb, and divulge – who prepared me to use the faculties of my mind in a wholesome manner.*



# CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	page vi
ABSTRACT	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
MAPS	x
<b>CHAPTER I</b>	<b>1</b>
Introduction	
<b>CHAPTER II</b>	<b>11</b>
Literature Review	
<b>CHAPTER III</b>	<b>30</b>
Framework of Analysis and Methodology	
<b>CHAPTER IV</b>	<b>56</b>
Important Languages of South Asia in the Pre-Colonial Era	
<b>CHAPTER V</b>	<b>81</b>
Politics and Policies of British in India	
<b>CHAPTER VI</b>	<b>104</b>
Modernism and its Related Domains	
<b>CHAPTER VII</b>	<b>114</b>
Indian National Congress and its Policies for Hindi Language	
<b>CHAPTER VIII</b>	<b>159</b>
All-India Muslim League and its Policies for Urdu Language	
<b>CHAPTER IX</b>	<b>196</b>
Summary and Conclusion	
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>251</b>

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## ABSTRACT

The title of the research is *Language and Politics in Modern South Asia: a Comparative Study of the Policies of the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress in British India*. This multi-pronged topic is spread over centuries and while tracing its background, it was essential to link the research to the earliest possible period of India. The word 'modern', however, amalgamated the Western interpretations of philosophical, political, economic and social dimensions. Nationalism, Individualism, social rights and scientific knowledge are some of the aspects directly linked to the colonial rulers. With this in the background, a comparison is made between the two political parties of the subcontinent; Indian National Congress (INC) and All-India Muslim League (AIML). The two parties had deep associations with the languages of Hindi and Urdu. The research made an effort to study the development of these languages and the policies which were made for their political enhancement from time to time.

Languages emerge out of necessities; be they of personal, social, political economic, national or international design. South Asia presents a platform for a parallel study of Urdu and Hindi in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. Modern times brought modern approaches directly with the British influence through their direct and indirect rule including the period of commercial ventures of East India Company. The study of Urdu, Hindi and later on development of English proved that a language can conveniently become a political tool which would over-power the socio-economic growth of the area.

Every language is created to perform a purpose. It is need-based and only develops when the community of that particular region feels committed to it. It promotes further when the policies are devised favourably. History shows a very fundamental pattern of languages in South Asia, which emerged and got evolved due to political or social pressures. As the region had attracted foreign powers to venture in, hence every rule created events specific to that age.

The research comprising nine Chapters, begins with Chapter I for the introduction of the topic and presents the objectives for the research along with purpose and the organization of the research. The next two chapters refer to the available reference material based on documents and published material for literature review and framework of analysis. Chapter four describes important languages in the region before the colonial period. The next chapter is based on the policies of the British rule regarding the scope of languages and politics of the region. Chapter six reveals the impact of Renaissance in Europe especially advancement through the political vision and theories leading on to Nationalism. After this, the two chapters are dedicated to the two political parties: INC and AIML and their choice of the two languages Hindi and Urdu respectively. The last chapter summarizes the whole thesis and offers conclusion.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Some of the abbreviations used in the present research are:

AIML	All India Muslim League
CP	Central Province
EIC	East India Company
INC	Indian National Congress
MAJ	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
UP	United Provinces
NWFP	North-Western Frontier Province

## MAPS

1. The Countries of South Asia	page 2
2. The Empire of Aurangzeb and the Spread of Persian Language	68
3. Three Bases of East India Company in the early 18 <sup>th</sup> Century	83
4. Main Centres of Mutiny – 1857	160
5. Spread of Muslims in India	170

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

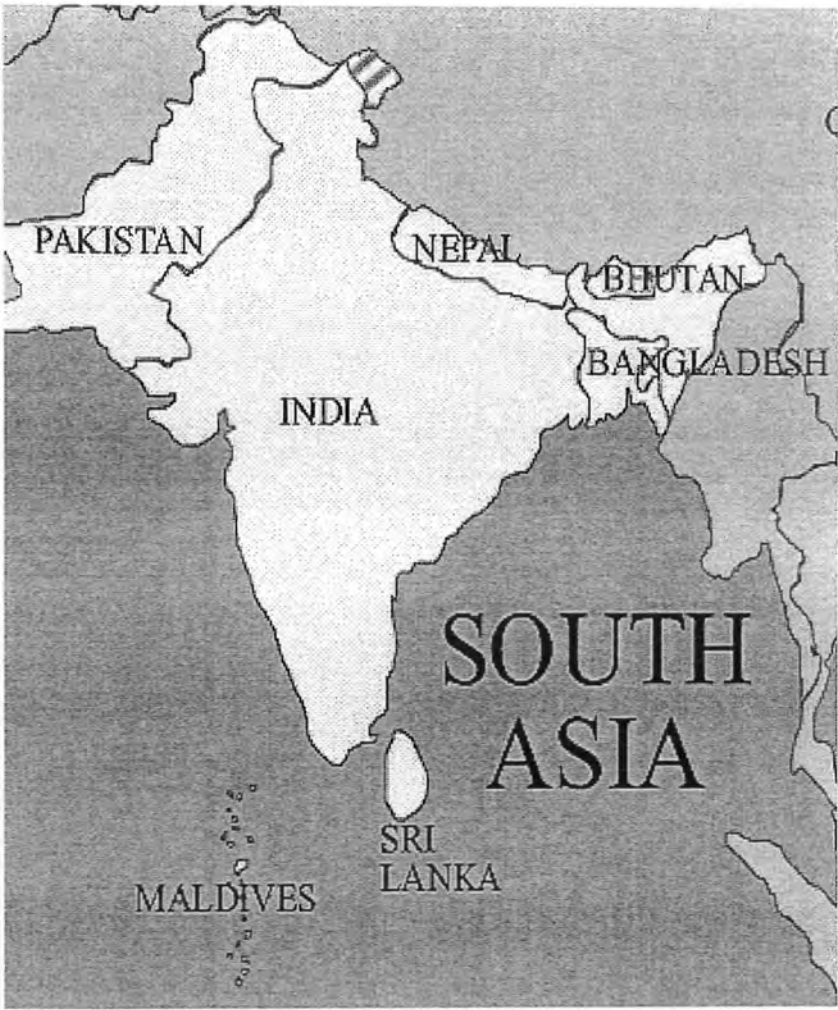
The linkage between language and politics is of immense value as it makes or mars the success of a political system. Every ruler who conquers the land to rule or establish a trade route has to cross a lingual barrier. The acceptance or rejection of the rulers' language is directly proportionate to the political system they establish. If it offers goodwill to the masses, the language would be accepted along with the values it brings in, however if the political system would threaten the very existence of the inhabitants, the resistance would be immense. South Asia in this regard offers very authentic case studies. With millions of inhabitants, a multi-lingual society emerges - the roots of which can be traced in the distinct features of the archeological sites of the world's earliest known urban civilization of Harrapa and Moenjodaro. The history of these thousands of years portrays a very interesting pattern of various languages and the policies devised for their growth, promotion, rehabilitation etc. The present research deals with the language and politics related to emergence of All-India Muslim League (AIML) and Indian National Congress (INC) in British India where the two parties categorically associated themselves with Urdu and Hindi, leaving hundreds of other languages and dialects aside. The decisions for the selection of languages by the respective political parties had an impact on and for the policies of the British government and the charged environment due to implementation of these policies favoring a group or groups or disregarding all.



Map – 1

The Countries of South Asia

1



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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.loc.gov/rr/international/asian/images/south\\_asia\\_map.gif](http://www.loc.gov/rr/international/asian/images/south_asia_map.gif)



South Asia had been a prized location for many invaders to cross into and enjoy the rule for centuries. It attracted conquerors from distant lands as well as neighboring countries. Alexander the Great, Arabs, Turks, Afghans, French, Portuguese, British and many others had invaded it from different sides to either rule or trade or both. Even now the significance of the region is so alluring that America, Russia, China and European countries vigilantly monitor the region for all its activities.

The history of South Asia shows that all the races which came to the region had brought their own social, political and economic philosophies and policies. The aims of the rulers would create different impact on the masses. If in harmony, the blend of cultures would create better economic opportunities. In such cases, the rulers were accepted with their religious and linguistic lifestyle. Muhammad bin Qasim was welcomed especially because he was asked to deliver the people from the atrocities of the cruel rulers. However, under contrary circumstances, there had been bloodshed of extreme nature where the battle continued till the end of one group at least as in the case of Battle of Plassey. With centuries of encounters of this nature, South-Asia kept on adding more to its already old civilization.

The colonization of South Asia by the British had been due to the later's economic, political and technical advancement. Asia with its political disharmony could not withstand the British supremacy. Secondly, East India Company, though gradually got hold of the region of South Asia but their rule had been more systematic and calculated. Thus the invasion by a commercial company finally was transformed into the British government which continued for centuries. In return, South Asia received the political richness comprising the concepts of commune, statehood and nationalism.

Languages, like values, evolve out of an established pattern of a community. Their basic role is to perform and fulfill all personal and social communicational needs. However, as these become tools in the political manipulations, they transform from images of cohesion, solidarity and identity to segregation, isolation and condemnation. Under the influence of East India Company and later on by the politics of the colonial rulers, the communities of Hindu and Muslim openly confronted with each other and went their opposite ways. The predominant thought is that Urdu and Hindi are the two sides of the same coin. With different scripts, these emerged different. Hindus would not include any Arabic word and would replace it with an expression of Sanskrit or any other local dialect. Two communes continued to write from right to left and vice versa as per the script of their religious languages. Muslims had used nastaliq script for Persian as well as all other regional languages including Bengali. Whereas the Hindus had followed the devanagri script for Hindi and other regional languages. This research will look into the reason for Arabic, Persian and Urdu to grow specifically defined to certain regions where these were written in the similar script, parallel to the growth of Hindi in another script. As the Muslims established a platform under AIML in 1906, Urdu assumed the significant role of a cultural dimension of a Muslim nation and thus became a language of their identity. Originally, it was accepted by the Muslims thousands of miles apart in the east and west of the subcontinent. Similarly, Hindi got developed as a linguistic symbol for the Hindu community gathered under the flag of INC.

#### THE PROBLEM:

It is interesting to see that there was no problem of a language or languages for thousands of years in South Asia. However, with the decline in Muslim

rule and under political and economic dominance of the British, the whole fabric of cohesion disintegrated and the languages declared war against each other. The society which had tolerated different faiths and philosophies suddenly needed a super power to come to its rescue. Actually this was the successful design of the foreign rulers who conveniently made all ethnic and social groups believe that their development and success would be totally dependent on their own support for technology, progress and economic development.

It is the purpose of this study to assess the policies devised by the British to promote the efforts for the languages of Urdu and Hindi and for discontinuing the same. Secondly to evaluate reasons to project Persian, Urdu, Hindi and English as lingua franca one after the other. Apparently, the British government created an environment which facilitated the growth of regional and communal languages. Another objective of the study is to investigate if there was any controversy of Urdu and Hindi languages or this too was a political strategy of the rulers to divide the people of the sub-continent and rule while creating a hostile environment. The study will therefore follow the development of Urdu and Hindi as the images of solidarity for the two political parties i.e. AIML and INC. The study will mainly focus on the creation of political parties, the designing of a constitution and other political provisions which totally rotated around the two languages of Hindi and Urdu which ultimately had got the land divided into two different nations.

The term 'Modern' exposes the domains of new political, economic and social developments based on the theories of Rousseau, J.S. Mill, Hegel, Kant etc defining the concept of state-formation and nationalism and race towards colonization of European powers. During French revolution, the term ideology got fame which meant the study of the origins, evolution and nature of ideas.

Karl Marx too added the socialist view of an ideology which would be based on prevailing order of capitalism and the ruling junta. However, the inception of INC and AIML, the concept of religious ideology was created in Asia, which led to the struggle of the Indians to the creation of the biggest Hindu and Islamic states in the world. Consequently, there were specific features which influenced the politics and policies of the sub-continent and the political parties which emerged in the twentieth century.

#### OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

- To analyze the interest of the British to learn Persian and Urdu and to study the reasons for devising policies to gradually change them as State Languages over a very short period of time

East India Company, as a commercial venture had to make an impact in the courts of Iran and India for the obvious gains from trade with these countries. However, as they encountered the local political disputes in India, they realized that managing business in hostile environment would be more expensive than ruling it as a colony. Hence the economic motives generated the political will which bore fruits of great success.

- To study the development of Hindi and Urdu languages and the controversial steps taken by the British government.

Apparently the British took very positive steps towards promotion of Urdu language but within a very short span of time such policies were devised which reduced the scope of the language whereas the Muslims had associated it with the kings, courts and their forefathers.

- To study the term “Modern” and to evaluate the role of British government as strong advocates of modernism in the world

Europe in the 18th century develops a new look of humanism under the works of Hobb, Lock, J.S. Mill etc. The geographic divisions defining nations and the spirit of nationalism brought in a specific agenda for the European countries. What they were preaching in Europe was not practiced in the colonies where they were ruling. The discrepancy between what was said and done had obvious reasons which would be highlighted in this research, with a special reference to post Renaissance period and political and economic growth under military supremacy.

- To create an organized political system by the British through establishing a structured political party purely for Indians.

The British government, based on its well established political exponents, fared to give a political environment to India in 1876 which was non-existent by that time. This political platform created awareness for the Indians to know their political rights and to exercise them.

- To study the motives for the establishment of the two political parties INC and AIML

With the growth of political, intellectual and administrative environment in Calcutta, the feeling grew among the Indians and the rulers that greater experimentation can take place and Indians can be accommodated in legal and political procedures.



- To ascertain the role of languages as the basis of INC and AIML

Hindi-Urdu controversy had led the Muslims to believe that their last symbol of prestige is Urdu. When they showed their emotional charge to the challenge to maintain Urdu at all costs as it would be the representative of their culture, Hindus as well started projecting Hindi as a parallel requirement. Otherwise out of number of languages used in India, it is unusual that the conflict should be between the two languages.

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:

A panoramic view of the language policy as it emerged during the British rule and the adoption of languages by INC and AIML during the freedom struggle is presented in the project work for the benefit of the students of linguistics and adjacent sciences such as education, anthropology, sociology, history, political science and public administration. At present there is no comprehensive treatment of the subject available in print. It is hoped that students and teachers of the above disciplines as well as practical politicians, administrators and fellow citizens interested in nation-building would benefit from a serious study of the subject matter dealt with here.

#### DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY:

The study is limited to the political role of Hindi and Urdu as the two prominent languages of South Asia and the need and development of these languages as symbols and identities of the two communities of Hindus and Muslims. The study does not offer linguistic and syntactic similarities, differences and comparisons of these languages.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY:

The present research is focused on a topic which encompasses centuries in its hold. The region that it refers to is also vast constituting on several countries. Thus each essential aspect of the topic is covered in a separate chapter. Altogether the research consists of nine chapters. The first introductory chapter defines the main areas of research and provides an understanding of the different dimensions of the topic. This is followed by the second chapter, which presents a literature review on the development of various fragments of the topic including the hallmarks of the region of South-Asia, modernism, political progression, linguistic development and the emergence of the two political parties.

Chapter three “Framework of Analysis and Methodology” offers a critique on various assumptions and paradigms related to the views of different writers, leaders and philosophers regarding the areas of the topic. It also reflects on the possibilities which had emerged or otherwise due to the circumstances and events and the impact of sequence of various aspects on the whole scenario.

Chapter four “Important Languages of South Asia in the Pre-colonial Era” comprises discussion on the importance of languages specific to the region. It throws light on the gradual acceptance and development of languages used in the courts and by the masses.

Chapter five “Politics and Policies of British India” lists all the important policies of the British government which were implemented from time to time. The period of East India Company which gradually culminated into the British rule would show variegated influences under which the two political parties were

evolved and the change in the trend of the masses was created. Britain through its rule had linked South-Asia with economic, political and intellectual development of Europe and that made all the difference.

Chapter six "Modernism and its Related Domains" throws light on the new, innovative political notions of Europe. It also discusses the importance of Nationalism and the Political growth of two political parties INC and AIML which finally concluded at the formation of two different states.

Chapter seven "Policies of Indian National Congress for Hindi" gives the details of background and reasons about the formation of Indian National Congress. It analyses the political advantage which Hindus had attained and the shortcomings of the Muslims. It also throws light on the Hindu bias and prejudice towards other minorities especially Muslims.

Chapter eight "Policies of All India Muslim League for Urdu" studies the reasons for the evolution of the party of the Muslims and the role of Urdu played in giving it a unified image. It also describes the policies and decisions of AIML towards promoting Urdu language.

The last chapter presents "Summary and Conclusion" projecting an outlook specific to the present research. An effort is made to bring about fresh analysis of emerging notions with specific reference to the historical events and the leadership which had written the last word for the destiny of India and the Indians.



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The topic of research demanded handling of various approaches to language, politics, modernism, policies and amalgamating of all these aspects in the region of South Asia with special focus on the involvement of AIML and INC. It is interesting to evaluate books written by national and international writers. Pakistani writers emphasise the Muslim point of view and the bias towards Hindu approach becomes obvious, similarly the Hindu writers conveniently avoid mentioning the efforts of the Muslims. The British and American writers, however, project a balanced approach most of the time; however the importance of the event related to the respective nation at times is made less significant. The researcher however tries to view at the relevant details linked to the topic in totality to come up with a self analysis which will be duly discussed in the chapters to follow.

Norton, James H.K. in India and South Asia describes the significance of the region:

As a result of this crucial location on international trade routes, the peoples of South Asia have interacted with the major contents of human civilization since very ancient times. This interaction brought peacocks out of the subcontinent to embellish the throne of King Solomon in ancient Israel, the number zero to Europe during the renaissance to change the way mathematical computations were done in the west, and Buddhism to East Asia and the rest of the World.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Dr. James H.K. Norton, India and South Asia USA, Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 1997, p.6

A.L. Basham in his research The Wonder that was India opines that until 'the last half of the 18th century Europeans made no real attempt to study India's ancient past, and her early history was known only from brief passages in the works of Greek and Latin authors.' This look into India was further assisted by a 'few dedicated missionaries in the peninsula' who did not dig into the cultural development of the region but focused on the 'speculations linking the Indians with the descendents of Noah and the vanished empires of the Bible.' The enchanted and enclosed world of India revealed itself through the outstanding efforts of Sir William Jones (1746-94) and Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) who were 'truly the fathers of Indiology'. 'Jones was a linguistic genius, who had already learnt all the more important languages of Europe as well as Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish.....he had rejected the orthodox view of the 18th century, that all these tongues were derived from a common ancestor which was not Hebrew.' Together the two linguists founded the 'journal Asiatic Researches' and translated works like Bhagvad Gita, Hitopadesa, Gita Govinda, law book of Manu (under the title Institutes of Hindoo Law), and some less important translations.<sup>3</sup>

David Crystal in Linguistics, while analyzing the traditional approaches to language study, writes:

The language of worship is invariably the product of particular care and attention on the part of a community, and this motivation sometimes produced detailed studies of language which were great achievements, even when viewed by modern standards. In ancient India, for example, the Hindu priests had begun to realize (around the fifth century B.C.) that the language of their oldest hymns, Vedic Sanskrit, was no longer the same, either in pronunciation or grammar, as the contemporary language.....The solution adopted in order to preserve the early states of the language from the effects of time was to determine exactly what the salient features of Vedic Sanskrit were, and to write them down as a

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<sup>3</sup> A.L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India, Kundi, Replika press Pvt. Ltd., 1954, p. 4-5

set of rules – in other words, describe the grammar and pronunciation of the old language. In this way, there would be an authoritative text, one not bound down by the vagaries of individual oral tradition....A similar, though less influential development took place later (around the seventh century A.D.), in connection with the Koran and Arabic studies. The fact that the Koran was not to be translated, and was to receive a very literal interpretation, promoted considerable study of Arabic, both as a native and as a foreign language, and there were developments in lexicography (dictionary-making), the study of pronunciation, and language-history in subsequent centuries which stemmed directly from this essentially religious stimulus.<sup>4</sup>

Paul Kennedy's analysis of the Muslim World in his book The Rise and Fall of Great Powers projects that the Ottoman had established a unity of official faith, culture, and language over an area greater than the Roman Empire, and over vast numbers of subject peoples....Under a successful leader like Suleiman I, a strong bureaucracy supervised fourteen million subjects – this at a time when Spain had five million and England a mere two and a half million inhabitants. Constantinople in its heyday was bigger than any European city, possessing over 500,000 inhabitants in 1600.<sup>1</sup> The writer attributes 'technological conservatism' as the main reason for being lagging behind Europe and finally losing the grounds to them. He considers the same reason for the decline of Mughals in South Asia as well. Despite 'the brilliance of its courts and craftsmanship of its luxury products, despite even a sophisticated banking credit network, the system was weak at the core. Conquering Muslim elite lay on top of a vast mass of poverty-stricken peasants chiefly adhering to Hinduism.' He considers India a 'picture of an entrepreneurial society just ready for economic 'takeoff before it became a victim of British imperialism.' He accuses the 'sheer rigidity of Hindu religious taboos' which militated against modernization. He refers to a list of such evils including 'the caste system', Brahman priests' which acted as the 'social

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<sup>4</sup> David Crystal, Linguistics, England, Penguin Books Ltd., 1971, p. 44-5

checks of the deepest sort to any attempts at radical change.<sup>5</sup> In the introduction of the book, the writer defines 'modern' as 'post-Renaissance' period in the backdrop of European desire for national and international power. For Western countries, it denoted 'competitive, entrepreneurial environment' based on 'constantly upward spiral of economic growth and enhanced military effectiveness which, overtime, was to carry them ahead of all other regions of the globe.' The competition of these countries with each other to assume the leadership role of a super power made them enter into numerous conflicts and wars till they started to translate their desire of expansion beyond Europe into other continents as their colonies. With the dynamic technological changes and military competitiveness, the powerful nations enjoyed the success of their economic policies. In this regard, Britain had a dominating role to play.<sup>6</sup>

Percival Spear in his exhaustive recording of events in A History of India 2 brings in another feature of modernism. For him, nationalism was an essential factor missing from the Indian scenario which was quite dominant in Europe. The main reasons of disharmony were the 'horizontal divisions of caste and the vertical divisions of religion'. The Rohillas of the upper Ganges valley did not succeed to maintain it as religion and caste separated them from 'the local Hindu cultivators and landlords'. The Rajputs 'remained an aristocracy divided by clan spirit' on the basis of Brahaminical superiority. 'The only case of something like nationalism was that of the Marathas in the time of Sivaji and his immediate successors'. They enjoyed 'the advantages of a geographically distinct (if sterile) homeland, a common language, and a love of the independence'.....It was fanned by the genius of sivaji in calling for the defence of the desh (homeland) and the cow (religion) and in federating the

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<sup>5</sup> Paul Kennedy, The Rise And Fall Of The Great Powers, Lahore, Services Book Club, 1988, pp. 14-15

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. xv-xix



various communities on a functional basis. Marathas had attempted to replace the Mughals 'with a raj of their own' but 'this design was frustrated at Panipat in 1761' as like the Mughals, they were also dissolved due to 'warring fragments'.<sup>7</sup>

Deep Chand Bandhu in History of Indian National Congress (1885-2002) highlights Indian Nationalism as a product of the political conflict:

The tussle between the Indian National Congress and the British Parliament represented, in its abstract aspect, a struggle between the forces of indigenous nationalism and alien imperialism. The English people, though parted on the surface by well-demarcated political ideologies, were united in various matters of the national existence, especially, as far as the imperial interests were confirmed. The story of the Indian nationalism, however, was not that ordinary as of British imperialism. In its subcontinental magnitude, India contained many races, religions, and languages. The forces of nationalism, therefore, had to cut across many boundaries to superimpose the essentials of national integration on this diversity. The process was naturally, difficult and complex.<sup>8</sup>

J. Hussain in An Illustrated History of Pakistan Book 2, while portraying the history of Pakistan enters into the annals of time and states that the 'Hindu rulers' had been 'cruel and oppressive towards the Buddhists, who made up a large section of the population, and anyone else whom they regarded as belonging to one of the lower Hindu castes'. He contrasted this to the approach of Arabs, 'who gained a reputation for tolerance and generosity'.<sup>9</sup> Though the remark was specific to Sind, however the situation was similar throughout the region of South Asia. Hussain's account of history shows a perpetual conflict between Hindus and Muslims for power, extension of land,

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<sup>7</sup> Spear Percival, A History of India 2, England, Penguin Books, 1965, pp. 110-16

<sup>8</sup> Deep Chand Bandhu, History of Indian National Congress (1885-2002), Delhi, Kalpaz Publications, 2003, p.57

<sup>9</sup> Hussain J. An Illustrated History of Pakistan Book 2, Karachi Oxford University Press, 1983, p.10

wealth etc but no success would be attained without the support of the masses. He lists 'the great sultans, Iltutmish, Balban, Alaudin Khilgi, and Muhammad bin Tughlaq,' who made Delhi 'a strong magnet attracting religious leaders, scholars, writers, poets and musicians from all over the subcontinent as well as the Muslim World.' He reasons out that such an environment developed other Muslim cultural centres at 'Lahore, Multan, and Uch'.<sup>10</sup> Thus areas marked show the earlier development of Islamic culture which established such deep roots that the foundations of Pakistan had been laid indirectly at a very early stage.

Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal in their book Modern South Asia, offer a comparatively fresh analysis of the colonial rule. Comprehending the changing scenario of the world, they analyze the British trading ambitions and finally the necessity to rule India as the following:

During the nineteenth century Muslim reformist movements with some ideological links with West Asia gave a measure of coherence and articulation to a variety of social and economic discontentment. Some scholars have argued that these movements facilitated the construction of a coherent Indian Muslim identity. Yet Muslim social identities in late-nineteenth-century India remained fractured by class, region and the rural-urban divide. The innumerable divisions-doctrinal, sectarian as well as heterodox – of Islam in South Asia even today suggest that the construction of an Indian Muslim identity, much less a coherent one, in the late-nineteenth-century has occurred more in the mind of latter-day scholar than in the actual unfolding of social rules and relations. A religiously informed cultural identity as a component of a set of multiple identities certainly did not translate automatically into what came to be understood by the 1920s as communalism and separatism.<sup>11</sup>

Nigel Kelly narrates a long list of Muslim reformers for the struggle of their cultural identity in his book The History and Culture of Pakistan. The names

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<sup>10</sup> Hussain J. An Illustrated History of Pakistan Book 2, Karachi Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 65

<sup>11</sup> Sugata Bose & Ayesha Jalal, Modern South Asia, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 167-8

included are: Shah Wali Ullah (1703-62), Haji Shariat Ullah (1781-1840), Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brailvi (1786-1831), Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898), etc. According to him the distinct Muslim culture and development of Urdu are the products of their efforts which created identity and solidarity among the Muslims. While stating the importance of Urdu in establishing the literary and linguistic backgrounds of Muslims, he writes:

Language is extremely important in the development of any state or national culture. The acceptance of one single language as 'national language' help bring about uniformity and a cultural identity by binding a 'people' together. A common language increases understanding and helps build a shared understanding of what a nation believes in.<sup>12</sup>

Supporting this argument, Dr. Farman Fatehpuri in his book Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, minutely describes all the details regarding development of Urdu, Sir Syed's contribution towards its safeguard and conflict of Hindi created as a political move to negate the role of Muslims in India. The writer explains:

It so happened that, with the end of 1857 war of independence, the last vestige of Muslim political supremacy was removed and the British gained undisputed political ascendancy in the sub-continent. Hindus had allied with the British against the Muslims and derived the maximum advantage out of its alliance. With the acquisition of wealth and political power, thus gained, Hindus started a number of revivalist movements. These movements inspired them with a new sense of nationalism and of 'A Great Ancient Nation'. Naturally they needed a separate language for this neo nationality.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Nigel Kelly, The History and Culture of Pakistan, London, Peak Publishing, 2004, pp. 30-39

<sup>13</sup> Prof. Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, p.11

S.M.Ikram in History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan quotes Sir Jajunath Sarkar, who counts 'ten gifts of Muslim age to India'. At number vi, he placed:

A common lingua franca, called Hindustani or Rekhta, and an official prose style (mostly the creation of Hindu munshis writing Persian....for their own vernacular).<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Tariq Rehman in his two very extensive research works, Language and Politics in Pakistan and Language, Ideology and Power, focuses on the language controversy, British response to the language conflict and the overpowering ideological pressures of communities and their impact on the partition of the subcontinent. He sums up the Hindi-Urdu controversy debate as:

Thus, the British attitude towards Urdu and Hindi kept changing according to political exigencies and the perceptions of the decision-makers who happened to be in power. The only constant was British political interest, not anti-Muslim or anti-Hindu sentiments.<sup>15</sup>

As the Government spread out to far and wide of the subcontinent and the rule got extended to South Asia, the language of the rulers gained a new dimension. English became the language of power, economic gains and cohesion. Starting from Bengal, English spread out to every region of India as a language of success. The British had introduced it as the language of knowledge and administration which later helped them in capacity building of the Indians. Rehman describes the qualities of 'language of power' as:

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<sup>14</sup> S.M. Ikram, History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961, p. 475

<sup>15</sup> Tariq Rehman, Language and Politics in Pakistan, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 73



The language of power is not the spoken language of everyday life and, therefore, has to be learned. This language has certain characteristics: it is a standard variety of a language; it is a print language; it is highly valued; it is not spoken by the common people; it is an elitist possession. Not only is it a standardized language in the sense of possessing fixed spellings, written grammars, dictionaries, and printing conventions but it is also used by the ruling elite in the domains of power.<sup>16</sup>

Khalid bin Sayeed in Pakistan The Formative Phase 1857-1948 describes the Hindu approach towards promoting Hinduism at the end of the Muslim era. 'Hindus had learnt Persian under the Moghuls and become proficient in it to handle various administrative posts.' With the beginning of the British rule, there is sudden emergence of Hindu revivalist movement, which was 'perhaps more anti-Muslim than anti-British'. Chatterjee's *Anandamath*, a novel written in 1882, produced a 'community of children (children of Kali)' to 'destroy every vestige of Muslim rule in India.' While summing up the theme of the novel, he reveals:

What was interesting to note was that Hindu leaders in this novel made it quite clear that they were not fighting against the British, who had come to India to free the country from Muslim clutches. Towards the end, when the children had won against the Muslims, the holy man who was guiding and inspiring the movement appeared and instructed the leader of the children to abandon fighting and co-operate with the British. The British in God's good time would purify the country and hand it over to the Hindus to rule it. It was in this novel that the famous song, *Bande Mataram* (Hail mother), appeared. One can understand why the Muslims later (during 1937-9) objected vehemently to the Congress Governments adopting it as a national song.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Tariq Rehman, Language, Ideology and Power, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 43-44

<sup>17</sup> Khalid bin Sayeed, Pakistan The Formative Phase 1857-1948, London, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp.21-23

Analyzing the growth of Urdu, G. Allana in his book, Muslims Political Thought through the ages: 1562 – 1947, said that the Muslims brought Urdu with them and it soon became a lingua franca with the amalgamation of local languages, Arabic and Persian. However as the sufi saints selected Urdu for propagating Islamic teaching, the language with all its literary exuberance became an 'eye-sore'<sup>18</sup> for the Hindus. This threat was exploited by the first ever political party of the subcontinent fully upheld by the Hindus. In doing so the cultural co-emergence of Hindus and Muslims fell apart and Urdu was given the distinction of the language of the Muslims for the Muslims. On top of it all, the consistent propaganda of Congress created the bias against the language and the Hindus refused to see the literary finace offered by Urdu.

Founding Fathers of Pakistan, a book of essays on Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Syed Amir Ali, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Viqar-ul-Mulk, Sir Agha Khan, Ali Brothers, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, is edited by Prof. A.H. Dani. With a sound historic perspective, the sequence of actions taken by the leaders and the growth of events related to different areas and regions stand out with specific details. For example, Sir Syed in Banaras (UP) considered making of a university as the only solution to upgrade the standards of the Muslims. He consistently believed that the Muslims should first educate themselves and then enter the political arena. It was this reason, due to which Sir Syed stopped the Muslims to join Indian National Congress. However, Syed Amir Ali with qualifications in law and having experience of dealing with the British in Calcutta, the capital of the government, had believed in Muslim participation in politics. Like Sir Syed, he did not consider INC to be a platform for the Muslims and secondly,

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<sup>18</sup> G. Allana, Muslim Political Thought Through the Ages: 1562-1947, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 1969, p. 11

he too believed in education of Muslims for economic and political understanding.

Syed Sami Ahmed in his book Sir Syed Ahmed Khan The Saviour of Muslim India documents the views and speeches of Sir Syed. His efforts to uplift the Muslims through education are unprecedented. Sir Syed had to convince the British about the Muslim loyalty towards their government, protection of culture, Urdu language and life style from the hostilities of Hindus. The writer reveals the unique passion of Sir Syed towards establishment of a Muslim University. For this, he went to England to study the university system. He aimed to 'render the college as far as possible similar in principle to the system on which the public schools of England and the colleges at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford are based'. In 1875, as the first phase of Aligarh University, the foundation for the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental School was laid. Later, in 1877, it was raised to the level of a college. In 1884, during the visit of lord Ripon to the college, Sir Syed highlighted the role of the institution as:

My lord, we feel that to compare this college with the educational institutions of England is to compare small things with great ones. But the greatest educational institutions in England had at one time a small beginning, and the glorious success which they have achieved encourages us to hope that Providence may bless our endeavours with success similar to that which it has bestowed upon the philanthropic efforts of those who founded the great colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>19</sup>

Richard Symonds in The Making of Pakistan sums up the 'most noble action' of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as 'his successful insistence that Muslims should

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<sup>19</sup> Syed Sami Ahmed, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan The Saviour of Muslim India, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 2002, p. 68

receive separate nomination to the local self- government institutions which were created by Lord Rippon.' As a member of the Governor General's Legislative Council from 1878-83, his categorical observations delivered on 12th January 1883 proposed the very idea of 'two nations':

The system of representation by the election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and district councils would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations.<sup>20</sup>

Syed Abdul Quddus in his book The Cultural Patterns of Pakistan observes in the regions included in Pakistan, Aryans could never evolve Hinduism 'with its caste system and other taboos'. It was only when they crossed Sutlej and Gangetic Valley that the abdominal system was evolved. This had been the resultant factor of various culture-combinations. 'This also explains the absence of Hindu cities and temples in Pakistan.'<sup>21</sup>

Stanley Wolpert through his biographies Gandhi's Passion, Nehru A Tryst with Destiny and Jinnah of Pakistan reveals history in an analytic manner with focus on the Indian leaders as they translated the circumstances and took decisions for the millions of Indians belonging to different ideologies and social conditions. These works supplement the historic details in comprehending the political scenario as these emerged in South Asia. Focusing on Gandhi,

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<sup>20</sup> Richard Symonds, The Making of Pakistan, Great Britain, Purnell and Sons Limited, n.d., pp. 30-31

<sup>21</sup> Syed Abdul Quddus, The Cultural Patterns of Pakistan, Lahore, Ferozesons (Pvt.) Ltd., 1989, p. 23



the writer finds him totally unsuccessful in bringing Muslims and Hindus together. At the Congress session, Nagpur in 1920, Gandhi moved a new 'Congress Creed' which would change India as a colonial government to 'the attainment of swaraj' by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means. He drafted the creed in Hindi and insisted that 'India's national language and the language of every Congress meeting' would be Hindi.<sup>22</sup>

James Learsor in The Red Fort sums up the transition of East India Company into British Rule by stating that the 'merchant adventurers' like many others from France and Portugal formed 'private syndicates to sail ships to the Indian ports'. They established 'trading posts – called "factories"' by recruiting young Indians to act as guards. These company soldiers grew as with the trade benefits. The European masters had regular battles against each other for the monopoly in India out of which finally the East India Company of Britain became victorious. The British, in order to attain greater wealth in shorter period of time became more ambitious in their plans compromising the 'traditional rights and privileges of the sepoy.' The mistrust on the other hand, created fear among the Indian sepoy that the English missionaries wanted 'to convert them forcibly to Christianity... The result was the Indian Mutiny of 1857' which ended the gross exploitation of the Indians and establishment of British rule under British Crown. While numerating the benefits of this change he writes:

Today, a hundred years after the Mutiny, when it is easy to ignore the brash new imperialism of the great oil companies and to view with indignation the older British imperialism in the East, many people forget that out of this older, wiser policy much good came. Ancient abuses were stamped out; the foundations of Parliamentary government and a system of law were laid; millions were educated. Many races have

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<sup>22</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Gandhi's Passion, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.110

conquered India over the countries, but none have left such positive results as memorials of their stay.<sup>23</sup>

S.R. Mehrotra in The Emergence of the Indian National Congress analyzes the importance of 1857 mutiny for British as well as for the Indians. He traces many other earlier mutinies and concluded that the British Empire had been won and maintained with the help of the sepoys. However their indifference to the religious strength was misleading. The sepoys in the Bengal 'had many grievances about their pay, prospects, terms of service and the general behavior of their white officers' however it was the 'obnoxious greese' which revealed the rulers intention to convert them to Christianity. The mutiny failed to become a rebellion due to the fact that the British rule was considered milder as compared to the horrors of Tamerlane or the barbarism of the Russian Autocracy. The attitude of the English-educated Indians was sympathetic to the masses but still believed that 'self-government was to be ultimately attained for India.' All in all the revolt had a 'superior national effort' which checked the 'Brahman element from what is now called Uttar Pardesh, the core of the original mutiny' was reduced in favor of the martial races of the Punjab and the Nepal. The greatest impact of the mutiny was 'Indian Council Act of 1861, to associate the ruled with the process of law-making.' This in way was a profound step towards the growth of Indian nationalists seen during 1858-80 before INC was conceived.<sup>24</sup>

Ayesha Jalal in tracing the emergence of AIML in her book The Sole Spokesman, discusses in detail the manipulations of Muslims by INC for the obvious reason that the league had 'no social program to eradicate poverty' and was possessed with the 'vested landed and business interests at the apex of the society.' INC having numerous gains at the economic front, could

<sup>23</sup> James Leasor, The Red Fort, New York, Reynal & Company, INC. 1956, pp. 11-13

<sup>24</sup> S.R. Mehrotra, The Emergence of the Indian National Congress, New Delhi, Rupa Co, 1971, pp. 141-149

lure Muslims from the peasant group to join the party. In 1937, when Congress 'had launched its Muslim mass contact movement', AIML directed propaganda against 'the Congress ministries and their alleged attacks on Muslim culture; the heightened activity of the Hindu Mahasabha, the hoisting of the Congress tricolour, the singing of bandemataram, the Vidya Mandir scheme in the Central Provinces and the Wardha scheme of education – all were interpreted as proof of 'Congress atrocities'....by now some elements in the Congress High Command were coming to realize that they had perhaps underestimated the Leagues capacity for survival....they called off the Muslim contact movement and made tentative approaches to Jinnah through Subhas Chandra Bose'. AIML had proved that 'Congress was the 'authoritative and representative organization of the solid body of Hindu opinion'.<sup>25</sup>

Stanley Wolpert begins his latest book Shameful Flight with a very revealing statement that how the British had turned their back on India, once their economic, political and strategic interests were over:

In MID-AUGUST OF 1947 the world's mightiest modern empire, on which "the sun never set," abandoned its vow to protect one-fifth of humankind. Britain's shameful flight from its Indian Empire came only ten weeks after its last viceroy, Lord Louis ("Dickie") Mountbatten, took it upon himself to cut ten months from the brief time allotted by the Labor government's cabinet to withdraw its air and fleet cover, as well as the shield of British troops and arms, from South Asia's 400 million Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs.<sup>26</sup>

Yogesh Chadha in Rediscovering Gandhi quotes the definition of Muslims as a nation by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his historic and famous presidential address at Minto Park Lahore in March 1940 and calls it 'the

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<sup>25</sup> Ayesha Jalal, The Sole Spokesman, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 43-44

<sup>26</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Shameful Flight, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006, p.1

challenging problem of formulating his party's constitutional goal' as he declared that Islam and Hinduism are 'different and distinct social orders' and it is a 'dream' if they could ever evolve 'a common nationality'. He continues to write that Gandhi was deeply hurt by the statement however 'as a man of nonviolence, he could not forcibly resist the proposed partition if the Muslims of India really insisted upon it. But he could never be a willing party to the vivisection.'<sup>27</sup>

The speeches of Quaid-i-Azam define the differences between the Hindus and Muslims in such a categorical manner that the whole situation becomes absolutely clear. In his presidential address at Lahore in March 1940 he said:

The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different.<sup>28</sup>

During an interview at Bombay in 1942, the Quaid gave his views which differentiated the Muslims and the Hindus. He repeatedly delivered this statement on different forums and also in a letter written to Mr. Gandhi. The statement has become a maxim for all times to come as the Quaid declared:

The difference between the Hindus and the Muslims is deep-rooted and ineradicable. We are a nation with our own distinct culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and

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<sup>27</sup> Yogesh Chadha, *Rediscovering Gandhi*, London, Random House UK Ltd., 1997, p. 368

<sup>28</sup> A.K. Khurshid Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam Volume II*, Lahore, Bazami-Iqbal, 1996, p.1081



ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation.<sup>29</sup>

Beverley Nicholas (BN) in Verdict on India, documented an interview of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The lines quoted below reveal the universality of the Quaid's claim on the existence of Pakistan:

BN: How would you describe the 'vital principles' of Pakistan?

Quaid: In five words. The Muslims are a Nation....

BN: When you say the Muslim are a Nation, are you thinking in terms of religion?

Quaid: Partly, but by no means exclusively. You must remember that Islam is not merely a religious doctrine but a realistic and practical code of Conduct. I am thinking in terms of life, of everything important in life. I am thinking in terms of our history, our heros, our art, our architecture, our music, our laws, our jurisprudence....In all these things our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindus. We are different beings. There is nothing in life, which links us together.<sup>30</sup>

The two World Wars had varied influences on the politics of India. After World War I, the two parties of AIML and INC joined hands at Lucknow under the leadership of the Quaid, making him a symbol of unity. Whereas the political upheaval due to the World War II had new things to offer in its tide. The Quaid who had the firm grasp of the situation by strengthening the Muslim league, could take few bold steps. Aziz Beg states:

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<sup>29</sup> A.K. Khurshid Yusufi, Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam Volume III, Lahore, Bazami-Iqbal, 1996, p.1578

<sup>30</sup> Beverley Nichols, Verdict on India, Lahore, Book Traders, 1944, pp. 189-90

The Quaid's speeches in 1938 and 1939 indicated the way his mind was working and it was under his influence that in 1938 the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference passed a resolution calling upon the All India Muslim League to formulate a plan for the establishment of a Muslim state in India. The culmination of this long and complicated debate carried on among the thinking Muslims of India for many decades came to a dramatic conclusion in the Lahore Session of the Muslim League when the Historic Lahore Resolution was passed.<sup>31</sup>

By 1940, both the political parties had announced their plans for independence from the British. Muslims wanted the partition of India and Hindus fought tooth and nail to undo the scheme. INC had announced January 26, as its National Day and Likewise AIML had declared March 23 as the day of celebration every year. Both the parties had their flags, proclaimed languages, slogans and a very distinctive culture with which they wanted to earn independence for their people.

Syed Shameem Hussain Kadri, in his book Creation of Pakistan, stated the political thesis of the Quaid as:

Quaid-i-Azam enthused the Muslim community with two slogans. The first was that the Congress Governments were guilty of atrocities on the Muslim people. The second was that Muslims were not political minority but a nation in the sub-continent of India. His new political thesis was four fold. Firstly he advocated that the parliamentary Government in India was unworkable; secondly, Muslim India wanted to develop its own political, economic, social and cultural institutions recognized as the authoritative and the representative organization of Mussalmans of India, and no Constitution would be acceptable without consent of the League; and lastly, Hindus and Muslims were two different nations, and thus the majority principle which led to the rule of the major nation was unsuitable for India and this would bring Muslims under the yoke of Hindus.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Aziz Beg, Jinnah and His Times, Islamabad, Babur and Amer Publications, 1986, p.532

<sup>32</sup> Justice Syed Shameem Hussain Kadri, Creation of Pakistan, Rawalpindi, Army Book Club, 1983, p. 158

The period from 1939 to 1947 could be described as the most intricate and complex period of Indian history. In the backdrop of World War II, the two major political parties of India, INC and AIML, struggled moment to moment and ultimately it was interpretation of their decisions that led them to the partition of India. More than the events, it was the committed zest of the leaders which had won them tributes and successes. On the side of INC, one finds many big names known for leadership qualities including Gandhi with an obvious tilt towards INC, however on the side of AIML, it was Quaid and Quaid alone who was fighting a battle single handed against the British, Hindus and on top of all, against his own bad health. Many believed and rightly so, that had misfortune of an early death fallen on Quaid; the dream of Pakistan would never have been materialized.

## CHAPTER III

### Framework of Analysis and Methodology

The topic of research revolves around the evolution of two political parties in the subcontinent with special reference to the role of the languages associated with them. To study these in the backdrop of British colonial rule and their policies makes it essential to include dimensions of modernism linked to economic, political and social development leading on to the philosophic movements of various beliefs. Nationalism, a product of modern times brought in its own interpretation of politics and the influence of power. New terminology based on theories, Ideologies and conceptual learning gave new directions to the stratum of power. The role of an individual emerged greater through humanism and democracy – the two essentials of the modern world. The present study aims to combine these multidimensional perspectives to study the role of languages and their significance for the division of India, as the framework of research.

The present chapter attempts to develop a framework of analysis to explain the relationship of language and politics in the light of the review of literature covering all the dimensions of the topic with special references to the political study of the two parties, their leaders, historic events and the policies devised. It also delimits its scope, provides methodology of the study and briefly comments on the sources used in the study.

## Framework of Analysis

The essential details related to the topic are discussed underneath to show the range of the research. The events which stood out through the annals of history and the master mind that molded and exploited situations positively or otherwise provide the boundaries which have hedged the present study. An effort is made to bring the details in a sequence, so that the linkage would assist in projecting the dimensions of the framework.

J.M. Roberts gave a review of the political affairs in Britain and reflected as

Many of the basic changes which the French Revolution brought to Europe had already existed in Great Britain for centuries, after all. The fundamental institutions, however rusty or encrusted with inconvenient accretion they might be, offered large possibilities. Even in unreformed days, the House of Commons and House of Lords were not the closed corporate institutions which were all that was available in many European states.....Once 1832 was past, then there were good grounds for thinking that if parliament were only pressed hard enough from the outside, it would carry out any reforms that were required.<sup>33</sup>

With the study of the subcontinent under the rule of East India Company (EIC) and British government, it became interesting to observe that the strategies for policies and politics kept on changing with the need for the economic gains. The British rule as well was a strategy of necessity as the economy of Britain started resting itself on the taxes of the region. The establishment of a political system started taking its shape. It was the requirement of the superpower to involve

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<sup>33</sup> J.M. Roberts, *History of the World*, England, Penguin Books Ltd, 1980, pp. 756-7



the masses in that process. Hence the British government, with a lot of pride had divulged in promoting the political environment of the subcontinent through INC. But the things were not as straight and simple as they seemed on surface. The experience of EIC in its three presidencies was mainly with the Hindus. This interaction, with the passage of time grew intellectually, socially and politically. Hence the image created was that Hindus represented the whole of the subcontinent and they could assist if understanding of procedures would be given to them. With this perception, when the British government took over the rule, it became very hard to digest that there was another group or groups which would challenge the Hindu supremacy. The first such exposure came through the struggle of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for safeguarding the Muslim interests through the status of Urdu and a separate education system through Aligarh University which would be at par with the Cambridge University. He believed that a separate education system would produce Muslim scholars to protect the ideology and religious values generating a different social system. Another voice from the group of Muslims was that of Syed Amir Ali, who enjoyed a sound reputation and with the exposure of living in Calcutta, made a mark for himself both as a conscientious magistrate and as a public spirited citizen. He gave greater importance to generating political awareness among the Muslims; however, the success of this vision was discerned only in 1906 with the emergence of AIML.

The present study reveals that the two major political parties emerged in the subcontinent having various reasons and designs at different levels. Restricting to the language issue, apparently INC had no plan of including a local language in the beginning. It was a British game



with English as the medium of expression. How and why did English language move from its position and was replaced by Hindi as the sole language of the party was a paradigm shift duly ignored. As a consequence Urdu also assumed the sacred role thus bringing the Muslims together at the platform of AIML. There are interesting similarities among the two political parties even though they were poles apart in their political approach. More than the languages, for them the unification within and bifurcation on the outside came through the ideologies, they represented. The leaders who got associated with the parties also show religious taboos as the titles of Mahatama Gandhi and Pandit Jawanarlal Nehru reveal the Brahmanical super image. To compete with this, the Muslims of India chose the title of Quaid-i-Azam for Muhammad All Jinnah which seemed to be high above a Maulvi or Maulana.

The history of South Asia reveals that this region belonged to the spread of different religions. Starting with Hinduism, it was the dominating caste system which had divided the land. With the introduction of other religions and religious beliefs, the patterns of the society underwent transformation. Buddhism, the other great theology of the region, brought in simplicity of religious applications and simplicity of language from Sanskrit to Prakrit languages. However with the arrival of Islam, a wider concept of a social structure emerged. The monopoly of Hindu religion by the priests suffered a setback when the people from lower castes joined Islam for a political and social system of equality, fraternity and justice. It is interesting to see that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Gandhi brought in the realization that untouchables must be called Harijins i.e. the children of God Hari and due status

would have to be given to them by the superior caste Hindus. He would fast till death to have the application of his philosophy. In fact, Mahatama Gandhi through his exposure of western education had implanted humanism in Hindu religion. It was his effort that at the partition, the leader of the untouchables sided with INC and changed the partition and ideological plan of India.

A significant step towards nation-building came from Britain through the Regulating Act of 1773 as it brought the territories under the East India Company under a single Governor-General. Before this Act, the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal were independent of one another. By the Regulating Act of 1773, the Governor or the President in the Council of Bengal assumed superintending powers over the other two provinces as well. By the Charter of 1833, the sole legislative power was vested in the Governor-General in the Council of Bengal to the super-session of the power formerly enjoyed by Bombay and Madras, thus establishing not only legislative centralization, the beginning of the Indian legislature, but also the framework of Modern India.

The Regulating Act of 1773 and the Charter of 1833 introduced and firmly established central legislation and central governance in India, which made it possible for the people of India to convert themselves into a single political nation based on the already existing socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic national identity. The Regulating Act of 1773 and subsequent regulating/reviewing acts of the genre, including the Charter of 1833, were mostly acts of expediency on the part of the British so that the British power could be executed and sustained with ease and efficiency. The wheel turned a full circle in 1940s. The

proposal to give autonomy to provinces and to keep the provinces in a loose federation mooted by the Cripps Mission in 1940s was also an act of expediency on the part of the British in their desperate bid to retain their hold on India.

INC was a gift from the British for the Anglo-Indians supporting the government machinery. It might have been presupposed that this group along with performing official duties would further lend political support to the government. Thus English was declared as the language of INC and all proceedings were recorded in English. However gradually the procedures were indianized because of various reasons and INC was possessed by the Hindu group and the compulsion of English language was disregarded. It is therefore observed that INC did not promote a language policy as they were not under threat from any other party. However, with the emergence of Muslim League and its support to Urdu, the reaction of INC changed towards the establishment of Hindi.

Tariq Rehman, while defining the dimensions of a language, states:

Language is a symbol of identity which gives a focal point for mobilization to a group which, both for rational and extra-rational reasons, wants a greater share in power and goods and services than it is given. The role of language in language movements, or ethnic assertions, is symbolic or iconic - that is, language is not just a means of communication but stands for a way of life or a symbol of identity.<sup>34</sup>

The statement stands proved through the chequered history of the region. For thousand of years, the subcontinent had stayed divided

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<sup>34</sup> Tariq Rehman, Language, Ideology and Power, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2002, p.48

under different states and tribes. The first major unification emerged under the Mughals, who brought with them the Persian language. As it had little resemblance to Arabic, hence the Hindus and other communes had no resistance towards adopting this language. However, with the change of power, English was enforced as the language of business. The British had given due importance to local languages and under the patronage of Fort William College, it even created opportunity for the local languages to formalize and be established at the provincial level, but the year 1857 ended the Muslim rule and the British government took over India as a complete entity. By this time, the promotion of English language through Macaulay's education policy, exposure to western education and better job prospects had started paying dividends. In fact the language planning for English remains unparalleled through out the history of India. Besides striking a fatal blow to the political power of the Muslims in the subcontinent the British rule caused far reaching repercussions on the languages of those from whom it wrestled political power i.e. Persian and Urdu. British did not show any subservience to other cultures but slowly and gradually pushed their own culture forward.<sup>35</sup>

The historians have viewed that in different periods and centuries, Muslim scholars had accompanied the Muslim conquerors in the subcontinent. However there were many saints and Sufis who were already settled in the vicissitude of the land during the Arab-trade period even before the arrival and triumph of these armies. Percival Spear traces the effect of the teachings of these learned men in the spread of Islam and the growth of a new language called Urdu; he writes

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<sup>35</sup> S.A. Qudus, The Cultural Patterns of Pakistan, Lahore, Ferozsons (PVT.) Ltd., 1989, p. 134



In the India of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century there were only two creative achievements. One was the rise of Urdu, the graceful daughter of Persian and Hindi, to the status of a major language, and the other the work of Shah Waliullah and his school of theologians in Delhi to which some trace the early seeds of the Pakistan movement. It is typical of the times that while the influence of the one was unifying that of the other was divisive.<sup>36</sup>

A language is an essential feature of a culture. The leaders of the two political parties had kept that in focus; however it was dearer to the Muslims as compared to the Hindus who were in a constant struggle to gain coherence and unity. Hence replying to Gandhi, the Quaid wrote in his letter on September 17, 1944:

We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions-in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation.<sup>37</sup>

For AIML, the situation was totally different. Even though Muslims were one of the minorities and the majority group of Hindus overlooked their significance, but they finally emerged as a force to reckon with. In their unification, Urdu language played the pivotal role. In fact, it was Hindi- Urdu controversy which decided the concept of two nations. These two languages had the force of two religions behind them and the subcontinent history is replete with the examples

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<sup>36</sup> Spear Percival, *A History of India 2*, England, Penguin Books, 1965, p. 120

<sup>37</sup> Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, Karachi, East and West Publishing Company, 1977, p. 112



where religion has dominated all future strategies. SM Ikram elaborates:

The attempts made by court chroniclers to establish the extreme orthodoxy of Muslim monarchs often take ludicrous and even morbid forms. Panikkar has thus warned us at length about the historians of the Sultanate period: "We shall get a very inaccurate and altogether false view of the situation of the Hindus during the first period of Islamic Empire in Hindustan (1210 -1370)....Historians like Baruni were primarily anxious to picture their heroes as the patterns of Islamic orthodoxy and virtue.....assessment of the accounts of sultan Mahmud of Ghaznah....in this respect the Mughal historians....had a distinct point of view which coloured their interpretation of events, and even the inclusion and omission of information. Aurangzeb....attempted to suppress Sati amongst the Hindus, omit all references to this order....although Shah Jahan patronized a number of Hindu scholars, and in fact had a Hindi poet laureate at his court, "there is not a single Hindu name included in the list of poets, scholars etc.,".....shows how much one has to be on one's guard in making use of the works of the court historians."<sup>38</sup>

The detailed study of the formative years of INC and AIML reveal that the dominating role played in the making of these bodies was by the popular leaders representing the two religious groups. Hypothetically, if INC had been liberal to include members from the minority group or if Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had advocated the platform of INC equally vibrant for the Muslims, the situation with the political scenario would have been different altogether. The complication had arisen out of the power phobia created by the Hindus.

In 1916, Jinnah as the President of AIML could represent Muslims in a more commanding way. The committee formed the previous year had

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<sup>38</sup> S.M. Ikram, The History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan, Lahore Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961, pp. 22-23

done useful work in consultation with a similar committee appointed by INC, by suggesting a joint scheme of reforms. These reforms accepted the Muslim share as the session was held in Lucknow, therefore this historic pact was declared as the famous Lucknow pact. The details attached at Appendix - I show the significance and the authenticity of a very mature programme. If future policies had included this historic document in their growth, the fate of the sub-continent would have been very different. The allocation of percentage of seats per province shows the maturity and neutral approach of MAJ towards the whole of India. Constitutionally this was the only moment that the two parties could work in such harmony. S.S. Pirzada illuminates the point further:

He brought the two organizations together and it was through his efforts that the Lucknow Pact was entered into. He was the principal leader behind the memorable memorandum.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast to the efforts of the Quaid, Gandhi had a different programme to adhere to. Even though he was declared as the great leader of India, however he could never make the two ends meet. Though he believed in peace religiously, however, he proposed the first non-cooperation movement and led it himself in 1919, which was opposed by many. Among the Hindu names of fame is found the expression of the great novelist and poet laureate, Rabindernath Tagore. To express his 'anxiety' he wrote 'three letters' which appeared in the Modem Review that 'It is criminal to transform moral force into force.....Unity Is truth and division evil....'<sup>40</sup> The greatness that India had bestowed upon Gandhi was of no advantage to the

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<sup>39</sup> Syed Sharifaddin Pirzada, The Collected Works of Qiiiaid-i-A2am Mohammad Ali Jmnah, Karachi, East and West Publishing Company, 1984, p. vii

<sup>40</sup> Yogesh Chadha, Rediscovering Gandhi, London, Century Books Limited, 1997. p. 252

Muslims the way he had supported the untouchables, Sikhs and other minorities.

The British who stood up for values, dignity and culture painted a different picture in the distant land. James Leaser states:

Only eight years after Plassey, Clive himself declared sadly: "Alas, how is the English name sunk! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation, irrevocably so, I fear!" Nine years later, afflicted with sleeplessness and weary in body and mind, he killed himself by cutting his throat with a pen knife.<sup>41</sup>

The same had continued by General Dyer and many others. The animal-like, low and debased treatment meted out to the Indians neither reflected the European image nor the British or their so called cultural and aristocratic bearing. This below the dignity approach, in a way helped the Indians to unite better. The Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others though had their own agendas but stood together in times of greater hardships. Once the British role was resolved and shelved, the two major communities of Hindus and Muslims defiantly stood against each other with proper political structures to go their separate ways.

The three presidencies established by EIC, with the passage of time gave varied experiences to the locals. Due to the fact that these were Hindu dominating regions and with a better background as compared to other sub-groups, they took the full advantage of the situation. Gradually the British ways were understood and practiced. The 19<sup>th</sup> century found Indians, mostly, Hindus, forming pressure groups in the

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<sup>41</sup> James Leaser, The Red Fort, New York, Reynal & Company, INC., 1956, p. 95

form of associations, parties, leagues etc. Whereas the Landholders' Society established in Calcutta in 1838, was the first attempt at organizing a modern political association claiming to speak on behalf of a particular interest throughout British India. As a pressure group, it did not have much of a success but the idea of an all-India political organization had been born and continued to live on.<sup>42</sup>

Gandhi's first major book, *Hind Swaraj* (Indian Home Rule), written in Gujarati and translated in English was put in a narrative style with the writer as "Editor" who is constantly questioned by a "Reader". One question asked by the Reader 'was not easily answered by the otherwise self-assured Editor revolved around the concept of a nation in India. 'Hindus and Mahomedans are old enemies..... Mahomedans turn to the West for worship, whilst Hindus turn to the East.....Hindus worship the cow, the Mohammadans kill her....How can India be one nation?' The Editor replied that the 'enmity between Hindus and Mahomedans had ceased long before the British arrived. The British, he argued, stimulated communal conflicts to help them "divide and rule".<sup>43</sup> Though the blame had been put on the British to discover ways to rule India, however, it is felt after a considerable effort of reflection on the leaders' role in India that just because the Muslims had not originally joined INC and continued to work without it, the feeling was that AIML might just be a temporary body. Gandhi too called himself the leader of India but he obviously had a bias in favor of the Hindus. At many occasions, it is seen that he gave greater weightage to young Nehru as compared to others. In the Second Round Table Conference as well, Gandhi promoted himself as the

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<sup>42</sup>S.R. Mehrotra, *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*, New Delhi. Rupa Co, 1971, pp. 11-19

<sup>43</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion*, New York, Oxford University press, 2001, p. 77



sole representative of India. In this regard, Quaid's response had been:

Why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, "I am a Hindu, Congress has a solid Hindu backing?" I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Musalman. I am right and I hope and believe even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has solid backing of the Musalman of India.<sup>44</sup>

Khalid bin Sayeed refutes the accusation that the British government divided the people of India to rule. His view is that:

...all the evidence goes to suggest that the British Government at that time was firmly convinced that British parliamentary institutions could not be transplanted in India. And what was more, they did not regard India as a homogeneous nation, but a sub-continent inhabited by a number of nations....Thus conceding separate electorates to Muslims it could be said that the British were not dividing a united nation, but were recognizing the existing multi-national character of India.<sup>45</sup>

Stanley Wolpert in his book confirmed that Nehru also believed that the Hindu-Muslim problem was first of all stirred up by British imperial policy of divide and rule and that 'it was mostly an economic, rather than a political, issue'.<sup>46</sup> Jawahar Lal Nehru had all the glamour linked to his background and training as he entered the political arena of India. What he needed the most was experience, but by the time he had assessed the impact of his decisions, neither the time nor the events were in his hands. Stanley Wolpert writes in his other book,

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<sup>44</sup> Khurshid, Yusufi, Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam Volume II, Lahore, Bazami Iqbal, 1996, p.1174

<sup>45</sup> Sayeed bin Khalid, Pakistan The Formative Phase 1857-1948, London, Oxford University Press, 1968, p.30

<sup>46</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Nehru A Tryst With Destiny, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 177



The Shameful Flight that: Nehru was even more forthright in expressing his fears of foolish failure to his sad Muslim friend, the Nawab of Bhopal, to whom he wrote a few weeks later:

It has been our misfortune.....the misfortune of India and Pakistan, that evil Impulses triumphed.....Can you Imagine the sorrow that confronts me when I see after more than thirty years of incessant effort the failure of much that I longed for passionately?....! know we have been to blame in many matters... partition came and we accepted it because we thought that perhaps that way, however painful it was, we might have some peace..... Perhaps we acted wrongly.<sup>47</sup>

According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, 'the first seed of partition was sown', when Mr. C.R. Das offered '60 percent of all new appointments for Muslims till such time as they achieved proper representation according to population. He went even further in respect of the Calcutta Corporation and offered to reserve 80 per cent of the new appointments on similar terms.' Das made this historic statement to repudiate the fears of the Muslims on Congress making the government in Muslim majority area of Bengal in 1937.

He realized that till the Muslims were given the necessary assurances for their economic future they could not be expected to join the Congress wholeheartedly.<sup>48</sup>

Even though the solution was offered, however, the death of Mr. Das did not let the ideal happen. His suggestion had the necessary assurances for safeguarding the economic future of the Muslims. INC had visionaries like C.R. Das but at the helm of affairs it was Gandhi

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<sup>47</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Shameful Flight, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 192

<sup>48</sup> Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom, New Delhi, Orient Longman Private Limited, 1959, pp. 23-4

and Jawaharial, both representing the Hindus as a majority. Had Gandhi been the leader of both, Hindus and Muslims, he would have kept such strategies at hand where all the communities were judged with equal partnership.

V.S. Naipaul describes the Hindu society, which Gandhi had appeared to ennoble during the struggle for independence, but he laments and states that the social order had begun to disintegrate with the rebirth and growth that had come with independence. For him, even though "Gandhi swept through India,' but he had left It vacant 'without an Ideology. He awakened the holy land; his mahatma hood returned it to archaism; he made his worshippers vain'.<sup>49</sup>

Hence, it becomes obvious that many historians expected better from the Indian leaders. As the leaders could not comprehend the situation well, therefore, the subcontinent due to political reasons finally was bifurcated under the flags of Urdu and Hindi. People of diverse cultural and linguistic scenes gladly accepted this bifurcation; however again some policies or lack of them created challenging scenario for the two languages which could not grow fully to replace the English language after the land had been left by the colonial rulers.

## **Methodology**

The present research has taken references from books which are based on well-studied, analytical and evaluative responses of various national and international writers. There is plethora of literature on the topics of creation of Pakistan, Urdu language, Muslim League and its

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<sup>49</sup> V.S. Naipaul, India: A Wounded Civilization, London, Andre Deutsch, 1977, p. 159.

struggle for an independent country in both the languages of Urdu and English. However, some of the books fell short of criteria of scholarly treatment of material, rigor of scientific methodologies for arriving at inferences and authenticated approaches. The other category of books consulted is based on biographies, autobiographies and family histories of important political personages which provide first-hand information about the political scenario and accounts of maneuvers and counter-maneuvers of the political parties and the political systems of the rulers.

The books falling under the category of popular literature are also consulted even though these books have less interpretative analysis and more of emotional reflection. The jargon is heavy and the appeal is to sensitize the whole situation. All such works contribute a good deal to the comprehension of historic perspective and provide, sometimes, detailed accounts of various vital decisions and political developments but employ polemical and deferential language while narrating an account. Still these books are important to help understand the context of a given decision or development. They have not warranted a detailed review, as by their nature, they do not provide much help in arriving at a systematic framework. However these books have a lot of emotional appeal and tend to show how biased a view, sometimes the reader would like to have on the topics which are closer to their hearts.

Regarding material on the development of Urdu, there are books which differ regarding the source of the language, its relationship with Hindi and contribution of Arabic and Persian in its making. One point where all combine is that Urdu is an indigenous language grown in the

regions of North India. Delhi, Oudh, Lucknow and Hyderabad became the literary centres promoting Urdu as a great intellectual asset. Many Hindu writers had also joined in its glory. However, with the end of the Mughal rule, the pragmatic Hindu sided with the British in economic development and Hindi language supremacy. It was this reason that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan struggled for the status of Urdu and considered creation of Aligarh College as a solution of Muslim identity. The most tragic situation at the partition was that the new country Pakistan neither got Calcutta as desired for an established industrial set up nor the University which was the beacon light for the intellectual and political growth of the Muslims of India. Even though, there was the supreme Punjab University but the status and glory that Aligarh University enjoys even today cannot be matched with any other.

Babra D. Metcalf in her book Islamic Contestations presents an emphatic impact on the Muslims of the subcontinent through the leading theological academy of modern India, the Dar ul-Ulum of Deoband which opposed the foundation of Pakistan. The British educational methods and measures gave an insight to the locals for adapting to newer strategies. The 'teaching techniques' borrowed by Deoband system were from the colonial experiences as the measures taken to spread and propagate English language were of great success. She states:

The technique of Arabic instruction, for example, was the British one of translation into Urdu and from Urdu into Arabic. Later, the exercise of monthly compositions written in Arabic, was added in order to improve fluency and command of the language. Most important, the school continued the use of Urdu, not Persian, as a medium of instruction and thus shared in the general trend of the times toward the development of the modern vernaculars.



Students came, even within the first years of the school's existence, from places as distant as Afghanistan and Chittagong, Patna, and Madras, but all were to return with a common language in Urdu. Even those who were of north India often spoke a dialect in their homes and now acquired a standard form of the language. Like the westernizing college at Aligarh, Deoband was instrumental in establishing Urdu as a language of communication among the Muslims of India.<sup>50</sup>

Paul Brass produced a study of the language policies of the three north Indian states i.e. Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab in his book Language, Religion and Politics in North India. According to him, minority language speakers can show resistance to an historic tide of assimilation by a standardizing, modernizing and politically powerful language movement. He declared language and religion among the major symbols of group identity in South Asia. He also asserted that a religious group seeking political dominance will change its language for political ends. He stated:

The attachment of value to symbols of group identity does not happen spontaneously. There is always a particular segment of the group, which takes this task upon itself, a class or an elite. Certain classes and elites have historically been considered the special carriers of national consciousness – the urban bourgeoisie in Europe, the Westernized elite in the origins and early stages of nationalism in colonial countries.<sup>51</sup>

Aziz Al-Azmeh analyzes the symbol of identity and its social implication in his book Islams and Modernities. While referring to Shi'ite or Sunnite groups and their image towards promotion of nature of a society, he states:

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<sup>50</sup> Barbara D. Metcalf, Islamic Contestations: Essays on Muslims in India and Pakistan, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004, P. 37

<sup>51</sup> Paul Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p. 30



..... exclusivist notions of identity, rather than some ascriptive notion of citizenship, defines political participation..... In other words, and after the fashion of classical orientalism, society, polity and culture correspond immediately, for it is only thus that they can together partake of an essence, and revert to nature.<sup>52</sup>

Ayesha Jalal in Self and Sovereignty, declared the 'agency of the colonial state' to be the 'decisive factor in defining the role of language and politics'. For her, Sikhs were the 'first religious community in the province to resolve the problem of its linguistic identity' by accepting 'utility of Urdu as a means of official employment'. She states:

Everyone conceded that Urdu was not the *bhasha* or spoken vernacular of the Punjab...others considered Punjabi to be wholly separate from Hindi and Urdu, both of which were foreign languages. This elicited protests from supporters of Urdu who maintained that the Punjab was the original birthplace of the language.... The proponents of Urdu could see no purpose in substituting it with Punjabi or Hindi since the existing educational system was attracting a fairly constant flow of students. A Muslim member of the select committee of the Anjuman-i-Punjab admitted that primary instruction into Punjabi would be 'a great improvement' and in time 'Urdu might reasonably be discarded'. But Persian and Arabic would still be necessary to translate books into Punjabi which was 'not so rich'.<sup>53</sup>

Shams ur Rehman Farooqi in his book Khursheed Ka Saman-e-Saffar deliberates on the intellectual aspects of Urdu diction, style and language with special reference to Allama Iqbal's poetry. He compares Iqbal to William Yates and T.S. Eliot and finds similarities in their collective works. All three of them, propagate a sense of

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<sup>52</sup> Aziz Al-Azmeh, Islam and Modernities, London, Verso Press, 1993, p. 22

<sup>53</sup> Ayesha Jalal, Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 117-133

mysticism and recognition of self with a prevailing intellectual perspective of political upheavals. Their use of language equally attracts people from all walks of life. They had been criticized for using poetry as a tool for propagating political thoughts. However the writer upholds their poetical excellence and established their stature of equal strength in the two domains of poetry and politics. The writer concluded his discussion by declaring Iqbal as a unique poet different from other poets and traditions of poetry. He further said that even though Iqbal did not extend the traditions of Urdu ghazal because already it possessed moral, philosophic and boldly expressive variety of topics, however he had added a new dimension to the genre of ghazal by bringing it around new topics which were never explored before.<sup>54</sup>

Jaswant Singh in his latest book Jinnah India-Partition Independence brings out the differences between Hindus and Muslims. He discusses the 'conflict between the protagonists of Hindi and Urdu' which arose in the 1870's:

Schools of teaching tended to be attached (mostly) to temples, mosques and such other congregational centres. The medium of instruction here was different: Sanskrit, Hindi or the regional language for Hindu schools just as Persian, Arabic or Urdu was standard for the Muslim...While North India had a Sir Syed as an ardent reformer, Bengal where the need was perhaps greater, had no such benefactor. Syed Ameer Ali, Nawab Abdul Lateef and such other Muslim leaders of Bengal did emphasise that Urdu ought to be for the Muslims what Bengali was to the Hindus of Bengal; yet it never did acquire the same status....the government of Bihar issued orders for the use of Hindi in the court offices of Bihar whereafter Devanagri was made the exclusive script of use in Bihar for official documents. The

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<sup>54</sup> Shams ur Rehman Farooqui, Khrsheed Ka Saman-e-Safar, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp 122-4

doggedness with which this order was followed antagonized Muslims and the controversy traveled then to provinces like NWFP. Here the reverse manifestation occurred: a failure to introduce Devanagari in the provinces, like in Punjab or NWFP became a cause for grievance amongst the Hindus...For both communities, the question of language and script had more than any ordinary significance...The campaign for Hindi and Devnagari script was possibly just one prominent aspect of a growing awareness for the protection and promotion of Hindu interests. Certain others like cow protection movement and holding processions on religious occasions, were more specifically oriented towards the religious interests of the Hindus..... This trend further weakened the already strained cross-communal alliances, with the result that the Urdu-speaking elite broke away at many places, an unfortunate development, for it had held together for long the Hindu and Muslim components.<sup>55</sup>

Nicholas Balbir in his article 'The Modernization of Hindi' reveals the need and requirements of developing Hindi language. He states:

Since the middle of the sixth century, the word "Hindi" has come to refer to the sanskritized style of the language whereas "Urdu" represents the persianized style. "Hindustani" or "Urdu" (Kelkar 1970) is the middle level of the current language common to all, in which a certain quantity of arabo-persian vocabulary has been assimilated and remained along with words derived from Sanskrit (tadbhava) and borrowed from other regional languages or dialects (desi or desaj). These three varieties Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu have a common basis, that is a variety of the Braj bhasa from contact Panjabi and Persian spoken at the Mughal Court. It was given the popular qualitative denomination of "Khari boli" a name indicating probably its rapidly ascending function as a lingua franca.... The sanskritization of Hindi coincides with the beginning of the Western influence in India, the centre of which was in Calcutta. The establishment of colleges in the English style that was requested by the Hindu "elite" (Hindu College 1817) and the increasing evolution of education in English after Macaulay's minute in 1835, was favourable to progressive westernization of this "elite". Socially

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<sup>55</sup> Jaswant Singh, Jinnah India-Partition Independence, New Delhi, Rupa Co, 2009, pp.40-45

this "elite" is the same but its intellectual orientation has changed..... Its influence was primarily exercised through the medium of Hindu reformist's socio-religious organizations which were utilized for the "mobilization of masses" (Deutsch 1966) and chose the symbols which would polarize the activities of the religious groups..... The printing press introduced in the XVIII century and the coming out of newspapers first in Bengali, then in Hindi also played an important part in the standardization and diffusion of this language.<sup>56</sup>

In his article, The Fate of Hindustani David Lelyveld begins with the role of Mahatama Gandhi in India especially with reference to the use of Hindustani. He refers to his promise with G.K. Gokhale 'to keep his ears open and his mouth shut' when he returned to India after twenty-five years abroad, first in Britain and then in South Africa. However, the writer states:

Predictably, Gandhi broke his silence on political issues almost exactly twelve months after his arrival. The occasion was the inauguration of a new university, Banaras Hindu University, India's first national as opposed to provincial one, twined with what was to become a few years later a Muslim counterpart in Aligarh..... Gandhi had already been provocative; for example, he denounced "the gorgeous show ..... of jewellery" that those same benefactors were wearing in the midst of squalor and poverty of Banaras. Gandhi started the speech by apologizing for the fact that he and all the other speakers were conducting the whole proceeding in a foreign language, English. His reasons for opposing English, he said were practical.<sup>57</sup>

According to Lelyveld, Banaras incident served to introduce three themes: 'the colonial model of language, counter-claims that there is a

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<sup>56</sup> The Modernization of Hindi, Nicholas Balbir, Perspectives on Language in society Vol. 1, Editors Prof. Shivendra K. Verma, Prof. Dilip Singh, 1996. Shobi offset press, New Delhi - 110002, p. 37

<sup>57</sup> David Lelyveld, 'The Fate of Hindustani' in Carol Breckenridge and Peter Van der Veer (eds) Orientalism and the Post-Colonial Predicament, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993, p. 189, [www.questia.com](http://www.questia.com)



separate, indigenous character to Indian languages, and the politics of identifying language with political empowerment for a total Indian populace, that is, for a nation – or, on the other hand, for particular populations with India'. The reason to highlight the occasion for the writer was;

This will serve as an occasion to consider some of the central questions of modern historiography of South Asia: The centrality of the colonial state and its ideology and the effort to create a nation state, or more than one, by the political mobilization of cultural loyalties. Another way of approaching these matters is to consider the ways both colonial knowledge and nationalist ideology sought to define and fix what were thought to be indigenous, pre-colonial cultural models. But one would hope to reach beyond these colonial and nationalist perspectives to a more complex historical understanding of how people in India, in many domains of life and not just the grand political narrative, were able to create, change, or resist their institutions and ideologies of communication.<sup>58</sup>

Talat Farooq in her article Islam and Western Modernism: Is There A Way Forward? has pointed out that organized colonization 'was accompanied by the notion of the supremacy of Western Modernism.' She states:

The term modernity represents the scientific and technical advances that were obtained subsequent to a shift from politico-religious authority to secular democracy.... The pre-modern Muslim societies were agrarian with weak central authority. Far flung areas of the empire were controlled by religious figures who managed the justice system and education. The tribal setups gave a great deal of power to ulama. As opposed to the Muslim political elite, Islamic reformism became important to the religious authorities. The ulama encouraged the middle class to resist state power and defy European commercial and economic

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<sup>58</sup> David Lelyveld, 'The Fate of Hindustani' in Carol Breckenridge and Peter Van der Veer (eds) Orientalism and the Post-Colonial Predicament, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993, p. 191



concepts...The ulama and the market forces opposed both colonial influences as well as the secular nationalism of the intelligentsias....In societies where ulama were under state control, as in Ottoman Turkey, the intelligential led the independence movements unopposed. Nationalism became the preferred doctrine of people with western education and for those uprooted elements who in the aftermath of colonization did not belong to traditional thought patterns or communities. The political intelligentsia adopted secular nationalist leanings because it helped integrate masses under their leadership....<sup>59</sup>

Ian Talbot in his book Divided Cities explains the bloodshed caused after partition of India in the two cities of Lahore and Amritsar. His observation was:

Violence in both cities was fed not only by a cycle of revenge killings but by uncertainties regarding their future status. The Muslim League demanded the whole of the Amritsar district for Pakistan in submission to the Radcliffe Boundary Commission established after the acceptance of the Partition Plan of 3 June. Non-Muslims made similar ambitious claims for Lahore to be included in India.<sup>60</sup>

The book India and Pakistan: Inventing the Nation by Ian Talbot studies the impact of partition on various aspects including identity of Hindus and Muslims and concludes:

The magnitude of the social upheavals of 1947 was so great that elites involved in the construction of national and collective identity have seized on partition as a benchmark to confirm their reading of South Asian society and history. The communal holocaust which accompanied the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 created the greatest refugee crisis of the twentieth century. Some seven million people migrated to Pakistan. Around 5.5 million Hindus and Sikhs crossed over in the opposite direction from West Pakistan to India.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Talat Farooq, 'Islam and Western Modernism: Is There A Way Forward?', in Criterion Quarterly Vol. 4 No. 2, Rawalpindi, Layersown Press, 2009, pp. 61-65

<sup>60</sup> Ian Talbot, Divided Cities, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 44

<sup>61</sup> Ian Talbot, India and Pakistan – Inventing the Nation, London, Hodder Arnold, 2000, p. 157

For primary sources, All-India Muslim League Papers, AFM Volumes 170 to 193, a Compendium, Quaid-i-Azam and his Times edited by Sharif al Mujahid and other archive documents regarding press and publications promoting Urdu were consulted. The printed material constituting All-India Muslim League sources consisting on Jamil-ud-Din (ed.) Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement and All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan: A chronology (1906 - 1947) were also consulted to evaluate the progression of events.

It was difficult to collect material for INC and Hindu leadership, therefore, technology was employed for this purpose. The on-line research did fill up the gap to some extent to gather material from the Indian authors and sources. The limitation to go to India for research became a reality with the turbid relations across the borders. However, the most effective, interactive and impressive link had been of M.S. Thirumalai, who readily offered other links and sources for more literature on INC and Hindu leadership.

The published sources based on speeches, documents, historic facts have been assessed with the relevant set of background and perspective and a consistent effort is made to stay targeted towards comprehending the events, circumstances and reactions in the perspective of India, South- Asia and the Western World. Towards the twenty-first century, it is realized that the perspective becomes very important to analyze any situation as time in the distance is evaluated better with similar situations at hand of the present time. Secondly,

due to the results of historic decisions proved or rejected by the reality of future, the fogginess of mind is removed.

## CHAPTER IV

### Important Languages of South Asia in the Pre-Colonial Era

The geographic location of South Asia adds a unique panoramic view of landscapes. The rich soil irrigated with the waters of mighty 'Indus, Jumna-Ganges, and Brahmaputra and their tributaries begin within 100 miles of one another in the Himalayas' but flow in three different directions through the mountains, down into the expanse of the north-central plains. These 'three river systems' along with a steady flow of melting snow had encouraged farm life where people were generally living in small villages. The villages had been self-sufficient and production of every commodity depended upon the concerted efforts of the villagers. To the south of the northern plains region are the highlands of the peninsula, which project out into the Indian Ocean. From these highlands the land gradually slopes down into the region of coastal plains and tropical beaches of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Srilanka and Maldives.<sup>62</sup> The division of land by the rivers had drawn margins and boundaries for different tribes, religious groups and rulers. Through Mohammad bin Qasim entered the influence of Islam and an emphatic effect of Arabic language stamped the area. Later on the Persian language with the same script found greater acceptance in the region. But this script is not seen going beyond Jumna Ganges etc. even when the imperial influence had almost touched the very south of India.

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<sup>62</sup>James H.K. Norton, *India and South Asia*, USA, Dushkin/McGraw-Hill Companies, 1997, pp. 3-6

The villages of South Asia reveal a full political picture of South-Asia. The chief of a tribe or a clan would control the affairs of all the people and the political structure would be strengthened by the central power confined to matters like defense, irrigation and public works. According to Khalid B. Sayeed:

The whole Indian empire, not counting the few larger towns, was divided into villages, each of which possessed a completely separate organization and formed a little world of itself.<sup>63</sup>

South Asia offers many examples of cultures and civilizations which have representative languages. Sanskrit, the most ancient language was introduced by the 'Aryan immigrants' along with 'a new social pattern — the *caste* system' based on 'a number of groups — priests (the highest group), warriors, craftsmen, agriculturists' and 'at the bottom end' are the untouchables.<sup>64</sup> Classical Sanskrit was the language of the priests and was never spoken by the masses. It served as the lingua franca for the upper-class 'learned Brahmins'. The language for the masses was much simpler comprising many dialects called Prakrits. Al Basham considers Devanagari as "Script of the City of the Gods" in which Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi and as Marathi are written. 'Local variations led to the development of individual scripts in the Punjab, Bengal, Orissa, Gujarat and else where. He further stated that 'Dravidian languages are based on 'an independent group of languages with a distinctive character.'<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Khalid B. Sayeed, Politics in Pakistan, USA, Praeger Publishers, 1980, p. 2

<sup>64</sup> Robert Clayton & John Miles, South Asia, Great Britain, Granada Publishing Limited, 1967 pp. 15 - 17

<sup>65</sup> A.L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India, London, Picador, 1954, pp. 395 - 400



According to David Crystal, Languages have 'structural similarities and differences' and 'a historical perspective, investigating the origins of language, and pointing to the importance of linguistic change'. He stated:

The best-known conflicts occur when the criteria of national identity and mutual intelligibility do not coincide. The most common situation is one here two spoken varieties are mutually intelligible, but for political and Historic reasons, they are referred to as different languages similar cases where political, ethnic, religious, literary, language and identity force a division where linguistically there is little difference — Hindi vs Urdu, Bengali vs Assamese..<sup>66</sup>

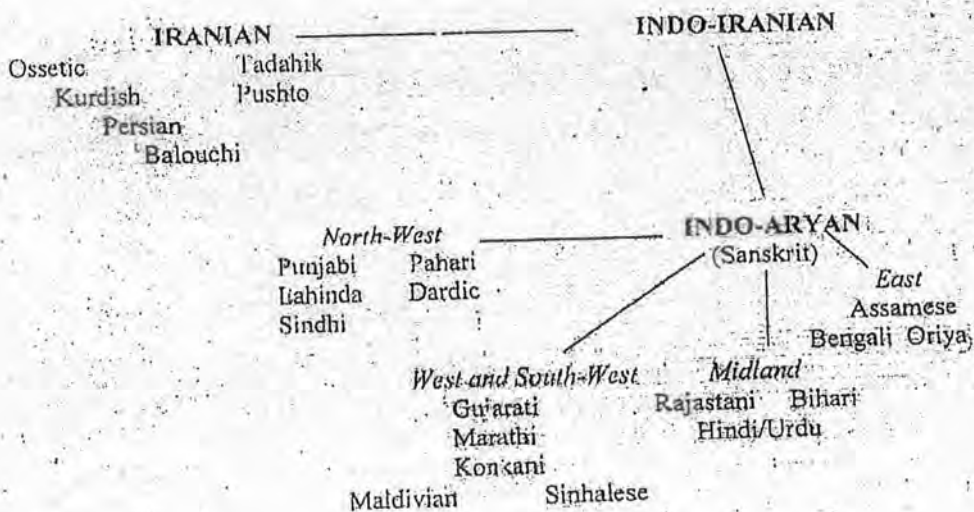
In South Asia, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Arabic were used as religious languages by Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims. However, Persian was brought to India as the Imperial language of the court. It had no hidden threat of religious influence even though it had the similarity of the Arabic written script. As the rulers were Muslims, hence the period of Persian- rule had an implied support to the Muslim culture in India along with its contribution of developing an indigenous language called Urdu. As the religious studies reached to the masses, Buddhists simplified their teachings for better religious comprehension through Prakrits, the Hindus preferred Hindi to Sanskrit and Muslims preferred Urdu to Arabic. For it is obvious that the languages promote specific cultures which can only become common life-style through adopting and assimilating with religious ideologies leading to distinct communal identity.

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<sup>66</sup>David Crystal, The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1987, p. 84

In the region of South Asia, 'none of the countries has one common language: in India alone over 800 languages and *dialects* are spoken though there are fifteen principle languages'.<sup>67</sup> Norton limits it to '13 major languages, each with innumerable dialects 'with 'diverse as well as crowded multicultural environment'.<sup>68</sup> India is a vast country with numerous languages and dialects divided by experts into four distinct groups — Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibete-Burman. Of these the first two are very important which are mainly spoken through the stretches from north to south and east to west some two thousand miles each way with 600 million inhabitants drawn from various races, cultures, and religions, each speaking a different language or dialect. As Sanskrit and Prakrit entered into experimentation with foreign and local languages and regional dialects, there emerged a whole range of developed languages representing numerous ethnic groups.

### Languages of India<sup>69</sup>



<sup>67</sup>Robert Clayton & John Miles, *South Asia*. Great Britain, Granada Publishing Limited, 1967, p. 12

<sup>68</sup>James H.K. Norton, *India And South Asia*. USA, Dushkin/McGraw-Hill Companies, 1997, p. 3

<sup>69</sup>David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1987, p. 298

Hindi and Urdu are mostly bracketed together even though their use is specific to two groups, communes which ultimately became two nations. One obvious reason is that these grew in the North of India and were constantly employed for the fulfilling of the religious teaching demands of Hinduism and Islam. As Urdu was linked to the King's court, hence it got developed unchallenged, however once the glory of court was gone, Hindus realized the urgent need of developing Hindi. As the language pattern of Urdu was similar, hence the quick transition happened. However the literary depth of Urdu and its poetic texture could not be transferred to Hindi for the obvious reason that Urdu got developed with the variety of Muslim cultures of Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan.

In pre- Islamic days the transit trade between the subcontinent and the rest of the world for spices and other articles was in the hands of Arab traders, who carried the goods to Egypt and Europe to Syria and back. After embracing Islam, the attack of Muhammad bin Qasim, introduced its unique characteristics based on goodwill; by granting the rights of the dhimmis [the protected] to the Hindus and the Buddhists of Sind. Arabic and Sindi were spoken in Sind but Iranian influence was also effective, particularly after the rise of the Dailamites when the use of Persian became more prevalent, especially in Multan. Before the introduction of the steamship, the sea-going boats had to keep close to the shore and small colonies of Arab sailors and traders were to be found at all important ports along the shores of the Indian Ocean and in the Bay of Bengal. Probably there was a substantial Arab colony at Chittagong in east Bengal as may be inferred from the existence of an unusually large number of Arabic words in the local

dialect, the Arab influence on pronunciation and even the fact that more Bengali manuscripts written in Arabic script are found in areas around Chittagong than in any other parts of Bengal.

The mighty rivers of India reveal changing languages of the people living on its banks after every ten to fifteen kilometers of its flow. A language apparently is a symbol of identity hence people are emotionally attached to it. Urdu and Hindi in this regard had been two emotionally charged terms instead of two languages representing two people and two nations. More than the geographic boundaries, these languages hedged about the two nations of Pakistan and India in 1947. It goes without doubt that languages offer a complete, comprehensive pattern of life imbibing the cultural and religious beliefs. The development of mind at the personal level and social and political at the national level can be summed up as:

The more we learn about language the more we understand that it is not only the means of our communication and the instrument with which we have preserved our civilization, but that it is also the instrument with which, more than any other, our brains work. With the development of a sense of symbol and creativity — with language — man became human. When we study language we are studying one of the mighty forces that have made man what he is and may yet help to make him something better.<sup>70</sup>

It is with this perspective that the two most important languages of the subcontinent Hindi and Urdu are viewed. Just as it was difficult to say that there is only one nation in India similarly it was impossible to believe that only one of these languages would represent the whole of the country. However, the social and cultural development of

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<sup>70</sup> Chariton Laird & Robert Gorrell, English as Language, New York, Harcourt & World, Inc., 1961, p. 7



languages in India were quite settled and established by the time the British started ruling the subcontinent. As Marx predicted in his article "The Future Results of British Rule in India":

England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating — the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia.<sup>71</sup>

From time immemorial it is seen that the conservative, closed, religiously based, superstitious civilization of South Asia had encouraged movement of people from other parts of the world to the region for adding new perspectives to its old life patterns. Amongst these are included the Aryans who invaded India in 1500 BC. It brought an Indo-European language, which later evolved into Sanskrit, the classical language of ancient India. The collections of religious songs formed the basis of a tenth century B.C. anthology of 1028 poems called the Rg Veda, the oldest-surviving religious literature in the world. The Veda is still considered *sruti* — that is, inspired, literary, "heard by ancient seers" — the most sacred of all Hindu religious texts.<sup>72</sup> The Vedic language passed on from generation to generation, through oral traditions. About the 7th century B.C. it was standardized as Sanskrit language. It was used by priestly class, which jealously guarded its privileged position and also kept the knowledge of Sanskrit confined to its own class. Men like Mahavira and Buddha, who represent the forces of revolt against the elite Brahmanical traditions, deliberately used the local languages or Prakritas to reach the masses. The edicts of Asoka were issued in Indo- Aryan Prakritas

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<sup>71</sup>Khalid B. Sayeed, Politics in Pakistan, USA, Praeger Publishers, 1980, p.2

<sup>72</sup>James H.K. Norton, India And South Asia, USA, Dushkin/McGraw-Hill Companies, 1997, pp. 6 - 7



which developed into Apabhraṃśas and evolved the modern languages of India. With the advent of the Turks and the Iranians in the North in the 11th and in the South in the 13th Century was ushered in a tremendous new impact, which profoundly influenced the Indian linguistic scene for all times thereafter. Persian held sway for a long time as the Court language. Persian and Arabic words also penetrated in local dialects. Eventually a language was born which continued to be labeled as, Hindi, Hindui, Raikhta or Urdu.

The subsequent periods in south Asian history and literature shows some peculiarities of acceptance of religions. Numerous epics like Mahabharata and the Ramayana and early Buddhist literature gave more prominence to the warrior or princely community to which the heroes of the epics and the Buddha belonged. The Arab period with its inspirational teachings had brought in a totally different culture. Arabic was accepted as the religious language of the Muslims but due to its complexity, it got restricted to recitation only. However, the learned religious scholars learned Arabic for comprehending the spirit of the religion but for its teaching they looked for a language which was less complex. During the Muslim period in India, Persian was the court language but there was no antipathy against local languages. Surprisingly, 'next to Persian, the language which received great patronage at the Mughal court was Hindi. Kavi Rai became the poet laureate. Other famous Hindi poets were Raja Birbal, Tulsi Das and Bihari. Hindi, which was considered 'vulgarized speech unworthy of attention', got promotion at the courts by the Muslim emperors, however, Urdu did not get any attention that it could be considered at

par with Persian.<sup>73</sup> As the language of the masses, Urdu grew up in the streets of the cities through the teachings of the saints. In fact it is stated that the Muslim intellectuals like Amir Khusro and saints like Nizamuddin Aulia encouraged a language that could be understood by the common people. This is how Urdu was developed and it became the most commonly understood language which was also used in the courts of the princes and kings. The mystical and freethinking ideas of the Sufis were carried into Hindu and Muslim India through the medium of the great Persian poets. Percival Spear in his book A History of India 2 analyzed the role of Persian as:

Persian tastes, ideas and attitudes are so imbedded in north India that they are often thought to be local products. Though Persian is no longer spoken, its daughter language of Urdu continues its influence and is widely spoken in India as well as being one of the official languages of Pakistan. Hindustani, the everyday language of the north is deeply indebted to it. But perhaps the most lasting of Persian influences was the imperial apparatus of government. The Mughals further re-acclimatized in India the idea of an all-pervading ordered administration. The British could not have organized India as they did if the people had not already been, as it were, apprenticed to the idea of unity. Nor, in consequence, could independent India have grown so quickly in unity and strength.<sup>74</sup>

Later, from Mughal period almost down to the British days the environment centered primarily on religious studies. Literature in Arabic was mainly theological that is, commentaries, expositions and exigencies of sacred texts or jurisprudence. Shah Waliullah of Delhi (d. 1752) is perhaps the greatest name in this line. As a political thinker, social reformer and religious ideologue, he had influenced

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<sup>73</sup>S.M. Ikram, The History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961, p. 459

<sup>74</sup> Spear Percival, A History of India 2, England, Penguin Books, 1965, P. 51

popular and scholarly thinking.<sup>75</sup> The mystical orders, using the regional languages and infusing them with the literary idiom, have done much to acquaint the masses with love of God and of Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

Till the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Mughal Empire was found to be consolidating its power. However, even after ruling for centuries, they had never succeeded in really integrating the country.

The Indo-Persian cultural plant may be described as an abortive aristocratic civilization whose roots did not penetrate deep enough into the Indian soil to enable it to withstand the storms which tore down the overshadowing imperial umbrella. The Mughals had provided an idea but not a sufficiently strong belief in a way of life.<sup>76</sup>

Historically and linguistically, Persian language played a very dominating role for almost three centuries, however due to various causes, reasons and policy decisions, the rulers who brought the language to the land could not cement it with the lives of the masses. If English could become the lingua franca, why did Persian not get that claim? As this discussion falls outside the dimensions of the present study, hence the area is not fully discussed. However the success that Persian language had attributed to the subcontinent needs to be discussed in greater detail.

Humayun, the son of Babur was expelled from India and had to spend several years in Iran seeking military aid from the Persian king. He

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<sup>75</sup> Syed Abdul Quddus, *The Cultural Patterns of Pakistan*, Lahore, Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., 1989, pp 157-8

<sup>76</sup> Spear Percival, *A History of India 2*, England, Penguin Books, 1965, P. 70

regained the throne of Delhi in 1555, died in the same year and the work of consolidation of the Mughal Empire was carried out by his son, Akbar, who ruled from 1556 to 1605. As a result of Humayun's visit to Iran, military and political collaboration opened up a new era of close co-operation between Iran and subcontinent in literature, education and art. Earlier on, Persian had reached this subcontinent mainly from Afghanistan and Turkistan, but now the linguistic and literary current began to flow from Iran itself.

The agony of Mongol conquest could not reduce the well-established glory of the great empire which had the prestige of power as well as of letters. In the subcontinent, Persian was the government language used widely through the country because of the wide Mughal administrative web. Its cultural prestige caused it to be studied by aspiring youth everywhere. As a symbol of economic, social and cultural prestige, it was studied by the people of all the religions. The beauty and range of its literature captivated the most of its learners while its pre-Muslim background gave it an attraction for Hindus which Arabic could never have. The big step in Persian influence was its use by the Hindu nobility and Hindu ministerial class. Akbar's Rajput partnership added greater glory to it. From that time onwards, Persian attained the status of a diplomatic language throughout India. When the missionary Swartz went on a mission to the Hindu raja of Tanjore in the extreme south of India in the eighteen century, they conversed in Persian. Hindu students in Delhi commonly took Persian as one of their degree subjects till the outbreak of the Second World War.

Persian was the court language and the vehicle of literary and intellectual activity for seven centuries of Muslim rule. It has deeply influenced all modern Muslim languages such as Urdu, Pushto, Sindhi, Punjabi, and what is called "Mussalmani Bangala". In fact Persian literary tradition is the most important factor which has created cultural unity in the subcontinent. The British, too, had to acquire the tool of this language to mesmerize all in the court of Jehangir and Nur Jehan. J. Hussain writes:

The English, finding themselves no match for the Dutch in the East Indies, decided to compete with the Portuguese for the foreign trade of India. In A.D. 1608 Captain Hawkins arrived at Jehangir's court with a letter from the King of England asking the Emperor for permission to set up a trading post or 'factory' at Surat on the Gujrat coast. Although he was treated with great hospitality, permission was not granted because of greater Portugese influence in the court. Sir Thomas Roe, however, did manage to obtain such permission after spending three years at Jehangir's court.<sup>77</sup>

The spread of Persian language during the reign of Aurangzeb was huge. This language had influenced the whole of South Asia as well. The impact of the language had been felt to the limits of the very south. However Aurangzeb had decided to replace the administrative system of Akbar which was based on the amalgamation of religions and cultural dimensions through the innovation of Deen-e-Ilahi.

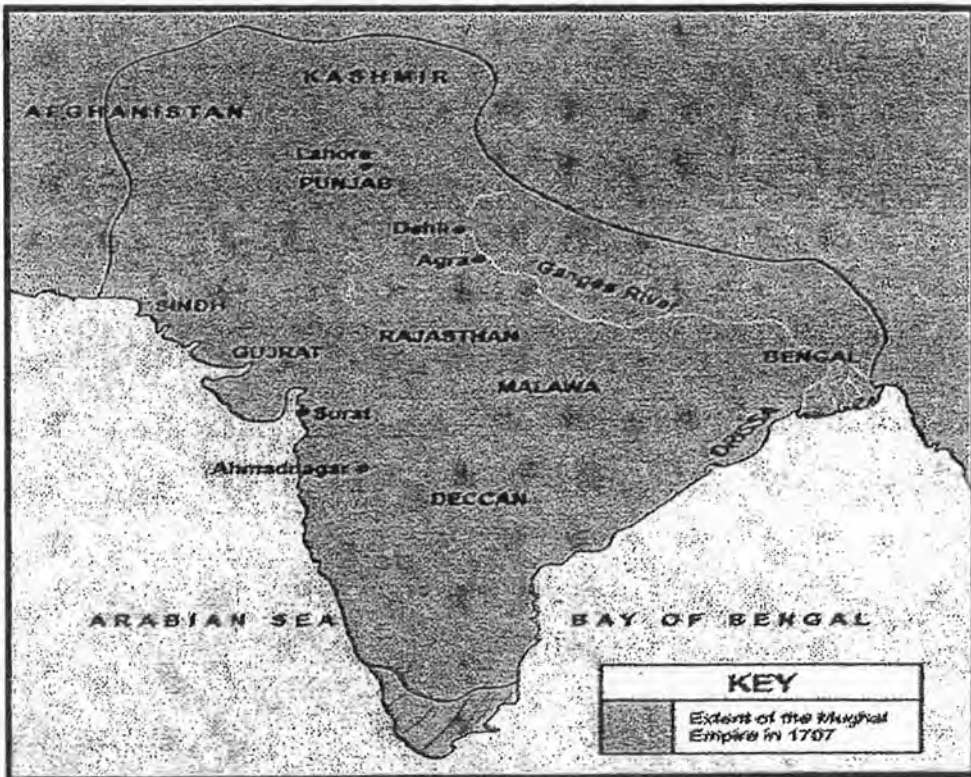
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<sup>77</sup>J. Hussain, An Illustrated History of Pakistan, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1983, P. 95



Map-2

The Empire of Aurangzeb and the spread of Persian language<sup>78</sup>



<sup>78</sup> Nigel Kelly, The History and Culture of Pakistan, London, Peak Publishing, 2004, p. 10

In his passion to see Muslims living according to the rules of Islam, Aurangzeb tried to implant a system of government based on the administrative systems used by the caliphs in the Middle East. J. Hussain while analyzing the details states:

Unfortunately, many of the details were not suited to the subcontinent, either to its physical features or to its peoples. For instance, many of the regulations about agriculture were designed for desert areas, while the taxation rules were meant for countries where most of the people were Muslims. Therefore, some of the policies turned out to be impractical and had to be dropped. At first, for example, Aurangzeb ordered that no non-Muslim should serve in the administration. But soon he realized that this was impossible and adopted a compromise policy allowing up to one half of the administrative posts to be held by non-Muslims.<sup>79</sup>

Western influence, which had assessed the administrative weaknesses of the Indian rulers, came not as a closed religious system but in the form of universal ideas in a secular setting which could be accepted and even acted upon to some extent without open treason to social and religious tradition. Though Indian customs were respected and few like Hastings and Sir W. Jones studied the Indian culture heritage, it became fashionable to learn English for career purposes and the region of Bengal where the British establishment happened to be had immediately absorbed the ideas within it. In 1816 the Hindu College was founded where English was taught and its literature was studied. Hindu philosophy based on superstition was challenged by reason and the talk of human rights threw fresh light on the caste system. Hence the first stirrings of change in Hindu society

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<sup>79</sup> J. Hussain, *An Illustrated History of Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp.104 -05

began in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Calcutta where western education started leaving a solid impact.

The origins of the Urdu language can be traced to the eleventh-twelfth century when the first Muslim kingdom was established in Lahore and Persian-speaking settlers learnt to communicate in the local language which they named Hindvi. Strangely enough it was not in the north of the subcontinent, where it was born, but in the south that the new language, which later came to be known as rekhta or Urdu, matured and developed. This is because, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, the principalities of upper Deccan broke away, not only from the imperial court in Delhi, but also from its court language, Persian. During the days of Mahboob Ali Khan, the sixth Nawab of Daccan, John Zubrzycki described:

His reign became known as 'The Days of the Beloved' and is looked upon even today as Hyderabad's golden era. By the second half of the nineteenth century Hyderabad had become the greatest cultural centre in India, blending Mughal Persian and Central Asian traditions with those of its Hindu, Sikh, Parsi and Christian communities. Calligraphy, music, painting, poetry and the sciences flourished. Nobles competed to attract the best poets and Qawwali singers to the palaces, calligraphers were commissioned to inscribe the walls of the mosques and religious events were patronized. By the beginning of the twentieth century it was the most important centre for Urdu literature in India.<sup>80</sup>

It was however towards the middle of the eighteenth century, when both the Mughul court and the court language, Persian, were already

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<sup>80</sup> John Zubrzycki, The Last Nizam – The Rise and Fall of India's Greatest Princely State, Sydney, Pan Macmillian Ltd., 2006, pp. 102-3

on the decline, and Urdu came into its own homeland the northern areas of the subcontinent. The end of the nineteenth century saw the birth of what may be called the modern movement in Urdu poetry actively directed and sponsored by the British elite. It was based on the critical dicta of Mathew Arnold and other Victorians.

It is interesting to see that Hindi originally was used for Urdu. Amir Khusro and many other literary figures of yore used the local words for the language of the land. Due to River Indus, the word India was carved out and its people were called Hindu and Hindustani and the language they spoke was Hindi. A.L. Basham while giving the geographic boundaries of India states:

South of the great plain is a highland zone, rising to the chain of the Vindhya mountains. These are by no means as impressive as the Himalayas, but have tended to form a barrier between the North, formerly called Hindustan, and the peninsula, often known as the Deccan (meaning simply "South"), a term used sometimes for the whole peninsula, but more often for its northern and central portions.<sup>81</sup>

The development of Hindi as a literary language resulted with the establishment of Fort William College by Dr. John Gilchrist. Originally the books were to be translated in 'Urdu for the use of text-books' for the newly arrived British officers. However, Lallo Lalji, Gujrati Brahmin, made special efforts by translating 'a portion of Bhagwat Geeta, under the title of 'Prem Sagar' and compiled it in Deonagri instead of Persian or Urdu script. Through careful selection of vocabulary, he replaced Persian and Arabic words with 'words from Brij Bhasha and Sanskrit'

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<sup>81</sup> AL Basham, The Wonder That Was India, Kundli, Replika Press Pvt. Ltd., 1954, p. 2

and had them printed in 'Deo-Nagri script'.<sup>82</sup> Dr Tariq Rehman evaluates the important role of language planning activities which brought about 'Hindu intellectual tradition'. The 'standardization and graphization' processes helped Hindi language to achieve the two aims of replacing words of Persian and Arabic origin by Sanskrit ones and printing them in Devanagri script. The British lent support to Indianization of Urdu, in order 'to make the government more popular by opening up government employment to Hindus who had no knowledge of Persian'.<sup>83</sup>

Syed Abdul Qudus describes the history of Urdu as:

Few languages have had so strange a birth or so chequered an existence as Urdu. It derives its name from the Turkish *orda*, camp, which has also given English its word "borde". It began as a lingua franca between the Turkish or Persian speaking ruling elite and the people of northern India during the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.<sup>84</sup>

Even though the barbaric furor of the Mongols subsided almost after a decade; however in Islamic lands they were fully absorbed into the texture of the Muslim culture. In India the descendents of these barbarians, the great Mughuls founded a great empire. Their royal encampments still retained the Tartar name Urdu or Urdu-i-Mualla (the exalted royal encampment); and the name passed on gradually to the language spoken in the camp.

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<sup>82</sup> Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement And Hindi-Urdu Conflict. Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, pp. 38-9

<sup>83</sup> Dr. Tariq Rehman, Language And Politics In Pakistan. Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp 61-63

<sup>84</sup> Syed Abdul Qudus, The Cultural Patterns of Pakistan. Lahore, Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., 1989, p. 155



Urdu language developed rapidly and the vocabulary became extensive as it had the ability to absorb words from other languages in it. In other parts of the sub-continent, in Deccan and Gujrat and at Delhi and Lucknow, Urdu developed under the patronage of decadent courts, and was the instrument for the imagination of the poets attached to court and convention; it was therefore at a disadvantage from the beginning. During the sixteen and seventeen centuries the courts of Bijapur and Goiconda were centres of Urdu writing. The school of literature in the Deccan reached its perfection in the time of Vali Daccani (1668-1744) who, with the conquest Deccan by the Mughul emperor Aurangzeb, came into touch with the orthodox spoken Urdu of the Mughul camp. He blended his own idiom of Deccan with the polite and more Personalized spoken language of the North, blazing the trail for a new and richer school of Urdu poetry which rose in Delhi. With Vail, regional Urdu literature came to an end, and the conventional style began which was to flourish in the two northern centres of Delhi and Lucknow for over a century. Urdu poetry came to Delhi during the last days of the Mughul Empire. It was in Delhi that Muslim civilization was maintained throughout the years of confusion; and it was in the same place that the best Urdu literature continued to be studied and written.

The upheaval of 1857 was the first chaotic, unprincipled armed uprising for freedom which rocked the sub-continent, spelt the doom of the Indian Muslims, and left them face to face with two alternatives, one of slow annihilation, the other of imbibing the spirit of the conquering civilization to survive as a subordinate group. With the beginning of the Victorian era in the sub-continent and the

development of Urdu combined the impact of Victorianism in its literature. The turbulent times ahead brought Urdu to the struggle of survival, of adjustment and readjustment, of cultural assimilation and reorientation, of criticism and acceptance, which changed the main current of verse.

The leader of the Muslim struggle for survival and resurgence, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817- 1898) played the pivotal role of safeguarding Muslim culture and language. He turned to writing didactic prose to hammer out a clear cut, matter-of-fact, racy style of expression. This meant a new departure, for Urdu prose which only displayed a leisurely artificial style full of expression which was euphemistic, ornate, figurative highly decorative, with rhythm and rhyme, parallelism and antithesis, and many rhetorical devices. Urdu had been employed mainly for the narration of parables, fairies and demons but rarely, it would turn occasionally to pious and realistic themes. Its liberation began with Ghalib's colloquial epistles.

In 1800 the first healthy and conscious influence of the west began to be felt through Dr. Gilchrist who in Fort William College, Calcutta, patronized a movement for simple and direct prose, which found its finest literacy expression in collection of tales *Bagh-o-Bahar* (The Garden and the Spring), by Mir Amman of Delhi. Prior to this, in choosing the vehicle of Urdu prose for purpose-oriented writing, Sir Syed Ahmed had largely to rely on the resources of his own personality and his desire to forge a vocabulary and a style which could introduce western intellectual thought and science into Urdu. He wrote on archaeology, architecture, theology, scholasticism, ethics,

medieval and rationalist philosophy, the theory of education, and on numerous political questions under consideration and he laid the foundations of modern Urdu journalism. The prose of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan opened up new possibilities in the Urdu language; historical and academic scholarship and literary criticism:

Mohammad Iqbal, the poet, philosopher and intellectual and political leader brought about a revolution in Urdu verse. This consisted in his breaking away from the conventionalized classicism of the earlier Urdu poets and in introducing, in theory as well as in practice, the concept of art and literature as a reformatory experience which can shape and mould individual and social life of man. Earlier on, Ghalib had articulated with great facility in both Urdu and Persian. The intellectual insight, narrative and poetic deliberations brought Urdu language equal to any other international language of repute and glory. For religious promotion as well, 'Shah Rafiuddin and Shah Abdul Qadir (sons of Shah Waliullah), brought out their translations of the Quran in simple Urdu'.<sup>85</sup>

Sir Syed inspired a group of his devotees to share the burden of didactic writing. Altaf Hussain Hall, wrote the famous Urdu poem under the caption 'The Ebb and Flow of Islam' better known as 'The Elegy of Indian Muslims'. The poem aimed to arouse the Indian Muslims from their deep slumber of inactivity and depression and inspiring them to work for the revival of their magnificent past. 'This

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<sup>85</sup>Quddus, Syed Abdul, The Cultural Patterns of Pakistan, Lahore, Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., 1989, p. 162

poem is a memento of the turbulent period, when Anglo-Hindu conspiracy was playing havoc with the Indian Muslims'.<sup>86</sup>

Mohammad Hussain Azad, Deputy Nazir Ahmad, Abdul Haleem sharer were some of the other names which forwarded Sir Syed's mission. These outstanding writers and reformers wrote novels and essays etc., managed Urdu newspapers and delivered lectures in stimulating the Muslims towards a goal of self identity. Literary criticism and academic scholarship developed remarkably in the hands of Maulvi Abdul Haq and syed Suleiman Nadvi. Urdu literary magazines gained in popularity and exercised an increasing influence over the intellectual mind, not known elsewhere except in 18th century England and modern France.

The development of Muslim identity gave a new dimension to Urdu. The language of poetry and literature suddenly developed the fire of political jargon. It had a complete sway over the provinces which today constitute Pakistan. Lahore became as great a centre of civilization as Delhi. Few languages have had so strange a birth or so chequered an existence as Urdu. It began as a lingua franca between the Turkish or Persian speaking ruling elite and the people of northern India during the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Its basic syntax and verbal forms are indigenous to the northern area of the subcontinent while its more learned diction is drawn from a heavily Arabicized Persian with a few Turkish contribution. Like English, it possesses a wider range of expression and it is harmonious and musical without being

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<sup>86</sup> Dr. Farman, Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement And Hindi-Urdu Conflict. Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, p. 179

monotonous. The more peculiar sounds of Arabic have been softened, and one result, for example, is that the alphabet has five letters for five different tones of the sound of "Z".<sup>87</sup>

In the East, Urdu found its home in Bengal as well. The launching of AIML from Dacca, gave a new strength to Urdu as a language of politics. The dismal conditions of Bengali Muslims had kept them away from learning and development. The whole advantage of EIC was exploited by the Hindus who found the arena empty for their own manipulations. The study of Bengali language reveals that no literature has been received from the pre-Muslim period. It is probable that the higher classes disdained the vernacular and preferred to express their literary art in Sanskrit, the language of the gods, while the thoughts and observations of the lower classes in the vernacular were transmitted orally from generation to generation. So it may be concluded that whatever literary shape was given to the ideals, aspirations, and activities of the people in the Bengali language took place during the Mohammadan rule.

But during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Wahabi movement of India gave to Islam a distinctly puritanical character and was hostile to the play of imagination in religious matters. This new element in vocabulary led to a division between a Hindu Bengali and a Muslim Bengali. The latter soon fell into disfavor as the Muslims became less important, socially and politically, under the British rule, while the former flourished due to the favour shown to the Hindus by

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<sup>87</sup>Quddus, Syed Abdul, The Cultural Patterns of Pakistan, Lahore, Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., 1989, p. 155



the EIC. The Hindus began, in the course of about fifty years, to look down upon their contemporary Muslim neighbors who had been reduced to great poverty and distress and had lost their Persian culture without being able to adopt another one in its place.

In short, the Hindus created a literature that was entirely or almost entirely an expression of Hindu culture and ideology. Gradually a consciousness of helplessness dawned upon the Muslims. They attributed their backwardness to the neglect of their religious precepts, but failed to recognize their want of adaptability to the new circumstances. The great personality of poet Nazrul Islam came to the rescue of Muslim influence on Bengali. Indeed, it has been he alone that raised the prestige of Muslim writers in the eyes of the Hindu authors and Hindu public.

The literary, cultural and religious history of Muslim Bengal is largely unwritten and few outside would think that Persian literature ever flourished in this area and that even when it ceased to be a dominant cultural influence in the land, it left a deep impression on the language of the people — the Muslim Bengali. Persian as the language of the court therefore was the principal language to create centre of Muslim cultural influence. There are references to such political figures like Bughara Khan, son of Balban as the governor of Bengal became so attached to the place that he gave up the throne of Delhi and Sultan Ghiasuddin who is buried at Sonargaon.

In Bengal, Persian used to be the language of court and culture, and

the province thrived culturally on the common Muslim heritage. During eight centuries of Muslim rule, early Bengali poetry had elements in common with early Urdu, and has often the same themes. The story of Saifulmuluk and Badi-ul-Jamal is one of the earliest composed in Bengali as in Urdu. But during the last two centuries Hindu chauvinism and foreign interests led Bengali further and further away from the original Muslim cultural tradition and from Urdu. With the gathering momentum of the Muslim Freedom Movement the tide was turned, mainly by Qazi Nazrul Islam, who enriched the Bengali language and imagery by borrowing words and expressions from Persian and Urdu.

Urdu has, however, a more direct claim on Bengal. It was at Fort William College; Calcutta that Urdu prose emerged in its present form freed from the shackles of euphuism and effeminate rhymes. It was at this College that the first scientific study of Urdu philology, phonology, and semantics was undertaken. However, there never had been a mass movement or a structured government influence on the development of the language. Later on even after 1947 as a part of the biggest Islamic country, in East Pakistan the development of Urdu was largely a result of individual efforts.

The emergence and development of languages had been a constant social and political requirement. However, it obviously shows a tilt towards the game of power where a language may or may not be used as a symbol of strength.

Urdu became the state language of Pakistan, after playing the unifying role for the struggle movement. This commitment which was initially

made to announce the difference of two cultures and civilizations did not get the same fervor and enthusiasm which it desired as the State language. However Urdu also migrated from India at independence, along with the Urdu-speaking Muslims of India. Within Pakistan, it was not the mother tongue of any ethnic group. Some half-hearted efforts were made at the government level to promote it through 1-the East and West wings of the country. However, 'recognition had been growing that rather than inhibit regional languages, Urdu should progressively assimilate them. This inaugurates a new phase in its career.<sup>88</sup>

The Hindu-Muslim differences gradually gulfed deep, due to the controversy of Hindi and Urdu. Ultimately the truth was discerned that Hindus and Muslims are the followers of two different social orders, ideologies and religions. In fact, the surprise is greater to look back in retrospect and think how these two different groups lived together for over eight hundred years Norton sums up the debate as:

Each language and each religion, as a symbol in its structural integrity as a language and a religion, is expressive of what is ultimately true. They are isolated and preserved, then, not for what they are, but what they represent to those for whom they are authentic symbols.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Quddus, Syed Abdul, The Cultural Patterns of Pakistan, Lahore, Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., 1989, p. 157

<sup>89</sup> Dr James H.K. Norton, India And South Asia, USA, Dushkin/McGraw-Hill Companies, 1997, p. 21

## CHAPTER V

### **Politics and Policies of British in India**

The transformation of East India Company into British government of India brought the whole of the subcontinent into a new focus of modernism. The government rules and policies, legislative development, agreement and disagreement and the whole process of meeting the rulers in their own claimed ways brings in a transition of change from archaic to the new. Calcutta became the centre of learning and in its domain, the legal development of associations, leagues; political groups etc. supplemented the educational and reformative system that the British rulers had intended for India.

As the learned men from Britain, with the background of the most amazing scientific, political, economic and social experiences turned towards South Asia for trade, they not only focused on the existing scenario of the kings, rulers and tribal chiefs of the subcontinent but also the futuristic approach of expansion in their pursuits and endeavors. Obviously, they had not anticipated that the course of events would offer them the rule and benefits of centuries. Hence, the rules of politics guided them in principle though some of these had been the cruelest and most inhuman decisions taken for their own economic gains for example:

After 1757 there thus grew up a state of Bengal administered by the Nawab but where the military power was in the hands of the Company who used it to help themselves to the revenue and to give their merchants a free run of the country's internal trade. The sponsored state became a plundered state. In a few years

Bengal was ruined and the Company brought to the verge of bankruptcy.<sup>90</sup>

The British in the two roles of EIC administrators and rulers kept on experimenting with policies as the need would arise. At times, political gains were subservient to the economic ones, for example division of Bengal for administrative reasons in 1905 was later on annulled in 1911 as the Hindus, who feared dominance of Muslim rule in East Bengal threatened to boycott all the British goods. Basically the policies and Government of India Acts were to give an administrative structure to the vast continent however there were some policies which directly and indirectly impacted the development of many languages of India. Fort William College established in 1800 at Calcutta was one such example. The British were aware of the significance allotted to some of the languages as they themselves were well equipped with Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian etc. when they entered the court of the Mughal Emperor. In fact, it was due to their successful language policies that English stood out as the most important language of the region and retained its status as the official language of India and Pakistan instead of Hindi and Urdu as the only lingua franca of the countries respectively.

British supremacy over the oceans gave it the success which no other nation could claim. Even though Arabs had the experience of managing trade through seas from a much earlier date but they could never develop it as strength. The largest of the European empires was the British which after its loss of American colonies in the 18th century had concentrated on India. When the EIC was chartered by Elizabeth I in 1600, its primary commercial goal had been the spice harvests of

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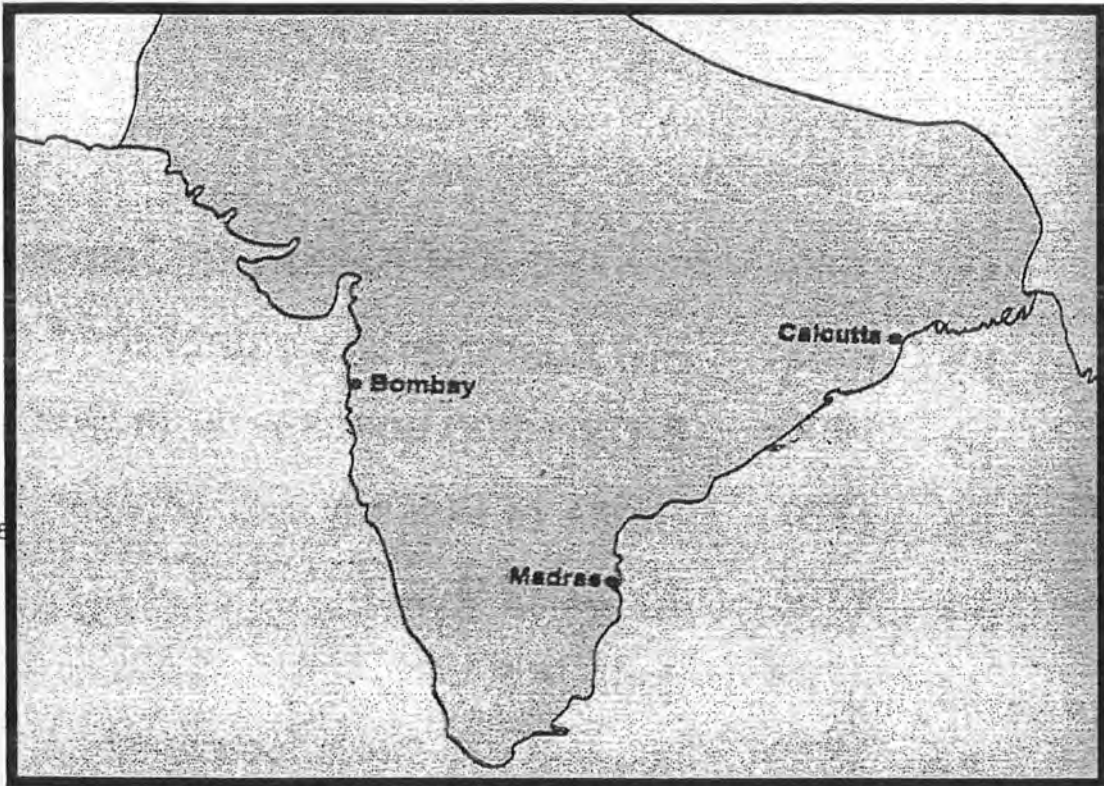
<sup>90</sup> Spear Percival A History of India 2, England, Penguin Books, 1965, p. 85



the Malay Archipelago, and it was keenly aware of Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch competition.

**Map-3**

Three bases of East India Company in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>91</sup>



<sup>91</sup> Nigel Kelly, The History and Culture of Pakistan, London, Peak Publishing, 2004, p. 16

Sir Thomas Roe, in 1612 negotiated permission for the company to build its first trading post at the western coast port of Surat and during its early years the company concentrated on building up a network of peaceful trading posts. Surat seemed to be a secure place to organize the area for trading. The history of the subcontinent reveals that its invaders had always entered through West. However, the British could not grow at this spot, the way they had established themselves at Madras and later Calcutta. Among many reasons, one important point was that as the trade impact had spread out to South-east Asia, hence the concentration developed especially at Calcutta. But from the geographic aspect, it also becomes clear that the established cultural centres in the North of India would not easily let the foreigners to settle. EIC did not move from Surat or Bombay to Madras or Calcutta on land but had to use the sea route to establish itself in the East.

In 1640 the company leased from a Hindu ruler a plot of land on which to build a fort called Madras. In 1668 the company acquired Bombay, an island that had come to the English Crown as part of Charles II's Portuguese bride, and from this new base on the west coast the company looked with longing at the eastern province of Bengal, with its rich market in saltpeter and textiles. This was easily granted by the Mughal emperor who was distracted by wars against an emergent Hindu power, the Marhathas. In 1756 the French encouraged the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Daulah to attack the EIC base at Calcutta. He captured the city, but was unable to control it. Clive arrived with a force of EIC soldiers and defeated Siraj-ud-Daulah's troops in the Battle of Plassey...The EIC rewarded him by making him Nawab of Bengal showing the might with which British control was growing.

Thus one of India's richest provinces fell under British control and later on, after the victory in the Battle of Buxar in 1764 British influence actually increased. The EIC now took control of the revenue collection in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and also extended its influence into Oudh.<sup>92</sup> Robert Clive as company Bahadur of Bengal drove the French out of the region and also defeated the local Muslim ruler at the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and established the company as a major political power.

Clive arrived at Calcutta in May 1765 and one of his earliest acts was to negotiate with Shah Alam from whom he obtained the grant of Diwani (the right of revenue collection) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in return for the districts of Allahbad and Kara and the annual payment of 25 lacs of rupees. This gave a legal basis to what had already been achieved by the force of arms at Plassy, and later at Buxar.<sup>93</sup>

For the administrative consolidation of the company the Regulating Act of 1773 was passed to assist Warren Hastings — Clive's successor in the company hierarchy. Accordingly, he was appointed the governor general and Madras and Bombay were brought under the control of Bengal. Hasting's council was augmented by four members appointed directly by Parliament. In 1784, the British government passed the India Act and took direct control of the Indian possessions. It appointed a Governor-General, who would have control of the three presidencies. There would also be provincial governors and a Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The EIC continued to trade but lost most of its administrative powers. To further improve efficiency, a police force and legal system were set up

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<sup>92</sup> Nigel Kelly, The History and Culture of Pakistan, London, Peak Publishing, 2004, pp. 16-17

<sup>93</sup> S.M. Ikram, History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961, p. 367

on British lines. A professional civil service was also introduced, but local people were not given jobs in it. Only the British were considered suitable to help run 'British India'.<sup>94</sup>

With Hasting-Tipu peace treaty in 1784, the Company's territories could be defended against the strongest available union of Indian powers single handed and without help from Europe. The Company's single government controlled distant governments of Madras and Bombay and moved ahead from the status of revenue collection to formation of a state. A cogent economic argument for the hegemony of India was the preservation of Company's tea investment in China as well as opium trade from India to China. But more than the opium trade interest in India, there were interests in Britain, which could influence policy-making in London including the powerful and independent shipping interest upon which the whole British position in India depended.<sup>95</sup>

On July 10, 1800, Governor-General Lord Wellesley established Fort William College in Calcutta as an academy and learning centre of Oriental studies. Initially it fostered the development of languages such as Bengali and Hindi as well as establishing Calcutta as an intellectual centre. Later on with the advancement of the control of the Company to the other regions of India, other Asian languages like Arabic, Hindustani, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali; and later Marathi and even Chinese were added to the list. Thousands of books were translated from these languages for the training of British officials in

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<sup>94</sup> Nigel Kelly, *The History and Culture of Pakistan*, London, Peak Publishing, 2004, p. 18

<sup>95</sup> Spear Percival, *A History of India 2*, England, Penguin Books, 1965, p. 113



Indian languages. Urdu was named Hindustani due to the name of the region where it was mainly developed. 'During the early years of the foundation of British rule, Dr. J. B. Gilchrist of Fort William at Calcutta engaged a group of writers to write Hindustani prose. This form of prose was channeled into two distinctly different styles: Hindi, purged as far as possible of Persian words and Urdu, remaining as close as possible to persianized style. From this time onward, the difference between Hindi and Urdu became increasingly sharper.'<sup>96</sup>

With the British settling down in the seat of power, their requirements changed. Bentinck announced his educational policy of public instruction in English in 1835, mostly to cater to the growing needs of administration and commerce. He clipped the wings of Fort William College and the Dalhousie administration formally dissolved the institution in 1854.

By 1818, with the decline of Mughals and Marathas, the British India had started bringing relief to the masses by restoring law and order and ending war-like calamities. 'Under the Spur of Burke', the British Parliament of Tory government committed itself 'to reach the status of a policy'. Peace had to be restored to the region to promote trade. This could be achieved 'with the patronage of art, literature, and even religion, and avoid any provocation of established customs.' The two decisions blended with it were to send Christians from West to 'the land of idolatry par excellence' and the law of 1813 by which 'the Company's trading monopoly was abolished'. The British Parliament 'wished to go beyond economics' because they 'believed passionately

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<sup>96</sup> J. Das Gupta, Language Conflict and National Development, California, 1970, p. 2



in the superiority of the western world, and in its indefinite progress with the release of the principle of reason as the mainspring of development.' The Radicals joined the Utilitarian, the two important humanist groups to denounce customs which seemed to offend against humanity. Along with this, there was James Mill who's History of India (1817) won him a key position in the 'Company's policy making at the India House'. With this backdrop, Governor-General Bencdick removed the two evils of Thugs, who combined robbery with ritual murder in honour of goddess Kali' and 'Suttee, or the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands as a religious rite'. The British rulers had been dreading to take these anti-Hinduistic beliefs, however, when the rules were laid down, the Hindus accepted these with a sense of relief.<sup>97</sup>

When the British completed their hegemony of India up to the Sutlej in 1818, they inherited a country in ruins. The company devised to govern in the Mughal and general Indian tradition and provided a framework of security beneath which traditional society could continue its due course. Peace would promote trade and trade would be to Britain's advantage. Along with this, the commitment of the Parliament for the promotion of welfare would win good reputation to EIC's policy.

The 1833 Act of British Parliament, called also the Charter of Equality of Races, made it clear that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, should, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said

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<sup>97</sup> Spear Percival A History of India 2, England, Penguin Books, 1965, pp. 119-123

Company. By this Charter, the sole legislative power was vested in the Governor-General in the Council of Bengal to the supersession of the power formerly enjoyed by Bombay and Madras, thus establishing not only legislative centralization, the beginning of the Indian legislature, but also the framework of Modern India.

In 1829, it was announced in an official communication that as an admitted policy of the British Government English language would gradually and eventually be the language of public business throughout the country. The British claim for the cultural unification of the country came through English language without any support from an indigenous language. An entire plethora of vernaculars was encouraged and instead of one common language, Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Gujrati, Sindhi, etc, all seemed to secure similar attention. Thus the cultural unity of the country became totally dependent on English with local dialects and languages for internal working of the region which ultimately sowed the seeds of the present language problem of India.

In 1834, arrival of the new Law member, Thomas Babington Macaulay made a powerful reinforcement towards application of western knowledge and English education in India. Under his supervision the resolution of 7 March 1835 declared 'the promotion of European literature and science' and availability of funds for imparting to the Native population knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language'. The other important measure was that English replaced Persian as the official state language and

the medium of the higher courts of law whereas local languages replaced Persian in the lower courts.

By one stroke the learning of English was given a great stimulus for practical purposes, its civilization involving contact with the western ideas and values of which it was the vehicle. At the same time the local languages were brought down from poetry to prose, and were given a function and a status which has led to their modern development.<sup>98</sup>

According to the last charter renewal Act in 1853, EIC was nothing more than a managing agency for the administration of India subject to the British government's directions in matters of policy. The Board of Control disappeared in favour of a Secretary of State and the Court of Directors melted into the minister's India council. 'Indian administration as well as policy could now come under daily Parliamentary scrutiny' thus establishing the launching of democratic understanding. With the establishment of 'Haileybury College as an exclusive medium of admission' into Civil Service, young British officers were prepared for the administration of districts and secretariats 'rising to the Governor General's council and the governorships of the new provinces.' A meeting of about 4,000 people staged a 'national demonstration' at Calcutta adopting a petition to the House of Commons which characterized 'the non-admission of natives into the new constitution of the Legislative Council'.<sup>99</sup> Even though Indians succeeded theoretically by availing the permission to sit for the exam, however practically it was impossible to avail the opportunity at London. The demand had been to conduct 'civil service examinations

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<sup>98</sup> Spear Percival *A History of India 2*, England, Penguin Books, 1965, pp. 126-7

<sup>99</sup> S.R. Mehrotra in *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*, New Delhi, Rupa Co, 1971, pp. 104-5

simultaneously in India and Britain'.<sup>100</sup> In the meantime the 'unexpected happened' when 'an Indian, named Satyendranath Tagore, succeeded in passing the Indian Civil Service examination'. Between '1862 and 1875' only ten Indians had passed the exam out of which six were Bengalis. Lord Salisbury, as secretary of state for India reduced the age limit 'from 21 to 19.' This obviously was an issue to make it more difficult for the Indians. Hence, it became a question of national importance which caused a national movement. The already awakened Indians of Bengal in particular corresponded 'with leaders of public opinion in other parts of India' for a national protest.<sup>101</sup> Lord Ripon (1880-84), being representative of 'liberal upsurge in Britain associated with Gladstone, favored the movement and supported the Indian associations to raise voice for their rights for the British Parliament to accord approvals. He introduced a system of local self-government for both town and country. He also introduced the Ilbert bill, to let Indian session judges try Europeans in the courts, which raised a racial storm. It was due to his unique efforts to generate the sense of 'new nationalism' that when he retired, Indians accorded him an ovation which nobody could ever win again.<sup>102</sup>

The India Office in London had been considering the question of the specific oriental languages to be studied in England by the candidates selected for the Indian Civil Service. In a letter dated 12th August, 1881, Her Majesty's Under Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, London, that, based on the reference made to the Government of India, which was communicated

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<sup>100</sup> S.R. Mehrotra in *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*, New Delhi, Rupa Co, 1971, p. 197

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 392-4

<sup>102</sup> Spear Percival *A History of India 2*, England, Penguin Books, 1965, pp. 155-6

in the Government of India Dispatch No.21 of 17th April 1881, it was decided that in future selected candidates should be required before leaving England to qualify in the following languages shown in a tabular form:

<b>Presidency or Government</b>	<b>Language Obligatory on candidate</b>	<b>Languages optional but if taken up to be encouraged by prizes and marks</b>
Lower provinces of Bengal	Bengali	Hindustani and one classical language
North Western Oudh and Punjab	Hindi	Hindustani and one classical language
Madras	Tamil	Telugu and one classical language
Bombay	Marathi	Hindustani and one classical language
Burma	Burmese	Hindustani and the classical language

This made two vernacular languages compulsory, and left out the study of the classical languages, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit, optional, but apparently encouraged the vernacular languages for several local governments. The communication stated further:

Applying this principle to the circumstances of the several presidencies, His Lordship in Council would propose, in the case of Lower Bengal, to prescribe as obligatory on each candidate the Bengali Language, leaving optional with the candidate the second vernacular Hindustani; but giving it express encouragement by prizes and marks. In a similar manner he would make Hindi obligatory in the North-West Presidency, Oudh and the Punjab, and leave Hindustani to the option of the



candidate, but with encouragement as in lower Bengal. With respect to the classical languages, His Lordship in Council is disposed to direct that they be left options but encouraged by marks and prizes; only one such language, however, being allowed to be taken up by any probationer, and that one, whichever of the three, Persian, Arabic, or Sanskrit the probationer may select.<sup>103</sup>

It is interesting to see that for Urdu, the term Hindustani is used. Hence it was the common perception that Hindustani means Urdu. Thus it becomes very strange when Gandhi announces from the platform of Congress to maintain Hindustani as lingua franca and later on explained further that by this he means Hindi Hindustani. There is obviously no doubt that Hindustani was the acclaimed term used for Urdu. Secondly, the use of Hindustani in Bengal got established due to the influence of the Muslims in the region. The masses as well as the leaders were using this language quite freely in the East, therefore to say that at partition, Urdu was enforced in the Eastern Wing of Pakistan holds little truth.

As the last head of EIC, Governor-General, Dalhousie (1848-56) pushed forward public works more vigorously including Indian railway system, telegraph, roads and planned three Indian Universities. However his policy of annexation of Indian states was viewed with apprehensions. The annexation of Oudh for misgovernment, even though justified had 'concealed an explosive mixture' in it. It happened when 'the military authorities' provided 'the greased cartridges for the new Enfield rifles, smeared with cow's and pig's fat, unclean to both Hindus and Muslims'. This resulted into Mutiny in 1857 which ended

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<sup>103</sup> [thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org](mailto:thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org)

the Mughal rule from Delhi and the EIC was replaced by the representatives of the British Government. The Board of Control disappeared in favour of a Secretary of State and the Court of Directors melted into the minister's India Council. Indian administration as well as policy could now come under daily Parliamentary scrutiny. The Indian interest in the Commons was small but it could be effective. The title of Viceroy was added to the already existed Governor-General. Hence, after securing the throne through massacre and blood bath, few matters were given extreme importance:

They made important changes in policy and administration in relation to the army and finance, the Indian states, the northern landlords, westernizing reform, and consultation with Indian opinion. By and large there was a change of attitude in two directions. It was realized that the government should be in closer touch with, and more sensitive to, Indian opinion, particularly the established classes who could control the general mass of the people, and there was a new caution in implementing the westernizing policy.<sup>104</sup>

An exhausted country in 1818 was quite ready to accept another foreign regime which might be regarded as a continuation of or revival of Mughal rule provided that the socio-religious fabric of society both Hindu and Muslim was left untouched. The start of the British Indian state under Warren Hastings was along with these lines, but the policy was transformed in the time of Bentick. Western civilization, through the medium of western education and learning, of Christian missionary propaganda, of western material techniques and instruments, and above all the English language, was to be introduced. The introduction of such innovative steps changed the attitude of the most conservative

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<sup>104</sup> Spear Percival, A History of India 2, England, Penguin Books, 1965, pp. 141-44

traditional classes. However the process had been far from peaceful. The Mutiny in 1857 gave a severe shock to the British self-confidence and it made them take important changes in policy and administration in relation to the army and finance, the Indian states, the northern landlords, westernizing reform, and consultation with Indian opinion. Public works rather than public morals or western values were the guiding star of the post mutiny reformer. The chiefs remained as decorative survivals enjoying much outward respect. The evidence of this silent and fundamental shift in opinion was to be found in the sudden upsurge of English education in the course of the next generation. The peace had formerly been made by the government and missionaries who wanted to do the christening of the infidels; therefore, together they were set to rule and reform the Indian soil. From mutiny experience, the British learnt to exercise great caution in dealing with established customs or institutions in any way connected with religions.

South Asia, the region of great opportunities, had attracted invaders from all over the world. Most of the rulers, who sometimes settled in these parts, did not consider enforcing their own language onto the locals. The British, however, considered it a point of immense significance that education would only be according to their defined standards. Hence, century shows the hurried change of languages from Persian to Urdu then to Hindi and finally to English which subordinated all the other languages.

Such was the pressure of politics that the classical languages and vernaculars were put aside and people were not considered literate

and educated if they did not know English. These drilled-in perceptions changed the attitude of the Muslims and Hindus and they saw their survival in learning English language which was a symbol of modernism and success.

In 1857, through the life line to the east i.e. Suez Canal firmly secured, the British rule further expanded to Iran and the whole of South Asia. Originally the sea route used to take three months but due to the benefit of Suez Canal linking the Mediterranean to Red Sea, the time consumed was reduced to less than three weeks:

Sometimes the effects on local economies could be bad; the cultivation of indigo in India, for example, more or less collapsed when synthetic dyes became available in Germany and Great Britain. Isolation first disturbed by explorers, missionaries and soldiers was destroyed by the arrival of the telegraph and the railway; in the twentieth century the motor car would take this further. Deeper relationships were being transformed, too; the canal opened at Suez in 1869 not only shaped British commerce and strategy, but gave the Mediterranean new importance, not this time as a centre of a special civilization, but as a route.<sup>105</sup>

The government thus provided public works as the means for the growth of western influence in the field of commerce, industry, irrigation, education or science. Inter communication developed fast because Indians took to new transport establishment. Outstanding among these were roads and railways. The railway system planned in 1853 was virtually completed by 1900, giving India the best system in Asia. A second major public work was the development of irrigation. The process had begun by 1820 with the repair of Mughal canals in the north and old tanks or irrigation lakes in the south. It was pushed

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<sup>105</sup> J.M.Roberts, The Penguin History of the World, England, Penguin Books Ltd, 1976, p.767



forward by Dalhousie and reached its climax in the Punjab and Sind. By 1947, one fifth of the cultivable land was under irrigation and so immune from monsoon heavy falls. The Sukkur barrage in Sind, now a mainstay of Pakistan agriculture, was the last great public work completed by the British in India. To canals were added later hydroelectric projects, harbour works and great new bridges. This attitude of growth and development can be regarded as the gifts of the British Raj.

The resources of India were divided and used against it and the resources of the British were unified. Britain had a rapidly expanding market in Europe and America. Already it had been succeeding in gaining the full control over India.

Setting aside the argument of intrinsic superiority and wickedness we come to the question of leadership. In imperialist eyes this was a facet of general superiority, heaven born leaders being merely embodiments of the general principles. In the persons of men like Clive, Warren Hastings, Lord and Arthur Wellesley, Charles Metcalfe, and Mountstuart Elphinstone the British did in fact enjoy exceptional leadership. But the fact must also be faced that India had exceptional leaders too. Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, a line of Peshwas, Nana Fadnavis of Poona, Madhu Rao Sindhia, Jaswant Rao Holkar, and Ranjit Singh were all men in the front rank of leadership with qualities, diplomatic or military, quite equal to those of their British confreres.<sup>106</sup>

By the time Indian National Congress was established in 1885, it was a settled fact that the form of Western education with English playing a pivotal role would stay and flourish in India. It was also an established fact that jobs in the government, both in the Central and Provincial governments would be available mostly to those who knew English.

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<sup>106</sup> Spear Percival, A History of India 2, England, Penguin Books, 1965, p. 107



Thirdly, knowledge of English began to be synonymous with education. There were at least signs of this tendency in the form of power wielded by the English-educated Indians and the growing higher status accorded to them in the processes of decision-making in public affairs.

It was perhaps assumed that more than the vernacular identity and its use, it was the other factors, and such as race and religion, which had come to regulate the happenings. There was not much of a recognition that language could easily cut across the factor of religion or race. In spite of these handicaps, Indians had crossed the seas and succeeded in the examinations. Hence both Indians and the British did not consider language as an important issue, since it had by that time become a settled fact that English would be the medium of instruction as well as administration. Adoption of English was thought natural and was not considered to be a medium of discrimination. The demand was generally not against using English as the medium of examination, but the demand was only for holding the examination in England and India simultaneously, so as to remove the handicap of crossing the seas. Secondly, the decision was the inauguration of the policy of encouragement given to learning additional languages through certificates, awards and other incentives. Yet another interesting point is the tacit recognition that Hindi had acquired lingua-franca status within most of the provinces of India. There is also an assumption that Hindi and Hindustani, though related, were different from one another functionally.

Partition of Bengal in 1905 became a turning point in the recognition of historic facts. The most important was that Hindus could not tolerate the wellbeing of any other community. Being the majority, they were quick to learn the lesson of democracy. The British unaware of this sense of hegemony, decided to redraw the boundaries of Bengal Presidency and divided it into two parts, finding it too large for one governor to administer. The provinces of Bengal and Assam were reconstituted so as to form the two provinces of manageable size. Western Bengal, with a population of 54 million (42 million Hindus and 9 million Muslims); and Eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 million (12 million Hindus and 18 million Muslims). The territory to be transferred from Bengal to the new province consisted of the districts of Chittagong and Dhaka Divisions, Rajshahi Division excluding Darjeeling, and the District of Malda. Curzon, the Viceroy of India, sent the proposal to London in February 1905. The Secretary of State for India St. John Brodrich sanctioned it in June, and the proclamation of the formation of the new province was issued in September. The province of Bengal and Assam came into being on October 16, 1905. Incidentally, the partition went in favor of the Muslims. Before the partition, Western Bengal, being the first area to come under western influence, was developed and industrialized. It was a striking contrast to the eastern part where the Muslim peasantry was crushed under the Hindu landlords, the river system was infested with pirates, and very few funds were allocated for education. It was dreaded as a place of banishment. The partition helped boost Bengali literature and language; efforts were also made towards the social, economic and educational uplift of the Muslims. This however infuriated the Hindus that they put every type of economic, political

and social pressure on the British Government in England to withdraw the decision.

Another great feature between the British and the new India began with changing trends at schools and colleges. The superiority of Britain was acknowledged both by the old traditionalists and by the new westernized classes. For the former it was the superiority of power, for the latter the magic of the new knowledge; hence, the western education had something for all. Through the growth of education, modern industry was establishing itself. For its further development, a grant-in-aid system enabled Indians to run their own private colleges which were affiliated to a central university. Higher education therefore went ahead while the literacy of the people lagged behind. In the latter, industries sprang up through both Indian and British enterprise, taking advantage of the new conditions of world trade and the new facilities for transport provided by railways and the Suez canal. The government's share was the enabling action of railway construction. It was this period which saw the rise of the plantation industries of jute and cotton, the coal and iron industry which later developed into the famous Tata steel mills.

The roots of Indian nationalism reveal an emotion of dislike for the foreigner. With the notion of the traditionalists, it was propagated that the deep rooted Hinduism is the fundamental basis of unity of India. The Arab philosopher Albiruni noted in the 11<sup>th</sup> century that the Hindus believed that there was no country like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs and no science like theirs. The foreigner was impure in a stronger sense and thus the Hindu system would not lend itself to

unity. As a religio-social system Islam was inimical to Hinduism and though hostility had been softened by time and compromise, the basic antagonism remained.

The British colonial government during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had brought in democratically elected representative government as a modern western institution. Thus the introduction of democracy into the subcontinent as a primary instrument of political modernization had a profound impact not only on the form and goals of government in the countries of South Asia but also on the political development of the people. This also made all the countries in the region to deal with challenges of national identity, of the relation to nationalism, of refugees and of political stability. Yet today more people live under democratic rule in south Asia than in any other part of the world.

The British Parliament had taken number of measures between 1773 and 1935 to regulate the government of India. The first several acts—passed in 1773, 1780, 1784, 1786, 1793, and 1830—were generally known as East India Company acts. Subsequent measures—chiefly in 1833, 1853, 1858, 1919, and 1935—were entitled Government of India acts. The act of 1773, also known as the Regulating Act, set up a governor-general of Fort William in Bengal with supervisory powers over Madras and Bombay. Pitt's India Act (1784), named for the British prime minister William Pitt the Younger, established the dual system of control by the British government and the East India Company, by which the company retained control of commerce and day-to-day administration but important political matters were reserved



to a secret committee of three directors in direct touch with the British government; this system lasted until 1858.

The act of 1813 broke the company's trade monopoly and allowed missionaries to enter British India. Afterwards, the act of 1833 ended the company's trade, and that of 1853 ended the company's patronage. The act of 1858 transferred most of the company's powers to the crown. The acts of 1919 and 1935 were comprehensive enactments, the former giving legal expression to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and the latter to the results of constitutional discussions in 1930-33. The Act approached constitutional progress by developing responsibility upon the provinces and aimed at the 'representation of interests, not of numbers, and as the most vocal interests in India were communal it encouraged communalism.'<sup>107</sup>

The Government of India Act 1935 was the last pre-independence constitution of the British Raj. The significant aspects of the act were:

The core of the Act was the establishment of autonomy, with a representative parliamentary system of government, for eleven British-Indian Provinces, within their defined provincial powers; it intended these provinces to become, willy-nilly, components of an all-India federation including Princely States. The federation itself was also to have a representative parliamentary system, and a large degree of autonomy in the federal sphere, but the Viceroy would retain supreme powers, including the appointment of his own Executive Council or Government and the whole control of defence and foreign affairs and the ultimate responsibility for law and

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<sup>107</sup> R.J. Moore, British Policy and the Indian Problem, 1936 – 40 in The Partition of India Policies and Perspectives 1935 – 1947, (eds) C.M. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwright, Massachusetts, The M.I.T. Press, 1970, p. 79



order.<sup>108</sup>

The Government of India Act 1935 was the longest bill ever passed by the British Parliament. Under this act, in 1937 the first set of elections held which were contested by the two main political parties of INC and AIML with “outright success, Congress was asked to form the government that lasted till the beginning of World War II. After the war, 2<sup>nd</sup> elections were held in 1946 and on the basis of seats allocations to the two parties, the subcontinent was divided in two countries In 1947 with relatively few amendments in the 1935 Act made it functioning interim constitutions of India and Pakistan.

The development of the British supremacy in the two phases, before and after the mutiny of 1857, is revealed through the decisions taken by the British Parliament and their implementation. The details help to comprehend the reasons for conflicts and disturbed social order of India. Therefore, the emergence of INC and AIML and the controversy of Hindi and Urdu would get better projection in the next three chapters.

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<sup>108</sup> H.V. Hodson The Great Divide – Britain India Pakistan, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1969, p.48

## CHAPTER VI

### Modernism and its Related Domains

The term modernism covers many political, cultural and artistic movements rooted in the changes in Western society at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It brought enlightenment to Europe by setting trends of thought which created, improved, and reshaped the conditions of a man's life, with the aid of scientific knowledge, technology and practical experimentation. Modernism encouraged the re-examination of every aspect of existence, from commerce to philosophy, with the goal of finding archaic things and replacing it with new, progressive and better ways. The impact of modernism was brought to South-Asia through the colonial rule where the economic benefits due to technological advancement were of paramount importance for the rulers.

The renaissance brought to Europe, was due to the enlightened new political, social and philosophical theories developed by European philosophers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke etc. They introduced the conceptual distinction between the concepts of state' and "government." It was decided that "state" would refer to a set of enduring institutions through which power would be distributed and its use justified. The term "government" would refer to a specific group of people who occupied, and indeed still occupy the institutions of the state, and create the laws and ordinances by which the people, themselves included, would be bound. Thus the type of

government made functional by the British had a lot to teach about the limitations, ruler's interests and the suffering inhabitants.

The Indians had realized gradually that in order to seek political benefits for their people they would have to work through the same political pattern. Thus a new class of Indians who took an early use of western education emerged to exploit these benefits. The luck had shown on Hindus who were in a privileged position in Bengal. EIC established its headquarters where the Muslims were in an utter deplorable state of abject poverty. Therefore as INC was launched, the Hindus found themselves ready to exploit the political support for themselves.

J.M. Roberts while recording the details of the turbulent political era by 1871, when a newly united Germany took its place among the great powers, states:

Nationalism, one aspect of a new kind of politics, had origins which went a long way, to the examples set in Great Britain and some of Europe's smaller states in earlier times. Yet its great triumphs were to come after 1815, as part of the appearance of a new politics. At their heart lay an acceptance of a new framework of thought which recognized the public interest greater than that of individual rulers or privileged hierarchies. It also assumed that competition to define and protect that interest was legitimate. Such competition was thought increasingly to require special arenas and institutions; old juridical or courtly forms no longer seemed sufficient to settle political questions.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> J.M. Roberts, *History of the World*, England, Penguin Books Ltd., 1980, p. 717

The British rule in India had provided a direct experience to the Indians regarding the political developments of the World. With the victory of Japan over Czarist Russia, India was inspired by the developments of the region. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, in his welcome address as Chairman Reception Committee to the 44' INC session at Lahore, 29-31 1929, thus stated:

Then came the Great War with all its promises of self-determination, the world to be made safe for democracy, equality — of rights and status of individuals and nations — all these things were bound to create a revolution of ideas in the world, particularly among the exploited and the down-trodden nations of the East. Even since the victory of Japan over Russia, the Eastern nations were getting into that dangerous mood of preparing to free themselves from the soul-killing domination of Western Imperialism. The Russian Revolution, the Turkish Revolution, the Irish Revolution, the Persian, Chinese, Egyptian and similar other revolutions had their natural effect on the people. Let us not forget that these revolutions denote two important factors in the working of the present-day human mind,

1. The revolt of the subject races against foreign domination.
2. The world-wide awakening and revolt of the masters against the forces of Imperialism.<sup>110</sup>

The political upheavals were studied by the Indian leaders to their advantage. The spirit of nationalism inspired them towards attaining Independence from the British. By establishing INC, the rulers had provided a platform to experience a parallel government, the making of a constitution, the working of legislative bodies and the application of reforms through local government. Fully enthused with the spirit of

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<sup>110</sup> O.P. Ralhan, & Suresh K. Sharma, Documents of Punjab Vol. 2, New Delhi, Anmol Publications Pvt Ltd., 1994, p. 431

Marxist theory of reforms, Jawaharlal Nehru openly admits in the historic session of Lahore 1929, as he said:

I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old federal aristocracy. I recognise, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as in this National Congress and in the present circumstances of the country to adopt a full socialistic programme. But we must realise the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only points in dispute are the pace and methods of advance to its full realisation. India will have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genuine of her race.<sup>111</sup>

Karl Marx and his theory of Communism proved to be one of the most influential political ideologies of the 20th century. The industrial revolution produced a parallel revolution and capitalism greatly reshaped society. Marxism was developed, and socialism in general gained increasing popular support, mostly from the urban working class. By the late 19th century, socialism and trade unions were established members of the political landscape. INC under the influence of this political theory planned to do service to the Indians. For them, Marxism provided the required ideology to become more politically focused.

Parallel to this, the making of AIML had been on different grounds. Based on Islam as an ideology, it does not speak about the economic

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<sup>111</sup> O.P. Ralhan, & Suresh K. Sharma, Documents of Punjab Vol. 2, New Delhi, Anmol Publications Pvt Ltd., 1994, p. 458



necessity of the nation as the people who hold the party are from among the upper middle class. AIML had a poor mass contact and it was rightly said that INC had greater mass appeal including for the Muslims. For the Hindu leaders, economic welfare was the reply to all whereas time explained that more than anything else, it was the ideology based on Islam which defined the route for the Muslims. INC, unlike Mahasabha — a purely Hindu party, was truly the sole representative party of India. But with the Congress rule in 1937, there were few established apprehensions that the two could never adjust.

The political philosophy of the two groups of Hindus and Muslims clashed from the very beginning. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, through establishment of Muhammadan Anglo- Oriental College at Aligarh, created a centre of a new political ideology to promote Muhammadan interests. He safeguarded the interests of Muslims against the rising Hindu influence in spheres of administration and education. Before the second session of INC, Syed Amir Ali, the honorary secretary of the Central National Muhammadan Association, proposed it to his Muslim brothers to stay away from joining INC. For Deep Chand Bandhu, it was 'the beginning of a parochial stand from the side of the largest religious minority of India towards a national organisation.'<sup>112</sup>

The political philosophy of the two parties therefore had been antagonistic whether it is the establishment of a party or college or language, flag or leaders, INC and AIML had a parallel pattern. Their political interest, too, had been on different point of view, ethics, belief

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<sup>112</sup> Deep Chand Bandhu, History of Indian National Congress (1885-2002), Delhi, Kalpaz Publications, 2003, p. 59

and attitude. It was obvious that they were two different nations and the amazing fact had been that they had survived like this for more than eight centuries. The harmony and nationhood created by the Muslim rulers for such a long time could not be shown by the Hindu government for less than three years. Thus the communal groups who struggled to maintain their identity found the resolve in partition of India into two separate states.

The concept of a state in India had been modern as well. A state emerges out of customs, traditions and civilization. It is prepared for centuries before it takes the final shape. Thus the statement that Pakistan was created with the arrival of Muhammad Bin Qasim who brought the Islamic culture with him needs not to be challenged. In fact culture promotes national homogenization which figures prominently in the rise of a modern state. The Muslims had proved that ideology based cultures get the power to unite and form a nation. This had surprised many Khalid B Sayeed in the very first para of his book Politics in Pakistan writes:

In the eyes of most Westerners, Pakistan, whether regarded as an Islamic state or a Muslim state, was an aberration from the norm. It was expected that the modern forces unleashed during the twentieth century, largely under the auspices of colonial powers like the British, the French, and others, were such that the newly independent states in Asia and Africa would tend to be secular and, if possible, even liberal and democratic. Thus many in Europe and North America were surprised that the Muslim-majority provinces and territories of India — West Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier, Baluchistan, and East Bengal — had broken away from India to constitute themselves into Pakistan

with the primary purpose of protecting the rights and interests of its Muslim citizens and promoting an Islamic way of life.<sup>113</sup>

The concept of a secular state had emerged through economic, imperial and industrial necessities. It was considered that religion would be reserved for the individual and would not interact with the working of constitutions, legislative and administrative spheres. Beverly Nichols, who had voyaged through the whole of India, understood the differences of Muslims and Hindus as two separate nations. In order to elaborate this point, he quoted Renan for his definition of a nation:

What constitutes a nation? Renan says:

'A nation is a living soul, a spiritual principle. Two things constitute this soul; one is in the past, the other is in the present. One is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance. To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have done great things together, to will to do the like again — such are the essential conditions for the making of a people.'<sup>114</sup>

The writer applies Renan's formula of nationhood to India and finds that not a single aspect of it is applicable to the two communes. From his personal observations and study of the state of affairs, he thus condemned the possibility of these two communes to constitute a single nation. The experience of two and a half year of Congress rule over India was an example for everybody to renounce the living of the two together. He thus summed up the negligence of INC as:

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<sup>113</sup> Khalid B. Sayeed, Politics in Pakistan, USA, Praeger Publishers, 1980, p.1

<sup>114</sup> Beverley Nichols, Verdict on India, Lahore, Book Traders, 1944, p. 181

Instead of inviting the Muslims to share the fruits of office, instead of attempting any form of coalition, it rigidly excluded them from all responsibility. But it did not confine its autocracy to political matters; it proceeded to attack the Muslims in every branch of their material and spiritual life. A great campaign was launched to enforce the use of Sanskritized Hindi at the expense of the Persianized Urdu; the schools were dominated in a manner so ruthless that it would have aroused the admiration of the Nazis, Muslim children being compelled to stand up and salute Gandhi's picture; the Congress flag was treated as the flag of the whole nation; justice was universally corrupted and in some provinces the police were so perverted that to this day the Muslims refer to them as 'the Gestapo'; and in business matters the discrimination against Muslims, from the great landowners and merchants to the humblest tillers of the soil, was persistent and pitiless.<sup>115</sup>

The fact that Hindus and Muslims are two nations goes without any doubt. Regarding the ethno-symbolist approach for the formation of a nation, Richard Nixon stated:

Stability at the cost of individual freedom and national independence is so high a price to pay. We should not condemn nationalism but only the excesses of extreme nationalism.<sup>116</sup>

The above mentioned statement reflects upon the criteria for the creation of India and Pakistan through the struggle of liberal and hard-lined nationalists. Thus the point of view of AIML stands vindicated that Muslims are a nation by every definition. An interesting observation emerges from the fact that Muslims initially did not join INC, however later on INC with a fairly large number of Muslim candidates presented itself as the true representative party of India.

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<sup>115</sup> Beverley Nichols, *Verdict on India*, Lahore, Book Traders, 1944, pp. 182-3

<sup>116</sup> Richard Nixon, *Seize the Moment*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1989, p.139



The justification of this point is the focus on economic relief which was an important agenda point. As long as religion had been placed at secondary basis, there was not much discrepancy. In fact Muslims were under greater need of economic uplift. Under Congress leadership and tilt towards Marx's socialism, the Muslims found greater opportunity with the Hindus. However due to INC's rule in 1937 and secondly the opportunity to reorganise AIML by Jinnah in 1936 the whole political scenario of India witnessed a change. The new life into the Muslim politics was put through the formation of Central Election Board of 35 members under the Presidentship of Mr. Jinnah for contesting the provincial elections. The Board met on the 8<sup>th</sup> June 1936 and 'adopted the election manifesto which declared that the League stood for "full responsible government for India", deplored the enactment of the Constitution of 1935, accepted the Communal Award, but rejected the Federal Provincial Constitution, and defined the programme for the election as under:

To protect religious rights, to secure repeal of all repressive laws; to reject all measures which are detrimental to the interest of India, which encroach upon the fundamental liberties of the people and lead to economic exploitation of the country; to reduce the heavy cost of administrative machinery, central and provincial... to stand for social, educational and economic uplift of the rural population;... .to protect and promote the Urdu language and script to devise measures for the amelioration of the general condition of the Mussalmans; and take steps to relieve the heavy burden of taxation and create healthy public opinion and general political consciousness throughout the country.<sup>117</sup>

It was quite obvious that the Muslim leaders had been in favor of united India till INC established its government in India and sidelined

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<sup>117</sup> Dr Padmasha, Indian National Congress and the Muslims. New Delhi, Rajesh Publications, 1985, p.104



and ignored AIML completely. Had there been a greater generous move from INC, the political scene of India would have been different. In support of this argument, Dr. Padmasha writes:

Here some doubts arise about the intentions of the Congress leaders. The factors approve that the Congress leaders knowingly avoided the cooperation of the Muslim League. They ignored the Muslim leaders and underestimated their strength. While Jinnah, apart from his differences with the Congress, still intended to make a rapprochement with the Congress and to solve the communal problem. Had the Congress leaders watched the nerves of the time carefully, the Muslim leaders could have been convinced and the Muslim masses might have been won permanently which they after all, could not do.<sup>118</sup>

Thus modernism and the political offshoots from the modern time philosophies were thoroughly experimented by the Indian leaders. Hence the next two chapters will make the study of INC and AIML in the light of modern political environment as it was prevalent in India. The leaders of the two parties were well versed with the political terminology of the West as they had acquired academic exposure from London. They clearly knew how to exploit a political situation in their favor and how to tackle the rulers in their own political arena.

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<sup>118</sup> Dr Padmasha, Indian National Congress and the Muslims, New Delhi, Rajesh Publications, 1985, p.103

## CHAPTER VII

# Indian National Congress and its Policies for Hindi Language

Before relinquishing the viceroyalty, Lord Ripon recorded his views for his successor's benefit. Among these, the foremost was the 'need to make British civil servants in India to realize that the protection and advancement of Indians was their first duty'. In this regard he explicitly considered that 'intelligent Natives of the Bombay Presidency are the best men in India.' Thus, influenced by these thoughts, Hume reached Bombay to meet the Indian leaders to discuss about 'holding of an annual conference of representative men from all parts of India'.<sup>119</sup> Bombay took the lead in politics from Calcutta and Poona in the early 1880s because of eminent figures of Mehta, Telang and Tyabji labeled as 'brothers in law'.<sup>120</sup> W.C. Bonnerjee, a close friend of Hume, became the first President of INC. With all due considerations, the British loyalists to the government were proposed as honorary members only and the main body of INC was to be spearheaded by the Indian leaders.

Thus, Sir Allan Octavian Hume, in 1885 staged a platform for political experimentation for the Indians with the blessings of the Viceroy Lord Dufferin. However, the historic factors reveal that the Congress was the natural and inevitable production of various political, economic and social forces. The history of a century towards the political

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<sup>119</sup> S.R. Mehrotra, The Emergence of the Indian National Congress, New Delhi, Gopsons Papers limited, 1971, pp 549 - 52

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. p 513

development of India, with Calcutta as the centre of excellence reveals that some eminent Indian leaders educated through English system of education in India as well as in England, started developing the realization of rights and their culture as a source of existence. Under this political awakening, few strands of communal assimilation and differences as the case may be started creating a pattern. By 1885, it was too early to discern what the actual shape would be. However, the most pronounced difference was voiced through Hindi-Urdu conflict and the two groups of Hindus and Muslims had started falling apart. The second episode of the same was the making of AIML in 1906.

Without any doubt, INC was a resultant force of various committees, associations, groups, leagues etc which were formed mainly in the politically charged areas of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Poona etc. during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yogesh Chadha calls it a period of 'Indian Renaissance, which was essentially a synthesis of Hindu tradition and the Western spirit of enquiry'<sup>121</sup>. It is too early for Muslims to make a mark as they were way behind in education as well as political reawakening.

INC was constituted as the first step towards the political awakening of India. The British, with their pride in democratic values offered a system which glamorized the role of the majority. It took the British a quarter of a century to imbibe the fact that India is not totally about Hindus and majority rule would neither be applicable nor possible without taking strong and unprecedented measures. The support lent

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<sup>121</sup> Yogesh Chadha, Rediscovering Gandhi, London, Century Books Limited. 1997, p. 197

by British to establish a separate political party for Muslims was an open realization which materialized finally in 1906.

The historical perspective of Imperial India reveals that it was the story of the monarchs, kings and Padishas. The people of the land had no defined role, in fact it was mandatory for them to act as subjects. The British as the supreme inspiration for existing modernism in Europe thought of promoting the rules of democracy and nationalism gradually without disturbing their own interests in India. It was this reason mainly along with many others that the British tried to foster Indian Nationalism through the organization of INC. This platform provided grounds for Indian leaders to endeavor for Hindu glory and to canalize the conflicting linguistic and religious forces for purposes of nation building. INC was also perceived as an important support needed by the British for their day-to-day political activities and movements. In fact, it became a well known fact that "the Congress was conceived as a safety valve for pressures which might otherwise destroy the Raj"<sup>122</sup>.

In 1884, at the annual convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar in Madras, A. O. Hume laid bare to his friends his plan to organise the Congress. A committee was formed to make the necessary preparations for a session at Poona to be held in 1885. The committee consisted of Mr. Hume, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji, Mr. Narendranath Sen, Mr. S. Subrarnania Iyer, Mr. P. Ananda Charlu, Mr. V.N. Mandalik, Mr.K.T. Telag, Sardar Dayal Singh, Lala Sri Ram.

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<sup>122</sup> Javed Hassan, India: A Study in Profile, Services Book Club, Rawalpindi. 1990, p. 32

The dominating role of the Hindus emerged obvious right from the beginning.

The British perspective towards the political development of India emerges clearly through the establishment of India. Accepting the sincerity of Hume's initiative, it becomes easier to judge what motivated the circumstances to converge on the creation of a political platform. One such inspiration was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who considered it his duty to express the local concerns of 1857 revolt and circumstances thus produced.

However the Hindus did not give it due approbation and showed surprise at the sudden declaration of INC

There was a general feeling which recognized the need for some sort of all-India organization. It is not clear as to who and how the original proposal for an All-India Congress was proposed.....Whatever might be the origin and whoever might have given the original idea, we come to the conclusion, as Sitaramayya (1935) points out, that the idea was in the air that the need of such an organization was being felt, that Mr. Allen Octavian Hume took the initiative, and that it was in March 1885 that the first notice was issued convening the first meeting of the Indian National Union in December 1885 at Poona....<sup>123</sup>

The first-ever President of INC Mr. W.C. Bonnerjee was proposed by A.O. Hume, a British representing Anglo-Indian interests, seconded by a South Indian, Mr. S. Subrahmania Aiyar, and supported by Mr. K. Telang of Bombay. Ironically, while the delegates were required to have been well acquainted with the English language, the first ever

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<sup>123</sup> The details are heavily tilted towards the Hindu point of view and the role of Muslims and impact of Urdu are shown indifference. Website: [thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org](mailto:thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org)



Congress was held in Gokhaldas Tejpal Sanskrit College and Boarding House in Bombay. The place emerged as an omen for rekindling and rejuvenation of Hinduism and promotion of Hindi.

The first session of the Congress was to meet at Poona but owing to an outbreak of cholera the venue was shifted to Bombay. The session began on the 28<sup>th</sup> December 1885, with Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the doyen of the Calcutta Bar in the chair. The meeting was truly a national gathering consisting of leading men from all parts of India.

Not only were all the parts of India thus represented...but also most classes; there were barristers, solicitors, pleaders, merchants, landowners, bankers, medical men, newspaper editors and proprietors, principals and professors of independent colleges, headmasters of schools, religious teachers and reformers. There were Hindus of many castes, high and low, Mahmodans (though owing to certain unfortunate accidents far fewer than were expected) and Christians, both native, Eurasian and European.<sup>124</sup>

The Muslim representation was painfully low. However neither did the writer bother to narrate the 'unfortunate accident' nor did the representatives of the session try to bring the Muslim group in its fold. Thus the realization was obvious that the Hindus did not consider Muslims worth paying any heed.

Through the establishment of INC, the British displayed a sense of responsibility towards the people which was so gratifying for the Indians that they found themselves for the first time as a united group. This however was not to continue for long as the Muslims did not enjoy the same strength as the Hindus did. The definition of

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<sup>124</sup> S.R. Mehrotra, The Emergence of the Indian National Congress, New Delhi, Gapsons Papers Ltd. 1971, pp. 591-3

democracy supported the majority group of the Hindus but threatened the already defeated spirits of the Muslims. However from the Hindu point of view, through establishment of INC, they could control 'three basic elements i.e. people, political parties and pressure groups' in order to appreciate the values of democratic politics. This would get them a glimpse of their golden period again. With British support, Brahmins exploited all opportunities to enter into areas of 'influence in the society and the corridors of power'. Even INC was in firm grip of Brahmins like CR Das, Chatterjee, Chandra Pal, Gokhale, Rajgopalacharia, Tilak, Motilal, Sapru, Jawaharlal, Morarji Desai, etc. Other outstanding personalities, Gandhi and Patel, because of their devotion to Hinduism had developed a Brahmanical personality and played an important role for the religio-political goal of a high caste dominated Hindu India.<sup>125</sup>

Thus it was convenient for British to postulate that India is all about Hindus. In return, the Hindus propagated secular and federal democracy to accommodate Muslims, Sikhs, Tamils and untouchables. The Muslims were 30% of the united India and they refused to be annulled by the secular program of INC, however untouchables given an honorable name as Harijans (children of Hindu god Hari) with Gandhi's fast unto death threat and more seats from the Hindu quota, relented to stay back and join Indian political structure. The other groups from centre and south of India supported INC which apparently stood as the only representative political group of India.

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<sup>125</sup> Hassan, Javed. India: A Study in Profile, Rawalpindi, Services Book Club, 1990. pp 34-5

In its early sessions, the Congress Organisation, by and large, limited its activities only to debates. After the Madras Session in 1887, an aggressive propaganda was started among the masses. Hume published a pamphlet entitled "An Old Man's Hope" in which he appealed to the people of England in these words:

Ah men, well-fed and happy, do you at all realise the dull misery of these countless myriads? From their births to their deaths, how many rays of sunshine think you chequer their gloom-shrouded paths? Toil, toil, toil; hunger, hunger, hunger, sickness, suffering, sorrow; these alas, alas, alas are the keynotes of their short and sad existence.<sup>126</sup>

The pamphlet shows Hume's concern for the development of India and its masses. He had gone all lengths to gift India, a sound political foundation.

Lord Dufferin, the then Governor-General of India, expected INC to perform the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England. He suggested that, in the interests of the ruled, the Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out the defects by suggesting improvements to the government. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion, for, there were recognized political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of India. Idealistically speaking, this was the moment when a resolve of communal issues and racial prejudices could be envisaged with a definite plan of action in the future. But the Hindu euphoria of being the biggest group and the monopoly to get all as a majority group did not let it happen.

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<sup>126</sup> Website: [thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org](mailto:thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org)

Thus INC emerged through Hindu leadership, as a very loyal opposition to the British rule along with the claim to represent the dissenting groups of India in a unified image. India by the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century had established, a well organized bureaucratic structure based on three pillars of civil service, army and the police. This too had contributed in bringing unification to India as a state. INC had started anticipating that with the British out of the picture, it would be an easy transition as a body for being solely responsible for the new emerging state.

The early history of INC shows that 'Congress professed loyalty to the British Government and Crown.' It is stated:

It is clear that men who participated in the debate during the first session of congress were intelligent and well-informed and fully qualified to partake in the administration of their own country.... Though their demands were bold, there was no hint of disloyalty to the British Government. Subrahmanya Iyer acknowledged that, 'by a merciful dispensation of Providence', Britain had rescued India from centuries of external aggression and internal strife and that 'for the first time in the history of Indian populations there is to be beheld the phenomenon of national unity among them, of a sense of national existence'.<sup>127</sup>

English language was emphasized for unifying the various segments of British Raj, comprising variety of religions, languages and cultures. Since English had been settled as the language of administration and education, and since the purpose of INC was only to highlight the local

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<sup>127</sup> S.M. Burke & Salim Al-Din Quraishi, The British Raj in India, Karachi, Oxford University Press., 1995, pp. 98-100

issues for political settlement, the question of the use of Indian languages did not arise at that time.

In the first session of INC, W.C. Bonnerjee as its first President laid down four objectives for the Congress:

- The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the [all] parts of the Empire.
- The eradication by direct friendly intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had there origin in there beloved lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.
- The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the [political and] social questions of the day.
- The determination of the lines upon and methods by which the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests.<sup>128</sup>

There was no indication specifically about language pride or language prejudices in the four major objectives listed by the first-ever President of the INC. Perhaps the prejudices relating to languages were assumed to be covered in the categories of provincial prejudices as well as the relationship between races. There is no reference to the language issue as under the dictates of A.O. Hume, only English would be considered as the language of the party.

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<sup>128</sup> S.R. Mehrotra, The Emergence of the Indian National Congress, New Delhi, Gapsons Papers Ltd. 1971, p. 593



Gradually the standards set for INC sessions got relaxed and many variations and violations got recorded. In order to popularize INC, the delegates to the Third Madras Congress (1887) were not nominated or chosen by individual leaders but were elected by various bodies including those representing craftsmen, small businessmen and workers. Thus, a large number of delegates from the Madras Presidency happened to be those who did not know English. This was a clear violation of the original understanding that membership would only be open to those delegates who would be well-acquainted with the English language. The compromise made in the language policy of INC had a drastic impact on the political viewpoint later on.

After the Madras session, the exuberance of delegates for the promotion of INC inspired Hume to appeal for funds to all classes of the Indian community, distributing leaflets and pamphlets, sending out lecturers, and calling meetings both in large towns and in country districts. Throughout the country, over 1000 meetings were held which were well-attended by the masses. This further generated enthusiasm and as special arrangements, distribution of half a million of pamphlets duly translated into twelve Indian vernaculars was arranged. This was the first major compromise made at the forum of INC, when for mass communication and radicalization of Congress programmes a tilt against the rule of English language for the proceedings was shown. Within a short period of three years, INC had accepted the use of Indian languages in its deliberations, at least as a concession to promote the popularity of INC. This trend was later nurtured through local compulsions and got strengthened, even as the Congress'

original insistence on knowledge of English was retained for obvious reasons of mutual intelligibility and convenience.

At the Nagpur Congress of 1891, only six years after the founding of INC, Lala Murlidhar spoke in Urdu. The translated version given in Sitaramayya (1935:67) reveals his emotional outburst charged with satirical venom.

You, you, it seems are content to join with these accursed monsters in fattening on the hearts blood of your brethren (Cries of No, No.). I say Yes: look around: What are all the chandeliers and lamps, and European-made chairs and tables, and smart clothes and hats, and English coats and bonnets and frocks, and silver-mounted canes, and all the luxurious fittings of your houses, but trophies of India's misery, mementoes of India's starvation.<sup>129</sup>

Once out of the sophistications of English language, the Indian languages succeeded to produce emotive appeal, pungent metaphors closer to the hearts of the audience, the satire and cynicism, daring personal attacks, with the power to arouse the passions of the audience. It appears that Indian languages intruded unobtrusively into the deliberations of the INC in its earliest phase thus delinking it from its main objectives.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's far-sightedness could be seen from his earliest reaction for INC in 1887-88 when he denounced 'its claim to represent the Muslims of India' and questioned its foundation which was 'based on Hindu extremism.' As a custodian of Muslim rights, he

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<sup>129</sup> Sitaramayya 1935 at [thirumalai@bethanvinternational.org](mailto:thirumalai@bethanvinternational.org)

asked for separate electorates, separate nominations to the Local Self Government Institutions and reservation of quota in government service for the Muslims. He turned down the offer of support in favor of INC by Hume and Tayabji by stating:

I do not understand what the words "National Congress" mean. Is it supposed that different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation, can become a nation, and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible. You regard the doings of the misnamed National Congress beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large. I object to every Congress, in any shape or form whatever, which regards India as one nation.<sup>130</sup>

INC of 1889 passed a resolution stating that wherever the Parsees, Christians, Mohammedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mohammed or Hindus, as the case may be in such electoral jurisdiction bear to the total population. This resolution was an obvious disregard to the existence of other communities, who had expected a broader outlook from the majority group of Hindus.

Sir Syed had warned the British that India is a continent and not a country and it is not possible to borrow a political system with distinguished socio-political matters of paramount importance like, caste system, religious conflict, illiteracy and economic depravation. Ch. Muhammad Ali summed it up as:

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<sup>130</sup> S.S. Ahmed, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan The Saviour of Muslim India, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 2002, p. 114 as quoted in Ram Gopal Indian Muslims p.67

Democracy is rule by majority, but if the majority is fixed and hereditary, and also enjoys the privileges of superior education, greater economic and administrative power, control over the press, and talent and money for political organization, the minority is doomed forever to a position of subordination.<sup>131</sup>

This spirit of accommodation in the INC noticed in 1891-92 became also the hallmark on of the language policy of the organization in the policy relating to the use of the Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts of the Hindustani language. Thus, the outlines for a future policy of language and culture were drawn in the very early phase of INC. The argument was not intended to support the use of Indian languages in judicial processes and administration, but was in favour of the juries who would, through a better knowledge of the vernacular, be able to arrive at an appropriate verdict. While the value of Indian languages in administering justice was recognized, the idea that Indian languages could be the medium of administration of justice in courts was not considered for obvious reasons that the comprehensive development for the genre of administrative rules was required in most of the local languages.

This was not surprising since at that point of time the judges themselves were mostly British. The value of Indian languages in arriving at appropriate verdicts did receive some recognition from Hume who in 1879, before the Congress was founded, recommended that rural debt cases should be disposed of on the spot by selected Indians of fame and intelligence who should be sent as judges from village to village to settle cases with the aid of village elders. These

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<sup>131</sup> Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, The Emergence of Pakistan, Lahore, Services Book Club, 1988, p. 11

judges were burdened with no codes and forms of procedures as they would hear both parties in the debtors' own village. This system had the benefit of directly finding the truth. When the case was taken to the court, it would be difficult to call witnesses and make them speak the truth. Whereas on his own village platform surrounded by his neighbours, no villager in personal questions would be able to lie.

Hume emerged as a well-meaning admirer of India who recognized the participation of the village folks and the use of local dialects and languages which could help to facilitate irritating social issues. The emphasis on Indian languages and the rediscovery of the common language and literature came into vogue only later on as the membership of INC became more and more broad-based. The unification of masses did not lead to an assertion of the languages of the Provinces and Presidencies. It led only to the growth of a dogma that a nation must have its own religion and possibly a single common language. This assumption appears to have been true as parties acquired identity and cohesion through the adoption of a single language.

The Act of 1894 brought notification relating to the Press in the Indian States. An agitation resulted against curtailing the freedom of expression via the vernaculars. The British and the Congress had earlier on recognized the potential of vernaculars and their due promotion. Through INC, the doors for the use of vernaculars in its mass communication had already been opened with performances in 1888 in Madras or in 1891 in Nagpur and as was done by the



translation of tracts into 12 Indian languages and distribution of the same in various regions of India, by A.O. Hume.

Dadabhai Naoroji was re-elected as the President of the Lahore Session of the Congress held in December 1893, His journey from Bombay to Lahore presented the spectacle of a procession. At Amritsar, he was given a robe of honour. Addressing the audience at the Session, he declared: 'Let us, always remember that we are children of our mother country. Indeed, I have never worked in any other spirit than that I am an Indian and owe duty to my work and all my countrymen. Whether I am a Hindu or a Mohammedan, a Parsi, a Christian, or of any other creed, I am above all an Indian.'

The early period between 1885 and 1905 was a period of petitions for the INC. Chadha stated the role of INC during this period as:

Notwithstanding the sharp tone of speeches and the increasing number of resolutions passed annually by Congress, the grip of the Crown remained firm from 1885 through to 1904. During these years, religious fervour was used for the first time for political purposes.<sup>132</sup>

This period focused its attention on social reforms, service matters, regional representation and religious cohesion, rather than on any serious thought or effort for the discovery of a common language or for the adequate status, recognition and use of Indian languages. Hence this effected the application of a language policy for the fields of education and administration. The concepts of Swadeshi boycott, self-

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<sup>132</sup> Yogesh Chadha, Rediscovering Gandhi, London, Century Books Limited, 1997 p. 199

government, and national education were in the air, but had to take definite shape strangely through the Partition of Bengal which strongly jolted the whole edifice of the British Raj.

The proposal for the Partition of Bengal was mooted as part of the redistribution of various provinces for administrative reasons since 1867-68, but such proposals did not materialize in full scope until Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, took up the matter and announced the government's intention on 3rd December 1903. The sessions of INC which met in 1903 – 04 recorded its emphatic protest against the proposals of the Government of India, for the partition of Bengal in any manner whatsoever. The proposals were viewed with great alarm by the people, as the division of the Bengali nation into separate units which would seriously interfere with its social, intellectual and material progress, involving the loss of various constitutional and other rights and privileges which the province has so long enjoyed and would burden the country with heavy expenditure which the Indian tax payers cannot at all afford (Resolution at the 1904 Congress session). But the plan for the partition of Bengal was made known to all on 19th July 1905 to become effective as from 16th October 1905. The province of Bengal was partitioned mainly for administrative reasons, in which the predominantly Muslim region of eastern Bengal was separated from the Hindu-dominated western part.

It was the decision of Lord Curzon to divide a linguistically homogeneous community into two religiously heterogeneous groups. The resentment of Hindus knew no bounds. Ironically what they had revoked so emotionally in 1905, was supported in 1947 when Bengal

was divided as per religious groups. The organization and the masses at large throughout the length and breadth of India were galvanized into action by the partition of Bengal. Thus began a turbulent period in Indian politics that awakened the Indian masses and brought in the radicalization of politics and participation of Indian masses in the ultimate struggle for Indian independence. Indian languages which, were not given any crucial role in the conduct of the deliberations of INC sessions and in its programmes of action came to dominate the scene for the next six years. Partition as an emotional topic demanded emotional response and such vigorous expressions could best be conveyed through local languages. Hindus openly showed their resentment to the formation of another province of Muslim dominance.

G.K. Gokhale, the President of the INC in 1905 at Benares, declared that the partition of Bengal was not an issue relating only to the people of a single province; it was upper most in the minds of all Indians. He said in his Presidential address:

A cruel wrong has been inflicted on our Bengali brethren and the whole country has been stirred to the deepest depths of sorrow and resentment as has never been the case before. The scheme of partition, concocted in the dark and carried out in the face of the fiercest opposition that any government measure has encountered during the last half a century, will always stand as a complete illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule -- its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people, the mockery of our appeal to its sense of justice, its cool preference of service interest to those of the governed.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Sittaramayya 1935 at [thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org](mailto:thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org)

It is interesting to evaluate the reaction of INC on the same partition in 1947. Looking back in history, it could be stated that if it was such a horrific experiment, it had to be saved at all costs. However the working of Inc did not support this opinion. While analyzing the role of INC over decades of political struggle, there are various issues which come to the lime light. At the very top is the religion which is not only projected but duly exploited to win the emotions of the Hindu majority.

The Moderates believed in constitutional measures and working under this domain, they criticised the Government through the press. They drafted and submitted memorials and petitions to the Government and also to the British Parliament. They also worked to influence the British Parliament and British public opinion. The object of the memorials and petitions was to enlighten the British public and political leaders about the conditions prevailing in India. Deputations of leading Indian leaders were sent to Britain in 1889. A British Committee of the INC was founded in 1906 and that Committee started a journal called India. Dadabhai Naoroji spent a major part of his life and income in Britain doing propoganda among its people and politicians. The reason for this appeal was to get wide employment of Indians in higher offices in the public service and the establishment of representative institutions.

Sitaramayya (1935) classifies the phases of the history of the Indian National Congress into the era of Reforms 1885-1905, the era of Self-government 1906-1916, the era of Home Rule 1917-1920, the era of Swaraj 1921-1928, the era of Complete Independence 1929-1935, the era of Fight beginning with 1931 Gandhi-Irwin agreement to its breach

in the same year, and the era of reorganization in the years of late 1930s.<sup>134</sup> INC initially reflected the simplicity of thought and approach of the members in its beginning years but within a decade, it recorded clashes and conflicts of ideologies and personalities, and consequent emergence of compromises, which became the hallmark of the organization in subsequent years.

INC gradually succeeded in providing a political platform to the Indians, however it limited itself to the Hindu community. Already Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had prohibited the Muslims to join INC as he considered education of the masses a greater desire than comprehending political issues. However with the partition of Bengal and then its cancellation confirmed that Hindus and Muslims could not meet at the same platform. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah tried to bring the two at one level but the short-lived success of Lucknow Pact turned into nothingness. Finally he too had to leave INC after serving it for few years. 1906 saw the emergence of AIML and its popularity among the Muslims. Urdu language gave it an immediate recognition and therefore a parallel had to be drawn between INC and Hindi as well.

Language policy of the INC became an integral part of their agitational politics. Policies relating to language use in government and education, etc., were always kept under check and used only at the deliberate exercise of the political will of the Congress leadership. It was used as a weapon by the organization in its struggle for independence in its struggle of nation-building. The policy was to

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<sup>134</sup> Sittaramayya 1935 at [thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org](mailto:thirumalai@bethanyinternational.org)



regulate the language loyalties of the sub-nationalities in a way to build a united India. However promotion of Hindi could not materialize this idealism. For INC, the focus for political purposes had been on the vast diversity of culture, religion, social reforms and economic factors, which had immediate bearing on the context of a developing situation. It seemed to be an assumption that Hindi would be able to replace English language as the language of administrative purposes.

The history of the language policy developed by the INC is often seen by its unrelenting critics as nothing but an attempt at the elevation of Hindi as the national language. However, while adoption of Hindi as the lingua-franca for India was indeed a major item on its agenda, the language policy of the Congress evolved itself as a policy for the preservation and development of Hindi language at the expense of other sub-nationalities of Indian Nation.

The establishment of INC in 1885 was a resultant of many factors. The political awakening on the theories of democracy, nationalism, modern political awakening amalgamated with western education and English language played a pivotal role. The economic factor further complicated the scenario it was a fact that jobs in the government, both in the Central and Provincial governments, would be available mostly to those who knew English. This helped in the emergence of English-educated Indians who received higher status by the government for the processes of decision-making in public affairs. Lastly with the mandate of language development at Fort William College, the process of translation from English into Indian languages had already gone smooth. The acceptance of western education

brought in terminology and innovations totally new to the land. Therefore gradually English was accepted as the major donor language. The cultural aspect for Indian languages was lost to English as the language of success.

As a result of the growing disillusionment about the activities of the British rulers and as a reaction against Curzon's proposal for the partition of Bengal there came into existence the extremist party which advocated a policy of boycott, *swadeshi* and national education in January 1907, Tilak declared: "We are not armed, and there is no necessity of arms either. We have a stronger weapon, a political weapon in boycott." Tilak also said: "When you prefer to accept *swadeshi*, you must boycott *videshi* (foreign) goods. Without boycott, *swadeshi* cannot flourish."

With the rise of the militant movement the glamour of England and English institutions began to fade and English influence increasingly came to be replaced by the influence emanating primarily from the indigenous sources. Self-government under British promontory had been the goal of the moderate school, but the ideal of extremist or militant school was complete autonomy and elimination of all foreign control.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) Bipin Pal (1858-1932) and Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) advocated for absolute *Swaraj* Self-Government as it existed in the United Kingdom. The swarajist said

that however much Britain's rule might be improved or liberalised, it could never be as beneficial to Indians as the self-rule.

In 1907, there was a split in the Congress and the Moderates parted company with the Extremists. That split could be traced to the Calcutta Session in 1906, where the Moderates had accepted the resolutions on Swaraj, national education, boycott and *Swadeshi* on account of the pressure brought on them from all quarters. They considered the Extremists irresponsible persons who were likely to put in danger the future of the country. The British Government also tried to win over the Moderates against the Extremists. While the Extremists were roughly handled by the Government, the Moderates were shown all the favours. It must be noted even with this definite split in the Congress each party duly affirmed its love for the Congress which alone was regarded as the true national Assembly for the country and in both the camps the hope was expressed that sooner or later there might again be held a Congress united as before.

Gandhi enters the political field of India in 1915. M.A. Jinnah as chairman of Gujrati Association welcomed him at a garden party by praising the struggle of Gandhi in South Africa. He delivered his speech in English like most of the other speakers of the day. However 'Gandhi expressed his thanks in Gujrati and registered 'a humble protest against the use of English at a Gujrati gathering'.<sup>135</sup> The remark made by Gandhi shows that either he wanted to show indifference to all courtesy to emerge a bigger leader than all the

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<sup>135</sup> Yogesh Chadha, Rediscovering Gandhi. London, Random House UK Ltd., 1997, p. 205

others or he was surprised to find an educated Muslim leader to be at the helm of affairs. Later on, his long professional career shows that he would use a strategy of dramatizing the event to keep the limelight on him. From Gujrati, he advocated Hindi and then propagated the development of Hindustani.

The British involvement in the First World War put a new life in the national movement in the subcontinent. Tilak and Mrs. Besant joined hands to form two Home Rule Leagues in Maharashtra and Madras. The title Home Rule would change the term Sawaraj which was not liked by the British. By the time of the Lucknow Congress in 1916, most of the open sores were healed and the Moderates and the Extremists who were now mentioned as the Nationalists, joined hands for a memorable Pact (Appendix-I).

According to Wolpert:

Ironically, it was the impact of World War I that brought the two major political parties of British India – the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League – together, though only briefly, on a single platform in 1916. Both parties supported the Allied War effort and jointly called for “dominion status” as their national goal after the war ended. It was a golden opportunity for India as a whole. The architect of that 1916 Lucknow pact was barrister M.A. Jinnah, the most brilliant Anglophile Muslim nationalist leader, who had first joined the National Congress Party in 1906, and seven years later the Muslim League.<sup>136</sup>

M. A. Jinnah who is recognized for his merits by every historian of the world does not find much approbation from the Congress leaders,

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<sup>136</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Shameful Flight*, Karachi, Oxford University Press., 2006, pp. 2-3

press or Hindu writers. No Congress leader could match his effort of assimilating Hindu-Muslims as he did through Lucknow pact. Had there been an equal reciprocity, the fate of India would not have ended in partition.

The Indians aspired for the offer of dominion status as a reward of Britain's victory having won the war instead they got the Rowlatt Bills. Accordingly, a martial law situation was extended for six more months. Gandhi called it 'so called Black Bills' and Jinnah labeled the government as 'an overfretful and incompetent bureaucracy which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion'. Hindus and Muslims joined hands to stand up to all atrocities committed by the government. 'Sunday, April 6, 1919 was proclaimed by Gandhi a day of National Humiliation.'<sup>137</sup> The situation became so volatile that strong reactions from the crowd were seen everywhere. The Jallianwala Bagh incident on 13 April 1919 sent a wave of horror and fury throughout the length and breadth of the country. This massacre of thousands proved to be a turning point in the history of the freedom movement.

On 10 December 1917, the Government of India appointed the Sedition Committee (popularly known as the Rowlatt Committee after its chairman Mr. Justice Rowlatt) to report on the nature and extent of conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, and to recommend legislation to deal with them. It was felt that the war was nearing its end and some legislation was needed to take the place of Defense of India Act which would automatically expire six months after the war.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Stanely Wolpert, Gandhi's Passion, New York, Oxford University Press., 2001, pp. 98-100

<sup>138</sup> S.M. Burke & Salim Al-Din Quraishi, The British Raj in India, Karachi, Oxford University Press., 1995, p 179



Jinnah resigned from the legislative council as a protest but refused to join Gandhi's extreme program. However, exploiting the emotional aspect of Muslims for khilafat movement, Gandhi stated 'if Hindus and Moslems are brothers, it is their duty to share one another's sorrow'.<sup>139</sup> This controversial strategy of Mahatma did succeed to join some Hindus and Muslims but there emerged groups of extremists in both sections who did not accept that.

According to Chadha:

Those were the days of the honeymoon of the Hindu-Muslim political friendship. Gandhi believed that he was laying the foundations of Hindu-Muslim unity.<sup>140</sup>

Jinnah was averse to Gandhi's call of civil disobedience to Indian students to leave their schools and colleges to participate in the movement. Being constitutional and parliamentarian, he could not approve of the involvement of students to be wasting themselves. This, along with many other differences made them part the ways.

The programme of the Non-Cooperation Movement involved the surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated posts in the local bodies. The non-cooperators were not to attend Darbars and other official and semi-official functions held by the Government officials or in their honour. They were to withdraw their children gradually from schools and colleges and establish national schools and colleges. They were to boycott gradually the British courts and establish private arbitration courts. They were not to join the army

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<sup>139</sup> Stanely Wolpert, Gandhi's Passion, New York, Oxford University Press., 2001, p. 103

<sup>140</sup> Yogesh Chadha, Rediscovering Gandhi, London, Random House UK Ltd., 1997 p 246

as recruits for service in Mesopotamia. They were not to stand for election to the Legislatures and they were also not to vote. They were to use Swadeshi cloth. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving were to be encouraged. Untouchability was to be removed as there could be no Swaraj without this reform.

The Non Cooperation Movement captured the imagination in which both the Hindus and Muslims participated wholeheartedly. Many students left schools and colleges and the Congress set up such national educational institutions the Kashi Vidyapeeth, Benares Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Bihar Vidyapeeth, Bengal National University, National College of Lahore, Jamia Millia in Delhi and the National Muslim University of Aligarh. English language was replaced by mainly Hindi, however other state languages were also given due consideration. The non-cooperation movement had both a positive and a negative aspect. The positive aspect included the revival of hand-spinning and weaving, removal of untouchability, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and prohibition. The negative aspect fell into three parts: boycott of legislatures, courts, and government educational institutions. This boycott movement spread like wild fire. The Government tried to crush the movement by large-scale arrests, but this only helped to strengthen the movement. Mahatma Gandhi was convinced that the only way to make the Government see reason was to start the civil disobedience movement and he decided to start the same in Bardoli in Gujarat.

Jinnah with his struggle to establish unity among the Indians through the balanced support of INC and AIML had no appreciation for

noncooperation movement of Gandhi. Already, he had emerged as Hindu-Muslim ambassador. The Nagpur session of INC was the parting of ways for Jinnah as the party was being converted from a 'Westernized into an essentially Indian institution. Jawaharlal Nehru described the swift change in the look of the Congress:

'European clothes vanished and soon only khadi was to be seen; a new class of delegates, chiefly drawn from the lower middle-class, became the type of Congressmen; the language used became increasingly Hindustani...and a new life and enthusiasm and earnestness became evident in Congress gatherings.'<sup>141</sup>

Gandhi had also seen 'the necessity of having a definite form of Hindustani – the fusing together of Hindi and Urdu languages which would bridge the gap between Hindus and Muslims.' Had Hindustani been the only worry for INC, a solution would have come out of it, but a language is actually an introduction of the whole faith behind it, hence the basic belief system could not be blended. Gandhi's partiality towards Hindu leaders could be seen on number of occasions. For example, he yielded to the request of Motilal Nehru's request to consider 'his son for the presidentship of Congress' in 1927 even though 'Srinivas Iyengar, the current president preferred Dr. Ansari'<sup>142</sup>, a Muslim congressman with devoted services for Congress nationally and internationally for years. He had endorsed his commitment towards INC while opposing the movement of 'civil disobedience' as a representative of the Muslim group of India. The two aims for which he devoted himself were – 'to find a remedy to the Hindu-Muslim conflicts and to bring his co-religionists closer to the

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<sup>141</sup> Yogesh Chadha, Rediscovering Gandhi, London, Random House UK Ltd., 1997, p. 250

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279

Congress'. He knew that in unity there was a chance for Muslims' survival and nothing should be done 'to weaken the Congress.' He continued as:

'To leave the Congress would be to commit suicide; to oppose the Congress would be a crime.'<sup>143</sup>

In 1922, a group of congressmen evolved a new programme of non-cooperation with the Government through legislatures. Their idea was to enter the legislatures in large numbers and "carry on a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent opposition to the Government." At the annual session of the Congress held at Gaya in December 1922, the "No-changers" won a victory and the programme of Council-entry was rejected. C.R. Das who presided over the session resigned from the Congress and announced his decision to form the Swarajist Party. The Object of the new party was to wreck the Government of India Act, 1919 from within the Councils. Its members were to contest elections on the issue of the redress of the wrongs done by the British bureaucracy, to oppose every measure of the Government and to throughout all legislative enactments proposed by the British Government. This view of the Swarajists was that the seats in the legislatures must be captured so that they did not fall into the hands of undesirable persons who were tools in the hands of the bureaucracy in India. The leaders of the Swarajist Party declared that outside the Councils, they would co operate with the constructive programme of the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and in case their methods failed, they would, without any hesitation, join Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience movement if and when launched by him.

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<sup>143</sup> Mashirul Hassan, (ed.) Muslims And The Congress, Lahore, Mutaba – Al – Islamia – As – Saudia, 1980 p. xxviii.

The Swarajist Party fought the elections in 1923 and won a majority in the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces. It was the dominant Party in Bengal. It also won good support in U.P. and Bombay. However, the Swarajist party was at its best in the Central Assembly under the leadership of Motilal Nehru. On 18 February, 1924, the Swarajist Party was able to get a resolution passed by which the Government was requested to establish full responsible Government in India. It seemed that Dominion status within the British Empire looked to be in sight, as 'Jinnah allied himself with Motilal Nehru's Swaraj bloc in the Viceroy's Legislative Council' and Lord Reading, Das and Gandhi worked towards 'liberal constitutional predispositions'.<sup>144</sup>

A demand was also made that a Round Table Conference consisting of the representatives of India should be called at an early date to frame a Constitution for India. In February 1925, V.J.Patel introduced a Bill asking for the repeal of certain laws and with the exception of one, the Bill was passed. For the first time, the Legislative Assembly wore the appearance of a truly National Assembly where national grievances were fully voiced, national aims and aspirations expressed without any reservation and real character of the British rule exposed. The British autocracy and Indian bureaucracy stood exposed to the whole world.

All such strategies added a lot of confidence in the working of INC. The British Government appointed Royal Commission headed by Sir John Simon in 1927, to report on dyarchy and the readiness of India

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<sup>144</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Nehru a Tryst With Destiny*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 62



for further constitutional progress.<sup>145</sup> The Congress, on the other hand, appointed an all-parties Committee to draft a new Constitution for India. As a result, there emerged a report which, drafted under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru, was called the Nehru Report. The greatest drawback of it was the 'elimination of separate electorate representation and Muslim minority weight beyond the actual proportion of the Muslim community in every province where Muslims remained a minority.' Ali brothers as well as Jinnah rejected the report which was 'viewed more as a victory for Hindu communal leaders.' J. Nehru believed that 'Hindu-Muslim conflict was caused primarily by economic disparities or clashing "class Interests rather than dogmatic religious beliefs and incompatible customs. This was mainly due to 'Jawahar's romance with Marxist-Leninism approach towards life which could not bring him to the understanding of senior leaders of India. Wolpert holds the opinion:

Had Nehru been able to appreciate just how much India and Congress would have gained by working closely with Jinnah and his own father at this time to draft a constitution acceptable to both to Muslims and moderate Hindus, the tragedy of partition and its dreadful toll might have been averted.<sup>146</sup>

At the Calcutta Session of INC in 1928, a draft constitution for a federal Dominion of India was to be presented. The group led by Jawaharlal, Subhas Chandra Bose, Srinivas Iyengar and other younger Congressmen 'wanted a declaration of immediate independence and a complete break with Britain.' However, Mahatma Gandhi intervened and gave 'a year' to Britain to accept the constitution as

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<sup>145</sup> Yogesh Chadha, Rediscovering Gandhi, London, Random House UK Ltd., 1997, p 279

<sup>146</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Nehru a Tryst With Destiny, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 83 - 5

recommended by Nehru report'.<sup>147</sup> The Muslims rejected it altogether and accused Gandhi of establishing the Hindu Raj. Thus Nehru report actually widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims.

On 31 October, 1929, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India issued a statement 'affirming the goal of dominion status...' A round table conference was also planned in London to be attended by the representatives of India and British government along with the princely states. On the eve of the Lahore Congress session in December, a group of leaders like Gandhi, Jinnah, Motilal, Patel and Sapru met the viceroy to seek clarity regarding the 'full-dominion status of India' and the round table conference of London. Irwin could neither commit 'assurance' nor could give a satisfactory reply. Hence as Jawaharlal presided over the session as its president and said that 'Congress would not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to Indians.'<sup>148</sup>

On midnight of 31 December 1929, as the new year was ushered in the Tricolor Flag of Purna Swaraj was hoisted on the banks of the river Ravi by the Congress President, Jawaharlal Nehru. 26 January 1930 was declared Independence Day and a pledge was taken by the people of India 'in every city, town, and rural market all over India'. The declaration of Independence was drafted by Jawaharlal with help from Thomas Jefferson was read out as:

We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of

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<sup>147</sup> Yogesh Chadha, Rediscovering Gandhi. London, Random House UK Ltd., 1997, pp. 283 - 4

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 285 - 7

their toil and have the necessities of life....We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence....<sup>149</sup>

PURNA SWARAJ celebrations revealed an enormous national response. These portrayed the pent-up feelings, enthusiasm and readiness of the people for sacrifice. The independence pledge had rekindled the smouldering fire and a new upsurge was in the offing. Gandhi's second satyagraha campaign was launched with the male disciples from his ashram in Gujrat on a salt march of almost a hundred miles to Dandi at the seashore to break the British monopoly on salt which was heavily taxed. This resulted in the imprisonment of more than 60,000 congress party members.

On his arrival at Borsad on March 18 Gandhi reiterated the significance of the noncooperation to the assembled crowd:

Today we are defying the salt law. Tomorrow we shall have to consign other laws to the waste-paper basket. Doing so we shall practice such severe noncooperation that finally it will not be possible for the administration to be carried out at all.<sup>150</sup>

To make the movement successful, it was decided that there would be bonfires of foreign cloth. Hindus would regard none as untouchables. Hindus, Muslims, Parsees and Christians, all would heartily embrace

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<sup>149</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Nehru a Tryst With Destiny*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 106

<sup>150</sup> Yogesh Chadha, *Rediscovering Gandhi*, London, Random House UK Ltd., 1997, pp. 292 - 3

one another. The major communities would be satisfied with what remains after satisfaction of minor communities. Students would leave Government schools, and Government servants would resign and be employed in the service of the people.

In 1930, Labour Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald launched his first Round Table Conference in London which was not attended by Congress leaders, hence it failed. To break the deadlock with the Congress, Viceroy Irwin invited Gandhi to Delhi mansion for a series of talks which resulted in a truce pact. This agreement was known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, signed on 5 March, 1931. Under the agreement, the Government was to make concession for Indians on various demands including the salt tax. This resulted in the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement and participation of the representatives of Congress in the Second Round Table Conference.

The controversy of Hindi-Urdu had created quite some tremors in the Northern areas of India including Utter Pardesh. There is, nonetheless, no reference made to this by any Indian leader. One also did not find any effort to resolve the issue by hearing out the concern of community. Leaders like Gandhi, who claimed themselves as the saviours and the true mouthpiece of India were also found highly biased. Had the issue been tackled instead of being ignored, there would have been a resolve conceding a settlement. However, it was realized that religion and not language actually would bind and divide the people.

Thus, in the perception of leaders, religion dominated as the most important candidate creating divisions between peoples of India. The same was borne also in Mahatma Gandhi's speech as late as in 1931 in the Second Round Table Conference. While claiming that the INC was truly national, it meant that it represented no particular class, no particular interest and it claimed to represent all Indian interests and all classes, Mahatma Gandhi delivered his speech focusing on the religious representative character of INC. There was no reference to diversity in linguistic or cultural character of the constituent peoples of India; there was also no appreciation of fear of the potential of linguistic and cultural diversity as a threat to Indian unity.

In other words, while religion was viewed to be an instrument that could be used to divide Indian people, language was not considered in the same light even in 1931. Hence, the fact that language issue was not considered significant in 1885 should not surprise anyone. It was religion that received highest priority in subsequent Congress sessions, and it was religion that was singled out and chosen as an effective instrument to divide the Indian Nation by the British as well.

Meanwhile, a Round Table Conference had met in London early 1931. Gandhi had insisted that 'he could represent the Muslims and the depressed classes much better than those who claimed to do so.' About the untouchables, he said that the 'conscience of the Hindus has been stirred, and untouchables will soon be a relic of our sinful past.' In the meantime, most of the Indian delegates requested the prime minister 'to arbitrate a settlement to the communal question' to



add proportion of 'a fair bloc of seats in every new council chamber to Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. Gandhi refused to join in that request.'<sup>151</sup>

Out of the negotiations of Round table conferences emerged the Government of India Act 1935. It was the last pre-independence constitution of the British Raj. The significant aspects of the act were:

The core of the Act was the establishment of autonomy, with a representative parliamentary system of government, for eleven British-Indian Provinces, within their defined provincial powers; it intended these provinces to become, willy-nilly, components of an all-India federation including Princely States. The federation itself was also to have a representative parliamentary system, and a large degree of autonomy in the federal sphere, but the Viceroy would retain supreme powers, including the appointment of his own Executive Council or Government and the whole control of defence and foreign affairs and the ultimate responsibility for law and order.<sup>152</sup>

The provincial part of the Act, which went into effect automatically, followed the recommendations of the Simon Commission. Provincial dyarchy was abolished by placing all provincial portfolios in charge of ministers enjoying the support of the provincial legislatures. The British-appointed provincial governors, who were responsible to the British Government via the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India, were to accept the recommendations of the ministers unless, in their view, they negatively affected statutory special responsibilities such as the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of a province and the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities. In the event of political breakdown, the governor could take over total control of the provincial government. This allowed the governors a

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<sup>151</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 162 - 3

<sup>152</sup> H.V. Hodson *The Great Divide – Britain India Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1969, p.48

greater control than any British official had ever enjoyed in the history of the Raj. After the resignation of the congress provincial ministries in 1939, the governors directly ruled the ex-Congress provinces throughout the war.

Nehru's beaming success at the platform of INC had made him indifferent to political delicacies as was evident from the incident of his accepting Jinnah's invitation to address All-India Students Conference at Lucknow in August 1936. Nehru repeatedly termed the communal issue as nothing but a 'nuisance'. He further clarified:

It is a nuisance for many reasons, but it is a nuisance chiefly, I think, because it diverts your attention from the real problems of the country. It is bad in itself because it makes us petty minded, but ultimately it is utterly bad because it hides from our view the really big problems that affect our country and the people of the world at large, and I want you as students especially to try to understand these...problems....and try to solve them.<sup>153</sup>

For Nehru, communal issue was not a real problem of the country. For him, students could also resolve it themselves. Secondly, even though he was invited by Jinnah who was a proclaimed Muslim leader and a leading independent member of the Legislative Assembly, it was actually due to the seriousness of the issue that the Quaid wanted to sensitize for the Congress leader. But an immature handling on the part of young Nehru aggravated the whole situation to an extent that the partition had to be staged.

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<sup>153</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Nehru a Tryst With Destiny, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 212 - 3

In 1937, the elections took place and according to the final results, INC had a clear majority in Madras, U. P., C. P., Bihar and Orrisa. It was also able to form a coalition government in Bombay and NWFP. Congress was also able to secure political importance in Sindh and Assam, where they joined the ruling coalition. Thus directly or indirectly, Congress was in power in nine out of eleven provinces. The Unionist Party of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Praja Krishak Party of Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq were able to form governments in Punjab and Bengal respectively, without the interference of Congress. Muslim League failed to form government in any province. Quaid-i-Azam offered Congress to form a coalition government with the League but the Congress rejected his offer. By now INC was determined that it is the only political platform of India and believed that AIML would disintegrate with the passage of time. The expectations that the Quaid had from Nehru were most probably due to his moderate relationship with Motilal Nehru, who was a seasoned Hindu leader. The younger Nehru had the advantage of his father's cordial relationships with all the reputed leaders of India.

Nehru's Cambridge and Harrow background had earned him close contacts with the emerging leaders of Britain. Hence he gained support through friendly collaborations and this would build his confidence at the international level. Being the leader of India, many times bigger than any European country, he earned a mighty stature. To maintain supremacy, he wanted the Muslim group of INC to be subservient to him. He had planned to confront Jinnah with the showboy of Congress Maulana Azad. Therefore, he ignored and rejected Jinnah as long as he could and this had been the beginning

of the greatest disaster of history through the partition of the subcontinent.

The Congress refused to set up its government until the British agreed to their demand that the Governor would not use his powers in legislative affairs. Many discussions took place between the Congress and the British Government and at last the British Government consented, although it was only a verbal commitment and no amendment was made in the Act of 1935. Eventually, after a four-month delay, Congress formed their ministries in July 1937.

INC proved to be a pure Hindu party and worked during its reign only for the betterment of the Hindus. Twenty-seven months of the Congress rule were like a nightmare for the Muslims of South Asia. Hindus had attacked `Muslim butchers leading sacred cows to slaughter or by raucous music that accompanied a Hindu wedding party as it wended its way past a Muslim mosque, where silent worshipers considered such noises to be insults to Allah.<sup>154</sup> Some of the Congress leaders even stated that they would take revenge from the Muslims for the last 700 years of their slavery. Even before the formation of government, the Congress started a movement with the aim to convince Muslims that there were only two political parties in India, i.e. the British and the Congress. The aim was to decrease the importance of the Muslim League as an independent political party for the Muslims.

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<sup>154</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Nehru a Tryst With Destiny, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 249

After taking charge in July 1937, Congress declared Hindi as the national language and Deva Nagri as the official script. The Congress flag was given the status of national flag, slaughtering of cows was prohibited and it was made compulsory for the children to worship the picture of Gandhi at school. Band-i-Mataram, an anti-Muslim song taken from Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel Ananda Math, was made the national anthem of the country. Religious intolerance was the order of the day. Muslims were not allowed to construct new mosques. Hindus would play drums in front of mosques when Muslims were praying.

The Congress government introduced a new educational policy in the provinces under their rule known as the Warda Taleemi Scheme. The main plan was to sway Muslim children against their ideology and to tell them that all the people living in India were Indians and thus belonged to one nation. In Bihar and C. P. the Vidya Mandar Scheme was introduced according to which Mandar education was made compulsory at elementary level. The purpose of the scheme was to obliterate the cultural traditions of the Muslims and to inculcate into the minds of Muslim children the superiority of the Hindu culture.

The Congress ministries did their best to weaken the economy of Muslims. They closed the doors of government offices for them, which was one of the main sources of income for the Muslims in the region. They also harmed Muslim trade and agriculture. When Hindu-Muslim riots broke out due to these biased policies of the Congress ministries, the government pressured the judges; decisions were made in favor of Hindus and Muslims were sent behind bars.



To investigate Muslim grievances, AIML formulated the Pirpur Report under the chairmanship of Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur. Other reports concerning Muslim grievances in Congress run provinces were A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq's Muslim sufferings under Congress rule, and the Sharif report. The allegation that Congress was representing Hindus only was voiced also by eminent British personalities. The Marquess of Lothian in April 1938 termed the Congress rule as a rising tide of Hindu rule. Sir William Barton writing in the National Review in June 1939 also termed the Congress rule as the rising tide of political Hinduism.

At the outbreak of the World War II, the Viceroy proclaimed India's involvement without prior consultations with the main political parties. When Congress demanded an immediate transfer of power in return for cooperation of the war efforts, the British government refused. As a result Congress resigned from power. Quaid-i-Azam asked the Muslims to celebrate December 22, 1939 as a Day of Deliverance and thanksgiving in token of relief from the tyranny and oppression of the Congress rule. To celebrate the Day, Ambedkar and other untouchable leaders strongly endorsed Jinnah's call. Gandhi made the historic statement that Jinnah is thus 'lifting the Muslim League out of the communal rut and giving it a national character..... Jinnah Saheb is giving the word 'minority a national character...' Nehru's emotional outburst revealed his inner shortsightedness towards the importance and significance of AIML. He announced angrily:

I would have to repudiate all my past, my nationalism and my self-respect if I were to resume the talks with Mr. Jinnah in the

face of his appeal to the Muslims to observe a 'day of deliverance....<sup>155</sup>

The INC rule had confirmed the fears of the Muslims which they had from the Hindus. It was observed that the flying of the INC flag at all buildings, song Bande Matram sung by all in schools etc created class bitterness and an environment of greater hostility. Mirza Munnawar quotes MAJ's speech at a special session of the AIML and 'lashed out at the Congress leaders for their callousness towards Muslim compatriots in respect of their language i.e. Urdu and the recital of Bande Matram:

There is not the slightest doubt that the most aggressive attitude was taken up by the Congress Government on the threshold of their assuming office. They endeavored to impose the Bande Matram song in the legislatures, and it is only after much bitterness and opposition that it has been dropped. They are pursuing the policy of making Hindi a compulsory language, which must necessarily, if not completely destroy — at any rate, virtually undermine — the spread of the development of Urdu; and what is worse still, is that Hindi with its Hindu Sanskrit literature and philosophy and ideals will and must necessarily be forced upon Muslim children and students.<sup>156</sup>

The Second World War began on 1st September 1939. Two days later, the Viceroy of India declared war against Germany without consulting or taking into confidence the Indian leaders. Indian troops were sent to the various theatres of war for the defence of the British Empire. After having done all this, the Viceroy started consultations with the Indian leaders. The Working Committee of the Congress met at Wardha in

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<sup>155</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Nehru a Tryst With Destiny*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 266 - 7

<sup>156</sup> Mohammad Munawwar, *Dimensions of Pakistan Movement*, Lahore, Services Book Club, 1993, p. 69

September, 1939 and after prolonged deliberations, a resolution was adopted in which it was declared that if Great Britain was fighting for democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions and establish full democracy in India. The British Government was called upon to declare its war aims in regard to democracy and imperialism and also to declare whether those aims were going to apply to India and to be given effect to at present.

Almost a year later, another resolution was passed by the Congress at Ramgarh in which an offer of co-operation in the war was made provided India's demand for independence was conceded and a provisional National Government responsible to the then Central Assembly was formed at the centre. On 8th August, 1940, the Viceroy issued a statement in which it was declared that the new Constitution of India would primarily be the responsibility of the Indians themselves. 'Lord Zetland and his colleagues have conceived a new interpretation of democracy. Before anything is done, everyone must agree, or else the British...will sit here comfortably and carry off the spoils.'<sup>157</sup> The Congress was wholly disappointed with this offer.

There was no attempt directly to interfere with the Government's war effort. Many of the leaders were later released. The war was drawing near India's border. The spectacular success of Japan and the pressure of the allies of Britain, during the early months of 1942 forced the British Government to make a serious attempt to end the deadlock in India. On March 11, 1942, Mr. Churchill announced that Sir Stafford

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<sup>157</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Nehru a Tryst With Destiny*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 261

Cripps, a member of the War Cabinet, would go to India to explain certain constitutional proposals.

The declaration of the British Government contained the following provisions (1) An elected constitution-making body would be set up in India after the war; (2) Provision would be made for the participation of the Indian States in the above constitution-making body; (3) The British Government would accept and implement the constitution-making body; but any Province of British India should have the right to reject the new constitution; (4) Revision of treaties with Indian States would be necessary; and (5) Until the new constitution could be framed, the British Government would remain, responsible for the defence of India. It will be seen that the provision about the non-accession of Provinces to the Indian Union and the arrangement about defence was quite unacceptable to the Congress. On April 2, 1942, the Working Committee adopted a resolution explaining the causes of its rejection of the Cripps Scheme. The rejection of the plan by the Congress was followed by its rejection by the League, of course, for other reasons. The failure of the Cripps-Congress talks which had initially raised public expectations and excitement to a high pitch caused a lot of disappointment. Wolpert in his book *Shameful Flight* declares that the failure of Congress leaders to appreciate what Cripps tried to do damaged India much more than Britain.

The narrowness with which INC leaders were dealing with the fate of India was leading towards mismanagement of highest order. Stanley Wolpert sums up in the last para of his book *Shameful Flight*:

Nehru finally had awakened. The historian he so long had been gained dominance, at least temporarily, over the powerful politician he had of late become, seduced by all the charming allures of high office. Mountbatten's frenzied plans had blinded him to the wretched realities of Partition monstrous problems, the cause of so many deaths, and sixty more years at least of fighting and hatred. The sheer waste of it all now shocked and truly staggered Nehru as he looked back and realized how much better off India would have been had he warmly embraced Cripps's 1942 offer or that of the later cabinet mission. Any plan, indeed would have been "preferable" to partition. He saw quite clearly now. But for India, as all of South Asia, the rainbow of federated peace would remain more than half a century away, on a distant horizon obscured by wars and a potential atomic cloud hovering darkly over Kashmir's Himalayan Valley----- bitter legacies of Great Britain's hasty, shameful flight.<sup>158</sup>

In 1960, while addressing the Lok Sabha, Nehru reflected on the communal problems of Sikhs, Assamese and Bengalis and no longer blamed British policies of divide and rule or Marxist economic forces. 'More than a decade in power had taught him the accuracy of many of Jinnah's arguments.' His encounter with sub-nationalities made him observe:

.....each person's idea of nationalism is his own brand...when two brands of nationalism come into conflict, there is trouble...What is communalism itself? You may well have described Hindu communalism as Hindu nationalism and Muslim communalism as Muslim nationalism, and you would have been correct.<sup>159</sup>

The role of Jawaharlal Nehru was of great significance in the history of India. Well-educated, well-connected, with his class mates controlling

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<sup>158</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Shameful Flight*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 192-3

<sup>159</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Nehru a Tryst With Destiny*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 477



the British government, strong family background and Brahmin personality created a formula of such great success that even Gandhi withdrew in the background on many occasions. Thus as the final authority at the platform of INC, he was the key figure to put fuel to the fire by disregarding the rights of minorities. However, as India was an equal home for the Muslims, hence they defined a well-calculated plan of action by constituting a political party for themselves, a university with a charter to educate the Muslims to bring them at par with others and to get united under the leadership of the most immaculate leader of British India, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

## CHAPTER VIII

### All-India Muslim League and its Policies for Urdu Language

A decade after the war of Independence, few influential Hindus of Benares started propagating the idea of replacing Persian / Urdu script with Nagri script. This disheartened Syed Ahmed so much that he gave up the idea of unity among Hindus and Muslims and launched a campaign by adopting special measures to educate the already dejected and demoralized Muslims. He knew the dimension of his huge task, which was to confront British rulers and hostile Hindus at the same time. According to S.M. Ikram:

'If one were asked to give a date for the beginning of modern Muslim separatism, it was probably 1869 when Syed Ahmad Khan, touched to the quick by the growing Hindu demand for replacement of Urdu by Hindi, grimly prophesied that the paths of the Hindus and Muslims will separate'.<sup>160</sup>

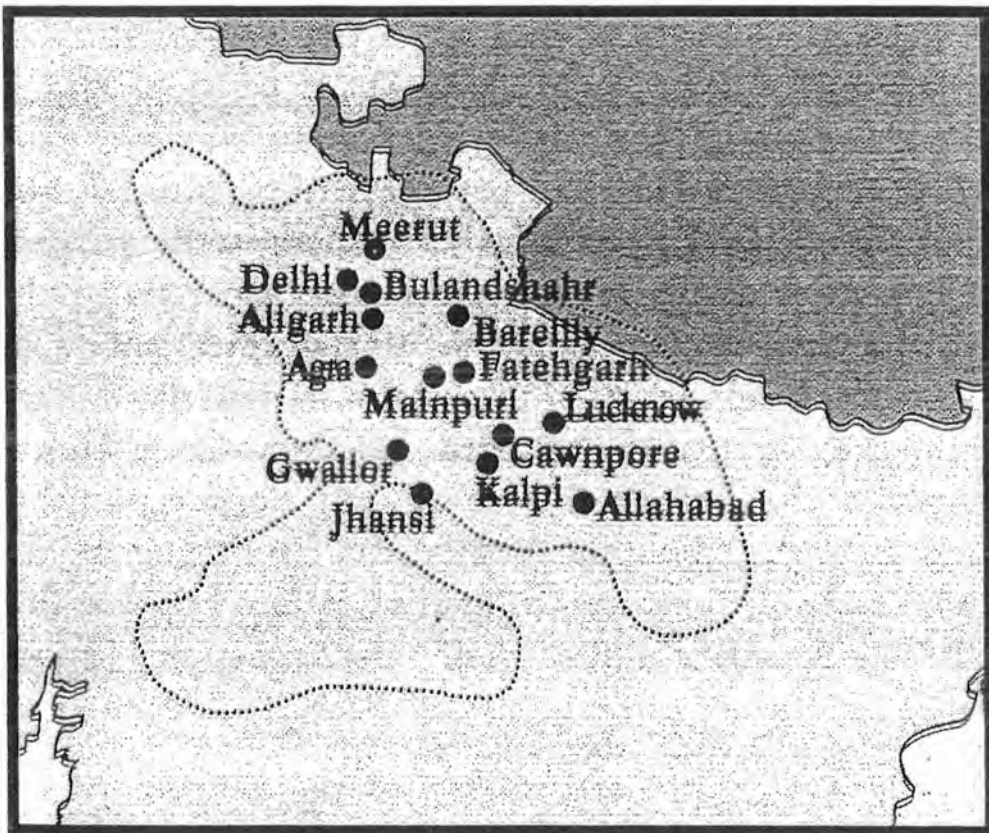
The task for Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was Horrendous. First of all he had to convince the British that the war of Independence was not fought by the Muslims alone. He wrote essays and letters to eminent British officers to explain the emerging situation (Appendices II & III). The concept of Jihad needed translation as well. It was purely on his own initiative and services that the blot of treason, revolt and rebellion could be removed. Hence for him, it was a struggle against gaining grounds of recognition as well as the protection of Urdu language to be restored as the image of integrity.

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<sup>160</sup> S.M. Ikram, Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1950, p.2.

Map-4

Main Centres of Mutiny, 1857<sup>161</sup>



<sup>161</sup> Nigel Kelly, *The History and Culture of Pakistan*, London, Peak Publishing, 2004, p. 25

The rebellion of 1857 was concentrated in the North. The King being the last symbol of Indian power, held on to Delhi. For numerous reasons, the British developed antagonism against the Muslims. Sir Syed, hence asserted the policies of the British when he asked for their support to uplift the Muslims from a state of economic dependency and political annihilation. He needed the western education system for the Muslims as he had seen the experiment being materialized in Calcutta. It was obvious that the Hindus had taken the maximum advantage of EIC's ventures in Bengal. If Muslims were to retain their supremacy in the North, western education was the only solution. Thus Sir Syed followed the model of Hindu growth in Bengal.

Generally, the Muslim leaders in the 19<sup>th</sup> century considered education as the key to success. They were over-conscious of the fact that devoid of educational norms, the Muslims will not be able to confront British or Hindus. Be it Sir Syed Ahmad Khan or Syed Ameer Ali, Agha Khan, Mohsanul Mulk etc, the desire was to create a feeling of nationalism along with the spread of education. The efforts of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in this respect are unprecedented. With his efforts the rulers created a niche of compassion for Muslims.

Sir Syed wanted to see the Muslims united and prospering, so that an improvement in their economic, social, political and religious fortunes could be discerned. He gave his life to this ambition and succeeded in bringing a Muslim renaissance through his education program at Aligarh. He is said to have founded the concept of education through

Aligarh as a movement. The central aims of this movement are narrated by Nigel Kelly as:

- Improve relations between the British and Muslim. Communities by removing British doubts about Muslim Loyalty and Muslim doubts about British intentions
- Improve the social and economic position of Muslims by encouraging them to receive Western education and take up posts in the civil service and army,
- Increase the political awareness of the Muslim community in order to make them aware of the threat to their position from the Hindus policy of co-operation with the British.<sup>162</sup>

What the British could understand and facilitate the development of Muslims through education was quite difficult for the Hindus to perceive and it had been this bias and prejudice, which made the chasm, grew deeper between the Hindus and the Muslims. With the success of Hindus in handling the administrative system along with the British, they wanted to sweep the floor in the North as well. Hindi was developed to replace Urdu and along with it was the impression to project Muslims as a sub-group of little value. The resistance put up by the Muslim leaders saved the situation to some extent but this totally displeased the Hindus.

Mehrotra considered British non-support to Hindi as the cause of the controversy as he wrote:

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<sup>162</sup> Nigel Kelly, The History and Culture of Pakistan, London, Peak Publishing, 2004, p.35



"But the language controversy had already begun to cast its shadow over the nascent public life of the North-Western Provinces and Avadh and to embitter relations between educated Hindus and Muslims. Part of the blame for this unfortunate development must attach to the government, which persisted for more than half a century in refusing to grant the just and reasonable demand of local Hindus for the recognition of Hindi, along with Urdu, as a language of the courts."<sup>163</sup>

The fall of Muslims from the seat of glory, 'height of political dignity, social prestige, economic prosperity and cultural ascendancy to the depths of humiliation and poverty' subjected them to the adversity of alien rule and Hindu claim of its superior culture. With dissipated spirit, the Muslims clung on to Urdu as their last symbol of identity. Maulvi Abdul Haq viewed it in a more comprehensive manner:

Urdu, the language that came into being as a result of Hindu-Muslim contact and cooperation, is the main relic of social and cultural fusion of the two nations, which shall not be forgotten with the passage of time.<sup>164</sup>

With the end of the Muslim rule in 1857, Urdu language being symbolic of Muslim glamour came under threat. Hindus wanted all anti-Hindu impact removed in their favor. They had grasped the opportunities as these came to them. Many Hindus came forward and rendered services in this regard. Babu Shiva Prasad succeeded to get the publication of a 'Memorandum on Court Charters', according to which Urdu was a hindrance in the development of Hindi and primary

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<sup>163</sup> S.R. Mehrotra, The Emergence of the Indian National Congress, New Delhi, Gopsons Papers limited, 1971, p.570

<sup>164</sup> Cited in Prof. Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, 1987, p. 65

education in the provinces of North-west India and Oudh.<sup>165</sup> He believed that Urdu jargon of the court language was unintelligible to the masses that were mostly uneducated and belonged to the rural areas. In response to this, 'a direct reply and rebuttal' was written anonymously from the Urdu camp, which declared Urdu as the language of the educated and Hindi 'as nothing more than a collection of non standardized dialects spoken by illiterate villagers'.<sup>166</sup> However the reply was slow to come and in the meantime in 1900, Hindi in Devanagri script got an equal position as the official language of the province. Sir Antony Macdonnell, Governor of United Provinces ended the privileged position of Urdu for Hindi in 1900 as he had done it in Bihar earlier. Mohsin-ul-Mulk therefore organized an Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdu as a wing of the Mohammadan Educational Conference. 'To guard against possible complications, (later Sir) Thomas Arnold was appointed its first chairman.'<sup>167</sup> Maulana Shibli Naumani and Maulvi Abdul Haq, as true disciples of Sir 'Syed came forward with all their might to safeguard the rights of Urdu and also to facilitate orderly growth and enrichment of Urdu literature. They had emerged as the true loyalists who considered Urdu language as a symbol of Muslim identity. Already a lot was lost by the Muslims of India; any more damage to their pride might just end and annihilate their strength as a nation.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the first Muslim to sense the manipulations of the Hindus with the changing political scenario in India. The

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<sup>165</sup> P.R. Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974, p.130

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3

<sup>167</sup> S.M. Ikram, Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1950, p.81

collaboration of British and Hindu in Bengal had worried him and he knew the downtrodden Muslims needed a university like Cambridge and Oxford to produce intellectuals to take their affairs in their own hands. However, for him, there was no time to lose. While taking part in the 'deliberations of self-government Bill, moved in the Viceroy's legislative Council', on January 12, 1883, he took the floor and made a very comprehensive speech on the principle of 'one man one vote':

The principle of self-government on the basis of 'one man one vote' was the essence of British democracy. Sir Syed was the first man in the subcontinent to remind the British on the floor of the Viceroy's Legislative Council that in case the system of representative institutions was borrowed from England, it would be wholly unacceptable to many communities of India and particularly to the Muslims. Sir Syed was quite emphatic when he said that India was a vast land of various nationalities. It was not a country but a continent in itself.<sup>168</sup>

Sir Syed's twofold programme was modern education and cooperation with the government. He founded a scientific society for the promotion of knowledge, opened schools, started journals like the much influential *Tahzib-ul-Akhláq*, gave a new tone and amplitude to Urdu literature, compiled and edited books of history, and promoted legislation. But his monumental achievement was the establishment of the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1877.<sup>169</sup> It was two decades after his death, that the college was upgraded to a university.

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<sup>168</sup> Syed Sami Ahmed, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan The Saviour of Muslim India*. Karachi, Royal Book Company, 2002, p.109

<sup>169</sup> Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*. Lahore, Services Book Club, 1988, p. 8

Justice Ameer Ali, a contemporary of Sir Syed was another Muslim Leader from Calcutta who proved through hard work and dedication, the status of Muslim intellectual prowess. At that time Bengali Hindu elite mostly belonging to upper class were the pioneers in political awakening. 'The rise of Hindu capitalism was in marked contrast to the backward agricultural structure of the Muslim society, and added another dimension to the Hindu-Muslim clash.' Ameer Ali became the eloquent voice of 'English educated Muslims' who were almost non-existent. To make the Muslims capable of taking part in politics, he established the National Mohammedan Association. He wanted the 'political training' to run 'on parallel lines with that of their Hindu compatriots' in order to comprehend the new dimensions of nationalism.<sup>170</sup> While speaking in the annual session of Muslim Education Conference in 1899, he laid stress on the importance of Urdu as lingua-franca for the subcontinent. He suggested:

....I consider it essential that Urdu must be taught to students in schools of Bombay and Bengal, as an optional language.<sup>171</sup>

The propaganda of Hindus against Muslims brought fruit in almost all the provinces except Punjab. One of the reasons could be the number of Muslims organizations actively participating in the politics of the province. Punjab Gazetteer for 1888-89 confirmed that there were 'two dozens social and literary organizations of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims' busy to develop consciousness among their respective members about the political and social maneuvering events.<sup>172</sup> Besides

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<sup>170</sup> Muhammad Yusuf Abbasi, Syed Amir Ali in Founding Fathers of Pakistan, by Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani (ed), Islamabad, Barqsons Printers Ltd., 1981, pp. 46-50

<sup>171</sup> Dr. Farnen Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, p. 223

<sup>172</sup> Ibid. p. 151

Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu (1903) working in Punjab, the other two organizations for the Muslims were; Muslim Educational Conference (1886), and All India Muslim League (1906), which had ensured propagation of Muslim, interests.<sup>173</sup>

According to Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, 'the demand for separate electorates had been put to the Viceroy lord Minto in 1906 by a Muslim deputation led by the Agha Khan'. In the address it was mentioned that by the census of 1901, Muslims were 'over sixty-two million', a community larger than 'any first class European power except Russia'; hence the representation of the Muslims should be ensured. The viceroy sympathized with the deputation and expressed its conviction that 'the beliefs and traditions of the communities'<sup>174</sup> could not be disregarded.

Thus the Muslims succeeded in launching AIML in 1906 in Dacca to encounter the political maneuvering of Hindus from the platform of INC. The aim of the Muslims was to deal with the aggressive designs and the anti-Muslim attitude of the Hindus. Muslims were thoroughly convinced that INC would never project their interests and neither would it stop instilling atrocities, decided to form a group themselves. Towards the new century, many Muslims had been to Britain for education and had realized that in order to represent their people they needed a well structured political system. With this awareness of forming a political platform, the Muslims who had taken the decision not to join INC or those who wanted to contribute towards the welfare

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<sup>173</sup> Dr. Farnen Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, p. 221

<sup>174</sup> Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, The Emergence of Pakistan, Lahore, Services Book Club, 1988, pp. 12-3



of Muslims, finally had a standing of their own under the auspices of AIML. It was decided on the concluding day of the 20<sup>th</sup> session of the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference (AIMEC) in Dacca and the task of framing the constitution was assigned to Nawab Viqarul Mulk and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk. The main objectives were (Appendix-IV):

- a. To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.
- b. To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslamans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to Government.
- c. To prevent the rise among the Musalamans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.<sup>175</sup>

Starting with this, the regular deliberations at the platform of AIML brought few changes in its aims and objectives. The view had grown wider and the demand of the Muslim role also grew in dimension. By 1937, (Appendix-V) the aims and objectives set for the Muslims of India were:

- a. The establishment in India of full Independence in the form of a federation of free democratic States in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution;
- b. To protect and advanced the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Musalmans;

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<sup>175</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan, A Chronology (1906-1947), Islamabad NIHCR, QAU, 2006, p. 1

- c. To promote friendly relations and unity between the Musalmans and other communities of India;
- d. To maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries.

The change in the aims projects the political and administrative development of the Muslims of India. They had recognized their role as well as their rights in the scenario of the world politics. India's role in the World Wars had been immense in supporting the power game of Britain and its allies. Hence AIML gradually took shape and stood out to be the representative political organization representing the Indian Muslims.

The realization of a political party to safeguard the interest of the Muslims started with the partition of Bengal in 1905, which had different impact for the Hindus and Muslims. Their approaches were directed towards their own interests. It became obvious that one's success was the other one's defeat. Bengal, though divided due to administrative requirement was recognized as divided on religious grounds. Hence, the reaction of the Hindus was of shock and resentment. The statement of Maharaja Mahendra Chand quoted by Dr. Fatehpuri projects the shortsightedness of the Hindus:

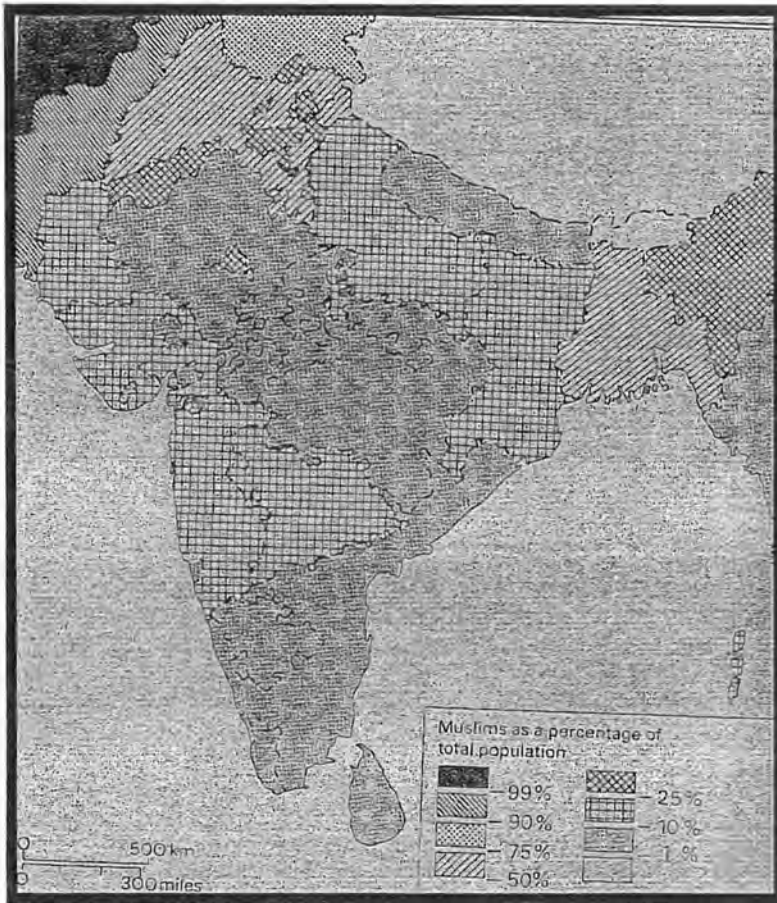
.....In this new province Muslims will be in majority and Bengali Hindus become a minority. We will be stranger in our own city. I am awfully frightened of the effects of this partition and worried about my nation.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Prof. Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, pp. 228 - 9

Map-5

Spread of Muslims in India<sup>177</sup>



<sup>177</sup> Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, P. xvi

The regions of Muslim concentration as shown in the map were Bengal, North and Punjab. However, as a minority Muslims existed all over India. Hence by every definition, they were a power to reckon with. Hindus on the other hand had taken the lead to move ahead in administrative designs of the government. The beginning of the century had put them on a political pedestal as well with full control over INC and its power game. The effort Sir Syed had initiated was region based and its impact had to be mobilized. This need was to be met through a potent political body solely for Muslims.

AIML became the urgent need for the Indian Muslims due to many reasons; one of them is described by J. Hussain as:

Between 1900 and 1905, the Muslim youth of northern India campaigned against Hindi as a language of government. Muslim government employees of UP were just beginning to catch up with the Hindus in their knowledge of English, and thus recover from the decline of Persian and rise of English as a language of government. They would now be required to master the Devanari or Sanskrit script, which was already part of a Hindu's education.<sup>178</sup>

Hence AIML had many of the objectives before it, which were to be reflected in its decisions, programs and policies. Among the most important ones were the making of its constitution, separate electorates at all levels, requests for occupation of seats in the councils of government, responsibility on the creation of Wakf, safeguard Muslim interests in the Presidency of Bengal, separation of Judiciary from the administration in every province, political

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<sup>178</sup> J. Hussain, A History of The Peoples of Pakistan, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 388

collaborations and standings, solidarity with the Muslim Ummah, declaration of Jinnah's fourteen points which served as the Charter of Muslim Demands, adoption of Lahore Resolution, unfurling of the Star and Crescent flag<sup>179</sup> etc.

However one does not come across at the language issue in a very bold manner. Here and there one comes across the reference to language otherwise it is the political battle which gets greater reflection. By that, one cannot say that the language issue was insignificant; it is only that the medium to communicate that issue was Urdu. Omar Khalidi also finds the reaction of all types of Muslims towards Urdu as sentimental:

'Few topics among Indian Muslims invite such emotional outpouring as does Urdu. This is one of the few subjects over which there is unanimity among "progressive", "moderate", "modernists", and "orthodox" Muslims'.<sup>180</sup>

AIML succeeded to conceptualize a framework, which was to ensure a respectable livelihood for its target group. It had to establish Muslims as a special community with all its due rights. It had the huge task of getting the political status from the British government as rulers and its counterpart INC, where the Hindus being in majority claimed to be the true representatives of the whole India. M.A. Jinnah in 1916 described the 'main principle' of AIML that was based on 'the retention of Moslem communal individuality strong and unimpaired in any

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<sup>179</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan. A Chronology (1906-1947), Islamabad NIHCR, QAU, 2006, p. 56

<sup>180</sup> Omer Khalidi, Indian Muslims Since Independence, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd 1999, p. 131.



constitutional readjustment that might be made in India in the course of its political evolution.<sup>181</sup> Afterwards, the same year, 'Gandhi presided the All-India Common Script and Common Language Conference, and insisting that Hindi should be India's common language....' At the Congress session at Lucknow, he announced that 'Swaraj was not possible' without Hindi. At AIML session, he advised Jinnah and his followers to speak 'only in Urdu'. He opined that in 'provincial matters, the provincial languages may be used' but 'national questions ought to be deliberated in the national language only'.<sup>182</sup>

MAJ stood taller to all around him, as a leader. He succeeded in striking a balance between Hindus and Muslims and as a symbol of unity, the annual session of INC and AIML was held mutually at Lucknow in 1916. However, Gandhi's entry into India in 1905, gradually raised the level of extremism in INC, and the focus shifted from the peace loving moderates to extremists. Thus gradually when INC's political power was highjacked by extremist Hindus, the animosity shown towards Muslims came out in the open. Nehru as the president of the committee produced 'Nehru Report' to frame the future constitution, even though Muslims including M.A. Jinnah and Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar had raised few objections, but no reconciliation was offered. Nehru Report on minority representation — 1928 (Appendix VI) shows an extreme bias towards the Muslim Community. Thus to counter back this political maneuver, MAJ issued his famous fourteen points. INC rejected these and opted for the campaign of civil disobedience under Gandhi's dictates, which made

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<sup>181</sup> Cited in Sarojini Naidu, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah An Ambassador of Unity*, Lahore, 1989 p. 42

<sup>182</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 87

the Muslims come to the realization that Hindus would never accept their rights.<sup>183</sup>

The religion Islam is a complete code of life which directly influences character of its followers. Its spread in the subcontinent owed a lot to the Sufis, saints and the scholars. Shah Waliullah (1703-62), a leading religious thinker was also a leading exponent of Urdu language and literature. He attempted to work out a system of Islamic thought, which could be simplified and accepted by all. With his translation of the Quran into simple Persian, Shah Waliullah hoped to make a true understanding of Islam for more Muslims. He sons carried on this work by producing several Urdu translations of the Holy Quran.<sup>184</sup>

With religious impact created through the teachings of saints, Urdu became the second important symbol linked to Muslims. Their role in the spread of Islam was tremendous. Urdu had always been associated with religion. In subcontinent Muslims had considered it to be a holy encounter to proceed linguistically in the Arabic script. Muslim leaders like Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Maulana Mohammad Ali Jawhar repeatedly declared the preservation of Urdu as the preservation of Din and an irreducible minimum to which the most compromising Muslim would consent. Basically the use of the language had been for promoting religious teachings. The Sufis and scholars used this language in translating Quran and Ahadith, resulting in rubbing a thorough color of religion on it. As compared to

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<sup>183</sup> Prof Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, *Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict*. Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, pp. 242 - 5

<sup>184</sup> J.Hussain, *An Illustrated History of Pakistan Book 2*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 119

other languages in India, Urdu was the only language for Islamic studies along with the language of instruction for the religious schools.

'Under the influence of Sir Syed's movement for diffusion of knowledge, the Muslims had started setting up schools and colleges everywhere. In these institutions, besides imparting religious education, English language and allied subjects were also taught.'<sup>185</sup>

The significance of Urdu for the Muslims continued to have a symbol of solidarity and nationhood. This had been a constant introduction to the struggle in the direction of achieving a separate homeland — Pakistan.

Even after partition, when the role of AIML ended in India, Urdu stays a symbol of culture and values for promoting national dignity and individual character. It still is 'the most precious heritage of our past and our greatest support in the future.'<sup>186</sup>

Time and again, AIML had projected Urdu as their identity and an aspect of survival for the Muslim community. The third annual session of AIML held in Delhi on 29-30, 1910 passed a resolution which included 'restoration of the importance of Urdu in the U.P. and the Punjab'.<sup>187</sup> In 1917, an extraordinary meeting of AIML was held at Lucknow to approve special matters, which would be put before the

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<sup>185</sup> Prof Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, *Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, p.185

<sup>186</sup> Omer Khalidi, *Indian Muslims Since Independence*, New Dethi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1999, p.131

<sup>187</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan. A Chronology (1906-1947)*, Islamabad NIHCR, QAU, 2006, p. 7.

Secretary of State by a Muslim Deputation from the forum of AIML. It included:

“... the maintenance of the Urdu language and the Persian characters in the courts and public offices in those provinces where they are in vogue and the employment of Urdu as a medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces”.<sup>188</sup>

The above mentioned point was reiterated in the 12<sup>th</sup> session of AIML in 1919, at Amritsar and in 17<sup>th</sup> session of AIML held at Aligarh in 1925 resolutions were forwarded for ‘retention of Urdu language and Persian characters in the courts’ and ‘extending support to the demands of the Muslims of Bihar and Orissa for the option to present their pleadings in Urdu in courts’<sup>189</sup>

INC was not the only platform, which voiced Hindi as the Lingua franca of India. There were other committees, conferences and platforms which declared that Hindi as the national language could be written in the two scripts of Deonagri and the Urdu. Sheikh Ikram, while describing the ‘literary and linguistic activity’ at Fort William College considers that ‘with the help of Lallu Ji Lal and other Sanskritists practically a new language was created in the form of new Hindi’ — a new artificial language. He further quotes Kaye, the historian of Hindi literature:

A literary language for Hindi-speaking people, which could commend itself to Hindus was very desirable and the result was produced by taking Urdu and expelling from it words of Persian

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<sup>188</sup> I Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan, A Chronology (1906-1947)*, Islamabad NIHCR, QAU, 2006, p. 20.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-31

or Arabic origin, and substituting for it words of Sanskrit or Hindi origin. The Hindi of Lallu Ji Shah was really a new literary dialect.

The writer also quotes Sir George Grierson, who defined modern Hindi as:

It is of modern origin having been introduced under English influence at the commencement of the last (i.e. nineteenth) century. Up till then when a Hindu wrote prose and did not use Urdu, he wrote in his own dialect, Awadhi, Bundeli, Braj Bhasha or what not. Lallu Lal, under the inspiration of Dr. Gilchrist changed all this by writing the well-known *Prem Sagar*, a work which was, so far as the prose portions went, practically written in Urdu, with Indo-Aryan words substituted wherever a writer in that form of speech would use Persian ones. It was thus an automatic reversion to the actual vernacular of the upper Doab. The subject of the first book... attracted the attention of the good Hindus then, the language filled a want. It gave *lingua franca* to the Hindu. It enabled men of widely different provinces to converse with each other without recourse to the unclean words (to them) of the Mussalmans.<sup>190</sup>

In 1918, from the forum of Gujrat Educational Conference, the president Sahitya Sammelan introduced the term 'Hindustani' for Hindi and Urdu.

Later, Gandhi in the annual session of INC in 1925 had the resolution passed that 'the lingua-franca or the national language of future India would be Hindustani written in both the Nagri and the Persian scripts'.<sup>191</sup> However, there were other views regarding the survival of

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<sup>190</sup> S.M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, Lthore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961, p.400

<sup>191</sup> Prof. Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, *Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, pp. 257 - 8



this language. Altaf Hussain Hali, who believed in a common language for the Indians, endorsed this suggestion. For him this could be the way to forming one nation in India. According to him 'the only solution of Hindi-Urdu controversy was that the Hindus should use Urdu, which was really a developed form of Hindi, while Muslims should avoid unfamiliar Arabic and Persian words'.<sup>192</sup> Lacking trust, both Hindus and Muslims asked Gandhi to clarify the definition of Hindustani. The Hindus feared that it might be a strategy to exploit the 'ambiguous name' and impose Urdu as national language. Maulvi Abdul Haq called it a 'wise decision'. Altaf Hussain Hall also considered it as a chance towards building Indian nationalism. However, it was mistrust on both sides and bigoted prejudice which did not let rational ideas grow into firm maxims. Gandhi in order to promote an all India script wrote an article in Young India issue of 14, 1927:

At the present moment, we have Bengali, Punjabi, Sindi, Oriya, Gujrati, Tilgoo, Tamil, and Malayali script if all these scripts could be replaced by Deonagri, it would help to solidify Hindu India and bring the different provinces closer.<sup>193</sup>

Dr Fatehpuri quoted an interesting dialogue between Gandhi and Maulvi Abdul Haq when the former introduced the term 'Hindi-Hindustani' during the first session of Bharatia Sahitya parishad commenced on April 24, 1936:

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<sup>192</sup> S.M. Ikram, Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1950, p.72

<sup>193</sup> Prof Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, pp. 258 - 61

A. Haq: Why the National language, for which the term 'Hindustani' used at first in the congress Resolution, was now being called 'Hindi-Hindustani'?

Gandhi: I myself had drafted that very Congress resolution too.

A. Haq: But that time you had not clarified that by 'Hindustani' you meant Hindi.

Gandhi: Now I have told its meaning.

A. Haq: What do you mean by Hindi-Hindustani, then?

Gandhi: That Hindi which will become Hindustani after some time.<sup>194</sup>

The dialogue presents a very naive view of a great leader of Mahatama calibre. Gandhi relied heavily on the political responses of INC and vice versa and Muslims could never find a place between the two. On almost similar grounds, Nehru had written to Quaid later in 1938 that the solution could be resolved by:

'that the Congress Ministry in Madras is endeavouring to introduce the study of Hindustani in the State schools in the province. They are having primers and text-books prepared especially for the purpose by the Jamia Millia. These primers, etc., are to be in two scripts — Devanagri and Urdu — but in identical language the students having the option of script.<sup>195</sup>

Beverley Nichols made a study of 225 languages spoken in India but a large number of them local and unimportant, such as the 'tribal dialects of the Tibeto-Chinese speech family. He further state that for

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<sup>194</sup> Prof. Dr. Fannan Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, p. 263

<sup>195</sup> S.S, Pirzada, Quaid's Correspondence, Services Book Club, Rawalpindi, 1978, p. 263

all practical purposes the main Indian languages number 'fifteen'.  
About Urdu and Hindi, he writes:

They are not one and the same, for Urdu is plentifully interlarded with Persian and Arabic, but they resemble one another closely enough for their speakers to make mutually understood. Gandhi wants to lump the two together under the common name of 'Hindustani,' and to force this compound down the throats of the remaining 200 million Indians. But at the very outset he is faced with a grave difficulty — and it is, as usual a communal difficulty. For though the two languages are similar in sound, they are totally dissimilar in script; Hindi derives from Sanskrit and is written from left to right in Nagari characters, whereas Urdu derives from Persian and is written, from right to left in Persian characters. Most important of all, the Muslim bible — the Koran — is written in Persian script. And so the Muslims bitterly resent any attempt to tamper with their script or to 'indianize' their speech.<sup>196</sup>

In Memorandum submitted to the Indian statutory commission: Lahore: 5 November 1928, special protection of 07 domains included the use of Urdu language in all institutions maintained or aided by the government. In 1930, Allama Muhammad Iqbal while addressing a meeting at Allahbad supporting the two-nation theory stated that the 'principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups.' He asserted that the 'Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified.'<sup>197</sup> He suggested that the final destiny of the Muslims of the northwestern provinces of India was to form a consolidated Indian Muslim state within an all-India federation of autonomous states. The Muslim league was not yet ready to formulate

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<sup>196</sup> Beverley Nichols, *Verdict on India*, Lahore, Book Traders, 1944, p. 240

<sup>197</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Palcistan*, New York, Oxford University Press; 1984 p 123

a resolution proposing a Muslim state, but the idea was implanted in many minds. Chaudhry Rehmat Ali was one who coined the name Pakistan from the selection of alphabets of the names of Muslim majority provinces. It was gradual development of ideas, which added greater structure to AIML and it kept on taking more responsibilities in its fold. It continued to stress all that was important for the Muslims.

Urdu had been a constant issue with AIML and in its manifesto on June 11, 1936. It was mentioned at no.11 out of 14 points stated as:

‘To protect and promote Urdu language and script.’<sup>198</sup>

In 1927, MAJ presented Delhi Muslim Proposals (Appendix-VU) which were not given due weightage in Nehru Report -1928, hence Jinnah had to become vocal and assertive towards framing an ‘agreed constitution for India’. When Motilal Nehru tried to conclude on this point, Jinnah retorted strongly:

I know, the Nehru report is my Honourable friend’s pet child, but I am speaking dispassionately and I want him to realize, and sooner he realizes it the better — that it is not acceptable to the Muslims.’<sup>199</sup>

The government of India Act 1935 brought in the constitutional design on which elections were conducted in 1937. INC enjoyed great success according to which they formed governments in ‘seven out of eleven autonomous provinces.’ After forming the government, INC

<sup>198</sup> K.K. Aziz, *Muslims Under Congress Rule 1937 — 1939*. Islamabad; NCHCR, 1978, p. 45.

<sup>199</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, New York, Oxford University Press; 1984, p. 105

adopted an autocratic attitude towards the ministries. It also prepared Wardha Educational Scheme under Dr. Zakir Hussain, which had the orientation of preparing India as a one nation by imposing Hindu culture. It imposed Hindi language as the medium of instruction. For the Muslims it was a reign of terror and realization that if they would be made to live with the Hindus, their fate would be sealed for good. Hence, MAJ consolidated the Muslims and issued League Parliamentary Board Manifesto in 1936 (Appendix — VIII)

Ever since that Hindi was brought in 'under the official patronage' and its teachings were made compulsory in number of schools of the province. The Education Minister of Bihar in the Congress held province, formed a committee, which included names of recognition from the groups of Hindus and Muslims. It was given the task of compilation of text-books, literary readers from the works of noted Hindi and Urdu writers, dictionaries and grammar of Hindustani etc. These efforts however were never implemented and the difference kept on growing with 'the implementation of a new education scheme, 'Vidya Mandir.'<sup>200</sup>

The new education scheme had authorized Hindus to subjugate Muslims. They became quite vocal in their written propaganda against the Muslims for their demands of excluding Urdu script, language and eating the cow- meat. One of the most disturbing incidents had been the song 'Bande Mataram which appeared in Bankim Chandra

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<sup>200</sup> Prof. Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, pp. 353 - 61



Chatterji's novel "Anandamatha". It was set to music by Rabindranath Tagore in 1896. It created a national fervour. However some of the stanza's created disturbance for the Muslims especially when they were made to sing in schools.<sup>201</sup> Furthermore the song was recited at meetings held under the aegis of the Congress<sup>202</sup> which is an obvious support to the work done under associations for promoting Hinduism and Hindi. Thus the biased literature written by the Hindu writers entangled an already emotionally charged situation further to an extent that all hopes of any settlement were rent asunder.

The Quaid-i-Azam in his speech at the 26<sup>th</sup> session of AIML condemned the anthem in such words:

'It is admitted that Bande Matram is not the national song, yet it is sung as such, and thrust upon others. It is sung not only in their own gatherings, but Muslims children in Government and Municipal schools, too, are compelled to sing it. Muslim children must accept Bande Matram as their national song, no matter whether their religious beliefs permit them to do so or not. It is idolatrous and worse — a hymn of hatred for Muslims.<sup>203</sup>

All such tactics and controversies confirm that the ultimate Hindu dream and desire was to rule India free from all other influences. Similar is the analysis of K.K. Aziz as he wrote:

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<sup>201</sup> K.K. Aziz, Muslims Under Congress Rule 1937— 1939, Islamabad; NCHCR, 1978, p.120

<sup>202</sup> Ibid, p. 326.

<sup>203</sup> S.S. Pirzada, (Ed.) Foundations of Pakistan. All India Muslim League Documents: 1906— 1947, Karachi, National Publication House Ltd. Vol. 2. 1970, p. 305-6

'The true cause, as it seems to us, is the struggle for political power and for the opportunities which political power confers.'<sup>204</sup>

In the annual session of the League, held at Lucknow in October 1937 with 'the premiers of the Punjab and Bengal on his right and left' the Quaid showed his 'firm and unbending' resolve towards the favors offered by AIC with a realization that more Muslim representatives should be taken in.<sup>205</sup> The two premiers represent the two linguistic domains of Urdu and Bengali. There are many references where the people and leaders of Bengal are found making speeches in Urdu during the AIML sessions and favouring Urdu as a symbol of Muslim unity. This includes the 1jth AIML session in Delhi, when A.K. Fazlul Haque as President of the party delivered his presidential address in both English and Urdu.<sup>206</sup>

As Urdu became the language of the masses, the political and official proceedings of AIML were communicated in it. The struggle which was started by Sir Syed, gained momentum with the rigorous efforts of many political and literary heads with special mention towards the concerted efforts of Mohsn-ul-Mullk and Maulvi Abdul Haq. Hindus enjoying the power of majority ignored the language issue as a non-issue. Gandhi had tried to break this momentum under the terminology of Hindustani, which could be written in the two scripts of Deonagri and Persian. For this proposition, Gandhi asked for support from the

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<sup>204</sup> K.K. Aziz, *Muslims Under Congress Rule 1937— 1939*, Islamabad; NCHCR, 1978, p. 12

<sup>205</sup> S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1950, pp. 3 82-3.

<sup>206</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan. A Chronology (1906-1947)*, Islamabad NIHCR, QAU, 2006, p. 24.

Quaid who explicitly and categorically denied any possibility of cooperation with the Hindus. According to him:

'...we maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation.'<sup>207</sup>

The 'distinctive culture' in the 19<sup>th</sup> century grew more distinct with the Hindi-Urdu controversy and the same movement flourished further with its utilization as a cohesive force for the masses. Acknowledging the role of Maulvi Abdul Haq for the development of Urdu, the Quaid invited him for the 25<sup>th</sup> session of AIML on 15-17 October 1937:

As I am sure we should like to hear your well considered views and opinion with regard to this controversy and I feel that it will assist immensely the council of the All-India Muslim League in forming a definite opinion with regard to this important question of language; I hope that you will make it a point to attend the session.<sup>208</sup>

Hence, in 1938 session of AIML, Maulvi Abdul Haq, Baba-i-Urdu, put the proposal of Urdu as the language of Muslims, which was duly approved.

On April 8, 1939 during a Bengal Provincial Muslim League Council

<sup>207</sup> S.S. Pirzada, Quaid's Correspondence, Services Book Club, Rawalpindi, 1978, p. p

<sup>208</sup> S.S Pirzada, (Ed.) Jinnah's Correspondence, Mirror Press Ltd., Karachi, 1944, p.20

meeting, held in Calcutta with Faziul Haq, Chief Minister of Bengal, as President, it was considered essential to stress the need 'for protecting and promoting the Urdu language and script in Bengali...'. Other notables who attended the meeting were eminent people like Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Maulana Akram Khan, M.A. Ispahani, Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood, Maulana Ruhul Amin and H.S. Suharwardy. The Qauld also tried to please the crowd with his limited Urdu during Meerut Division Muslim League Conference on March 25, 1939.<sup>209</sup> Changing the script of Bengali for the nastaliq style would have been the solution of language issue after partition. Even when the resolution was passed the implementation could not take place, which was very unfortunate for the new country.

With the culmination of Congress rule and AIML celebrating Day of Deliverance, many important aspects of two-nation theory were visualized and understood. The Congress Government, its ministers and members were repeatedly calling Hindi as the National language instead of Hindustani. The radio programs also aired with Hindi vocabulary and pronunciation. To counteract this, AIML and Anjuman put their best efforts. A new bi-weekly magazine 'Human Zaban' was launched to reflect on all hostilities shifted towards Urdu language. Another quarterly magazine, Urdu, which was basically scientific and literary had also the purpose of dealing with the Hindu propaganda. Nawabzada Liaquat Au Khan said in his presidential address to the 15th session of Provincial Education Conference at Aligarh in 1939:

The Urdu and Hindustani issue is very plain. A lot of debating

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<sup>209</sup> S.S Pirzada, (Ed.) Jinnah's Correspondence, Karachi, Mirror Press Ltd. 1944, p. 76

and arguing has already been done in this regard. We (Muslims) are positive about our objective and also aware of Congress intentions. Now we ought to get out of this verbal labyrinth, for neither we want to deceive nor like to be taken in by anyone.<sup>210</sup>

After winning the elections of provincial self rule under the 1935 constitution, the working committee of Congress met 'in Wardha and resolved to form Ministries in all six of the provinces of British India in which they had won majorities. MAJ met Gandhi and asked for his assistance in order to get their share in power as they had won '109 seats out of 1,585' and. To this Gandhi replied:

I wish I could do something, but I am utterly helpless.... My faith in unity is as bright as ever; only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness.<sup>211</sup>

If Jinnah could combine INC and AIML at Lucknow in 1916, it is strange to find that Gandhi had to lose all such chances of Indian solidarity. If he was to emerge as the overall leader of India, Gandhi had to offer a balance, which he did not and thus Muslims knew they were on their own and would not be able to expect any support from the Congress rule.

It was in 1943 when Beverley Nichols, a British correspondent came to India to interview its leaders and to report on the conditions of India. His analysis is quoted below which is very realistic. It is amazing that the truth regarding the identity of an Indian was as obvious as that:

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<sup>210</sup> Prof. Dr. Farman Fatehpuri, Pakistan Movement and Hindi-Urdu Conflict, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987, pp. 375-83

<sup>211</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Gandhi's Passion, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.183



So if the Muslims are 'Indians,' it would seem that the Hindus are not. And if the Hindus are 'Indians' it would seem that the Muslims are not. These vast bodies of men are so acutely conscious of their differences that they not only refuse to eat together or think together, or pray together, 'they refuse even to live in the same unit of territory. They want their own geography as well as their own history; they want their own earth as well as their own heaven. On the lips of the vast majority of them such a phrase as *Civis Indianus sum* would sound grotesque.'<sup>212</sup>

On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940 when Lahore Resolution (Appendix - IX) was passed, the Muslims of India got a definite line of action to voice their demand for a separate homeland. Later the name of Pakistan was given to it. Hence the identity of Urdu language with which the Muslims started their struggle, finally got a shape through the projection of AIML. All this had been possible with the commitment and sacrifices of the Muslims of India under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He wanted AIML to be equal in status with the counterpart Hindu body of INC. It was with great pride that he announced:

It is undoubtedly the only authoritative and representative organization of Muslim India. It has given us a flag, a platform and a cherished goal, which is worth living for and if necessary, dying for.<sup>213</sup>

Urdu was used beside English as the language to address the public for all sessions of AIML. The use of slogans in Urdu shows the mob reaction. The crowd expressed full confidence in Jinnah's leadership

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<sup>212</sup> Beverley Nichols, *Verdict on India*, Lahore, Book Traders, 1944, p. 12

<sup>213</sup> A.K.K. Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam, Volume II*, Lahore, Bazam-i-Jbal, 1996, p.1242

who was termed as 'Amir-e-Siyasat'<sup>214</sup> on 27-28 Feb. -1 March, 1938 at a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, held at Ahmedabad. Even though MAJ could not preside because of his illness and Sir Ali Muhammad Khan Dehlavi presided over the meeting. The Urdu terminology shows the public response towards the popularity of the leader and language. Another such expression 'Nehru Waps Jao' became popular in 1946, which obviously shows the hatred towards the INC leader.<sup>215</sup>

The word "Urdu" had attained a Muslim connotation and was used for announcements as well. At New Delhi, there was an "Urdu Park" where the Muslim League flag was unfurled. Obviously the place would welcome the Muslims and Hindus would stay away from it. The Quaid had given his famous slogan of "faith, unity and discipline" at this historic place.<sup>216</sup>

I.A. Rehman in his paper "Quaid-i-Azam and Democracy" states that one of the three decisions of the Quaid as the head of the state, which "will not stand a democratic test" is "the declaration of Urdu as the only national language before a Bengali audience".<sup>217</sup> Dr. K. Yusuf, however refutes it by declaring it "superficial". She considers that Rehman did not evaluate the "causes and circumstances" behind the decision which was the "old Hindi-Urdu controversy" and "the antagonistic attitudes adopted by the Muslims and the Hindus towards

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<sup>214</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan, A Chronology (1906.. 1947), Islamabad NIHCR, QAU, 2006, p. 60

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., p. 178

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., pp. 104 - 5

<sup>217</sup> I.A. Rehman, Quaid-i-Azam and Democracy in Politics and Policies of Quaid-i-Azam.ed. by Dr. Kaniz F. Yusuf, Islamabad, NIHCR, 1994, p.143

each other".<sup>218</sup> AIML had identified itself as the lingua franca of its nation; hence it was not the decision of the Quaid-i-Azam. It has been seen all along the political career of the Quaid, that he had never taken a non-political decision for the nation or his political party. He was a seasoned politician who respected the opinion of the majority. According to Sharif al Mujahid 'Jinnah was unaware of the depth of attachment to Bengali in East Bengal, nor was he told in time about it'.<sup>219</sup>

Wolpert in his book Shameful Flight while referring to M.A. Jinnah's visit to Dacca on Pakistan Day, March 21, 1948 calls it to be the Quaid's 'worst political blunder by insisting that Urdu must remain the only national language of Pakistan'. For him the decision should have been in favor of Bengali as 'a third of a million Bengalis, who had waited all day in the sun to hear him speak bitter words in a foreign language. Six months later Jinnah would die, and twenty-three years after that East Pakistan was reborn as "The Land of Bengali-speakers," Bangla-Desh."<sup>220</sup>

Evaluating the dominating political and economic scenario which caused the division of Pakistan, it is difficult to comprehend that not announcing Bengali as the national language by the Quaid caused to create Bangladesh. Quaid was an outright constitutional leader who took every decision in consultation with his party members. However, Bengali was 'accepted as one of the state languages' in the

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<sup>218</sup> Kaniz F. Yusuf, Introduction, Politics and Policies of Quaid-i-Azam, Islamabad, ed. By Dr Kaniz F. Yusuf, NIHCR, p. xxii

<sup>219</sup> Sharif ul Mujahid, Quaid-i-Azam and Decision Making, in Politics and Policies of Quaid-i-Ap, Islamabad, ed. by Dr Kaniz F. Yusuf, NIHCR, p.60

<sup>220</sup> Stanley Wolpert, Shameful Flight, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006, P. 180

constitution of 1956 in response to resolve 'the few controversial points' to be negotiated with East Pakistan.<sup>221</sup>

With the creation of Pakistan, there were drastic measures to be taken on number of occasions. Struggling for the freedom of a nation is one thing but running it independently was a totally different thing. The establishment of Pakistan needed solid grounds to tread on which could be done with a new plan of action. Many examples of history reveal that those who achieved the geographical boundaries or the vision of nationhood did not succeed to implement that on ground. The Quaid by all means had the ability but his failing health did not permit him to form a country as a state and to establish its sure footings. The other leaders of Muslim League who got the chance, with their all sincerity could not achieve stability for the country basically because they could not conceive a clear line of action. The Quaid had given the responsibility of growth of Urdu to Maulvi Abdul Haq but surprisingly his requests in this regard were not facilitated by the Government of Pakistan. The researcher does not find the language issue as the sole divisor of Pakistan. Had it been like this, it would have been included in the six points of Mujibur Rehman.<sup>222</sup> Urdu language had been referred to as the language of the Muslims especially in AIML sessions all along including the Bengali group of leaders. The demand to change script of Bengali or to bring Bengali at par with Urdu should have been a decision of the government of Pakistan which though taken in 1956 was really never pursued for Urdu and Bengali in its earnestness. In fact the issue never got the importance it deserved by

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<sup>221</sup> Hassan Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1994 pp. 39 -40

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31

the leaders who had struggled with all their might for an independent homeland.

The Times in its editorial of September 13, 1948 after the death of the Quaid wrote:

Mr. Jinnah was something more than Quaid-e-Azam, supreme head of the state, to the people who followed him; he was more even than the architect of the Islamic nation he personally called into being. He commanded their imagination as well as their confidence. In the face of difficulties which might have overwhelmed him, it was given to him to fulfil the hope foreshadowed in the inspired vision of the great Iqbal by creating for the Muslims of India a homeland where the old glory of Islam could grow afresh into a modern state, worthy of its place in the comity of nations. Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr. Jinnah. He was a legend in his lifetime.<sup>223</sup>

The details of history show that MAJ emerged as a leader without any religious connotation, apparently a westernized figure without any decor of Maulvi, Maulana, Pandit or Mahatama. He was honest, upright and rightly called Quaid-i-Azam who fought his grounds not on emotional appeals based on a language or an ideology alone but on solid arguments of reasoning with a legal base. Once the decision of Urdu as a state language was taken, he never showed any doubt regarding that. His speech at the Dacca University Convocation on March 24, 1948, leaves a clear line of action for every Pakistani:

There can, however, be only one lingua franca, that is, the

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<sup>223</sup> S. S. Pirzada, Film Gandhi and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Karachi, East and West Publishing Company, 1983, p. 39



language for intercommunication between the various provinces of the State, and that language should be Urdu and cannot be any other. The State language, therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this subcontinent, a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and above all, a language which, more than any other provincial language, embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries. It is not without significance that Urdu has been driven out of the Indian Union and that even the official use of the Urdu script has been disallowed.<sup>224</sup>

A parallel situation was handled by the Indian government in a more professional manner in 1948, when the Linguistic Provinces Commission gave the report to reopen the matter incase the demand for Dravidian language militants became threatening. From 1949, the demand by Telugu speakers in Madras got intensified. The climax came in 1952, as the leader of the movement Potti Sriramulu died during hunger strike.

Hence:

Prime Minister Nehru backed down, and the first of the language- based states, Andhra Pradesh (for Telugu) was inaugurated in October 1953. Three years later, the whole of south India was reorganized on the basis of linguistic regions.<sup>225</sup>

MAJ and Nehru had been loyal to the aims and objectives of their parties. Hence the challenge of Hindi and Urdu could neither be

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<sup>224</sup> Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-48, Karachi, Elite Publishers, 1989, p.194

<sup>225</sup> David Crystal, The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 308

understood nor accepted. However, the Quaid's death did not give him an opportunity to reframe the rules to save the nation.

It becomes obvious that prior to the partition, there was no demand of any language beside Hindi and Urdu. Taking an introspective view, it reveals that these languages obviously represented religions and two ideologies. These are two separate life styles of two nations. Even though the modernism brought by the British included germs of nationalism based on secular approach but in India the situation could not change drastically and with the partition in 1947, the biggest Islamic country emerged on the map of the world. India though announced itself as a secular country, however this was only at the surface and underneath the Hindu culture continued unabated. The Quaid during his presidential speech at the annual session of AIML in 1941, stated as quoted by Prof. Fateh Muhammad Malik:

The ideology of the League is based on the fundamental principle that Muslim India is an independent nationality. Any attempt to get them to merge their nationality or entity will not only be resisted but in my opinion it will be futile for any one to attempt it.<sup>226</sup>

Thus Urdu got the established status of a lingua franca and the Hindi-Urdu controversy got resolved through the partition of the subcontinent. From AIML to Muslim League with the emergence of Pakistan, the effort that the language deserved for its growth and development had been compromised. Neither does it reflect well in its teaching through institutions nor its status as an official and literary

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<sup>226</sup> Prof. Fateh Muhammad Malik, *Fitna-i-Inkari Pakistan*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel, 2008, p. 148

language. The history of the subcontinent, however, urges us that we promote the language and take pride in it.

## CHAPTER IX

### Summary and Conclusion

Every language has its own wisdom and through its intellectual acumen offers a world of experience to its learner. From time immemorial, people had been learning languages for various reasons of pleasure, information, knowledge etc. However, it is human nature that when something is thrust upon or snatched at, different reactions are seen. When the British entered the subcontinent, they came well-equipped with the knowledge of oriental languages and mannerism of the Mughal court. Once they got entered, they turned the tables on the rulers. Thus, language learning historically had been very beneficial on many accounts.

The present research has made an effort to trace the reasons for the Hindi-Urdu controversy. Historically speaking, after the downfall of the Mughal Empire and political takeover of the British, the subcontinent developed multidimensional societies. The British wanted implementation of English language to culturally sabotage t-Indian culture. However, the Hindus considering an opportunity for their commune, developed and propagated Hindi in Devanagri script. The situation perplexed the Muslims immensely. Actually, they were the masters of the court languages but tragically, the court was gone and with it, the intellectual environment created through Persian and Urdu

was gone as well. Losing the court was one thing, but losing the whole linguistic and cultural environment was nothing short of a disaster.

The first person who came to the realization of lifting the fallen brethren was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and it was through his efforts that the Indian Muslims pulled themselves together and made an effort to educate them with a vision for an independent future. Settled at Benares, he had studied the upheavals peculiar to U.P. Sir Syed's followers also continued to struggle for protection, growth and development of Urdu. The political need of the time demanded a representation of the Muslims, for which a political party AIML was launched in 1906. As the awareness of an identity grew further, the Muslims realized that they had to maintain balance between their existence, Hindus and British. It became mandatory for them to safeguard the interests of their brethren who were politically backward, economically deprived and socially condemned. Even though religiously, Islam had unified them but the propaganda that learning English language would be anti-Islamic had kept them in the background. It was visionaries like Allama Mohammad Iqbal who inspired his people to come forward and prove their prowess. He blended his philosophy with the rules of Islam to bring out the wisdom for performing action towards betterment of the Muslims of India. Finally it was through the admirable leadership of Quaid-i-Azam that the course of action was laid out and the destination was achieved.

The saga of British rule started from Bengal. In this region the Hindus outclassed the Muslims in every field. The Hindus were economically well settled whereas the Muslims were poor and illiterate. Both the



communities used Bengali language, however as Hindus had the field of education in their hands; hence the Muslims in a very small number followed the same education system. It is this reason, due to which there is no bifurcation in the social structure, the way it was seen in the North. Before Nazrul Islam, there is hardly any Muslim name, which stands out in the history of Bengali literature.

In the North, however, the situation was different. The Muslims held the rule, prestigious places in the court, literary and cultural field and intellectual potential. The Hindus, on the other hand had been subjected to secondary position. The dominating role of the Muslims was quite obvious from the work of numerous outstanding philosophers, writers and reformers. In this vast region, Urdu ruled as the language of glory. At its parallel, Hindi had grown as a dialect, which was heavily sanskritized.

The term Hindustani had been substituted for Urdu in the beginning and later on to Hindi as well, due to the fact that the region in the North - the land of the mighty rivers was called by this name. During the Mughal era, the two languages specifically got developed in the same region. Hence it would not be wrong to say that the richest culture of India was not developed in Daccan (South), but in the heart of the North. Delhi, Lucknow, Oudh, Hyderabad and other areas in between offered unique development of the court languages. As long as the Muslim emperors were there, the Hindus accepted the court languages; Persian and Urdu as the lingua franca. In fact, the literary history of the Mughal period shows contributions made by many Hindu writers in these languages. However, with the arrival of the British, the

age-long understanding of the two communes disintegrated and Hindus started seeing the foreigners as their liberators.

The mutiny of 1857, which had involved Muslims, Hindus and other communities, caused the end of Mughal rule and the supremacy of Muslims. At this point, the Hindus parted ways showing that the centuries-old relationship was totally artificial. For the Muslims, it was completely a dismal situation. The power was lost, respect and dignity was snatched away, unity was dissipated and on top of all, blame of every conspiracy was levied on them. On the other hand, the Hindus who had already established a new coordination with British in Bengal and had started reaping the fruits of that bargain did not waste much time to create the same environment in the rest of India. The three presidencies of EIC had been prototype governments and through administrative experimentation, already the Hindus were in a position to come up to the desired level to receive maximum favors from the British.

If the Muslims lost all, the Hindus came all out to fill up the vacuum. With the implementation of English language, the Muslims were declared illiterate, even though they had the knowledge of Persian and Urdu. At this point in time, English had become the lingua franca and the Hindus, who had integrated English in their education system from earlier on, were in a perfect position to reap the fruit. Thus, they stood close to the rulers brushing all others out of the picture. This was an opportunity for them to emerge as a nation. Many associations, pressure groups, conferences, leagues and committees were constituted to propagate the importance of Hinduism in the

subcontinent. Special literature was developed to inject in the masses the spirit of patriotism, which supplemented the Hindu ideology. In order to move forward, a realization in order to promote Hindi language came to the front. At this moment of urgency, the linguistic situation of the North in collaboration with Fort William College at Calcutta was exploited in the development of Hindi.

It is beyond every explanation that two names can be given to the same language. Urdu and Hindi are purely two different languages upholding two different ideologies and having diverse sources. Under the confusion, Hindi was made to look significant by attributing it most of the linguistic features of Urdu, its style, mannerism and syntax. Sanskrit, the original language of the Hindus was purely for the upper class Brahman priests. The lower castes were not permitted to pollute the pure religious language. Under these circumstances, Prakrit languages and Buddhism brought some relief.

It was through the Arab traders that Arabic too landed in India. Under the circumstances, in such a vast region, a common language had to evolve and this credit was given to Urdu. Arabic was difficult for the Indian Muslims, hence the Sufis and saints opted for Urdu as the medium of teaching religious knowledge. Parallel to this, Hindi was used for Indian Hindus. Thus the two languages stood apart.

History has proved that man is accustomed to a belief system. The acceptance of some sort of belief; be it a theology, religion or

speculation is an essential basic requirement. South Asia was engulfed in all sorts of varieties including Hinduism, Bhuddhism, Islam, etc. It is seen that every religion in the world has a sacred language for example Sanskrit, Prackrit, Arabic etc. Originally, the priests did not believe in simplifying the teaching procedures and neither did they believe in teaching to the masses. However with the passage of time, the need grew further and the religious beliefs had to be made more simplified.

With the advent of modernism through scientific research and progress, the period of Renaissance dawned upon Europe. New political systems got shaped out of the economic advancement and learning enhancement of various subjects, fields and areas. Democracy found its roots in the soil of Europe. The concept of government for the people established the philosophy of nationalism. Due to ethnic, linguistic or geographic reasons, the world got divided into states and the state hierarchy devised the rules for the masses ensuring their individual rights and establishing social norms through a designed polity. The political theories of Europe came to India along with the British rule and the locals adapted to the new system of polity in a quicker succession. The political parties were launched and work on constitution-making gave a greater insight to the Indians towards establishing political systems to lend a comprehensive political structure to India.

The word politics generally covers a lot many manipulations and exploitations suited to its objectives. With reference to the Hindi-Urdu controversy, the Hindus with full support from the British, made the

rulers believe that Urdu was not intelligible and it was only Hindi which was rightly called the language of the masses. Thus not only that they had the language changed from Urdu to Hindi in UP and CP in 1900, but they also had changed the script from nastaliq to nagri.

These changes do not only show the venom that one commune has for the other but in fact it reveals the intensity of animosity that the lethal harm could be placed on the other, if circumstances would so permit. However, the research has proved the point that hostilities would always unify the masses who suffer. Hence, Muslims were brought together with such hostile decisions and a specific culture for Muslims emerged to show the difference with the Hindu values. As the Hindus exerted all the pressure towards their supremacy, some of the able Muslims came all out to rescue the whole situation. The fact, which got established very firmly, was that a language is a part of a social system and in the case of Urdu; the language had a definite link with religion as well. In this regard, the Quaid gave a historic statement regarding the linkage between the religions with their specific philosophies, social customs, literatures and languages. The two different belief systems would always stay segregated and no harmony could ever be able to evolve. It is specific to the fact that the creation of knowledge is related in very complicated ways with the language in which it is created and the impact of this knowledge covers the whole life-style of a person. Thus more than the language it would be the ideology, which would dictate the political impetus.

Looking back into history, the role of Fort William College established in 1800, is viewed in detail. The splitting of the common spoken



language of Hindus and Muslims of Northern India into two separate languages was the work of this college. Initially, its purpose was to train the British officers in the indigenous Indian languages for better administration. Thus with full focus on the establishment of provincial languages, the college started working in different departments. The list of compulsory Indian languages for the British officers' posted in different provinces of India given below shows thirteen languages. To promote learning of these languages, many incentives were given, in the shape of certificates, prizes and postings etc. The strange fact is that out of thirteen languages only two confronted each other i.e. Hindi and Urdu.

For Madras, Tam il and Telugu

For Bombay, Marathi and Gujarati

For North Western Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab, Hindi, Hindustani

For Lower Provinces of Bengal, Bengali and Hindustani

For British Burma, Burmese and Hindustani.

In the given set of languages, the word Hindustani represents Urdu. Ever since Urdu became the language of the court in Delhi, it was associated with the name of the region. Gandhi had been using the same term which gradually confused the Hindus as they had always associated the two terms in unison. Hence under the circumstances, Gandhi then had to clarify that he meant Hindi Hindustani and not Urdu-Hindustani, which added to the confusion of the languages further. After more than sixty years of partition, the term Hindustani does not exist and in the two countries the languages are called as Urdu and Hindi.

For the development of Hindi, Lallu ji Lal under the inspiration of Dr. Gilchrist wrote the well-known Prem Sagar, a work which was, so far as the prose portions went, practically written in Urdu, with Indo-Aryan words substituted wherever a writer in that form of speech would use Persian ones. The experiment of this novel was successful from the start as it gave a *lingua franca* to the Hindus. It enabled men of widely different provinces to converse with each other without recourse to the unclean words (to them) of the Muslims.

Gandhi's preaching of Hindustani as the *lingua franca* was too vague an expression from a high-calibre leader. Applying this prediction of Gandhi to present day India, it is seen that the word Hindustani is no more in vogue and secondly Hindi is found a mixture of using the pronunciation, intonation and expression of Urdu in the manner of Sanskrit. This self deception however breaks obviously in the Indian movies when the songs are sung in Urdu with the Urdu pronunciation and the rest of the film mostly would be in Hindi with the cast speaking in a different style specific to the regions that the actors / actresses belong to. In fact, the TV programs like Indian Idol show the effort of the singers to learn Urdu and during the evaluation of the judges, the focus on Urdu poetry and pronunciation does come up.

Therefore the research concludes that it was Fort William College, which had its first calculated move to draw a margin to stop Persian influence and establish Urdu instead. Quite contrary to the efforts, it originated into the development of Hindi language, which did not have any proper script by that time. However there was no permanent loyalty. Once the British forces acquired the land, and the political rule

was established, there was complete disregard to the two languages and all initiatives were taken to give supremacy to English. It helped the rulers to chalk out new definitions of literacy according to which the whole subcontinent fell into a bleak shroud of ignorance and backwardness. Thus the fact becomes obvious that as the British changed Persian to Urdu and then Urdu to Hindi, it was not to show their support to any ethnic group. Obviously through this change, they were playing with the feelings of different groups and when they found the time ripe, they did thrust their own English language in full force as a route to success. Thus English in this subcontinent was not a language of choice but of compulsion as it was borne by the fact that the mere switch-over to English in the post-Macaulay period in the last century ruined innumerable Muslim families financially as well as socially.

Politically it was seen that in the beginning the common people, Hindus and Muslims, struggled against the terrible oppression of the British, wherever they could and with whatever weapons they could muster. The same could be seen during Mutiny of 1857 as well. With the end of the Mughal rule, the divide became obvious. The Hindus very shrewdly put the blame on the Muslims for all that was against the British Raj and by exploiting the situation, gained sympathies from the rulers.

With Calcutta as the centre of EIC's activities, Hindus got an obvious edge. Bengali Muslims being poor and illiterate did not pose any threat. Thus in the British perception, Hindus emerged as the only

representative group and Hindi as the only important language which if need be could replace the other languages. The administrative and intellectual experimentation of the British and Hindus led to the establishment of a political structure for India by its own people. Thus in 1885, the foundations of INC were laid and English was declared its language for conducting the sessions. Originally, it was formed to make the Indians prepare for devising their own political system under the guidance of the British. The Muslims who were ignored till this point in time, under the guidance of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan did not take part in joining INC. Instead Sir Syed kept on struggling to establish a University for the Muslims from where they could emerge as scholars. For him, politics was the next step. The consistent efforts of the Muslims made the British believe that there is another community as well.

If the Hindu Muslim co-existence was nothing but a historical fallacy then the interesting fact is that history has proved that even Hindu British collaboration was timely as well. INC, which started well with good intentions but within its five years, it was taken over by the Hindus completely. INC started advocating that India is for Hindus and British are the exploiters who must leave. To counter balance this point, British officials, who feared the Congress Party's growing popular opposition to their Raj encouraged a number of Muslim Feudal Princes, led by the Aga Khan, to launch their own separate Muslim Party in 1906, By this time moderates had taken over the working of INC and participation of Muslim membership slightly increased. M.A. Jinnah had joined INC and was acknowledged, uniquely admired, respected, and courted by the leadership of both major political parties

as a potential president of each, which he did manage in 1916 through Lucknow pact. For this unique step, he was called the Best Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity - a title which no other Indian leader could even come near, including Gandhi, Nehru and many others.

The political environment became more active with the arrival of Gandhi in 1915 from South Africa. He was given an immediate recognition and it was his popularity, which in a way acted as the cohesive force. The image of a nation got strengthened and even though in the beginning Muslims too had sided with him but later on, due to his obvious tilt towards the Hindus, the Muslims gathered around the Quaid who had earned a lot of fame. Another important feature of nationhood came through the printing presses and their use, which proved very popular in bringing out a stream of newspapers, pamphlets, government notices and serious literary work.

With the popularity of Western education, there was a new English educated class, which used to run the Government machinery. It was a great admirer of everything Western which lent its support to the Government. The British had implemented their policies and reforms and expected from these people an understanding of the plan. All the prominent leaders of the two political parties, INC and AIML had the western exposure and could figure out the intricacies of the political issues. The various Government of India Acts proposed a system, which was deliberated upon by the leaders of the two parties, and it was due to their untiring efforts that gains were met by the two parties.



As a political measure, the British helped to launch the two political parties one after the other within a period of twenty-one years. Even though the political circumstances of India were different but the pattern and the path followed by the two parties had been identical. INC declared Swaraj as its motto; AIML labeled it as Home Rule. INC declared 26<sup>th</sup> January 1930 as its independence day; AIML, ten years later declared 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940 as the day of celebration. The two parties had their respective flags and slogans. The two languages of Hindi and Urdu completed the definition of a nation as per the modern requirement; hence the two leaders had full support of the masses to clinch the inevitable. The two languages, however, negotiated well with their ideologies where the two religions were the final power. The Hindus, though labeled themselves as secular and talked of the economic measures under the influence of Marx; but for Muslims the voice of unity was Islam.

As the research is limited to language and politics, hence it is only with the view of Hindi and Urdu and how these two languages guided the politics towards a direction to divide the sub continent into two nations. The research carries a reflection on the efforts of the leaders who interpreted the events of history to resolve some issues but on many occasions some of them succeeded to raise more issues. At partition, the massacre, killing, bloodshed all notifies the ruthlessness of the leaders in not reviewing the details with the perspective of the masses. The two political parties i.e. INC and AIML still exist in their respective countries but either these are broken in factions or they are sidelined. Hence it seems that the research culminates on the point that the issues of importance did change a lot before and after the partition.

With the emotional attachment of INC and AIML for the respective languages of Hindi and Urdu, it was expected that after independence some special measures would be taken to keep them as the two representative languages of the two countries, however even after 60 years, English is used as the official language and the National languages could not replace English. The framework which was built in the third chapter on the basis of the literature review had the same perspective of how important was a language to give rise to a political environment and then leading it on to the division of the subcontinent. However, the importance of these languages dimmed after partition and no particular effort was made to bring these at the level of English.

Looking from the threshold of present with a thorough peep in the past, makes a researcher discover new perceptions and mental patterns, which makes a research wholesome. In order to absorb the superpower image of a nation, there are few analogies to the present day scenario. As the British entered into agreements and treaties with the Indian kings and maharajas, much as today the American oil companies in the Middle East enter into business agreements with sheikhs and other Arab rulers. It is in this scenario that the hawk-like vision of the superpower helps them to grasp opportunities by breaking the invincible, cracking the boundaries and bewildering the natives.

The essays written by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to the British officers explaining the situation of Muslims are identical to the present situation of bomb killing in Pakistan. Jihad is self declared and the revolt is also self-interpreted. The pressure groups tend to hold the

nuisance power in their hands to ruin the lives of many. Just as Muslims of India suffered then, the people of Pakistan are suffering at present.

The main focus of the present research is to trace the linkage between a language and policies devised for its growth, promotion and rehabilitation etc. South Asia in this regard offers very authentic case studies. With millions of inhabitants, a multi-lingual society emerged which due to political reasons finally was bifurcated under the flags of Urdu and Hindi. People of diverse cultural and linguistic scenes gladly accepted this bifurcation; however again some policies or lack of them created challenging situations for the two languages, which were totally different from the focus of their popularity. Thus even though the modern times promote ethnic and linguistic base of a nation however for India and Pakistan the importance of English is still greater than the two languages of partition importance. Pakistan refused to bring a provincial language at par with Urdu as the national language; whereas in India, the status of Hindi as a national language is shared by sixteen other languages. Hence the vision, which was carried by the leaders at partition, seems to be compromised down the line. This observation, which has evolved out of the arguments, though is not in the framework of research but offers a powerful reflection to the power politics and the importance of languages.

# Appendices

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## List of Appendices

I. Congress - League Scheme of Reform – 1916	213
II. An Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt, by Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Principal Sadr Amin of Muradabad	219
III. Sir Syed's Letter to Sir John Kaye, 14 December 1969	230
IV. AIML Inaugural Session: Resolution – 1906	234
V. The Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League - 1937	235
VI. "Nehru Report" on Minority Representation – 1928	236
VII. Delhi Muslim Proposals – 1927	239
VIII. League Parliamentary Board Manifesto - 1936	241
IX. League Lahore [Pakistan] Resolution - 1940	249



# I. Congress - League Scheme of Reform - 1916<sup>227</sup>

## I. Provincial Legislative Councils

- i. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.
- ii. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
- iii. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.
- iv. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:

Punjab --- One half of the elected Indian Members

United Provinces --- 30% of the elected Indian Members

Bengal --- 40% of the elected Indian Members

Behar --- 25% of the elected Indian Members

Central Provinces --- 15% of the elected Indian Members

Madras ---15% of the elected Indian Members

Bombay --- One third of the elected Indian Members

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<sup>227</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan. A Chronology (1906-1947)* Islamabad, NIHCR, QAU, 2006, pp. 242-246

Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting nor or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution....

- a. Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.
- b. There should be no divided head of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.
- c. The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget....
- d. A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless voted by the Governor in Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is

again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.....

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefore....

## **II. Provincial Governments**

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.
2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council, which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.
3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.
4. Not less one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils....

## **III. Imperial Legislative Council**

1. The strength of the imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.
2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of the Imperial Legislative Council.
4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates in the several provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mahomedan electorates....
16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

#### **IV. The Government of India**

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.
2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.
3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council....

## **V. The Secretary of State in Council**

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.
3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the self-governing Dominions.
4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

## **VI. India and the Empire**

1. In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.
2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.



## **VII. Military and other matters**

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India....

## II. An Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt, by Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Principal Sadr Amin of Muradabad<sup>228</sup>

In the name of the most merciful and compassionate God!  
Dependence and humility became the creature  
To forgive his creature is the part of God  
If I do that which becomes me not  
Do than to all that is suitable to thee

With regard to the original causes of the rebellion in Hindustan, which I have set forth in my essay on that subject, although my heart was desirous to erase them now from the page of existence, nay to obliterate them from mine own mind, in as much as the proclamation which has been promulgated by Her Majesty Queen Victoria (May Her Empire be perpetuated) is in fact the complete remedy of each primary cause of the rebellion on beholding the purport of that proclamation, let the pens drop from their hands, and all feel it be necessary to make a diagnosis of these causes now, because their complete remedy has been exhibited, nevertheless to reflect upon the primary causes of the disturbances, and to advance true grounds for veracity of my own statements, is in my opinion a strong proof of my attachment to the Government. Therefore, although the things which have occasioned the rebellion have been well remedied, it is still incumbent upon me to publish those which I know. It is true that persons of great wisdom and experience have written on the causes of this rebellion, but on the supposition that no native of Hindustan has written on the subject,

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<sup>228</sup> Salim al-Din Quraishi, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Cause of the Indian Revolt Three Essays*, Lahore, Sange-Meel Publications, 1997, pp. 11-19

there is room for hoping that it will be well for the opinion of one such person too, to be left on record.

## **SUBJECT**

What was the cause of the rebellion in Hindustan?

Answer: In answering this question it is first incumbent upon us to define rightly what is the meaning of rebellion: - viz whether it be the opposing our Government, or taking part with those who oppose it, or to disregard and disobey orders with a rebellious spirit, or unconsciously to violate the rights and limits of the government:- for example:

1<sup>st</sup> — As servant or subject fighting and opposing his Government.

2<sup>nd</sup> — Or disregarding and disobeying orders in a rebellious spirit.

3<sup>rd</sup> — Or his aiding and abetting rebels.

4<sup>th</sup> — Or subjects audaciously fighting amongst themselves and violating the fixed limits of Government

5<sup>th</sup> — Or the net entertaining in their hearts affection and loyalty towards their Government, and not aiding with it in times of calamity.

In the crucial year 1857 which has just past, there is not one of all these kinds of rebellion which has not existed, nay there will be found but very few men, being persons of remarkable wisdom, who are clear of the last kind of disaffection. Moreover as this last kind is but little openly manifested, it is substantially abundantly common.

The one sole cause of rebellious intent arising in the heart is the occurrences of things, which are opposed to the dispositions and temperaments, and purposes and resolves and customs and habits and characters and natures of those who become rebels.

From this statement it is proved that no special thing can be the cause of a general rebellion. Aye of a general rebellion, either something as general may be the cause which is opposed to the feelings of all, or various matters may be the cause of which some one thing is repugnant to the feelings of another party, and thus by degrees a general disaffection is brought about.

In the rebellion of 1857 this very thing was the cause that many causes had for a long time been collected in the minds of the people, and a very great magazine has been formed and all that remained was that it should be hastily kindled, which was done last year by the rebellion of the troops.

With regard to the distribution of Chapattis, and the breaking out of the rebellion shortly afterwards, although at that time, cholera was epidemic throughout all Hindustan, and it may be thought that this contrivance was adopted as an antidote to the cholera, as a charm against it, an as much as ignorant natives of Hindustan very often practice this kind of charm, yet the truth is, the original cause of the distribution has not yet been divulged, but there is no doubt that the chapattis could not have been the foundation of a conspiracy.

It is certainly customary for a thing of this nature to be taken to test the truth of a message, and it is notorious that no verbal message was sent with the chapattis; had a message been sent, it is impossible that it could have remained concealed inspite of its being so widely promulgated and to spread amongst people of every tribe and every disposition. The manner in which the rebellion spread throughout Hindustan, and hurried from this place to that and from that place to this is a clear proof that there was no conspiracy in the first instance.

To suppose that the rebellion in Hindustan originated from a conspiracy in which Russia and Persia were implicated is a most unfounded idea. How could the people of Hindustan conspire with those in Russia when the views of the Russians are altogether unknown to them. The Persians would never conspire with the Hindoos, for the Muhammadans of Hindustan and the Persians to agree, is as impossible as for the protestants and Roman Catholics. If it be possible for the day and night to be united at one time then truly it is possible for this confederacy to take place. The strange thing is that when war was being carried between England and the Russians and Persians nothing took place in Hindustan, and when disaffection arose in Hindustan nothing took place in these countries, and yet they should be thought to be confederates with India.

Not a word of the proclamation, which, as is well known, was found in the tent of a Persian prince, alludes to a conspiracy with Hindustan; its contents refer only to encouragements of the people of his own country. The mention of the evil state of affairs in Hindustan is only introduced to show that the Persian ought to be more prepared to fight



and there is no hint at any confederacy with India having been concluded.

There is nothing strange in the circumstances of the deposed King of Delhi writing a Farman to Persia. The condition of the deposed King of Delhi was such that if it has been said to him that the King of the genie in fairy-land is your Majesty's servant, he would have believed it true; and not to say one Farman, would have written ten. The deposed King of Delhi was always fancying that he was being transformed into a fly or mosquito and going and getting information about different nations and countries and he believed in his own mind that this thing was really the case, and used to ask his courtiers to attest it and they all did attest it. It is not to be wondered at then, if such a lunatic wrote any Farman at anybody's suggestion, but it is not to be supposed that any such Farman formed the basis of a conspiracy in any manner whatever. Does it not seem surprising that there should be so great a conspiracy and that it should have endured so long and our authorities have been altogether unacquainted with it, and that after the revolt no rebel either soldier or civilian should have made mention of any kind of conspiracy although after the revolt they would not have been withheld by fear from mentioning it.

We are not to suppose that the annexation of Awadh either was cause of this rebellion; there is indeed no doubt that all people were displeased with the annexation of Awadh and all were convinced that the Honourable East India Company had acted in violation of treaties and promises. In general the dissatisfaction of the people with the annexation of Awadh was of the same description as it always was

when the Company conquered any country, mention of which will be made hereafter. To the princes of Delhi and to the Chiefs themselves who ruled in Hindustan the fear and alarm and dissatisfaction were still greater; all were fully persuaded that the dominions and powers and governments of all would be similarly seized upon; nevertheless we see that there was not a single rebel amongst the ruling chiefs, those who joined in this rebellion were mostly people whose countries had been taken from them; the cases of the Nawab of Jhajhar and of the Rajah of Balabgarh and of others are not to be cited against this opinion.

Nor is it to be imagined with reference to this rebellion that all people of Hindustan united in rebellion through feeling of grief and regret that a foreign nation and stranger tribe has got possession of the ancient empire of the Hindustani people. It is to be remembered that the rule of our government did not shoot up suddenly in Hindustan but was gradually developed. It's beginning is reckoned from the year 1757, from the time of the defeat of Sirajud-daulah at Plassey. Shortly after that period the hearts of all the people and the subjects were attracted towards our government, and bearing continually the good qualities and excellencies, the mercifulness and liberality and steadfastness as regards agreements and carefulness? Of our general welfare shown by the government officers and the peacefulness and repose which prevailed under them. The officers both Hindoo and Musalman who resided contiguously to our government entertained the wish that they might dwell under the shadow of the rule of our government. The kings of foreign countries were reposing entire confidence in our government and considered the treaties and agreements which they

had formed with our government to be sure to be maintained inviolate and as durable as though written on stone. Although our Govt. has become vastly powerful as compared with what it was at first and on the contrary not a tenth of the power is left to the native princes and governors and rulers which they first had, and although in those days our government waged many wars with every tribe of Hindustan, both Hindoos and Musalman and was invariably victorious so that all the natives of Hindustan were persuaded that our government would one day overspread all India and that all the people of India whether Hindoos or Moslem would one day be governed by it. Notwithstanding all this there never was any rebellion or resistance to our government and no mention of any such rebellion occurs in any of the histories. If therefore the rebellion had proceeded from the cause we have mentioned above then there must needs have been some example in those times of similar revolts and this the rather as in those times there was greater opportunity for such a rebellion, for example-during the war of 1839 when nevertheless there was no sort of rebellion in Hindustan. Although for centuries India had been under the sway of the Kings of those very countries with whom the government was then at war and although the appearance of the Moslems in India and their rise to power was owing to the kings of those very countries. It is therefore not supposable that the Moslems would have raised this rebellion through pain at seeing their sovereignty taken from them.

Not a single person was desirous of seeing the government of the deposed King of Delhi restored. The folly and profligacy of this family had subverted its character and dignity in the eyes of all — it is true that the people of distant districts who are unacquainted with the

condition that ill conduct and estimation and authority of the king still thought a great deal of him and regarded him as the King in Hindustan and the Honourable East India Company as the superintendent of Hindustan under him but the inhabitant of Delhi itself and of the adjacent country had no respect whatever for the King, and besides all this no sensation had been caused to any of the people of India by the Kings deposition. It will be remembered that when in the year 1827, lord Amhurst publicly announced that his government was entirely independent of the House of Timur and moreover was itself the King of Hindustan, then the people and the rulers of India gave no heed whatever to the circumstances it was only to the Royal family themselves that this was a circumstance of pain.

It is very unfounded idea that the Moslems has for a long time conspired and confederated together for the purpose of carrying on a Jihad or holy war against the people of other religions and of freeing themselves from their rule. In as much as the Moslems were living securely under our government it was quite impossible for them to raise a Jihad within the territories of the government (35 years before a very celebrated maulvi Muhammad Ismail had preached a Jihad in Hindustan and invited all men to engage in that holy war, but he, at that time clearly announced that the inhabitants of Hindustan who were remaining at peace under the English government ought not to engage in the Jihad in India wherefore thousands of combatants in the holy war assembled in every province in India and caused no disturbances whatever in the dominions of the English Government, but went to the West of the Punjab and there fought; and this which is called Jihad the leaders of which in each province are low and



ignorant people; even then the agreement and compact which lead to it did not take place before the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1857.

We must bear in mind that at this period the people who set up the flag of the holy war were so bad and disrespectable and depraved that they had no other business but were drinking and libertinism and the *nach* and entertainment. Now how such people could be considered the leaders and guides in a holy war. Moreover at this time there was not a single thing done in accordance with religious duties. All are aware that for the servants of Government to dishonestly appropriate the treasure and property of the government committed to their charge and thus to break their faith was not right in a religious point of view. It is also quite manifest that according to the rules of the religion it is prodigious crime to put innocent persons to death, especially women and children and old people; then how could these disturbances have the excuse of a holy war. Without doubt indeed some villains pretended to call it a holy war, in order that they might gratify their own avarices and advantage themselves and obtain their own desires and that they might deceive the ignorant and encourage their own party. This is merely one of the rascality's of the wicked rebels and does not make the war, in fact a holy one.

The fatwa or declaration of a holy war which was printed in Delhi has been thought to be a strong proof of their having been such a war, but I have heard one good authority and many proofs may be adduced of it that it is altogether a counterfeit. I have heard that when the mutinous army marched from Meerut to Delhi some person asked for a decree for a holy war, but a unanimous decree was given that no



such war could take place. Although I have seen a copy of this first decree yet as the original decree is lost I am unable to say how far the copy can be dependent upon; but when the Brailly troops reached Delhi, and a decree was given a second time the nature which is well known and wherein it was written that it is lawful to commence a holy war that was undoubtedly not a genuine decree, the man who printed it was a rebel, and one long known to be of a bad character, and he attached to it the names of people in order to deceive and mislead the ignorant; and having printed these names he thus gave an air of importance to it. Moreover he printed on it the half-seal of a person who had died before the rebellion; moreover it is well known that many persons were compelled forcibly and violently by the mutinous troops from Brailly and the traitors along with them to affix their seals.

There was a large number of maulvis in Delhi and of their followers who in religious point of view regarded the deposed King of Delhi as a very wicked and heretical person. Their belief was that prayers could not rightly be offered in those mosques at Delhi where the king had possession and the power of interference or management; these persons accordingly would not pray in the Cathedral mosques, and decrees on this subject printed along anterior to the rebellion are in existence. Can any responsible man then assent to this that the very persons whose seals were upon these decrees of this nature would have decreed that a Jihad could rightly have commenced and that the King was to have been made leader. Of these persons whose seals are stamped on the decree several protected Christians, and defended their lives and honor, not one of them fought against the English nor resisted them-how they have acted thus had the facts

been as they are public supposed. In short my opinion is that the Moslems never entertain the idea of uniting to wage a holy war against rulers of a different religion, or of raising a tumult amongst the ignorant and disaffected with the cry of a holy war! holy war and after; uttering this religious shout that they should draw back is altogether unworthy of belief. With regard indeed to the extent to which the Moslems were discontented we shall explain clearly hereafter. Of this there no doubt that in comparison with the Hindoos the Moslems were more discontented on this subject and every other; and this is the reason that in several Provinces the Moslems have been more rebellious than the Hindoos, though the Provinces in which the Hindoos have rebelled, have not been few.

It is by no means the case that there was any antecedent conspiracy or plan in the army to rebel. It is quite certain that after the army had broken out in revolt, they never spoke of such a conspiracy among themselves; we must grant however that after what took place at Bararrackpore and especially at the time when men were assembled from different regiments to learn the new drill in the Punjab, they agreed among themselves never to use the new cartridges, but even at that time there was no ulterior purpose or design of any kind. Moreover they felt assured that the government would put a stop to this matter, although it was stopped nevertheless from stopping it after the 10 of May 1857, no advantage resulted towards suppressing the revolt and the conflagration was not of a kind, which could be extinguished by such counsels.

### III. Sir Syed's Letter to Sir John Kaye<sup>229</sup>

21 Mecklenburgh Sq.

W.C.

14<sup>TH</sup> Dec. 1869

My Dear Sir,

"... In yours now under reply you honour me by asking my opinion" as to the extent to which the mutiny of 1857 grew into a popular rebellion in the N.W. Provinces "and express your opinion that it was not a mere "Military Mutiny" conveys an idea of something more than the real fact. It cannot be denied that the use of the greased cartridges did violence to the superstitions of the sepoys who consequently determined not to bite the same. Almost all the sepoys had unanimously resolved never to bite the cartridge, which determination was the only charge that could be brought against them, till a very severe punishment was inflicted upon them at Meerut, a punishment which produced a strong impression on the minds of these men that they must either bite the greased cartridges or suffer the punishment of their disobedience. And it was then and not before that the discontent of the sepoys grew into a Military Mutiny. I am strongly of opinion that, if before the infliction of punishment the alternative either of biting the cartridges or resigning the service had been offered to them, the sepoys would undoubtedly have peaceably withdrawn themselves from the Company's service.

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<sup>229</sup> Salim al-Din Quraishi, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Cause of the Indian Revolt: Three Essays*. Lahore, Sange-Meel Publications, 1997, pp. 119-121

If the real facts connected with the revolt in the NWP be calmly enquired into, I do not think that the events which happened there can properly be designated as "Popular rebellion".

Undoubtedly the people of the NWP were dissatisfied with the Company's rule and this is a great measure was owing to the following causes:- the decay of the respectable families, without the void they left being filled up by others-the non-existence of any measure by which the native community could procure honourable situations, and more especially-the forfeiture of the Muafee (right of holding lands without paying any rent to Govt.) which act of the authorities was considered a great injustice by the natives; and lastly to some other causes of less importance. It may also be safely asserted that the Govt's exercise of the "right of Predominant Power" a power subject to no regulations and unlimited, and the interference in a way till then unknown, in the cases of adoption and lapse, had created a distrust in the minds of the native chiefs who perhaps no longer think themselves secure. It does however b no means appear that even this stimulated them to revolt or to take any part in the rebellion, for no native chiefs whatever who were in possession of their principalities; notwithstanding the distrust with which they look upon the Company's rule committed themselves by any act of rebellion against the government. Quitting the subject of the Military Mutiny I shall now briefly describe the character of rebellion in NW Provinces. The rebellion in the NWP was assumed these forms:

1<sup>st</sup> Robbers and dacoits who were kept down by the power and

strength of the Govt now assembling in numbers not only attacked wayfarers but also plundered villages and even towns.

2<sup>nd</sup> some of the minor chiefs whose families had fallen into decay endeavored the resuscitation of their ancestral power. This sort of mutiny occurred in few places only: Cawnpur, Bareilly, Bijnour and Furruk habad. Some of these parties tried to have themselves restored while others were compelled by the mutineers to make an effort.

3<sup>rd</sup> Some of the lower classes, variously employed entered the service of such rebellious chiefs.

The first kind of rebellion cannot strictly be deemed against the Govt. The third sort of rebellion also undoubtedly a crime cannot be called a regular rebellion, if we take into consideration the then state of India where serving a rebellious chief was not considered equivalent to an act of rebellion.

This notion had taken deep root in the native mind in times previous to the Company's rule when chiefs fought with each other and when engaging in the military service of either party was not considered as a crime. The second sort of revolt was indeed of a serious nature, but this bad feeling was exclusively confined to the above mentioned rebellious chiefs and was never general. As far as I know the population of no part of the NWP tried or even thought of rendering any assistance to the native rebellious chiefs, much less than of



subverting the British rule. A great proof of the justice of this assertion lies in the fact that as soon as the mutinous troops and the rebellious chiefs were expelled from a District peace was immediately restored.

I therefore think that the mutiny of 1857 was not a popular rebellion. To a European mind unacquainted with the state of India, the very name of rebellion at once carries with it an idea that the people of the country must have taken part, in it, and the real facts are thus ignored.

With feelings of sincere regard, and hoping the above will suffice to give you some idea of my humble opinion.

I remain, Dear Sir

Very truly yours

Syed Ahmed

#### IV. AIML Inaugural Session: Resolution -1906<sup>230</sup>

##### Resolution 1

Resolved that this meeting, composed of Musalmans from all parts of India, assembled at Dacca, decide that a political Association be formed, styled All-India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objects:

- a) To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.
- b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- c) To prevent the rise, India, of any feeling communities, without aforementioned objects among the Musalmans of hostility towards other prejudice to the other of the League.

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<sup>230</sup> Prof Dr. Riaz Ahmed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan. A Chronology (1906-47) Islamabad, NTHCR, QAU, 2006, p. 225

## V. The Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League - 1937<sup>231</sup>

### Aims and objects of the League

The aims and objects of the All India Muslim League shall be:

- a) The establishment in India of full Independence in the form of a federation of free democratic States in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution;
- b) To protect and advanced the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Musalmans;
- c) To promote friendly relations and unity between the Musalmans and other communities of India;
- d) To maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries

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<sup>231</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Alimed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan, A Chronology (1906-1947, Islamabad, NIHCR, QAU, 2006, p.274

## VI. “Nehru Report” on Minority Representation - 1928<sup>232</sup>

The following resolution was unanimously adopted, subject to a note by .....Sardar Mangal Singh on the second part of the resolution:

We are unanimously opposed to the reservation of seats in the legislatures either for majorities or minorities and we recommend that no such reservation should be provided for in the constitution. But if this recommendation is not accepted and an agreement can be arrived at only on a reservation of seats on the population basis we recommend that such reservation be made for majorities or minorities without any weightage and with a clear provision that it shall automatically cease at the expiry of ten years or earlier by the consent of the parties concerned.

The note of Sardar Mangal Singh runs as follows:

I agree with the first part of the above proposition namely that there shall be no reservation of seats either for majorities or minorities in the legislatures of the country. But I am very strongly opposed to the creation of statutory communal majorities on population basis under all circumstances and for any time howsoever short it may be. If the agreement can only be reached by reservation of seats I will recommend that the case of the Sikhs be considered as that of an important minority and adequate and effective representation, far in

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<sup>232</sup> Prof Dr. Riaz Ahmed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan. A Chronology (1906-1947), Islamabad, NIHCR, QAU, 2006, pp. 250-52

excess of their numerical strength, be given to them in the Punjab on the basis adopted for Muslim minorities under the Lucknow Pact in Behar and other Provinces. And I further suggest that special weightage be given to Sikhs for representation in the central legislature.

The following are the recommendations and other controversial matters:

## **Communal Representation**

I. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and the provincial legislatures.

II. There shall be no reservation of seats of the House of Representatives except for Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority and non-Muslims population in N.W.F. Province. The Muslims or non-Muslims where reservation is allowed to them shall have the right to contest additional seats.

III. In the provinces

- a) There shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal
- b) Provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats.



c) The N.W.F. Province there shall be similar reservation of seats for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

IV. Reservation of seats where allowed shall be for a fixed period of ten years.

IV. Sind should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province after such enquiry about the financial position as may be considered necessary.

VI. Parts of Karnataka, except the small islands on the other side of the Mysore territory, should similarly be separated from the provinces in which they are at present included and formed into a single separate province.

VII. The N.W.F. Province, and all newly formed provinces by separation from other provinces, shall have the same form of government as the other provinces in India.

MOTILAL NEHRU

S. ALI IMAM

TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

M.S. ANEY

MANGAL SINGH

SHUAIB QURESHI

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

G. R. PRADHAN

## VII. Delhi Muslim Proposals — 1927<sup>233</sup>

Whether in the forthcoming revision of the Indian Constitution election to legislative bodies should be through joints or separate electorates, has been the subject of anxious discussion among Hindu and Musalman leaders, in Delhi. The Hindu members of the Congress party and the Nationalist party, having already decided in favour of only a joint electorate with the reservation of seats to Mohamedans, either on the basis of the Lucknow Pact or the existing population of each province, the Mohamedans met in informal conference today under the Presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, who had issued invitations to representative Mohamedans in all parts of India.

After a protracted discussion the Conference agreed to the institution of joint electorates under certain conditions. It was unanimously resolved that the Mohamedans should accept a settlement on the basis of the following proposals so far as representation in the various legislatures in any future scheme of constitution is concerned:

- 1) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.
- 2) Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India.

If this is agreed to Mohamedans are prepared to accept a joint

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<sup>233</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan. A Chronology (1906-1947) Islamabad, NIHCR, QAU, 2006, pp 247-48.

electorate in all provinces so constituted and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Provinces are prepared to make to Mohamedan minorities.

In the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be in accordance with population.

In the Central Legislature, Mohamedan representation not to be less than a third and that also by a mixed electorate.

These proposals are subject to ratification by the Mohamedan organizations concerned, but it was hoped by those present at the conference that the Hindus would accept and the Mohamedans would ratify them.

The question of the Services and other questions with regard to safeguards concerning any bill or resolution which might affect the religion, or the customs or the usages of either community, or affecting inter communal interests were also discussed by the meeting but postponed for further consideration and will be taken up, if on the main proposition there can be unanimity of opinion.

## VIII. League Parliamentary Board Manifesto — 1936<sup>234</sup>

The advent and announcement of the Minto-Morley reforms brought home to leaders of Mussalmans the necessity of starting a Muslim political organisation and thus was founded the All-India Muslim League at Dacca in December, 1906. The League adopted its creed and ideal definitely in December, 1912, and altered its constitution, having for its aims and objects (1) full responsible government for India with adequate and effective safeguards for Mussalmans, (2) to protect and advance the political and religious and other rights and interest of Indian Mussalmans, (3) to promote friendship and union between Mussalmans and other communities in India, and (4) to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between Mussalmans in India and those in other countries.

The League has been faithfully and loyally acting in accordance with these fundamental principles ever since. During the period of existence of the Minto-Morley constitution, it continued its development from time to time and represented and voiced the true feelings and opinions of Mussalmans. As time went on, the co-operation and help of prominent leaders of India and particularly of that great man, the late Maharaja of Mahmudabad, whose selfless devotion and patriotic fervour and single-mindedness of purpose gave the League such strength, power and support that it reached the zenith of its ascendancy and accomplished what is one of the greatest beacon lights in the constitutional history of India, the Lucknow Pact,

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<sup>234</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan, A Chronology (1906-124Z) Islamabad, NIHCR, QAU, 2006, pp 267-73.

which is known as the "League Congress Pact" in 1916. This pact will go down in Indian history as a landmark in the political evolution of the country as signal proof of the identity of purpose, earnestness and co-operation between the two great sections of the people of India in the task of the attainment of responsible government.

But the Pact was not the last word on the question of adjustment of political differences between Hindus and Mussalmans. Nor was it ever intended or could be so considered in the new circumstances that arose and developed since then. The national demand for complete responsible government after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms became more and more insistent from 1921 onward. Mussalmans stood shoulder to shoulder with sister communities and did not lag behind in their patriotic cooperation with Hindus. But as a minority they maintain the principle that this position in any future political constitutional structure should be protected and safeguarded. Here it might be stated that at first sight it may appear to an amateur politician that such demand savours of communalism but in reality to those who understand the political and constitutional history of the world, it must be evident that it is not only natural but is essential by insuring whole-hearted and willing co-operation of the minorities who must be made to feel that they can rely upon the majority with a complete sense of confidence and security.

## **India's Goal**

In the various steps that followed the deliberations and collaborations that took place, the League has always stood for full responsible



Government for India and unflinchingly stands for the same ideal. It deploras that as a result of the Round Table Conference, the British Parliament has forced upon the people of India constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. Its attitude towards the constitution is defined by its resolution passed at the session of the All-India Muslim League to the following effect: "While it accepts the Communal Award till a substitute is agreed upon between the communities concerned, emphatically protests against the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 being forced upon the people of India against their will and inspite of their repeated disapproval and dissent expressed by the various parties and bodies in the country. The League considers that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country the provincial scheme of the constitution be utilized for what it is worth, inspite of the most objectionable features contained therein, which render real control and responsibility of the Ministry and Legislature over the entire field of Government and administration nugatory. The League is clearly of opinion that the All-India Federal scheme of Central Government, embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is fundamentally bad. It is most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India vis-à-vis Indian States and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realization of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible Government and is totally unacceptable. The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the central scheme before it is inaugurated or else the League feels convinced that the present scheme will not bring peace and contentment to the people but on the contrary it will lead to disaster if

forced upon and persisted in as it is entirely unworkable in the interests of India and her people".

## **Election Board**

But as the provincial scheme embodied in the Government of India Act is going to be enforced in the course of next year, the League decided that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country, the provincial scheme of constitution be utilized for what it is worth. In view of this decision, the League further decided that a Central Election Board be formed with power to constitute and affiliate provincial election boards in the various provinces and passed the following resolution: "Whereas the parliamentary system of government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new constitution pre-supposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate and co-operation between the groups with approximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the constitution to the best advantage and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for Muslims their proper and effective share in provincial governments it is essential that Muslims should organize themselves as one party with an advanced and progressive programme, it is hereby resolved that the All-India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching provincial elections and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his president ship consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate provincial election boards in the various provinces, having regard to the condition in each

province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects”.

In pursuance of that resolution, the Central Board has now been formed and the policy and programme of the Central Board has to be defined. The inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of constitution and the working thereof has developed and brought forth various forces and it appears that such power as was available under the scheme has been captured in the various provinces by the reactionary conservative elements in combination with a coterie of men whose sole aim and object is to secure offices and places for themselves wherever and whenever available. This has suited the Government and these two classes have received every encouragement and support with the result that they have not only been a hindrance and an obstacle in the way of the independent and progressive intelligentsia, but people generally have been exploited. Thus was created a double domination of reactionary forces and imperialistic power. Our aim is that this domination must cease.

## **Political Situation**

The present political situation has been aptly described by the president of the last session of the All-India Muslim League in the following words:

New problems have arisen to-day. It is not only the question of educating the middle class of Muslims in India on western lines and providing them with jobs, it is only the question of infusing in them the

ideals of Victorian Liberalism. On the contrary, present conditions compel one to go much deeper into the problems of the entire social regeneration of the seventy millions of Muslims, of extricating them from the terrible poverty, degradation and backwardness into which they have fallen and giving them at least the rudiments of civilized existence and making them free citizens of a free land. We must realize, as people of other countries have realized, that a change is necessary and that unless such change is soon made the whole of this social structure must come down with crash which will involve the extinction of not only the educated section of our people but also of all privileged classes, whether they hold privileges by reason of caste, land or money. The foundations of the super-structure in which we are living to-day were laid centuries ago and it is but natural that those foundations have ceased to be stable now. It is the duty, if it is not only an obligation created by the motives of self-interest, of all of us educated classes, capitalistic and land-holders to lay the foundations of the new structure. Of course, in order that this effort must fructify, sacrifices will have to be made on the part of all. Let me tell you that the building of such a social edifice will be more glorious, more human and more just than the building of an empire". But at the same time we must make it clear that the League is opposed to any movement that aims at expropriation of private property.

The main principles on which we expect our representatives in various legislatures to work will be (1) that the present provincial constitution and proposed central constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic full self-government. (2) and that in the meantime, representatives of the Muslim League in the various Legislatures will

utilize the Legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in the various spheres of national life. The Muslim League Party must be formed as a corollary so long as separate electorates exist, but there would be free-cooperation with any group or groups whose aims and ideals are approximately the same as those of the League party. The League appeals to Musalmans that they should not permit themselves to be exploited on economic or any other grounds, which will break up the solidarity of the community.

### **Programme for Election**

The manifesto lays down the following programme for the ensuing election:

To protect religious right of Mussalmans in which connection for all matters of purely religious character, due weight shall be given to opinions of the Jamiat-Ulema-i-Hind and Mujahids; to make every effort to secure the repeal of all repressive laws; to reject all measures which are detrimental to the interest of India, which encroach upon the fundamental liberties of the people and lead to economic exploitation of the country; to reduce the heavy cost of administrative machinery, Central and Provincial, and allocate substantial funds for nation-building departments; to nationalize the Indian Army and reduce military expenditure; to encourage development of industries, including cottage industries; to regulate currency, exchange and prices in the interest of the economic and economic uplift of the rural population; to



sponsor measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness; to made elementary education free and compulsory; to protect and promote the Urdu language and scrip; to devise measures for the amelioration of the general conditions of the Musalmans; and to take steps to reduce the heavy burden of taxation and create healthy public opinion and general political consciousness throughout the country.

## IX. League Lahore [Pakistan] Resolution — 1940<sup>222</sup>

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 27<sup>th</sup> of August, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of September and 22<sup>nd</sup> of October 1939, and 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 1940 on the constitutional issue, the 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz, that geographically contiguous units are

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<sup>222</sup> Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan. A Chronology (1906 - 1947), Islamabad, NIHCR, QAU, 2006, pp. 290-91

demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustment 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 the 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 the Musalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically 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.

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