Muslim League and Rise of Communal Politics in India

For Prelims: All India Muslim League, <u>Aligarh Movement, Nehru Report, North-West Frontier</u> Province, Communal Award, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, <u>Khilafat Movement</u>, <u>Preamble</u>

For Mains: All India Muslim League in India's Partition, Evolution of Communal Politics in India, Secularism and Combating Communalism

Source: IE

Why in News?

On **30th December 1906**, the **All India Muslim League** was founded in **Dhaka**, marking the inception of a political organization that played a pivotal role in India's Partition.

 Over the years, the League evolved from a group of elite Muslim men to a mass political party under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, advocating for the creation of Pakistan.

What was the History and Impact of the All-India Muslim League?

- Founders: Elite Muslim leaders, including Nawab Salimullah of Dhaka, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Nawab Mohsin Ul-Mulk and Aga Khan.
 - The formation of the All-India Muslim League was preceded by the <u>Aligarh Movement</u>, which advocated for Muslim education and political awareness, and the Simla Deputation (1906), where Muslim leaders met <u>Lord Minto II (1905-1910)</u> to demand special representation.
- **Initial Objective**: To protect the political and religious rights of Muslims and to secure separate representation for them in legislative bodies.
- Emergence of Jinnah's Leadership: Muhammad Ali Jinnah transformed the League into a mass political force, especially after the Fourteen Points (1929), which outlined Muslim political demands like <u>federalism</u>, minority safeguards, and autonomy.
- Key Agreements and Resolutions:
 - The Lucknow Pact (1916): A rare moment of Congress-Muslim League cooperation. Leaders like <u>Bal Gangadhar Tilak</u> and **Muhammad Ali Jinnah** signed the pact, agreeing to work together for India's independence.
 - Congress accepted **separate electorates** for Muslims, a significant demand of the League. However, this also led to the **rise of** <u>communal politics in India.</u>
 - The pact called for **increased Indian representation in legislative and executive councils.** This was a high point of **Hindu-Muslim unity** in the freedom struggle.
 - **The Lahore Resolution (1940):** By 1940, under Jinnah's leadership, the League adopted a stance favoring Partition.
 - At its session in Lahore (1940), the League passed a resolution advocating for **"Independent States" for Muslims** in the northwestern and eastern regions where they were a majority.

- The resolution, later termed the **Pakistan Resolution**, became the ideological foundation for the creation of Pakistan in 1947.
- Direct Action Day: Observed on 16th August 1946, Direct Action Day is a communal strike called by the All-India Muslim League, led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, to press for the creation of Pakistan.
 - It led to widespread communal riots, especially in Calcutta, resulting in thousands of deaths and property destruction. The violence deepened the Hindu-Muslim divide and accelerated the demand for partition.
- Role in Partition: Under Jinnah, the Muslim League led the demand for Pakistan, arguing that Muslims would not be treated fairly in a Hindu-majority India. This effort culminated in the 1947 Partition, creating India and Pakistan.
- Post-Partition: The League became Pakistan's dominant party but fractured into various factions over time. Its role in India waned, with some remnants forming regional political groups.

Jinnah's Fourteen Points, 1929

- Background:
 - Nehru Report: In 1928, the All Parties Conference was convened to discuss parliamentary reforms proposed by the Simon Commission.
 - The <u>Nehru Report</u>, led by Motilal Nehru, advocated for **Dominion Status** for India while **rejecting separate electorates** and Muslim seat reservations in Bengal and Punjab.
 - Muslim Response: Muslim leaders criticized the Nehru Report as being against Muslim interests. In March 1929, Muhammad Ali Jinnah presided over a Muslim League session in Delhi, where he presented his Fourteen Points, which became the League's manifesto and a cornerstone of its political strategy.
- Jinnah's Fourteen Points:
 - Federal Constitution: A federal system with residual powers allocated to provinces.
 - Provincial Autonomy: Complete autonomy for provinces.
 - Constitutional Amendments: Central amendments to require states' consent.
 - Muslim Representation in Legislatures: Adequate Muslim representation without undermining majorities.
 - Representation in Services: Fair representation in government services and selfgoverning bodies.
 - **Central Legislature:** One-third Muslim representation in the central legislature.
 - Cabinet Representation: One-third Muslim representation in central and provincial cabinets.
 - Separate Electorates: Continuation of separate electorates.
 - **Minority Safeguards:** Bills opposed by three-fourths of a minority group could not pass.
 - **Territorial Redistribution:** Territorial changes not to harm Muslim-majority areas like Punjab, Bengal, and NWFP.
 - **Sindh Separation:** Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
 - Constitutional Reforms: Reforms for <u>North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)</u> and Balochistan to grant Muslims greater political autonomy in these regions.
 - **Religious Freedom:** Guaranteed religious freedom for all communities.
 - **Protection of Muslim Rights:** Safeguards for religion, culture, education, and language.

What is Communal Politics?

- Communalism: It refers to strong attachment to one's own community, often religious, with a focus on unity within the group.
 - **Positive aspects** of Communalism include it can promote social and economic upliftment within the community.
 - **Negative aspects** of Communalism emphasize the **group's superiority**, leading to **intolerance**, **division**, **and conflict** with other communities.
 - It suppresses **internal diversity** and prioritizes its own interests, fostering societal

division.

- Communal Politics: It refers to the mobilization of a religious community for political power, often based on the belief that religious identities equate to shared economic, political, and social interests.
- Pre- Independence Period:
 - **British Influence:** Communal politics emerged as a tool under British colonial rule for bargaining privileges such as jobs, education, and political positions.
 - The British employed the **"Divide and Rule" polic**y, fostering divisions between Hindus and Muslims to weaken nationalist unity.
 - The British supported communal forces through the <u>Communal Award, 1932</u> which strengthened the **Muslim League** and deepened its differences with the Congress.
 - Initial Goals: Early communal politics, as championed by leaders like Syed Ahmad Khan, sought upward mobility for communities like Muslims.
 - Religious Mobilization: Anti-colonial agitations like the <u>Akali agitations (1919-1926)</u>, the <u>Khilafat Movement (1920-21)</u>, contributed to deepening communal divisions.
 - INC and Communalism: While committed to Hindu-Muslim unity, <u>Indian National</u> <u>Congress(INC)</u> dominance, and its use of Hindu cultural symbols, sometimes alienated Muslims.
 - Communal tensions escalated with the <u>Partition of Bengal (1905)</u> and the establishment of separate electorates (1909).
 - Muslim League and Communalism: The League portrayed Congress as a Hindudominated entity, intensifying Muslim fears of marginalization in a unified India.
 - Rise of Two-Nation Theory: Communal ideologies like <u>Hindutva (Vinayak Damodar</u> <u>Savarkar</u>) and the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan culminated in the Partition of India.
- Post-Independence Period:
 - Legitimacy and Openness: Communal politics gained mainstream acceptance, especially with the rise of religious identity-based ideologies in the 1980s.
 - It began to challenge <u>secularism</u> and <u>pluralism</u>, advocating for a nation centered around a majority religious identity.
 - **Use of Violence:** Riots and pogroms are often planned and orchestrated to achieve **electoral and economic objectives**.
 - Social Media: Spread of <u>hate speech</u>, and <u>fake news</u> on social platforms, escalating communal tensions.
 - **Caste and Communal Politics:** Intersection of **caste and religious identity politics,** leading to further divisions.
 - **Judiciary's Role:** Judicial interventions are **slow**, with selective justice in communal violence cases.

Note: Religiousness in India has always been rooted in spirituality and personal harmony, guiding social life, whereas communalism largely emerged due to British colonial policies.

 While religiousness promotes inner peace and social harmony, communalism is often driven by **politics**, and grievances between communities.

Why Does Communal Politics Thrive?

- **Economic Underdevelopment:** Poverty, unemployment, and lack of infrastructure make communities susceptible to **communal mobilization**.
- Political Opportunism: Communal narratives provide shortcuts to power, distracting from governance failures and economic issues.
 - Political parties, especially those with communal ideologies, often face little repercussions for engaging in divisive rhetoric, as they align with vote-bank politics.
- Control Over Resources: Communal violence is often used to eliminate business

competition or seize properties, especially in economically competitive regions.

- Polarising Narratives: The rhetoric of blaming one community for economic issues fuels division, especially among marginalized groups.
- It shifts focus from poor governance to inter-community rivalry, deepening divisions.
 Weak Legal Enforcement: Inadequate laws against communal violence encourage those who use communal violence for political advantage.

Way Forward

- Secularism: Reinforce the constitutional commitment to secularism, as enshrined in the <u>Preamble of Indian Constitution</u>.
 - Implement the **Prevention of Communal and Targeted Violence Bill, 2011** to curb violence and **religious vote-bank politics** which undermines **India's secularism** by deepening religious divisions for **electoral gain**.
- Fraternity: Embrace India's diversity, promoting a shared vision of progress, justice, and respect for all communities, in line with the values of <u>fraternity</u> and <u>equality</u> outlined in the Constitution.
- **Economic Equity:** Focus on inclusive economic development to address disparities and reduce communal tensions.
- Electoral Reforms: Enforce harsher penalties under the <u>Representation of People Act, 1951</u>, for candidates and parties involved in communal propaganda through hate speech.
 - Empower the <u>Election Commission of India (ECI)</u> to more effectively monitor and act against communal rhetoric during elections.
- Empowering Civil Society and Media: Empower civil society by promoting grassroots movements and youth-led peace initiatives to foster mutual trust and respect for interfaith harmony.
 - The media must adopt responsible, **fact-based reporting** to educate the public on the **dangers of communal politics** and promote coexistence.

Drishti Mains Question:

Examine the role of the All India Muslim League in partition of India and its impact on communal politics in India.

UPSC Civil Services Examination Previous Year's Question (PYQs)

<u>Mains</u>

Q. Communalism arises either due to power struggle or relative deprivation. Argue by giving suitable illustrations. **(2018)**

Q. Distinguish between religiousness/religiosity and communalism giving one example of how the former has got transformed into the latter in independent India. (2017)

Q. Is diversity and pluralism in India under threat due to globalization? Justify your answer. (2020)

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