Much as I heard and read about the causes of partition, the pre-partition politics, a much discussed issue of our day, became a subject of my sole interest. I felt that the more it is debated the more it gets blurred. A conceptual assessment transformed my instincts to make an in-depth study in this issue. This study would perhaps, benefit besides the scholars and academicians, also to knowledgeable masses by mustering the factual details and events during the period and giving them an objective meaning and interpretation. However, since the politics of partition emerged in the nineteenth century, a glimpse of social, political, cultural and religious tendencies of the Hindus and the Muslims has also been given. This contextual perspective has brought into focus eminent Hindu and Muslim leaders and the British attitude towards the demand for independence. The simplistic explanation that the Muslim League caused partition and that the Congress could not reconcile with the League's demand; or that the British played an intrinsic role in the politics of partition have been found to be only limited facts of the complex problem of partition. What was the real cause and what was the role of the Congress and the Muslim League in the partition politics has been analysed as also the complex nature of the issue with its political, social, psychic and leadership ambitious dimensions.

The method of study is inductive. Facts and figures have been collected and under the guidance of logical and analytical approach, conclusions have been derived. Though the language adopted is that of scientific presentation of political material, the form is narrative and historical. In view of the conflicts of opinion, special care has been taken to avoid temptations of bias and preferences.

Varied available sources and material have been utilized. A particular mention needs to be made of Sir Svet Archives and the Research Section of the 'A. Library, AMU, Aligarh, the Sahru House Library, the National Archives of India, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the Gandhi Museum Library, and the Jamia Millia Islamia Library at New Delhi. References to Mountbatten Papers have been consulted in Manmath Nath Das, Partition and Independence of India.
India Office Records, transferred to the NAI, have also been checked. The published materials, including Memoirs and Autobiographies, Documents and Speeches, Contemporary and Secondary books and materials, Articles, Periodicals and Newspapers (English and Urdu) have been made appropriate use of in our thesis. However, the subject-matter covers a long period from 1857 to 1947, with particular details for the period from 1937 to 1947.

During the course of writing a large number of questions crept in mind, but a few very important ones have been answered, though at every step due consideration has been given that no a single aspect of the freedom struggle remain untouched.

The politics of partition of India was a longdrawn and longwinded history of communal differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. Now the differences erupted, maligned the political atmosphere and disintegrated the two major communities and created a gulf between them is what is sought to be researched in this thesis. An attempt has been made to bring out the varied complexities in forming the problem of partition which appeared to be deriving from a variety of reasons and factors.

Chapter I, entitled, "Roots of the Partition Psychosis", deals with political and constitutional developments up to 1913. The main events of this period are the Hindu and Muslim revivisim during the first half of the nineteenth century, which accentuated their difference. The 1857 Revolt destroyed the Mughal dynasty and the Hindus came in power and in office, while the Muslims suffered the British suppression. Sir Syed emerged as their deliverer. He opposed the joint electorate and the Congress, as he thought that the Muslims being in minority would be unable to win elections and wield influence in the legislative assemblies. This conception and approach gave rise to the demand for separate electorate, which accelerated the process of alienation between the two communities.

An observation of the Hindu and Muslim leadership reveals their patriotic view instead of their enmity to the Mother India. But their thoughts and action drifted by the religious and political winds.
The Muslim League came into being in 1906 and stood for the protection of the rights of the Muslims, while the Congress claimed to represent all the Hindus and the Muslims and other minorities in India. The period between 1892 and 1913 was very stormy due to the partition of Bengal. The Indian Council Act, 1909, granted separate electorate for Muslims in the Provincial Legislative Councils and reserved seats in the Imperial Legislative Council. The Congress opposed it. In 1910, the Congress and the League leaders met at Allahabad and discussed a number of problems of Hindu-Muslim controversy, but no solution could be found. The Hindu-Muslim differences became more pronounced. The Muslims began to abuse the Hindus loudly in meetings and press. The All-India Hindu Sabha was established soon after the Conference. The Sabha began to convert the followers of Islam to Hinduism. On the other hand, the Muslim founded Societies offering pan-Islamic solutions and fostering communal consciousness. The Hindu and Muslim organizational conflict and irreconcilatory attitudes backed by their communities isolated stances strengthened the feeling that the Hindus and Muslims cannot live in a unitary state of India and an idea of partition got germinated.

Chapter II relates to 'The Growth of the Idea of Partition' during 1914-1936. Various political developments and statements of leaders regarding the vivisection of India show that the Hindu-Muslim differences deep-rooted the idea of partition. The Lucknow Fact, 1916, brought the Congress and the League almost to a final settlement, but the Government's declaration in 1917 of the gradual development of self-government institutions and the Government of India Act, 1919, left the Pact pending. The Act provided for separate Muslim electorate. The Congress demanded responsible government. Gandhiji at the Bombay Home Rule League meeting on October 3, 1920, proposed to secure complete Swaraj for India. The Moplah's rebellion in 1921, sharpened the Hindu-Muslim differences. Swami Shradhanand, released from the jail in December, 1922, started Shuddhi Movement and Moonje launched Sangathan Movement and the Hindu Sabha was refounded as the Hindu Mahasabha towards the end of 1922, to counter the Tabligh and Tanzim Movements. The Arya Samaj reconverted four and a half lakhs of Malakhana Rajputs and between 1923 and 1927 about 112 major communal riots broke out. Gandhiji in May, 1924, said: "The Mussalman as rule
is a bully and the Hindu is a coward". Jinnah joined and revived the Muslim League in 1925. Jinnah held a conference at Delhi on March 20, 1927, and agreed to forego the demand for separate electorate if his four demands were accepted. Jinnah opposed the Nehru Committee Report of August, 1928, which rejected the Muslim League's demand for reservation of seats in the Punjab and Bengal. As the All-Parties Conferences failed to settle the Congress-League dispute, Jinnah put forward his famous 14-point demand in March, 1929. The League opposed the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by Gandhi in 1930, as it considered that it would be 'suicidal' to the Muslims. The Round Table Conferences (1929-1932) failed as the Hindus wanted their majority in some provinces with a strong centre, while in certain other the Muslims wanted to dominate. During the RTCs, Pahmat Ali and Jafar proclaimed their ideas of Pakistan. The Government of India Act, 1935, recommended separate electorates for Muslims. According to the Act, elections held in 1937, which shocked the Muslim League as they had no effective majorities. Therefore, they proposed an all-India federation, that is, the Muslim-majority states and the Hindu-majority states joined in a federation. However, the Congress formed ministries in six provinces. The League made a propaganda of Congress atrocities to win favour of the Muslims. The Second World War ensued in 1939. The Congress-League differences became very ardent. Consequent to the Congress ministries resignation in October, Jinnah observed the 'Day of Deliverance' in December, 1939.

Chapter III deals with the 'Pakistan Resolution'. The Congress Wardha Session, 1939, demanded an independent country, democracy and the principle of self-determination and refused to cooperate with the British war aims. Therefore, the British took to an appeasement of the Muslim League. Taking advantage of this British posture, the League resolved that the British Government should not approve of any constitutional development without the consent of the League. Jinnah raised the slogan, "Islam in danger" and at the AIML Session, 1940, read the famous resolution, which demanded autonomous, sovereign and independent states in the Muslim majority regions in the north-western and eastern zones in India. Jinnah advocated his 'Two-Nation theory'. The leaders expressed their views on the demand. Most notably, Master
Tara Singh at Lucknow on April 15, 1940, warned: "If the Muslim League wants to establish Pakistan, they will have to pass through an ocean of Sikh blood". The newspapers called it a Pakistan Resolution, though the demand nowhere used the word 'Pakistan'.

With passage of time concept of Partition was gaining its supporters and opponents. Position of the British rulers lent further credibility to this debate. Muslim League leadership had succeeded in moulding the attitude of the Colonial Power to its advantage and in this sense showed a greater competence to manoeuvre and tune its moves. Congress appears to suffer by comparison in this context all through the Pre-Partition politics.

Chapter IV describes 'The War and the Demand for Pakistan', during the period from 1937 to 1942. The League membership from 43,920 in 1938 increased to 3,30,000 in 1944. Linlithgow reiterated that Dominion Status was the goal of the British policy and agreed to give full weight to the opinions of the minority. The Congress and the Hindu papers continued to denounce Jinnah for his intransigence. In November, 1939, the Manzilgah riots embittered communal relations in Punjab. The Arya Samajist instructed its volunteers to get a lathi and a knife for self-defence and were distributed short iron dandas.

On the other hand, the Khaksars were organised in order to re-establish Muslim rule in India. Further, the Congress and the League did not change their policy. The constitutional impasse remained. The Congress was against the coalition ministries as an interim settlement during the War. In November, 1939, Jinnah put forward five points before the Congress for an interim settlement, which widened the gulf between them. To break the political deadlock, Linlithgow, on August 8, 1940, issued a statement on 'India and the War', which declared that no constitutional development would be acceptable unless and until agreed to by the Muslim League. The Congress being disappointed, launched the Civil Disobedience Movement in November, 1940, while Jinnah pushed the idea of Pakistan deep into the Muslim minds. Jinnah charged that the Congress objective was to establish a Hindu Raj. "Moonje and Savarkar said that Muslims were like Jews in Germany and should be treated as such. Jinnah apprehended that the Congress aimed at the domination and destruction of the Muslims in all ways. Based
on these fears, Jinnah became more and more determined to fight for Pakistan. Jinnah toured India for gaining support of Muslim masses for the creation of Pakistan. He said the Hindu Mahasabha, the All India Hindu League and the Liberation Federation were minor offshoots of the Congress. Meanwhile, Cripes issued the 'Draft Declaration' in March, 1942, saying that the Constituent Assembly could start with the declaration of Independence, giving the right to the non-acceding provinces to form their own Union with complete self-government, while the Defence was to continue under the British control. But the Cripes Mission failed. An interesting, though logical development of this period was Rajagopalachari's acceptance of the demand of Pakistan. Quit India Movement failed due to opposition of the Muslim League.

Chapter V deals with the 'Demand for Creation of Pakistan' from 1942 to 1944. Most of the Congress leaders were imprisoned. Rajaji renewed his plea for acceptance of Pakistan, but neither the League nor the Congress, for their own reasons, encouraged him. Gandhiji was also arrested. Sikandar Hyat resigned from the League on May 29, 1942, as he believed that the League's demand would make the partition of Punjab inevitable. During the period of War, the breach between the Congress and the Government was effectively exploited by the Muslim League. In April, 1943, the Muslim majority provinces - Assam, Sind, Bengal, NWFP and Punjab - were under control of the League. Jinnah said that he would be happy if Gandhiji would like to have a settlement on the basis of the creation of Pakistan. However, the Congress in August, 1943, agreed to make some concessions to the League, which could not satisfy the latter. Gandhiji was released from jail on February 22, 1944. While in jail, Gandhiji had expressed his full approval of Rajaji's formula, which contained six clauses forming the basis for terms of settlement. Rajaji sent the formula to Jinnah on April 8, 1944. Jinnah rejected the formula saying "it offered a shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth eaten Pakistan". Gandhiji on May 4, 1943, desired to have a face-to-face talk with Jinnah. Gandhiji refused to accept the Lahore Resolution and Jinnah demanded the division of India into two sovereign states - Pakistan and Hindustan. The proposal of R. Shiva Rao, Sabru formula and Desai-Liaquat Pact could not solve the communal problem.
Chapter VI deals with the 'Wavell Plan and Simla Conference'. Wavell called a political conference at the Viceregal Lodge in Simla on June 25, 1945, attended by twenty-one invited leaders of different shades of opinion. I.S. Anery, the Secretary of State, on June 14, 1945, declared that the Viceroy was empowered to make proposals on composition of interim government in India. On June 27, 1945, the Viceroy asked the Congress to submit names for selection to the Executive Council. On the same day, Jinnah demanded that the Council should constitute fourteen members (5+5+1 Sikh, 1 SC and 2 others), while the Congress claimed to nominate members of all communities including the Muslims. The Viceroy felt that the Congress-League confrontation in the Council would not help to solve the problems. Due to Jinnah's terms, the Conference failed. Azad and Rajaji held the League responsible for it. Jinnah stated that the League's demand for Pakistan and the Congress demand for a united India were quite contradictory and Muslims of India were determined to have Pakistan. Azad blamed the British for giving the League the power of veto.

By the end of December, 1945, elections held to the Central Legislative Assembly. The Congress won an overwhelming success in the General constituencies, while the Muslim League won every Muslim seat. Elections to the eleven Provincial Legislatures lasted for three months. The Congress won 930 seats with absolute majority in eight provinces, while the League captured 428 seats, which indicates its increasing influence in Indian politics. Meanwhile, the Delegation interviewed eminent leaders. Nehru agreed to the creation of Pakistan subject to plebiscite in border districts to confirm it. Attlee's declaration on March 15, 1946, assured the Indians that the Independence of India was certain. Attlee also made it clear that they cannot allow a minority to veto the advancement of the majority. All the parties welcomed Attlee's declaration to send the Cabinet Mission.

Chapter VII explains the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission and the Interim Government of 1946. The Mission landed in Karachi on March 23, 1946, to find out means for transfer of power. In April, the Mission interviewed 742 leaders in 182 sittings. Azad suggested a federation "with a limited number of compulsory federal subjects
such as defence, communications and foreign affairs, and autonomous provinces in which would vest the residuary powers." Gandhiji denounced the two-nation theory and demanded for creation of Pakistan. He said that Jinnah should be asked to form the first government with the ministers chosen from amongst the elected members of the legislature. Jinnah propounded the two-nation theory and rejected Gandhiji's offer. Ambedkar opposed the formation of a constituent assembly, which would be dominated by Caste Hindus and claimed constitutional guarantee for the Scheduled Castes. Jagjivan Ram supported Dr. Ambedkar. Giani Kartar Singh demanded Khalistan. Master Tara Singh and Harnam Singh demanded separate states for the Sikhs with the right to federate either with Hindustan or Pakistan. Kaldev Singh demanded a united India with 45% seats to Muslims and the rest divided between the Hindus and the Sikhs. Jinnah opposed the Union Centre with subjects - defence, foreign affairs and communication. The Government opposed Jinnah's demand for Pakistan including six provinces and Calcutta. Four representatives each of Congress and the League were invited by the Secretary of State at Simla in May, 1946, but the talks failed. Hence, the Secretary of State published his own scheme on May 16, 1946, which is known as the Cabinet Mission Plan.

The Plan rejected the claim of Pakistan and recommended Short-term and Long-term plans. The Mission announced that if any party did not accept the Plan of May 16, it would be excluded from the Interim Government. The Plan accepted the Congress demand of a United India and the League's demand of compulsory grouping of the provinces on communal lines. Gandhiji wrote to render the Groups of Provinces and said that the Constituent Assembly could not be a sovereign body. Jinnah complained that the Mission had not made the provision for establishment of a complete sovereign state of Pakistan and had simply appeased and placated the Congress. The Congress members joined the Interim Government. Nehru, who became President in June, 1925, declared that he had every intention of modifying the Plan. He said that the problem of minorities was domestic. Jinnah criticised Nehru's statement and withdrew from joining the Interim Government at all. However, the League joined the Interim Government, but the Mission Plan failed. Menon proposed that the country should be divided and suggested Dominion Status to both India and Pakistan.
Chapter VIII outlines the Mountbatten Plan and traces the principles of partition of India which had by now become an in thing. Churchill called the Nehru Government a "complete disaster". In March, 1947, the CWC, in view of orgy of murder and arson, reluctantly agreed to the division of Bengal and Punjab to separate the pre-dominantly Muslim part from the non-Muslim part. On January 20, 1947, Attlee declared to effect the transfer of power not later than June, 1948. In March, Lord Wavell was replaced by Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy. Attlee made it clear that the British Government "cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority". On March 22, Mountbatten reached New Delhi. The Congress was demanding "Quit India" and the League proclaimed the watchword, "Divide and Quit".

Mountbatten discussed the issue with the Congress and the League leaders. Nehru pleaded for partition of Bengal and Punjab, while Gandhi opposed it. Liaquat Ali said that in view of the extreme communal strife there was no chance to implement the Cabinet Mission Plan. Dejectedly, he said that the League would accept even the Sind Desert for a separate Muslim state instead of living in bondage to the Congress. Sardar Patel and Nehru agreed to the partition of India, but Azad opposed it till last. Gandhi said to the Viceroy that Jinnah should be given the option of forming a Cabinet and, if he rejects, the same offer should be made to the Congress. In this case, Jinnah was to become Prime Minister. Hence, Nehru and Patel impressed upon Gandhi to withdraw this offer to the great disappointment of Azad. On April 8, Jinnah proposed to the Viceroy for accepting the demand for Pakistan and the splitting of the Defence Forces. The Viceroy, on this principle, said that Punjab and Bengal should also be partitioned. Jinnah appealed to Mountbatten "not to destroy the unity of Bengal and the Punjab" and on April 9, appealed to him "not to give him a moth-eaten" and "truncated" Pakistan. Jinnah also lost all hopes of becoming Prime Minister, according to the proposal of Gandhi. Thus, Jinnah's high hopes of a grand Pakistan were raised to the ground.

In view of the dramatic change in the League's attitude and the Congress acceptance of Pakistan on April 11, Mountbatten devised a plan, which divided the Legislative Assemblies of Punjab and Bengal
into two parts: predominantly Hindu areas and predominantly Muslim areas. On April 20, Nehru declared that the League should not take away other parts of India which do not wish to join Pakistan. Menon, apprehensive of Karachi becoming a big US naval and air base, proposed "Dominion Status for India" instead of a "completely independent sovereign State". Meanwhile, Suhrawardy began to demand "United Bengal", the Sikhs aspired for a "Punjabistan" and Pakhtoons for a "Pathan State" in NWFP. Serious communal outbreaks and incidents of stabbing and arson continued during this period. The Muslim League continued civil disobedience. The Viceroy, therefore, decided to transfer power as soon as possible. Mountbatten revised his plan. The British Cabinet approved the plan with some modifications, that is, to break up India into several units. Nehru resented as it could convert the major princely states into independent kingdoms. He considered it an outright favour to the League. However, the Congress and the League agreed to Menon's draft "Agreement", which advocated Dominion Status to India and Pakistan. Jinnah's demand for a Corridor to link West and East Pakistan was strongly opposed by the Congress.

Mountbatten, on June 2, 1947, held a conference of seven top leaders of all the parties and gave them the draft of the Partition Plan, to which, they ultimately agreed. On June 3, Mountbatten broadcast the partition of India, followed by the Indian leaders. Two Interim Governments with the Congress and the League were created. Mountbatten was appointed Governor-General of India and Jinnah of Pakistan. Mountbatten inaugurated the Dominion of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, and the Dominion of India on August 15, 1947. As suggested by Jinnah, Radcliffe demarcated the boundary of India and Pakistan.

Pakistan thus came into being as an embodiment of a social and political ethos which obtained in Colonial part of British India evolving in the wake of historical and political developments in this country primarily in the context of its aspiration for freedom and the response thereto by the Colonial Power. The course of this national movement happened to be determined by the leadership styles and organisational techniques of the leaders of the freedom movement and response of the Muslim minority thereto came to be informed by their perception of historical past, of the prospects of their being accommodated by most of the leaders of National Movement and by the manoeuvres and stance taken by the British rulers vis-a-vis their aspirations.