- The highest official was called the Viceroy, appointed in London, and ruled India on behalf of the monarch.
- This position was of very high status, with a salary double that of the British Prime Ministers. But had limited power in influencing policy, which was decided by the British and implemented by the Secretary of State.
- The Secretary of State was advised by the Council of India, which had no Indian members.
- On the administration there were 5000 officials who formed the Indian Civil Service, they were efficient but authoritarian.
- Indians had no meaningful position in their government. The administration and the army were financed by Indian taxes.

**Economic and political benefits to Britain**
- The British viewed India as the Jewel of the Crown as they derived great economic wealth from it.
- The money they collected from the peasants in form of taxes was used in London, to purchase EIC shares and fund the administration. People felt the money should have been used for investments in India.
- Trade became easier between Britain and India when the Suez Canal opened in 1869.
- Britain benefited from the trade balance with India which supplied raw materials (cotton, rice, tea) to British factories. India bought manufactured goods (textiles, iron, steel, machinery).
- By 1914 it was the biggest export market for British goods.
- India no longer exported cloth to European markets, instead produced raw cotton and sent it to Britain, which was manufactured and re-exported in Europe and Asia.
- Land formerly used to grow staple foods was now used for commercial cash-crop production, making peasants dependent on foods grown elsewhere.
- Indian soldiers were used to for British interests, as well as serving in both world wars.
- Indians were also used as indentured labour, which was stopped by 1920 as it was seen as exploitation.

**Nature of British rule**
- The British in India were a ruling elite, an alien and arrogant minority, who saw the Indians as subordinate and untrustworthy.
- In order to be firm and vigilant against the rise of opposition, the government operated under the policy of divide and rule. They stressed the differences between people of different religions and caste.
- Regarding castes as something of fixed identity.
- In India in 1900, the population was about 300,000,000 made up of many different religions:
  - Hindu: 210,000,000
  - Muslim: 75,000,000
  - Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, Others: 10,000,000
- Indians resented the harsh colonial control and superior attitudes.
- However, many of the British in India worked hard and took their responsibilities very seriously.
- Throughout the nineteenth century there were many attempts to improve agriculture, education and transport in India.
- By 1900 the British had built 40,000 kilometres (25,000 miles) of railways, 110,000 kilometres (70,000 miles) of canals and 14,000,000 acres of land had been irrigated. 23,000 Indians were attending university.
- There are about 15 major languages in India.
- The British in India kept themselves separate from Indians.
- There was almost no mixing of British and Indians except for official purposes. Photographs show British and Indians in separate stands at racecourses and kept apart at other events.
- The rude term ‘going native’ was used to describe a Briton who had begun to behave like an Indian.
He regularly called for separate Muslim representation and was encouraged by seeing that implemented in the first government India act of 1918 where it implemented reserved seats and the second of 1935 where it had separate electorates and a larger franchise.

However, Jinnah was grossly disappointed by the League's performance in the 1937 with barely 5% of the popular vote.

Following this he sought to campaign for the Muslim League to become the sole representative of Indian Muslims.

Cooperation Between Congress and the Muslim League
- As a member of both Congress and the Muslim League, Jinnah played a large role in encouraging cooperation between the parties to help the Nationalist Movement.
- In 1916 the Lucknow Pact was signed, agreeing a fixed proportion of Muslim seats in Parliament and under-representation in areas of majority.
- The pact was a big step as the groups typically oppose each other; it meant that India's political parties were more united in the fight for Nationalism.
- Thus Jinnah had a big impact in making the movement stronger in that time period.

Position on Indian Nationalist Movement
- Originally, Jinnah was moderate, he believed India had the right to Independence but at the same time recognized the benefits from British Rule.
- He was a member of the Home Rule League and after the war became a more radical supporter for Independence.
- Jinnah used his position in the Muslim League as a platform to campaign for Independence during the 1920s and 30s, but was very disappointed by the slow pace of reform.
- Following 1937, Jinnah became concerned that should India ever gain independence, they would be abandoned or “swamped” by the Hindu majority, thus his efforts shifted from Indian Independence towards a separate Muslim state.

Second World War
- By supporting the British in WW2, Jinnah strengthened the position of the League in later negotiations.
- In 1941 he started a newspaper, Dawn, to spread the League's views.
- He put considerable pressure on Cripps during the British representative's visit to accept the concept of a separate Muslim state.
- In the tense period after the war, Jinnah took advantage of the confusing to continue to demand a separate Muslim state.
- 16 August 1946 he instructed his followers to engage in 'direct action'. This led to strikes, protests and eventually communal violence on a large scale.
- Jinnah's call precipitated the horrors of riots and massacre that were to disfigure the coming of independence.

Post-WW2
- Eventually the British and Congress leaders accepted the partition of India.
- Jinnah became its first leader but died of tuberculosis within a year.
- There was debate whether he wanted a secular or Muslim state in Pakistan. But he died before he could put policy in place.

The struggle for independence

Non-Cooperation Movement
- By forming an alliance with the Khalifat movement, Gandhi achieved the necessary approval for his proposal of a campaign of non-violent Non-Cooperation.
- This followed the introduction of the repressive Rowlatt Acts in March 1919, gaining support in December 1920.
- The Non-Cooperation movement called on participants to:
  1. Boycott elections to the legislative assemblies
gaining support in December 1920.

The Non-Cooperation movement called on participants to:

1. Boycott elections to the legislative assemblies
2. Refuse to buy imported cloth from Britain
4. Reject all honours and titles awarded by the British
5. Refuse to pay taxes
6. Refuse to attend official receptions

Gandhi declared that all Indians could achieve self-government within one year with the use of these legitimate and peaceful means.

The movement had some success, thousands of students left schools and colleges to attend ‘national schools’ set up outside the government system.

The boycott of the law courts wasn’t successful.

As a result of boycotting the elections most of the new provincial government was formed by the Liberals and other moderate parties.

The most successful part was the boycott of foreign textiles, protestors made bonfires of foreign clothes and picketed shops that sold them.

When the Prince of Wales visited he as met with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went.

British Reaction
- At first they tried to ignore it, they didn’t want to make martyrs out of the protestors or intensify the protests.
- December 1921, the arrested 30,000 protestors. Banned public meetings and assemblies, restricted newspapers and conducted raids on Congress and Khalifât offices.
- In response to the increased repression Congress planned to launch a campaign of mass civil disobedience, more far-reaching than the Non-Cooperation campaign.
- This was never introduced as the protests got out of control in some places, turning to violence.
- In Bombay, protests turned to looting and burning leaving 33 demonstrators.
- February 1922, a violent mob killed 12 policemen by burning them to death.
- Gandhi then immediately called off the campaign saying people were not ready to apply the tactics of peaceful protest he hoped.
- Many Congress members were angered by this decision, seeing it as betrayal.
- A few weeks after this announcement Gandhi was arrested charged with sedition and sentenced to 6 years in prison.
- He was released after 2 years for health reasons but abstained from direct political activity until 1929.

Salt March
- The exclusion of Indian representation in the Simon Commission reunited the different factions in Congress.
- At their annual meeting in Calcutta December 1928, they called on Britain to leave India within a year, failing to do so would result in civil disobedience.
- A year later, in Lahore, they adopted complete independence as their goal and the working committee authorised Gandhi to initiate a civil disobedience campaign.
- Mindful of the violence that stemmed from the last campaign, he sent a letter to the Viceroy in January 1930, outlining the problems facing the peasantry and containing a list of 11 items for change.
- One of which was the abolition of the salt tax, and the governments monopoly on production and sale of salt.
- Salt tax was only 4% of tax revenue but it was symbolic of British oppression, it wasn’t social divisive and affected the whole population.
- The issue had been raised in the Imperial Legislative Council for years but nothing had been done.
- Gandhi planned the salt march to maximum effect. March 1930, he set off on a journey of 400km, with a select group of 78 volunteers, covering 20km a day it took 24 days, to walk from Ahmedabad to Dandi.
- The marchers were welcomed as heroes in countless rural villages along the way.
Muslim Indians were not a united and homogenous community, they came from many different backgrounds. The main supporters of Muslim separatism were the ones with the most to lose from a future Hindu-dominated India.

Muslims in Colonial India

- When Britain took government in 1858, the disbanded the Muslim Mughal empire.
- Indian Muslims lost their place in society and India was reorganized casting them aside.
- They formed a minority, with less than 20% of the population compared to the Hindu majority of 75%.
- The largest numbers were in the North-East and North-West.
- There were tensions between Hindus and Muslims, regarding religious practice, sometimes turning violent.
- The growth of the Hindu revivalist movement in the 1890s caused tensions for the Muslims.

Role of the Muslim League

- They could not alter their numerical disadvantage in British India so they always tried to find ways to protect their own interests.
- Doing so by showing they were a separate community with its own needs and wants.
- The INC claimed to be secular but this claim was discounted by several Muslim leaders.
- Thus to protect Muslim interest the Muslim League was formed, its main aim to score constitutional protection for Muslims in the form of separate electorates and reserved seats.

Relationship with Congress

- In 1916, Congress and the Muslim League signed the Lucknow Pact, which is of historical significance.
- Agreeing Muslims would have a fixed proportion of seats in any future Indian parliament, and extra seats in areas of Muslim minority.
- As well as Gandhi's support for the Khalifat movement and their participation in the No-Cooperation scheme was a high point for Muslim-Hindu relations.

Communal Tension in 1920s

- Tension grew in the 1920s, party due to the emergence of a politicized form of Hinduism, Hindutwa, which promoted an anti-Muslim message.
- It criticized efforts of Congress to integrate Muslims as members as well as cooperate with the League.
- In many provinces economic situation made tensions worse, Hindus were often the landowners and Muslims the peasant tenants.

Development of the Two Nation theory

- Muhammed Iqbal a poet and philosopher made the first proposal for a Muslim ‘homeland’ in 1930.
- His poetry and writings gained support for the idea of a separate state, but at this stage it wasn’t part of the political agenda of the Muslim League.
- 1933, Chaudhri Rahmat Ali a student studying in Cambridge, together with a group of students, came up with a plan for a federation of 10 Muslim states, called Pakistan, meaning land of the pure.
- At this stage these ideas were ignored by Muslim politicians.

The 1937 Elections

- In the 1937 elections, the Muslim league won less that 5% of the Muslim vote.
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- In the 1937 elections, the Muslim league won less than 5% of the Muslim vote.
- The Muslim League offered Congress to cooperate but it was turned down.
- This changed the attitude of Jinnah and the League, intensifying the need for members.
- This revealed the electoral dangers Muslims faced as the minority, it led to the change in attitude of the League about the separate state.

Significance of the Lahore Resolution

- Outbreak of WW2 created political opportunities for the League, when provincial Congress ministries resigned, they declared it a day of deliverance.
- They resolved to support the British war effort and strengthen its position for further constitutional talks.
- In March 1940, at its annual conference held in Lahore, the Muslim League formally passed a resolution declaring its support for the notion of a separate Muslim state.
- This became known as the Lahore Resolution.
- Jinnah’s presidential address at the Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League is seen as a highly significant statement, he depicts Hindus and Muslims as two distinct and irreconcilable communities.
- It was the first time support for the Two Nation theory was voiced.

Impact of the Second World War

- Lord Linlithgow, the viceroy, committed India to the war without consulting any of the Indian leaders.
- When Japan entered the war in 1941, India became a critically strategic location for the Allies, thus the British were desperate to gain Indian war support.
- Despite the reluctance of Congress, 2 million Indians volunteered to serve alongside Allied armies, making it the largest volunteer army in history.
- The pay these soldiers received was relatively good and most soldiers managed to send money back home to their families.
- For the first time, Indians were promoted to positions of command in the army.
- Over 600,000 Indian refugees fled from Burma into India to escape the Japanese army.
- In 1942, Japanese planes bombed cities in eastern India and 3500 people were killed.
- Thousands fled coastal towns and headed inland.
- At the outbreak of war, the government passed emergency decrees, it outlawed political activities, censored press and interned anyone suspected of undermining the war effort.

Economic Impact

- The war created opportunities for the Indian economy, it encouraged industrialization on a scale unknown before.
- They became the largest steel producers in the British Empire for the duration of the war.
- The Indian economy was a vital factor for the final defeat of the Axis powers.
- The war caused intense hardship for ordinary Indians, there was rapid inflation and rising prices.
- The rural poor were unable to buy essential items.
- There were serious shortages, especially on food, oil and cloth, partly due to government purchases for the army.
- The situation was aggravated by the influx of hundreds of thousands of British, American and African servicemen, which escalated demand.
- Bengal was worst affected.

Bengal Famine

- Bengal in the north-east was on the front line against the Japanese army.
Winston Churchill, the previous prime minister, had been strongly opposed to allowing India to become independent.

The members of the Labour Cabinet, led by Clement Attlee, did not believe that Britain had a right to govern the Empire; they wanted to give India independence as quickly as possible.

People in Britain felt India was consuming too much money and attention.

**Britain’s position in the world**

- Until the Second World War Britain had been a major power, but in the post-war world it wasn’t. USA and the Soviet Union were new superpowers.
- The start of the Cold War forced Britain to reassess its priorities.
- A strong Western alliance to contain the Soviet Union was essential.
- Post-war was the beginning of an era of decolonisation, stimulating demands for independence in many Asian and African countries.

**Situation in India after the war**

**Economic problems, strikes, growing civil unrest**

- In addition, it soon became clear that the situation in India was getting out of control.
- Throughout the war the Indian armed forces and police had remained loyal to Britain.
- If they had not, Britain could not have retained control of India.
- But in February 1946 there was a mutiny in the Indian navy in Mumbai (Bombay). The mutiny spread to the Indian army.
- The mutinies made the situation even clearer; they meant that Britain could not govern India.
- However, deciding to allow India to become independent was one thing, deciding what form independence would take was quite another.
- Congress as always wanted a united India with a strong central government, but since 1940 the Muslim League appeared to want an independent Pakistan.
- The British government sent the Cabinet Mission to try to solve the problem.

**1946 Elections**

- In 1946, elections were held for the central and provincial assemblies. The first to be held since 1937.
- Congress won 90% of the open seats in the central legislature as well as majorities in 8/11 provinces.
- The Muslim League did well winning all 30 in the central legislature and 442/500 in the provincial legislatures, of the reserved seats.
- Leading support to the claim of the Muslim League that the Muslim League represented all Muslims in India.

**Independence and partition**

**Role of Mountbatten**

- Early 1946, the British decided to reopen negotiations regarding transfer of power.
- Lord Louis Mountbatten was sent to India to be the new viceroy, to oversee the transfer of power.

**The British Cabinet Mission**

- March 1946, the British sent a Cabinet Mission of three members of the government to try to break the deadlock between Congress and the League.
- The Cabinet Mission was sent to India to report on the situation and recommend a structure for an independent India.
- It discovered that the two sides, Congress and the League were at loggerheads and that it was completely impossible to reach a compromise.
were forcibly occupied by the Indian army, but in Kashmir there was a Hindu ruler of a mainly Muslim state.
- After a Muslim revolt, the ruler appealed to India for help and Kashmir was occupied by both Indian and Pakistani forces.
- Since 1947 India and Pakistan have argued, and from time to time fought over, this area.

**Post-Independence India**

**Ethnic and Religious Conflicts**

**Communalism and Hindu nationalism**

- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a right-wing Hindu Nationalism ‘cultural’ group, caused a crisis 6 months after independence. They were openly anti-Muslim and opposed the creation of a secular state.
- Despite claiming to be a cultural not political organisation, they formed paramilitary cells. Attracting support from students, refugees and the urban lower middle class.
- Nehru believed that they were responsible for a lot of the violence post-partition. They opposed Gandhi’s efforts to reduce communal violence and his conciliatory gestures towards Muslims, starting a campaign of hatred against him.
- They assassinated Gandhi in January 1948, Nathuram Godse was the murderer, an active supporter of the RSS.
- The months before Gandhi’s assassination, he was in Delhi trying to stop the communal violence and visiting the Muslim refugees in their camps. It was believed he was assassinated because of his public fast demanding Pakistan be given its share of assets of British India.
- January 30th 1948, Nehru announces the death of Gandhi, the shock and mourning of people allowed the secularists to strengthen their role in the government and calm communal tensions.
- The RSS was banned and most of its leaders were arrested, blaming them for their support of violence, communalism, and hatred towards Gandhi and secularism.
- The ban was lifted in July 1949 when the RSS renounced violence and secrecy, they agreed to confine themselves to cultural not political matters.
- In 1950 the constitution established India as a completely secular state with a separation of religion and state, with no official religion.
- Contrary to Pakistan's official religion as Islam. However 80.5% of India’s population was Hindu, meaning many people believed that India should be a secular state.
- Groups such as RSS and Bharatiya Jan Sangh (BJS), a Hindu Nationalist Political Party, found support.
- However the 1952 election showed BJS only winning 3% of the vote, suggesting little support for a communalist Hindu party.

**Ethnicity and Separatism**

- Despite making up only 1.9% of the Indian population, the Sikhs were a distinct religious group of around 10 million people.
- They have their own history, culture, identity and language, Punjabi, many of them were resentful that the Muslims had got a separate state but not the Sikhs.
- Millions had to leave their homes in West Punjab after the partition, fleeing as refugees to India.
- By 1952 they formed 1/3 of the Indian Punjab population, holding prominent positions in politics, business and the army.
- The main political party, Akali Dal, wanted more control for the Sikhs in the Punjab, some wanted a separate state called Khalistan, however Nehru was firmly opposed.
- In 1955 Akali Dal held mass demonstrations demanding more autonomy, the